

University of Strathclyde  
School of Humanities – History

**Highlandism: Its value to Scotland  
and how a queen and two aristocratic women  
promoted the phenomenon in the Victorian age**

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A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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# Highlandism: its value to Scotland and how a queen and two aristocratic women promoted the phenomenon in the Victorian age

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## ABSTRACT

In 1859 a queen, a duchess and a clan chief's daughter came together in Scotland for the inauguration of a pumping station. Piping water into Glasgow from distant Highland hills was an “engineering marvel.”<sup>1</sup> The monarch opened the Loch Katrine Waterworks, a duke's kilted army gave the royal salute - and city and countryside were linked. Victorian engineering skills mixed with tartan nostalgia. In these ‘Rob Roy’ haunts a progressive age beckoned, but it was one that took with it an invented past...

This thesis will examine ‘Highlandism’, a phenomenon viewed with suspicion because it is a product of the British Empire, the British army,<sup>2</sup> royalty and aristocracy. It will examine its authenticity, analyse its worth and detail the contribution made by three women to this male-driven trend. Queen Victoria was a patron, the Duchess of Athole<sup>3</sup> an enabler, and Miss MacGregor an intellect behind this plaid and piping craze.

This work will show that Highlandism’s intellectual foundations are deeper than thought and that royal and aristocratic roles in its development are more positive than imagined. ‘Tartan and shortbread’ traditions are accused of impeding cultural and political change. Yet Highlandism has stimulated trade and tourism. It has encouraged a global piping tradition, boosted the Gaelic movement and engendered worldwide emotional support for Scotland. With the “tartan monster”<sup>4</sup> possibly being viewed more kindly, perhaps the “haggis” can sit more comfortably with the “culture”.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Water-technology.net. (2010). *Katrine, United Kingdom*. Retrieved from <http://www.water-technology.net/projects/katrine/>

<sup>2</sup> See T. M. Devine as cited in Peterkin, T. (2003, October 13). Scotland ‘a product of British Empire’. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4190304/Scotland-a-product-of-British-Empire.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Note: the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess spelled the name ‘Athole’.

<sup>4</sup> Nairn, T. (1977/2003). *The break-up of Britain: Crisis and neo-nationalism* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Champaign, IL: Common Ground. (p. 150).

<sup>5</sup> Harvie, C. (2000, April 17). Give them culture, not haggis. *New Statesman*, pp. 38-39.

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I would like to thank Her Majesty The Queen for granting permission to research the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle. Pam Clark was senior archivist at the time and she and her staff were helpful and informative. I am also indebted to the palace for putting Queen Victoria's journals online, thus making available a research tool of immense assistance to the student.

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## INTRODUCTION

‘Highlandism’ is a visual narrative - with tartan at its core. During the 2014 Scottish independence referendum the world’s media thronged Edinburgh and among them was a Japanese TV crew, its reporter getting into the spirit of things. The young man was wearing a kilt, but it was not made from the Japanese pink ‘Sakura’ tartan.<sup>1</sup> No, this eastern broadcaster was clad in bright red Royal Stewart cloth.<sup>2</sup> It seems that everyone wants to have a go at being ‘Scottish’ - and if a crowned head can enter the equation, so much the better...

Tartan is not just tantalising. It is a “cult... a symbol of identity”<sup>3</sup> - and it is very much in fashion. At the opening of the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games the pipes and drums of the Scottish Regiments marched through Celtic Park and a plethora of plaid burst into the stadium; the kilted gold medal cyclist, Sir Chris Hoy, proudly bearing the baton; the actor, John Barrowman, theatrical in top-to-toe purple tartan and bounding onto the stage through a massive green kilt; the home team in cheery pink-based tartan, the Canadians in their ‘Maple Leaf’ tartan trews. This multi-coloured cloth was addictive and empowering: “...other countries kept telling us how awesome we looked.”<sup>4</sup>

Five years earlier, kilts had also swung en-masse in Scotland. ‘The Gathering 2009’ attracted some 47,000 people, thirty-eight per cent of them from overseas.<sup>5</sup> The Scottish Diaspora had crossed oceans to take part in what was being dubbed the “greatest international clan-gathering in the world.”<sup>6</sup> For a few hours once unruly names came together: Borderland Armstrong reivers sharing a tent with Highland MacGregor outlaws.<sup>7</sup> With such clan fever

<sup>1</sup> McKenzie, S. (2008, August 24). Pink tartan designed for Japanese. *BBC News*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/highlands\\_and\\_islands/7572244.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/highlands_and_islands/7572244.stm)

<sup>2</sup> Personal recollection.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, J. (1998). The folklore of Northern Scotland: Five discourses on cultural representation. *Folklore*, 109 (1-2), 1-14. (p. 2) Tartanry and Highlandism.

<sup>4</sup> Gymnast Kevin Lytwyn, quoted in: Jones, T. (2014, July 23). Team Canada rocks the tartan in Commonwealth Games opening ceremonies. *Edmonton Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.edmontonsun.com/2014/07/23/team-canada-rocks-the-tartan-in-commonwealth-games-opening-ceremonies>

<sup>5</sup> Adams, J., & Munro, S. (2009). *The Gathering: Economic Impact Assessment*. Report for EventScotland, The Gathering & Homecoming Scotland. Glasgow: EKOS. Retrieved from <http://www.eventscotland.org/development/our-key-publications/downloads/get/34.pdf/>

<sup>6</sup> Doward, J. (2009, July 26). Homecoming’s big day dawns as 50,000 attend the Gathering. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2009/jul/26/scotland-edinburgh-clan-gathering-prince-charles>

<sup>7</sup> Personal recollection.

one might imagine an Inverness, or a Western Isles setting. Yet this was Edinburgh, the very Lowland city hosting a highly Highland event. It had echoes of a previous tartan extravaganza. In 1822 a British king appeared in the Scottish capital in a kilt and accoutrements that cost a hundred thousand pounds in today's money.<sup>8</sup>

‘The Gathering 2009’ was part of Visit Scotland’s ‘Homecoming’ and as a tourist attraction it seemed to prove a success.<sup>9</sup> Research shows that twenty-eight per cent of attendees would not have come to Scotland had it not been for this get-together whilst sixty-six per cent of overseas’ visitors said they would most likely go to another.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, although the event itself lost money, it brought millions of pounds to the economy.<sup>11</sup> Kilts and clans were proving lucrative, yet the ‘Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce’ was cautious. Whilst acknowledging that these tourist mainstays are an international brand, there was a telling aside: “...they may not be what every Scot wants to be represented by.”<sup>12</sup> What business was saying is: tartan is not the only thing we have to offer. The world can go mad for plaid, yet Scotland’s love affair with her own unique symbols is very mixed.

Eight decades earlier the journalist, H.V. Morton, was also in search of Scotland. Morton was born in England, but his mother was a Highlander and at the Braemar Gathering he gave a colourful description of the international set he found there.<sup>13</sup> “Clan Mayfair, the Clan Belgravia, the Clan Edinburgh, the Clan New York, the Clan Chicago, the Clan Washington... Here and there among them is a genuine laird whose knees are voted by the beautiful girls of the Clan Chicago, ‘just too cute for woids.’ ”<sup>14</sup> Braemar may have begun as

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<sup>8</sup> Wilkie, D. (1829). *George IV (1762-1830)* [portrait]. Retrieved from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/401206/george-iv-1762-1830>. See also Prebble, J. (1988). *The King's jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August 1822, “One and twenty daft days”*. London: Collins; and Mackie, J. D. (1964/1991). *A history of Scotland*. London: Penguin, pp. 313 & 333.

<sup>9</sup> Homecoming Scotland. (2008, August 26). *The Gathering 2009* [blog]. Retrieved from <http://www.homecomingscotlandblog.blogspot.com/2008/08/gathering-2009.html>

<sup>10</sup> Adams & Munro, *Gathering*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 23.

For lost income: Audit Scotland. (2010). *The Gathering: 2009*. Edinburgh: Audit Scotland. Retrieved from [http://www.audit-scotland.gov.uk/uploads/docs/report/2010/nr\\_100623\\_the\\_gathering.pdf](http://www.audit-scotland.gov.uk/uploads/docs/report/2010/nr_100623_the_gathering.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Graham Russell, quoted in City to receive £8m boost from weekend's gathering. (2009, July 25). *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/news/city-to-receive-163-8m-boost-from-weekend-s-gathering-1-1214028>

<sup>13</sup> For more information on The Braemar Gathering, see <http://www.braemargathering.org>; for more information on H.V. Morton, go to the H.V. Morton Society, <http://www.hvmorton.co.uk> and Tameside Metropolitan Borough. (2017). *A tribute to journalist and travel writer HV Morton (1892-1979)*. Retrieved from <http://www.tameside.gov.uk/blueplaque/hvmorton>

<sup>14</sup> Morton, H. V. (1929/1937). *In search of Scotland*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, p. 132.

an eleventh-century hill race to choose the best runners to carry messages for the king.<sup>15</sup> Now it was little more than “synthetic Gaelicism,”<sup>16</sup> a Celtic fashion show. For Morton, “something heroic and noble went out of life when the last colony of Celts gave way before the modern world.”<sup>17</sup>

So how did this nation come to have such a checked-cloth image? The eighteenth century saw a flowering of intellect as Scotland became Europe’s “first modern literate society.”<sup>18</sup> Law, medicine, engineering, philosophy, economics and art flourished - and the energy continued:<sup>19</sup> penicillin, the bicycle, the telephone and television are all Scottish inventions.<sup>20</sup> Today’s top exports include food and drink - and the more serious chemicals, electronics and mechanical engineering.<sup>21</sup> How irritating it must be then that when a foreigner is asked what he most associates Scotland with, he will generally say ‘a kilt’.

‘Tartanitis’ is alive and well - and you don’t have to be Scottish to join the club.<sup>22</sup> Just type in ‘Smith’ or ‘Jones’ at the ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ website and they will find you something suitable to wear.<sup>23</sup> This fashionable fabric stars at births, deaths and marriages. It cheers at football matches and smiles sweetly from biscuit tins.<sup>24</sup> Pop stars and fashion designers go mad for plaid.<sup>25</sup> Tartan travels: Neil Armstrong is said to have taken a piece to

<sup>15</sup> Lynch, M. (ed.). (2011). *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 290.

<sup>16</sup> Morton, *In Search of Scotland*, p. 132.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> Herman, A. (2003/2006). *The Scottish enlightenment: The Scots' invention of the modern world*. Fourth Estate, p. 23. See also Burnaby, BC: Public Library Interlink.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*. See also Cowan, E. J., Finlay, R. J., & Paul, W. (2000). *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a nation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Keay, J. & Keay, J. (1994). *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*. London: Harper Collins. See entries for: Kirkpatrick Macmillan, p. 668; Alexander Graham Bell, p. 71, Sir Alexander Fleming, p. 377; John Logie Baird, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> The Official Gateway to Scotland. (2015). *Scottish exports*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/business-and-economy/exports>

<sup>22</sup> The journalist, Ivor Brown, was among those who used this term. He described the entertainer, Sir Harry Lauder thus: “a Lowlander himself, he promoted the idea... that the workmen of Clydesdale habitually went a-roaming in the gloaming clothed like the chieftain of Clan McCrazy. The proper name for this type of Highland fever is not Balmorality, but Tartanitis” - in Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, pp. 17-18.

<sup>23</sup> As well as clan and family tartans, the ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ website (<http://www.tartansauthority.com>) shows tartans such as the Tennessee State tartan (registered 1999, ITI 3067); the Bank of Scotland tartan, corporate (registered 1995, ITI 2462); the North Dakota State University tartan (registered 2011, ITI 10517); etc... To see thousands of tartans, also go to ‘Scotweb Clan’ website (<http://www.scotweb.co.uk>)

<sup>24</sup> For example, tins of Walkers shortbread (<http://www.walkersshortbread.com>)

<sup>25</sup> Fisher, A. (2010, April 11). Why the world has gone mad for plaid. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2010/apr/11/tartan-shirts-sales-figures-alice-fisher>; Cartner-Morley, J. (2012, December 4). Chanel revives Franco-Scottish love affair in tweedy fashion. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2012/dec/04/chanel-franco-scottish-affair-tweed> Consider Rod Stewart and the Bay City Rollers, both of whom wore tartan.

the moon.<sup>26</sup> Tartan sells: back on Planet Earth a red-kilted Richard Branson was promoting a Virgin Atlantic Anglo-Scottish plane service in 2013<sup>27</sup> whilst a year later Easy Jet was pulling the same stunt - this time with an orange tartan.<sup>28</sup>

Then there is that other Scottish symbol: at Gretna Green, (very much Borderland country) one of the attractions at the touristy ‘Blacksmith’s Shop’ is a piper in full Highland costume.<sup>29</sup> Travel further north to Lowland Edinburgh and the first thing you may hear on exiting Waverley station is another kilted piper.<sup>30</sup> However, tourists wanting to have their photo taken with this iconic ‘Highland’ figure should know that the bagpipe is “thoroughly non-Gaelic by origin.”<sup>31</sup> Indeed, Hugh Cheape says it was the *harp* that was the musical instrument of Gaelic society. Yet how could gentle strings hope to compete with the ‘piob nuallanach mhor’, the great roaring pipe?<sup>32</sup> As Hew Strachan says: “...the kilted, feather-bonneted piper [is] instantly recognisable throughout the world as short-hand for Scotland.”<sup>33</sup> He is arguably the most striking image of a development that is known as ‘Highlandism’.

‘Highlandism’ has been called a product of Union and Empire.<sup>34</sup> It is a movement that saw the whole of Scotland being marked by those symbols normally associated with the Highlands. As Scots were drawn further into the English fold they looked for something to differentiate themselves from southern neighbours - and a history of clan chiefs and a tartan and bagpipe culture seemed to fit the bill. By the early-nineteenth century even those living in the Lowlands and Borderlands would find themselves attached to these emblems.

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<sup>26</sup> The brown and grey ‘Lunar’ tartan (registered 1970, ITI 5513) is recorded by the ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ (<http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan-ferret/display/5513/lunar>). It was designed to commemorate the moon landing of 1969 and tradition says Neil Armstrong left a piece of that, and some Armstrong tartan on the moon. Both tartans were displayed in the ‘Clan Armstrong Trust’ museum in Langholm in 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Virgin Atlantic’s male cabin crew could wear kilts. (2013, April 10). *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/news/transport/virgin-atlantic-s-male-cabin-crew-could-wear-kilts-1-2885723>

<sup>28</sup> Dalton, A. (2014, March 31). High hopes ‘orange tartan’ will take off. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/news/transport/high-hopes-orange-tartan-will-take-off-1-3358754>

<sup>29</sup> Personal sight from being there.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Skene, W. F. (1902). *The Highlanders of Scotland, their origin, history and antiquities; with a sketch of their manners and customs, and an account of the clans into which they were divided, and of the state of society which existed among them*. (Edited by Alexander MacBain). London: John Murray/Sentinel Press, p. 407. See also Moncreiffe, I. (1967/1977). *The Highland clans*. London: Barrie & Rockliff, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> “Early references in Gaelic sources to pipes occur in the first half of the 16th century, such as in the ‘Book of the Dean of Lismore’.” Cheape, H. (1999). *The book of the bagpipe*. Belfast: Appletree, pp. 18 & 62.

<sup>33</sup> Strachan, H. (2006). Scotland’s military identity. *Scottish Historical Review*, 85(2), pp. 315-332.

<sup>34</sup> See T. M. Devine as cited in Peterkin, T. (2003, October 13). Scotland ‘a product of British Empire’. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4190304/Scotland-a-product-of-British-Empire.html>.

Importantly, Highlandism came with military and political interests and it was the British army that led the way in making the kilt stylish, with royalty and aristocracy following the tartan trend. There might be some ‘local’ involvement and acceptance, but wider concerns would encourage the plaied phenomenon, for Highlandism had the power to neutralise the northern warrior. It could distinguish a fighting man whilst letting him pose no threat to Empire or Union. The Jacobite rebel could become a kilted attraction. Tom Nairn dubs it the “tartan monster”<sup>35</sup> - and Highlandism has certainly given Scotland a tartan face.

The Romantic Period of the eighteenth century also fed the ‘Highland’ fad. As people looked for ‘noble savages’ and scenic views, *Ossian* poetry about an ancient Highland hero created an epic Scottish history whilst rip-roaring Walter Scott novels offered further swashbuckling escape. In the early-nineteenth century Scott was turning “squalid feuds into romantic episodes.”<sup>36</sup> These flights into a comforting, fabricated past were taking place during a manufacturing revolution that was making Scotland one of the most industrialised nations in the world.<sup>37</sup>

As it was, Highlandism could temper fears of a frenetic future by offering glimpses of an ordered past. For the Highland phenomenon encouraged ‘tradition’. It resurrected the idea of ‘clanship’ and this would allow Scotland’s struggling lairds to regain some lost status. To explain this more, this thesis examines the lives of two clan chiefs whose standings were boosted by ‘tartanry’. The chief of Clan Gregor, Sir John MacGregor Murray, and his son, Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor, both played the part of being a “Big Highland Cheese.”<sup>38</sup> Sir Evan wore top-to-toe tartan. He commanded a following of clansmen and boasted a castle, for Highlandism was extending to houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Yet this work suggests that for both these men ‘tartanitis’ was more than a frivolous fancy. For his part, Sir John MacGregor Murray encouraged the art of piping and was passionate about promoting Gaelic. Indeed, this former Indian army officer was said to have put “the

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<sup>35</sup> Nairn, T. (1977/2003). *The break-up of Britain: Crisis and neo-nationalism* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Champaign, IL: Chicago, p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> Montgomery Massingberd, H. (ed.). (1986). *Lord of the dance: A Moncreiffe miscellany*. London: Debrett’s Peerage, p. 172.

<sup>37</sup> Mackie, J. D. (1964/1991). *A history of Scotland*. London: Penguin, pp. 324-6; and Whatley, C. A. (1997). *The industrial revolution in Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815, Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth.

riches of India into Gaelic scholarship.”<sup>39</sup> Moreover, whilst Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor may have paraded like a plaided peacock, he, too, promoted clan research - and this detailing of the past is another upside of Highlandism. Richard Finlay describes how the fear of losing identity created a fad for collecting ancient manuscripts and documenting family stories.<sup>40</sup>

David McCrone calls Scotland a macho place and early Highlandism was certainly a male-dominated construction.<sup>41</sup> However, this thesis goes on to describe how three women were key in promoting the phenomenon in Victorian times. Queen Victoria saw Scotland through a tartan lens, falling in love with the land of Walter Scott’s novels and those kilted men who were “clad in the garb which every Highlander was wont to wear.”<sup>42</sup> There in the Highlands she could slip into an imagined, feudal world, but critics see the artificiality of her Deeside tenure. George Scott-Moncrieff calls it ‘Balmorality’ and notes the “hypocrisy, false sentiment...”<sup>43</sup> Others point to the fact that the monarch was patron of emigration societies at a time when clearance was still underway. Crucially, a royal presence in Scotland is said to have had a ‘colonising’ effect which is accused of causing an imbalance in land ownership that still exists today.<sup>44</sup>

Yet Iain Moncreiffe claims that without Victoria “all Scotland might have continued to be a mere backwater called North Britain”<sup>45</sup> - and this thesis will show how there were advantages to a regal ‘Scotch’ obsession. The monarch and her husband appear to have been good landlords, restoring cottages and building schools on Deeside. Albert encouraged Gaelic whilst Victoria supported Highland games. Scottish companies blossomed through their patronage and a royal presence gave other towns north of the border a “sprinkling of stardust,”<sup>46</sup> too. Highlandism might have hidden some harsh realities, but it was helping trade and tourism.

<sup>39</sup> Ronald I. Black as cited in McNeil, K. (2007). *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760–1860*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, pp. 17 and 179.

<sup>40</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2002) ‘Queen Victoria and the cult of Scottish Monarchy’ in E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>41</sup> McCrone, D. (1992). *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation*. London: Routledge, p.190.

<sup>42</sup> The Queen’s visit to Scotland. (1842, September 3). *Hampshire Advertiser*, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, G. (1932) ‘Balmorality’. in D. C. Thomson (ed.) *Scotland in quest of her youth* (pp. 69-86). London: Oliver & Boyd, p. 86.

<sup>44</sup> Cook, J. (2015, June 23). Land reform: The battle to decide who owns Scotland. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-33225369>

<sup>45</sup> Montgomery Massingberd, *Lord of the dance, op cit.* p. 173.

<sup>46</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 216.

Victoria's love of Robert Burns' poetry is discussed in this work, for the radical ploughman poet was also being wrapped in tartan in the Victorian age. Academics have pointed out how Burns' literary standing was partly created by popular objects and commemorations<sup>47</sup> and this thesis notes how he may have hated the Highlandism being linked to his name.

Meanwhile, a burgeoning press was also promoting Highlandism and reporting of royal travels now meant eulogising the hills and glens and invoking the spirit of Walter Scott. Ian Mitchell calls it a "trashy version of Highland life."<sup>48</sup> Yet Victorian newspapers were busy selling the image of the mountain, the flood - and the Union. Among the coverage was the line: "...the fair Sovereign... [has] done so much to remove the antipathies of Highlandmen to the House of Hanover, if any exist, and to substitute them for boundless love."<sup>49</sup>

This thesis suggests that whilst there has been a great deal of research into Scottish crofting and mining communities, there has been comparatively little study into Scottish Victorian aristocratic life. Moreover, some of what is there, has tended to portray the upper class as something of a caricature. This work will offer another side to the Victorian land-owning picture and show that there is more to certain high-born stories than might be thought.

In particular, this work looks at the "truly Scotch"<sup>50</sup> Duchess of Athole and examines her role in promoting Highlandism. At her Perthshire castle Anne Athole welcomed titled foreigners who came in search of tartan thrills whilst frontline staff had to look the 'plaied' part in kilt and bonnet. This wealthy courtier accompanied Victoria on Highland 'expeditions'. She read Walter Scott stories out loud at court and started a famous kilted ball in London.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile, her husband, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole, was also doing his bit to promote the Highlands by reviving the kilt-clad 'Atholl Highlanders' - for tartanned Fencible Regiments were now playing their role in the Highlandism equation.

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<sup>47</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. & Whatley, C. A. (2014). Poems and festivals, art and artefact and the commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844–c.1896. *Scottish Historical Review*, 93(1), 56-79.

<sup>48</sup> Mitchell, I. R. (2000). *On the trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*. Edinburgh: Luath Press, p. 129.

<sup>49</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, August 27). *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971/1981). *Your Dear Letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (Edited by R. Fulford). London, Evans, p. 26. Note: the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Athole spelled their name thus.

<sup>51</sup> The Royal Caledonian Charities Trust. (2017). *Caledonian Ball: History*. Retrieved from <http://www.royalcaledonianball.com/history>

The Atholes certainly helped to shape the idea of a tartanned Scotland. Yet, again, there was a cultural side to this seemingly frivolous fashion. The family encouraged Highland music and Gaelic speaking. They supported Highland games - and whilst critics may see this patronage as a form of social control, one argument is that an aristocratic backing may have helped some of these events to survive.

Maureen Martin calls clearances on Atholl land “notorious.”<sup>52</sup> Yet this work offers the view that Anne Athole and her husband were not as culpable as some of their ancestors may have been when it came to clearance. The duchess might have had no truck with equality - nor was she too interested in the wider picture of Scottish poverty - but she appears to have cared for her own people. John Morrison can talk of the “myth of egalitarianism”<sup>53</sup> created by Highlandism on Scottish estates, yet this thesis will show how there was a definite respect on Athole land for those who did their job and knew their place. Some servants found it hard to carry out their duties with clear heads, and inebriation - a seedier side to the Highland ‘idyll’ - is discussed here.

This thesis goes on to discuss Miss MacGregor, another aristocrat, and someone whose claim was to be “blood and bones a Highlander.”<sup>54</sup> This is a strong statement and it is one that is more in keeping with a Victorian man than a woman. Amelia (known as Emily) Murray MacGregor was a Scottish clan chief’s daughter. She stemmed from Empire-building stock. Yet Highlandism would allow her to reconcile deep loyalty to the British Crown with intense Jacobite sympathies.

This lady with a passion for plaid would give Highlandism an intellectual backbone. She wrote a detailed history of ‘Clan Gregor’ and, as first Chieftainess of the ‘Gaelic Society of Perth’, devoted her later life to promoting Gaelic.<sup>55</sup> Highlandism would influence her work; a respected researcher, romance could always figure in her view of the past; a stickler for facts, she was still swayed by Walter Scott’s “sympathetic mind [which] caught the fire of

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<sup>52</sup> Martin, M. M. (2009). *The mighty Scot: Nation, gender and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity*. New York, University of New York, Suny Press, p. 172.

<sup>53</sup> Morrison, J. (2003). *Painting the nation: Identity and nationalism in Scottish painting, 1800–1920*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 – 1909 *Opening of the Glasgow waterworks/Speech by Miss MacGregor to the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh*.

<sup>55</sup> MacKay, J. (2002). *Highlanders! Stand shoulder to shoulder: a history of the Gaelic society of Perth*. Perth: The Gaelic Society of Perth, pp. 19 & 73.

Highland adventure.”<sup>56</sup> Miss MacGregor was an enthusiastic tartan-wearer and a firm promoter of chiefs and clans.<sup>57</sup> She harked back to a feudal age. Yet she left a cultural legacy, particularly to the Gaelic movement. Highlandism and Gaelic were becoming linked in the Victorian age and this thesis notes how, like Burns’ poetry, even an ancient tongue could become tinged with tartan. Highlandism would give Gaelic a touch of theatre. In return, Gaelic might give Highlandism gravitas.

These three women - the queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor - came together in 1859 at the opening of a Highland waterworks and this work details what happened when backwards-looking Highlandism met Victorian progress. The inauguration of the Loch Katrine pumping station in the Trossachs combined raw engineering with Walter Scott romance. Highlandism favoured the rich, especially on this day. Yet for some Scottish aristocrats, the ‘Highland’ craze was starting to prove ruinous. A clan chief now had to look the part with castle and kilt and certain lairds would be forced to take jobs on the other side of the world to pay for their tartan extravagances.

By the mid-Victorian age there seemed to be a tartan and bagpipe mania at the palaces, with the Duchess of Athole auditioning pipers and advising on the correct way to wear a kilt at court.<sup>58</sup> However, again, there was a serious side to the tartan trend. Victoria’s personal piper published a collection of piobaireachd whilst the Athole family continued to be firm supporters of the Scottish musical tradition.<sup>59</sup> Aristocratic curiosity in a colourful craze was helping to foster an interest in culture.

Miss MacGregor, meanwhile, was charged with producing a royal art book. *The Highlanders of Scotland* is a triumph of Highlandism. It features the lowly clansmen the queen called “gentlemanlike, chivalrous.”<sup>60</sup> Yet getting Scotland’s lairds to find these Highland heroes was not always easy. John Macleod notes how by the late eighteenth century, “a full three-

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<sup>56</sup> MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898). *History of The Clan Gregor: Vol. I*. Edinburgh: William Brown, Edinburgh, p.291.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 642 - 25<sup>th</sup> December 1865; and, Atholl MSS. Bundle 1650 - 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> June 1883, Sir Henry Ponsonby and the Dowager Duchess of Athole corresponding.

<sup>59</sup> Queen Victoria’s first piper honoured. (2010, November 30). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-11864504>

<sup>60</sup> Appendix B: RA/ADD/U/32 - 26<sup>th</sup> May 1865, Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess, quoted in MacLeay, K. (1986). *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria*. (edited by D. Millar and A. G. M. MacGregor). London: Haggerston Press, p. 10.

fifths”<sup>61</sup> of clan chiefs had either left the country, or were absentee landlords. Among them was MacDougall of Dungellie who was in India and was forced to confess that his “acquaintance with the people in the clan [was] very limited.”<sup>62</sup> Another laird, meanwhile, had to admit that none of his clansmen actually wore the kilt.

However, suitable ‘specimens’ were eventually captured on canvas and they appeared wearing their masters’ fine-spun kilts and ‘chiefly’ crests. Miss MacGregor penned the descriptions to the watercolours and Highlandism oozed from her words as she declared how the portraits showed the Victorian world “the People of the Highlands as they *now* are.”<sup>63</sup> This book was a paean for the imagined Highlander - and a marrying of Scottish pride with British values. It portrayed a Scotland that was highly decorative, but one that posed no threat to Union. The reality of the time, of course, was very different. Few workers could afford a fancy Highland uniform whilst wholesale emigration was doing little for the idea of clanship.<sup>64</sup>

Miss MacGregor would also check the Gaelic spellings in Queen Victoria’s published royal journals, or *Leaves* - and these works epitomised Highlandism. They lauded Highland ‘tradition’, declared *Ossian* to be the poetry of the hills and were forerunners of late Victorian sentimental ‘Kailyard’ literature. The Kailyard looked back - as did Highlandism. *Leaves* also served a political purpose, giving the monarch an approval at a time when she was not always popular. Highlandism was building bridges between high and low. It was also helping to educate poor boys with proceeds from book sales going to the ‘Balmoral Bursaries’.

The monarch saw the Highlands as healing, yet any health-giving properties were being denied to the masses as she blocked bills that would allow walkers access to hills.<sup>65</sup> Victoria also complained about rail tracks spoiling glens, but, ironically, it was progress that further

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<sup>61</sup> Macleod, J. (1996/1997). *Highlanders: A history of the Gaels*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 185.

<sup>62</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1868, MacDougall of Dungellie to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>63</sup> MacGregor, *History*. Preface & Notices.

<sup>64</sup> “By the later 1850s mass eviction had virtually come to an end,” but landlords controlled sub-letting: Devine, T. M. (1994). *Clanship to crofter’s war: The social transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 199.

<sup>65</sup> Queen Victoria about her opposition to the ‘Access to the Mountains Bill’, as cited in Clark, R. W. (1981). *Balmoral: Queen Victoria’s highland home*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 134.

promoted Highlands, with faster trains bringing more tourists and settlers to Scotland.<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile, Victorian newspapers were continuing to drive the Highland theme with painters and photographers promoting Scotland as a land of stags and scenes. Landseer's *The Monarch of the Glen* served as a majestic emblem, but Tom Devine notes the conflict in a country adopting romantic symbolism at a time when crofting society was being dispossessed.<sup>67</sup> Empire, too, was still being linked to Highlandism with kilted Scots being recruited to fight in distant wars. Yet a theatrically tartanned army could help to soften the brutality of the battlefield...

“A clan cannot be manufactured,”<sup>68</sup> one Edwardian clan chief reportedly declared in 1909. Yet over the years, these reminders of a feudal age have, indeed, been manufactured. Lowland and Borderland families have found themselves being called ‘clans’ with tartans to boot, and all of Scotland now seems to be ‘Gaelic’. This modern Highlandism is encouraged by tourist groups and by a global Diaspora. Aided by the internet plaid remains a “shortcut to the Highlands”<sup>69</sup> in places like America, Canada and Australia.

Yet, despite the ‘reinvention’, this thesis suggests the Highland phenomenon continues to bring benefits to Scotland in the twenty-first century. Queen Victoria’s home, Balmoral Castle, provides jobs and tourist income in a relatively rural area.<sup>70</sup> Ancestral tourism is forecast to attract millions of visitors over the next few years<sup>71</sup> whilst American films like *Outlander* boost a foreign interest in pipes and plaids.<sup>72</sup> An emotional link to Scotland means that overseas’ groups may be willing to invest in the country’s historic restoration projects. Furthermore, whilst Highlandism is accused of creating an imbalance in land ownership,<sup>73</sup> there are claims that field sports are injecting large sums of money into the modern economy.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1661 - 8<sup>th</sup> October 1894, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria about Highland rail tracks not disfiguring the countryside too greatly.

<sup>67</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999/2000). *The Scottish nation, 1700–2000*. London: Allen Lane, p. 293.

<sup>68</sup> Appendix D: PD60/671 - 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909, Sir Malcolm MacGregor, 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief of Clan Gregor - about setting up a USA clan society.

<sup>69</sup> Calder, J. (2005/2010). *Scots in the USA*. New York: Luath, p. 203.

<sup>70</sup> Nicolson, A. (2001, December 31). Balmoral dilemma. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/4793875/Balmoral-dilemma.html>

<sup>71</sup> Donnelly, B. (2013, July 31). Ancestral tourism may bring £2.4bn to Scotland. *The Herald*. Retrieved from <https://www.pressreader.com/uk/the-herald/20130731/281814281486836>

<sup>72</sup> O’Neill, C. (2015, May 28). 10 Scottish castles that inspired Outlander. *Evening Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/13309043.10\\_Scottish\\_castles\\_that\\_inspired\\_Outlander/](http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/13309043.10_Scottish_castles_that_inspired_Outlander/)

<sup>73</sup> Cook, BBC

<sup>74</sup> Scottish Gamekeepers Association. (2016). *Economic benefits*. Retrieved from

There are, of course, the “unwelcome aspects”<sup>75</sup> that accompany Highlandism. Clan societies have remained mainly ‘white’ affairs - and this focusing on a ‘pure’ bloodline has interested groups like the Ku-Klux-Klan. There is, for some, the tacky ‘tartan-tat’ side of Highlandism - and there is also the question of authenticity. Historians may distrust those legends formed on “clans, heather and bonnets,”<sup>76</sup> but it is Craig Beveridge and Ronnie Turnbull who examine the idea that Highlandism was given a bad name by the “liberal-marxists”<sup>77</sup> of the late twentieth century and that the theory has never been tested. Murray Pittock adds to the debate: “...tartanry was to be as inferior, false and misleading as Jacobitism once had been.”<sup>78</sup> However, Pittock also notes how the kilt is being “adopted by young people as a mark of a vibrant, modern Scotland.”<sup>79</sup>

A ‘tartan and shortbread’ culture may well have skewed the way that Scotland is viewed. However, this thesis suggests that a royal and aristocratic role in the development of Highlandism is more complex than has been thought. Highlandism has been viewed with suspicion because it is a product of the British Empire, the British army, royalty and the upper class. Yet John Morrison reminds us how the original concept was not just “invented in England and forced upon unwilling Scots.”<sup>80</sup> Highlandism, he says, is, to some extent, home-grown and is Scottish in its intents and operations.

Maureen Martin can repeat the view that the Highland myth had “little basis in the reality of Scots’ lives.”<sup>81</sup> The question this thesis will ask as it follows the lives of three Victorian women is: did it have any value then - and does it have any today? Scotland may have found herself as the land of plaid and piping, yet other countries now look jealously at these symbols whilst a fascination for clans fosters a sense of Scottish kinship across the globe. As

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<http://www.scottishgamekeepers.co.uk/gamekeeping-facts/economic-benefits.html>

<sup>75</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1999). *Celtic identity and the British image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.5.

<sup>76</sup> Donnachie, I., & Whatley, C. (1992). *The manufacture of Scottish history*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 14.

<sup>77</sup> Beveridge, C., & Turnbull, R. (1989/1997). *Scotland after enlightenment: Image and tradition in modern Scottish culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 59.

<sup>78</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (2008/2013). *The road to independence? Scotland in the balance*. London: Reaktion Books, p. 150.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Morrison, J. (2012). ‘The whole is quite consonant with the truth’: Queen Victoria and the myth of the Highlands. In *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (pp. 1-6). London: Royal Collections Trust. Retrieved from [https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20\(Morrison\)\\_1.pdf](https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20(Morrison)_1.pdf)

<sup>81</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, p. 9.

to the charge that Highlandism has held back Scotland politically: a great national movement has recently arisen and it is one that is being fed, in part, by tartan and Jacobite nostalgia.

This work suggests that Highlandism may no longer be the “tartan monster”<sup>82</sup> it once was - and that Scotland’s “haggis” can start to sit more easily alongside the “culture”.<sup>83</sup> It also notes how this once male-dominated movement is increasingly being led by females. Women are heading up Scottish groups and whilst Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor may have been fixed on the idea of a feudal, Jacobite, kilted Scotland, some tartan followers are now looking beyond the ubiquitous pipes and plaids.

One 2015 clan caucus in America included talks on Gaelic culture and Shetland Viking history.<sup>84</sup> Yet despite that, the tartan trappings are never far behind. As one influential US clan group says: “...without Scottish Clans & Families and our oft criticised tartan, bagpipes, musty castles, clan battles and inspiring heroes the national Scottish brand becomes somewhat indistinguishable from countless other nations...”<sup>85</sup> It is an interesting point and this thesis poses the interesting question: should Scots not, in some way, be grateful to Highlandism?

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<sup>82</sup> Nairn, T. (1977/2003). *The break-up of Britain*, p. 150.

<sup>83</sup> Harvie, C. (2000, April 17). Give them culture, not haggis. *New Statesman*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>84</sup> Council of Scottish Clans and Associations. (2015, April 17). *COSCA’s 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Scottish Clan & Family Caucus at Historic Rural Hill April 17-19, 2015*. Retrieved from <http://www.cosca.scot/event-calendar/#!event/2015/4/17/cosca-8217-s-4th-annual-scottish-clan-family-caucus>

<sup>85</sup> Personal papers from COSCA - Proposal for *The Scottish American and Clan Family Center*.

## CHAPTER ONE - 'A BIG HIGHLAND CHEESE': HIGHLANDISM CATCHES HOLD

### Introduction

This chapter will set the scene for 'Highlandism', a phenomenon that took hold in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It was something that saw the whole of Scotland being attached to those emblems normally associated with the Highlands. The country was given a colourful, heroic past which would provide a sop to a manufacturing revolution and address the vexed question of identity. For Scots wanted to feel less 'North British' after the Union and this re-writing of history and adoption of iconic symbols might allow them to be different from their English neighbours whilst posing no threat to a brave new Britain. It is Tom Devine who notes how Highlandism was a product of Union and Empire.<sup>1</sup>

Poetry and literature had a major effect on Highlandism and this chapter examines the influence that writers had on the craze, including the role played by James Macpherson of *Ossian* fame. His lines about an ancient Celtic warrior electrified those being caught up in an emerging Romantic Movement. The Highlander was becoming interesting - and hot on the heels of *Ossian* came the inventor of the historical novel. Walter Scott's works would create a swashbuckling Scotland and encourage growing numbers of tourists who came in search of dramatic landscape and tartan adventure. For Highlandism was seductive and by the end of the eighteenth century a safe neo-Jacobite movement fed by poets like Burns and Hogg was encouraging people to look wistfully back in time.

Meanwhile, Highland regiments were continuing to make tartan fashionable and to boost the image of the kilt-clad warrior. Upper class Highland clubs were springing up and among their more laudable aims was the preservation of the Gaelic language. Yet there was a frivolous side to the Highland fad: the Jacobite 'rebel cloth' was being sported as a wealthy fashion statement. Royalty was fascinated by the craze and a visit to Edinburgh by a kilted king in 1822 would set the seal of approval on tartan.

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<sup>1</sup> T. M. Devine in Peterkin, T. (2003, October 13). Scotland 'a product of British Empire'. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4190304/Scotland-a-product-of-British-Empire.html>

The idea of ‘clanship’ also appealed to those seeking some Walter Scott romance. Scotland’s lairds have been damned for their role in the clearances and for being absentee landlords and now Highlandism could give them status and allow them to be viewed as stylish clan chiefs. It gave the old guard an excuse to be seen as ‘keepers of the kingdom’ whilst lingering animosities against England might be softened by the offer of British titles.

The two Scottish clan chiefs examined here - Sir John MacGregor Murray and his son, Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor - both enjoyed playing the part of ‘tartanned’ lairds. However, this chapter will show how their role in the promotion of Highlandism was not just superficial. Sir John, in particular, championed Scottish culture and in analysing his contribution to the promotion of Gaelic and the preservation of piping, the suggestion is that Highlandism’s intellectual foundations are deeper than critics may have thought.

Although this thesis concerns three women who promoted Highlandism in Victorian times, few ladies played a part in the early ‘tartanisation’ of Scotland. One did it innocently enough: after the ’45 the plaid-clad Flora Macdonald would become a Jacobite heroine. Other ladies, meanwhile, were writing Jacobite poetry and setting tartan fashions. However, early Highlandism was a mostly male-driven phenomenon.

## **“I cannot tell how the truth may be; I say the tale as ’twas said to me”<sup>2</sup>**

Historians have chewed over ‘Highlandism’. Hugh Trevor-Roper calls it “a retrospective invention.”<sup>3</sup> Murray Pittock suggests that the craze of “royalism, Highland dress, militarism, hardihood, physical strength and virility... had little to say of the covenants, mercantilism, industrialisation, the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment or the culture of urban Scotland.”<sup>4</sup> Yet Pittock quotes the poet, Edwin Muir, who reflects on the idea that “people who lose their nationality create a legend to take its place.”<sup>5</sup> To Tom Devine, Highlandism is “an alluring myth for a society searching for an identity amid unprecedented economic and social

<sup>2</sup> Scott, W. (1805). *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto 11, Stanza 22. Retrieved from [https://archive.org/stream/layoflastminstre00scotuoft/layoflastminstre00scotuoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/layoflastminstre00scotuoft/layoflastminstre00scotuoft_djvu.txt)

<sup>3</sup> Trevor-Roper, H. (1983/2003). The invention of tradition: The Highland tradition of Scotland. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition*, pp. 15-42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (2002). The Jacobite cult. In E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 191-208). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>5</sup> Edwin Muir as cited in Pittock, M. G. H. (1991). *The invention of Scotland: The Stuart myth and the Scottish identity, 1638 to the present*. London: Routledge, p. 1.

change.”<sup>6</sup> Michael Lynch labels it a caricature, albeit one that answered a “deeply felt need for some satisfying national identity.”<sup>7</sup> Peter Womack sums it up. Everyone knows the Highlands are romantic: the “bens and glens... purple heather, kilted clansmen, battles long ago, an ancient and beautiful language, claymores and bagpipes and Bonny Prince Charlie - we know all that, and we also know that it’s not real.”<sup>8</sup> It is left to *Scotland - the Brand* to comment on the fact that for something that is *not* real, this image is “persistent and endemic.”<sup>9</sup>

An earlier twentieth century writer had a more stinging name for Highlandism - and a certain nineteenth century figure to blame for it. The journalist, George Scott Moncrieff, claimed that by romanticising the invented aspects of Highland life, Queen Victoria had managed to trivialise the past and ignore Scotland’s social problems. With her Deeside castle firmly in mind, he called it “Balmorality,”<sup>10</sup> a cult, a “deadening slime... a glutinous compound of hypocrisy, false sentiment...”<sup>11</sup> They are strong words and, it will be argued, over-harsh ones.

So how did Highlanders, “bred up in war, or rather robbery,”<sup>12</sup> come to be perched on such a lofty tartan pedestal? James VI considered northern Scots to be “barbarous for the most part”<sup>13</sup> with the islanders “utterly barbarous.”<sup>14</sup> Why would Scotland find itself the “brightest jewel”<sup>15</sup> in a royal crown? What made a queen concur with the view that whilst English peasants had not “a grain of poetry” in them, the Scottish lower orders were “full of it!”<sup>16</sup> When were “Scotch people, Scotch hills, Scotch rivers, Scotch woods... preferable to those of any other nation in the world”?<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999/2000). *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000*. London: Allen Lane, p. 245.

<sup>7</sup> Lynch, M. (1991/2000). *Scotland: A new history*. London: Century, p. 355.

<sup>8</sup> Womack, P. (1989). *Improvement and romance: Constructing the myth of the Highlands*. London: Macmillan, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> McCrone, D., Morris, A., & Kiely R. (1995/1999). *Scotland - the brand: The making of Scottish heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, G. (1932). Balmorality. In D. C. Thomson (ed.,) *Scotland in quest of her youth* (pp. 69-86). London: Oliver and Boyd, p. 86.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Camden’s Britannia* as cited in Stewart, D. W. (1893). *Old and rare Scottish Tartans*. Edinburgh: G. P. Johnson, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> James VI quoted in *Basilikon Doron* as cited in Trevor-Roper, H. (2009). *The invention of Scotland: Myth and history*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 193.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1984/85). *Queen Victoria in her letters and journals: A selection*. (edited by C. Hibbert). New York: Viking. (Letter to the Crown Princess of Prussia, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1871).

<sup>16</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971/1981). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans. (18<sup>th</sup> March 1865).

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Stead, M. J. (1992). *Queen Victoria’s Scotland*. London: Cassell, p. 9.

Celeste Ray talks of “defeat-generated identity,”<sup>18</sup> adding that through the romance of Highlandism “all Scots became defeated Jacobites and Highlanders.”<sup>19</sup> The Highland army may have lost at Culloden, but this colourful band of rebels could be viewed with sympathy.<sup>20</sup> As Michael Fry says, the ’45 brought northern Scotland to view, not least because Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s men were clad in tartan.<sup>21</sup> Allan Macinnes suggests that the aftermath of the battle led to genocide verging on “ethnic cleansing.”<sup>22</sup> Yet in years to come, Highlandism might romanticise the brutality. The poet, Robert Burns, could declare that “Charlie he’s my darling”<sup>23</sup> whilst his ‘Jacobites by Name’ extolled the “heroic strife, famed afar.”<sup>24</sup>

Even a woman could deliver the romantic Jacobite message, albeit innocently. The prince’s rescuer, Flora Macdonald, would become a legend.<sup>25</sup> Captured on canvas by Allan Ramsay in a fetching red plaid she looks every inch the heroic Highland lady.<sup>26</sup> Other females, too, were setting tartan trends. Great ladies dressed in plaided riding habits. The Duchess of Gordon appeared in a tartan dress at a 1791 Drawing Room<sup>27</sup> whilst Lady Murray of Ochtertyre had her furniture covered with the ‘patriot cloth’. Mary Miers calls it a sign of resistance to the Union, albeit it a subtle one.<sup>28</sup>

Like tartan, Jacobitism was increasingly being seen as something of a fashion - and as the decades passed Jacobitism was becoming safer. The nineteenth century beckoned and the aristocratic songwriter, Lady Carolina Nairne, felt able to declare: “Will ye no come back

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<sup>18</sup> Ray, C. (2003). *Southern heritage on display: Public ritual and ethnic diversity within southern regionalism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, p. 259.

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

<sup>20</sup> Daiches, D. (1973). *Charles Edward Stuart: The life and times of Bonnie Prince Charlie*. London: Thames and Hudson, p. 144.

<sup>21</sup> Fry, M. (2005/2006). *Wild Scots: Four hundred years of Highland history*. London: John Murray, p. 182.

<sup>22</sup> Macinnes, A. I. (1996). *Clanship, commerce and the house of Stuart, 1603–1788*. East Linton: Tuckwell, pp.211-212.

<sup>23</sup> Burns, R. (1986). *The complete works of Robert Burns* (edited by J. A. Mackay). Ayrshire: Alloway Publishing, pp. 579 & 457.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Flora MacDonald (1722-1790) in Keay, J. & Keay, J. (2000). *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland*. London: Harper Collins, p. 649.

<sup>26</sup> Ramsay, A. (1713-1784). *Flora Macdonald* [portrait]. Retrieved from <http://www.ashmoleanprints.com/image/658523/allan-r.amsay-1713-1784-flora-macdonald>

<sup>27</sup> Knowles, R. (2013, May 8). Jane Gordon, Duchess of Gordon (c1748-1812) [blog]. *Regency History*. Retrieved from <http://www.regencyhistory.net/2013/05/jane-gordon-duchess-of-gordon-c1748-1812.html>

<sup>28</sup> Miers, M. (2014, August 8). The history of tartan. *Country Life*. Retrieved from <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/history-tartan-60043#sPdqjWH04eh5CZpM.99>

again?”<sup>29</sup> Murray Pittock notes how Jacobite lyricism was becoming acceptable, “as long as it was expressed in sentimental terms.”<sup>30</sup> The ‘Young Pretender’s’ death in 1788 would allow even greater freedom for literary emotion: Jacobite campaigns now being airily described as “adventures.”<sup>31</sup> Now the Borderland poet, James Hogg, could praise the ‘King o’ the Highland hearts’.<sup>32</sup> Even the British king’s sons would be provided with Highland dress and instructed on how to wear it.<sup>33</sup> This was a time when “Stewart became royal, Prince Charles ‘bonnie’ and tartan was just fun.”<sup>34</sup> Yet there were some rebellious undertones. Caroline Bingham suggests that Jacobitism “as a half-secret expression of nationalism was reborn as a romantic cult.”<sup>35</sup>

Tom Devine argues that Highlandism is a product of Union and Empire. “If it hadn’t been for 1707 and the Empire we wouldn’t have had [it].”<sup>36</sup> Devine further suggests how the phenomenon was a way of delivering a “focus for patriotic Scottish feeling”<sup>37</sup> without threatening Union or Empire. Union and Empire had tied both countries together. Yet Scotland still wanted to hold herself apart from England,<sup>38</sup> her people wary of being seen simply as ‘North British’. So, as Peter Womack notes, the south of Scotland “turn[ed] to the Highlands for symbols to maximise its difference.”<sup>39</sup>

These distinctive emblems would prove comforting in an increasingly industrialised age. J.D Mackie gives one example of the rapid expansion in the Scottish textile industry: “...between 1780 and 1822, the annual output of cotton rose from 13,000,000 to 36,000,000 yards.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Lady Carolina Nairne (1776-1845). In J. Keay & J. Keay. *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland* (p. 176). London: Harper Collins. See also Appendix H: ODNB - Oliphant, Carolina, Lady Nairne (1766–1845).

<sup>30</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1994). *Poetry and Jacobite politics in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 224.

<sup>31</sup> Appendix D: PD60/164 - details of a map showing *The Adventures of Prince Charles Stuart in 1745 and 1746*.

<sup>32</sup> James Hogg (1770-1833). In J. Keay & J. Keay. *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland* (p. 518). London: Harper Collins; See James Hogg - *Cam ye by Athol?* [poem] <http://mysongbook.de/msb/songs/c/camyeby.html>; Hughes, G. (1990). *Hogg's verse and drama: A chronological history*. Stirling: James Hogg Society.

<sup>33</sup> Devine, *Scottish nation*, p. 234.

<sup>34</sup> Morris, R. J. (1990). Scotland, 1930-1914: The making of a nation within a nation. In W. H. Fraser & R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and society in Scotland, Vol.2 - 1830-1914* (pp. 1-8). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Bingham, C. (1991/1995). *Beyond the Highland line: Highland history and culture*. London: Constable, p.179.

<sup>36</sup> Devine as cited in Peterkin, *op cit.* p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Finlay, R. J. (1998). Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish identity in the eighteenth century. In D. Broun, R. J. Finlay & M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and identity: The making and remaking of Scotland through the ages* (pp. 143-153). London: John Donald.

<sup>39</sup> Womack, *Improvement and romance*, p. 145.

<sup>40</sup> Mackie, J. D. (1964/1991). *A history of Scotland*. London: Penguin, p. 324.

Progress seemed unstoppable - which was a mixed blessing. Iron and shipbuilding business was booming and providing jobs, yet weavers' wages were falling. Employment in towns and cities was growing, yet factories might be sweat shops whilst other jobs depended more on muscle than on machine: for example, coal might be "dug out by the father and carried to the surface by his wife and children."<sup>41</sup> In some areas it was little more than slave labour. No wonder that those who could afford to do so preferred to look at less gloomy things.

Mary Miers calls the romantic Highland discovery of the late-eighteenth century a period when "literary and artistic-minded travellers came north in search of the Sublime."<sup>42</sup> Among those in search of inspiration was William Wordsworth whose work, *Rob Roy's Grave*, would turn a rough and ready MacGregor outlaw into a near legend.<sup>43</sup> David Stevenson describes how the Lake District poet considered Rob to be "a man taught a primitive morality by nature."<sup>44</sup> The idea suited the Romantic Movement,<sup>45</sup> for this was the cult of the 'Noble Savage' and these "Celtic barbarians who had been... feared as vagabonds... and rebels... gradually acquired the romantic charm of an endangered species."<sup>46</sup>

Yet there was romance and reality in Scotland. In 1786 a French writer arrived at a Highland inn to discover that his hosts had scabies: "...nothing would give you more of an idea of poverty, dirt and squalor."<sup>47</sup> Then there was the actuality of the aftermath of Culloden: making Highlanders enlist in the British army meant would-be Jacobites could take out their frustrations on foreign fields, instead of at home.<sup>48</sup> Between 1756 and 1815 the Highlands and Islands raised 48,300 men for the army - and it was often a one-way ticket.<sup>49</sup> Samuel

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<sup>41</sup> Lynch, M. (ed.). *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 197-199.

<sup>42</sup> Miers, M. (2012, March 7). A Highland paradise. *Country Life*, pp. 46-56. Retrieved from <http://keyassets.timeincuk.net/inspirewp/live/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2014/08/country-life-balmoral-march-7-2012.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> Lynch, *Oxford companion*, p. 362. Clyde, R. D. (1995). *From rebel to hero: The image of the Highlander, 1745-1830*. East Linton: Tuckwell, p. 120. The poem contains lines such as 'Scotland has a thief as good, an outlaw of as daring mood; she has her brave ROB ROY!'

<sup>44</sup> Wordsworth as cited in Stevenson, D. (2004). *The hunt for Rob Roy: The man and the myths*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, p. 272. See also Appendix H: ODNB - MacGregor [later Campbell] Robert (bap. 1671, d. 1734), outlaw and folk hero.

<sup>45</sup> Lenman, B. P. (2001). From the Union of 1707 to the Franchise Reform of 1832. In R. A. Houston & W. W. J. Knox (eds.), *The new Penguin history of Scotland: From the earliest times to the present day* (pp. 276-354). London: Penguin, pp. 341-342.

<sup>46</sup> Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> Scarfe, N. (2001). *To the Highlands in 1786: The inquisitive journey of a young French aristocrat*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 166-167.

<sup>48</sup> Macinnes, *Clanship, commerce and the House of Stuart*, pp. 210-221.

<sup>49</sup> Macinnes, A. I. (1988). Scottish Gaeldom: The first phase of clearance. In T. M. Devine & R. Mitchison (eds.), *People and society in Scotland* (pp. 70-90). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 83. See also Browne, J. (1832).

Johnson describes a Highland regiment that went to America: "...of twelve hundred, only seventy-six survived to see their country again."<sup>50</sup> Yet Highlandism and a Scottish regiment could give a man glamour. A disgraced Jacobite could go from being "faithless traitor to national hero."<sup>51</sup>

The Scottish soldier would become both feared and respected. A Highland charge was a terrifying and theatrical sight.<sup>52</sup> Hew Strachan explains how these military men were allowed to adopt the uniform and weaponry banned to ordinary Scots after the '45. The kilts and pipes that were once considered barbaric were now seen as 'safe' nationalism within the British army: "...like so many self deceptions, they became self-perceptions."<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the Scottish kilt would become a powerful battle symbol for the British. As Michael Fry says, from now on "tartan and the Scottish martial tradition... became synonymous."<sup>54</sup> Even women could get in on this plaided military act. William Donaldson notes how "ladies affected the lofty plumed bonnets and short military coats of the Highland regiments."<sup>55</sup>

Like early Highlandism, though, the kilt was a male preserve and further adornments would appear to adorn his frame: dirks and sporrans, "invented about 1770... powder-horns, the *sgian dubh*, Glengarries, feathered bonnets, shoulder plaids... decorative basket-hilts for swords, silver brooches with crests or jewels, and what not."<sup>56</sup> A kilted Highland soldier was the latest fashion accessory. "Fergy [Sir Ronald Ferguson] has got a regiment - a tip top crack one - one of those beautiful Highland Regiments that were at Brussels, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo,"<sup>57</sup> one M.P. crowed. Vicci Colton describes how this "ideological uniform... the sartorial apparel"<sup>58</sup> of Jacobites was now clothing loyal government troops. She adds that the

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*History of the Highlands, and of the Highland clans.* Glasgow, Fullarton & Co., pp. 132-384, and Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p. 150.

<sup>50</sup> Johnson, S., & Boswell, J. (1785/1987). *A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and the journal of a tour to the Hebrides* (edited by P. Levi). London: Penguin, p. 104.

<sup>51</sup> Devine, T. M. (1994). *Clanship to crofters' war: The social transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 89.

<sup>52</sup> Barnes, R. M., & Allen, C. K. (1956/1969). *The uniforms and history of the Scottish regiments*. London: Seeley Service, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> Strachan, H. (2006). Scotland's military identity. *Scottish Historical Review*, 85(2), 315-332, p. 327.

<sup>54</sup> Fry, M. (2005/2006) *Wild Scots: Four Hundred Years of Highland History*. John Murray, p. 184.

<sup>55</sup> Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen; Aberdeen University Press, p. 92.

<sup>56</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Creevey, M.P. as cited in Henderson, D. M. (1989). *Highland soldier: A social study of the Highland regiments, 1820 – 1920*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Macinnes as cited in Coltman, V. (2010). Party-coloured plaid? Portraits of eighteenth-century Scots in tartan. *Textile History*, 4(2), 182-216, p. 183.

British were aware of the power of the plaid as early as 1746 - so much so, that they banned it.<sup>59</sup> Now, though, as Murray Pittock says, “the tartan of civil threat”<sup>60</sup> could become “the tartan of imperial triumph.”<sup>61</sup>

However, the army was not the only promoter of early Highlandism. In 1778 twenty-five gentlemen in England formed the ‘Highland Society of London’.<sup>62</sup> Its aim was to preserve the dress, music, Celtic language and martial spirit of the Gaels - and to get rid of the law banning kilt-wearing.<sup>63</sup> The group supported Gaelic publications: “...no object could be prosecuted with more zeal and industry.”<sup>64</sup> It proposed to fund Scottish charities, promote Gaelic schools and encourage the art of piping. Indeed, I.F. Grant and Hugh Cheape say it was the first to “revive the old art of *piobaireachd*, or *ceol mor*, which had been slipping into limbo.”<sup>65</sup> However, the ‘Highland Society of London’ was still very much a social organisation with the qualification for membership “not so much the distinction of ‘*Highland Birth*’... but the possession of a ‘*Highland Spirit*’.”<sup>66</sup> It had some no small attraction. Among those queuing up to feel ‘Scotch’ at the end of the eighteenth century were the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Kent.<sup>67</sup>

More aristocratic tartan clubs followed. The ‘Highland Society of Edinburgh/Scotland’ came with bard, piper and Professor of Gaelic - and one of its more laudable aims was to improve living conditions in northern communities.<sup>68</sup> Yet it, too, had a frivolous side with members holding Caledonian feasts where whisky and tartan “transport[ed] the spectator, as if it were by magic, among a new race of people.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1995/2009). *The myth of the Jacobite clans: The Jacobite army in 1745*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 113.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.highlandsocietyoflondon.org/history.php>

<sup>63</sup> Sinclair, J. (1813/2012). *An account of the Highland Society of London from its establishment in 1778 to the commencement of the year 1813*. London: Longman, pp. 3-4.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>65</sup> Grant, I. F., & Cheape, H. (1997). *Periods in Highland history*. London: Shepheard-Walwyn, p. 244.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Donaldson, W. (2000). *The Highland pipe and Scottish society, 1750–1950*. London: Tuckwell Press, p. 65.

<sup>68</sup> Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line*, p. 185.

<sup>69</sup> Clyde, *Rebel to hero*, pp. 34-35 and 132-133; Sinclair, J. (1804). *Observations on the propriety of preserving the dress, the language, the poetry, the music and the customs of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland*. London: Bulmer, p. 15; also quoted in Peter Womack, *Improvement and romance*, p. 46.

These smart groups with their influential supporters had power and in 1782 the hated ‘Disarming Act’ was repealed.<sup>70</sup> A kilt could now be sported by anyone - and it was. The Prince of Wales attended a ball dressed as a ‘Royal Highland Laddie’,<sup>71</sup> whilst one aristocrat covered his body and his writing room with tartan. “I did a reel in the Garb at the Highland Society of London in 1793. Some parvenus seek to share my honour as a Big Highland Cheese,”<sup>72</sup> William Farquharson of Monaltrie mused. It was shaping up to be a colourful, upper-class fashion. However, as Hugh Trevor-Roper points out: “...this apparatus, to which [Scotsmen] ascribe great antiquity, is in fact largely modern.”<sup>73</sup>

To deny a Scotsman his national dress is to stand on dangerous ground. Yet just how authentic is the tartan outfit he sports today? One Victorian writer, Donald William Stewart, maintains that a form of the ‘felie beg’, or ‘little kilt’, was worn before the civil wars of the seventeenth century.<sup>74</sup> However, W.F. Skene, another historian of the time, suggests that the ‘small’ kilt is relatively nouveau<sup>75</sup> - and today, Michael Fry observes that the word ‘kilt’ was not recorded in the English language until 1730, originating in Old Norse, not Gaelic.<sup>76</sup> To add “cultural insult to cultural injury,”<sup>77</sup> Alastair Moffat advises that ‘kilt’ was originally an English verb. Whatever, it seems that the kilt, as we know it, was probably designed around 1745 - and by an Englishman at that.<sup>78</sup>

Tartan, is another much-debated subject. There are claims that it was around in Roman times,<sup>79</sup> but Murray Pittock suggests it was used as “a visible symbol of old and traditional

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<sup>70</sup> Keay & Keay, *Collins encyclopaedia*, p. 791 - “largely due to the efforts of the Highland Society of London, the Proscription was lifted.”

<sup>71</sup> Horn, D. B. (1968). George IV and Highland dress. *Scottish Historical Review*, 47(2), 209-210; Donaldson *op cit.* p. 92; Donaldson, G. (1974/1993). *Scotland: The shaping of a nation*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, p.125.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112, December 8<sup>th</sup> 1815, *op cit.*

<sup>73</sup> Trevor-Roper, *The Highland tradition*, p. 15.

<sup>74</sup> Stewart, D. W. (1893). *Old and rare Scottish tartans*. Edinburgh: G. P. Johnson, p. 17.

<sup>75</sup> Skene, W. F. (1902). *The Highlanders of Scotland* (edited by A. MacBain). London: John Murray/Sentinel Press, pp. 146 & 142.

<sup>76</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 183.

<sup>77</sup> Moffat, A. (2010). *The Highland clans*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 123.

<sup>78</sup> Keay & Keay, *Collins encyclopaedia*, p. 577. See also Dunbar, J. T. (1977). *Highland costume*. Edinburgh: James Thin, pp. 33–34. Dunbar quotes Mr Baillie of Aberiachan whose letter to the *Edinburgh Magazine* in March 1785 explains how the businessman, Thomas Rawlinson, dressed his ironworkers in a form of the ‘felie-beg’, or little kilt.

<sup>79</sup> Earliest depiction of Scottish tartan discovered on Roman statue. (2012, December 4). *The Scotsman*.

Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/earliest-depiction-of-scottish-tartan-discovered-on-roman-statue-1-2674415>

Scotland”<sup>80</sup> since the sixteenth century whilst Mary Miers reminds us that “finely made and richly coloured tartans were the Highland equivalent of Renaissance fashion at a time of great change and cultural flowering.”<sup>81</sup> J. Telfer Dunbar talks of a fine collection of pre-1745 tartans<sup>82</sup> whilst Donald William Stewart describes the seventeenth century Highland army serving under Viscount Dundee: from the shoulder of Keppoch “hung the tartan plaid.”<sup>83</sup>

Yet today’s ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ suggests that *clan* tartans have only been in existence since around 1718.<sup>84</sup> So has Highlandism just been peddling a ‘Great Clan Tartan Myth’? Lt. Colonel Haldane, the military historian who coined that phrase, maintained that “...a man probably wore what his fancy chose or his purse dictated.”<sup>85</sup> Haldane quoted the Gaelic scholar, Campbell of Islay, who insisted that whilst tartans are very old, “uniform *clan* tartans are no older than clan regiments.”<sup>86</sup> He may be right. When Scotland’s lairds were asked about their clan tartans in 1815, some said they didn’t have one whilst others sent vague patterns. As Alexander Robertson of Struan admitted at the time: “...as far as I have been able to discover, *they wore no uniform garb.*”<sup>87</sup>

Highlandism would come to the rescue. It would create a plethora of plaids and the work of the Sobieski brothers in promoting a tartanned Scotland is discussed more fully in chapter two of this thesis. Yet Highlandism would do more than clothe a body. In 1759 a Highland schoolmaster began publishing sensational verses. James Macpherson claimed to have collected poetry about *Ossian*, a third century Highland hero.<sup>88</sup> This ancient bard’s “virtuous

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<sup>80</sup> Pittock, ‘The Jacobite Cult’, p. 193.

<sup>81</sup> Miers, ‘History of Tartan’.

<sup>82</sup> Dunbar, J. T. (1949). Early tartans. In H. F. McLintock (ed.), *Old Highland dress and tartans* (2nd ed.). Dundalk: Dundalgan, p. 65.

<sup>83</sup> *The Grameid: an historic poem descriptive of the campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689*, by James Philip of Almerieclose, 1691. Translated by the Rev. Alexander D. Murdoch, F.S.A. Scot. for the Scottish History Society, 1888, quoted in Stewart, *op cit.* p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> Scobie, W. (n.d.). Tartana: A case for clan tartans. *Tartans Authority*. Retrieved from <http://www.tartansauthority.com/resources/archives/the-archives/scobie/a-case-for-clan-tartans/>

<sup>85</sup> Haldane, M. M. (1931). The great clan tartan myth. *The Scots Magazine*, 16(1), pp. 44-51.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53 - 8th and 18th January, 14th February, 5th December 1815, quoted in Michael Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 180.

<sup>88</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Macpherson, James (1736–1796), writer. See also Bingham, C. (1991/1995) *Beyond the Highland line, Highland history and culture*, London, Constable, p.177, See also *op cit.* Devine, 1999, p.242.

martial exploits”<sup>89</sup> were set in a Celtic world where hands gripped trusty swords and “lightening [poured] from sides of steel.”<sup>90</sup>

According to Tom Devine, Macpherson’s work caught a mood of “massive economic, social and political change, which saw ‘primitive’ societies possessing virtues which modern societies had lost.”<sup>91</sup> Katherine Haldane Grenier suggests it proved that uncultured Scots could be natural poets “in a way that members of more ‘civilized’ societies could not be.”<sup>92</sup> Yet Arthur Herman reminds us that *Ossian*’s cult of the ‘Noble Savage’ has become synonymous with “literary hoax”<sup>93</sup> and Hugh Trevor-Roper goes further: all Macpherson did was to turn Irish ballads into a Highland ‘epic’.<sup>94</sup> Not everyone is so critical of the man’s work. Murray Pittock admits that whilst Macpherson may have been written off as “a fake and a forger,”<sup>95</sup> he did still “draw heavily on existing poetic traditions.”<sup>96</sup>

If a Highlander began the literary job of selling Scotland, a Borderer would continue the task. Walter Scott’s telling of history might not always be accurate, but why let the facts get in the way of a good story? Who would not fall for a place where stags were noble, for a land of “purple peaks and flinty spires”?<sup>97</sup> Poems like *The Lady of the Lake* were making the midge-infested waters of Loch Katrine a must-see.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, John Byrom suggests it was Scott who transformed the Trossachs into “recognisably the first literary landscape in the sense of Hardy’s Wessex or Bronte country.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Cowan, E. J., Finlay, R. J., & Paul, W. (2000). *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a nation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 66.

<sup>90</sup> Macpherson, J., & Laing, M. (1805/1996). *The poems of Ossian, etc. Containing the poetical works of James Macpherson in prose and rhyme, with notes and illustrations by Malcolm Laing*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 13-14.

<sup>91</sup> Devine, 1994, *Clanship to crofters’ war*, p. 96.

<sup>92</sup> Grenier, K. H. (2005). *Tourism and identity in Scotland, 1770 – 1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 52-53.

<sup>93</sup> Herman, A. (2003/2006). *The Scottish enlightenment: The Scots’ invention of the modern world*. Fourth Estate, p. 282.

<sup>94</sup> Trevor-Roper, 1983/2003, ‘Invention of Scotland’, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1991). *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart myth and the Scottish identity, 1638 to the Present*, London: Routledge, p. 73.

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

<sup>97</sup> *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto First, X1, V, X11 in Scott, W. (1810/1890). *The poetical works of Sir Walter Scott*. London: Frederick Warne, pp. 124-126.

<sup>98</sup> Davidson, N. (2000). *The origins of Scottish nationhood*. London: Pluto, pp. 133-134.

<sup>99</sup> Byrom, J. D. (1997). *The lure of the tour: Literary reaction to travel in Scotland, 1760–1833*. PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen.

Scott's *Waverley*, set during the '45, portrayed Highlanders as romantic fighters whilst the novel, *Rob Roy*, promoted the high-minded Highland message - often at the expense of Scots living further south.<sup>100</sup> Rob's wife, Helen, has the manners of a princess. Her speech is "graceful, flowing," unlike the "vulgarity, which we naturally attach to the Lowland Scottish."<sup>101</sup> Scott's characters could even start to talk in their native tongue. David Hume might have produced a list of 'Scotch' words to avoid as they grated on the English ear.<sup>102</sup> Yet with the emphasis now on "romance... adventure, and the power of the human spirit,"<sup>103</sup> 'Scotticisms' might be seen as endearing. Burns had been a master of them and now they were peppering Scott's work, too.<sup>104</sup>

According to Kate Flint, not even Byron had a greater influence on European literary, dramatic and artistic culture than Walter Scott.<sup>105</sup> George IV gave him a knighthood and Queen Victoria would be gripped by the stories that "portray the character of the Highlanders so truly."<sup>106</sup> Iain Moncreiffe sums it up. The Abbotsford author put Scotland on the international map, converting "squalid feuds into romantic episodes."<sup>107</sup> Yet not everyone liked his work. One female aristocrat of the time that Scott was writing considered the opening scenes of *Waverley* to be "intolerably dull and lengthy."<sup>108</sup> Importantly, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus had a handle on his promotion of Highlandism. "The whole idea given of the Highlands [is] so utterly at variance with truth."<sup>109</sup>

William Ferguson describes the author's work thus: "...his muse fed on clanship, patriarchal attachments and military prowess, all the values of a 'primitive society' that were so different

<sup>100</sup> Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832), novelist and poet in Keay & Keay, *Highland Drove*, pp. 849-851. See also Sutherland, J. (1995). *The life of Walter Scott: A critical biography*. London: Blackwell, pp. 172-175; and Daiches, D. (1971/1973). *Sir Walter Scott and his world*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 95-98.

<sup>101</sup> Scott, W. (1817/1831). *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, p. 313.

<sup>102</sup> *The new Penguin history of Scotland: From the earliest times to the present day*, (2001). Eds. R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox. London: Penguin, p. 329.

<sup>103</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2011). Historians. In M. Lynch (ed.), *Oxford companion to Scottish history* (pp. 302-310). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 307.

<sup>104</sup> Burns, R. (1993). *The complete poetical work of Robert Burns* (edited by J. A. Mackay). Catrine: Alloway - 'auld lang syne', (p. 341) - 'here awa, there awa, wandering Willie', (p. 480), 'wee sleekit, cow'rin, tim'rous beastie', (p. 131) See also Scott, W. (1815/1831). *Guy Mannering*. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, p. 218 - "if I meant ye wrang, couldna I clod ye ower that craig", and "wad man ken how ye cam by your end."

<sup>105</sup> Flint, K. (2000). Literature, music and the theatre. In H. C. G. Matthew (ed.), *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 241.

<sup>106</sup> Appendix C: Vol.36, p. 98: 14<sup>th</sup> October 1853. See also Daiches, *op cit.* p. 95. See also Robertson, F. (1997). *Lives of the great romantics: Scott*. London: Pickering & Chatto, p. 25.

<sup>107</sup> Montgomery-Massingberd, H. (ed.). (1986). *Lord of the dance: A Moncreiffe miscellany*. London: Debrett's Peerage, p. 172.

<sup>108</sup> Grant, E. (1898/1972). *Memoirs of a Highland lady, 1797-1827*. London: John Murray, p. 245.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

from those of the capitalist industrialist society that was painfully emerging in the Lowlands.”<sup>110</sup> Murray Pittock calls Scott a “seductive historian,”<sup>111</sup> but adds that the “Scotland” he created “has been held to be ersatz and false.”<sup>112</sup> Pittock suggests that the novelist de-politicised Scotland’s past, echoing Hugh MacDiarmid’s claim that “Scott’s defeatist interpretation had made of the Forty-Five a corrupt national symbol.”<sup>113</sup> Yet he also discusses how Jacobitism was not just a creation of nineteenth-century romantics. As Ian Bradley notes of Pittock’s book, *The Invention of Scotland*: “...adulation of the Stuarts, amounting to a quasi-religious movement which drew on Christian and early Celtic symbolism, reached back well into the seventeenth century.”<sup>114</sup>

Linda Colley’s charge is that that the Abbotsford author “romanticise[d] and sanitise[d] the glens.”<sup>115</sup> Andrew Marr complains that Scott’s “waxwork of Scotland therefore wore tartan and stood in a glen.”<sup>116</sup> Or even on a mountain: Ian Zaczek relates how in 1815 members of the ‘Highland Mountain Club of Lochgoilhead’ scaled the hills in Highland dress and made Gaelic toasts at the top before descending to the wail of the pipes.<sup>117</sup>

Colin Kidd argues that Whig historians rejected Scotland’s past and turned the country into a “historyless” nation, because only “English history” could explain British institutions.<sup>118</sup> The sops to this re-working were presumably ‘tartan and shortbread’ - which do not please everyone. Magnus Linklater quotes both Colin Kidd and T.C. Smout in his article, *What does it mean to feel Scottish?* “In popular culture, Scottish history today appears as the stuff of heritage industry, colourful and episodic, but basically not serious. It is a poor foundation on which to identify a Scottish nation with a confident and empowered Scottish state.”<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ferguson, W. (1998). *The identity of the Scottish nation: An historic quest*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 313.

<sup>111</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. *The invention of Scotland*, p. 85.

<sup>112</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. *The Jacobite cult*, pp. 84-90.

<sup>113</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. *The invention of Scotland*, p. 90.

<sup>114</sup> Bradley, I. (1991) The invention of Scotland /Murray Pittock; Scotland revisited /Jenny Wormald & Scotland: A new history (Michael Lynch (book reviews). *History Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.historytoday.com/ian-bradley/invention-scotland-scotland-revisited-scotland-new-history>

<sup>115</sup> Colley, L. (1992/1996). *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707-1837*. New York: Yale University Press, p. 15.

<sup>116</sup> Marr, A. (1992/2013) *The battle for Scotland*: London: Penguin, pp. 26-27.

<sup>117</sup> Zaczek, I. (2005). *The history of tartan: The evocative story of the famous cloth of Scotland, and of the myths, legends and stirring history that are worn through it*. London: Southwater, p. 67.

<sup>118</sup> Kidd, C. (1993). *Subverting Scotland’s past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>119</sup> Colin Kidd and T. C. Smout, quoted in Linklater, M. (2013, December 25). What does it mean to feel Scottish? *Scottish Review*.

Yet some financial good was emerging from this so-called ‘heritage’, even in those early days. R.W. Butler describes how Walter Scott “put money into the hands of Scottish hotel keepers”<sup>120</sup> whilst Katherine Haldane Grenier suggests that the author became the country’s “foremost tourist guide.”<sup>121</sup> Indeed, Thomas Cook started his Scottish trips in 1846 because of Walter Scott and a royal connection to the country.<sup>122</sup> In the 1760s there were seven tour books on Scotland. By the 1820s there were fifty-three - with *women* now selling the Highlands.<sup>123</sup> Kenneth McNeil points to the number of travelogues being written by ladies in the late-eighteenth century. They include Dorothy Wordsworth’s travels in northern Scotland and Anne MacVicar Grant’s *Letters from the Mountains* which give us such tempting lines such as: “...tis wild without being savage; woody, but not gloomy...”<sup>124</sup>

However, it was Walter Scott’s rollicking tales of adventure that would encourage tourists who came in search of a “Highland, Gaelic universe of the past.”<sup>125</sup> His works were seductive - and even if you could not come to the Highlands in person, Judith Flanders describes how the Highlands could always come to you with a variety of ‘Scotch’ shows being performed in England: “...two theatrical productions at Sadler’s Wells... had Fingal as their subject.”<sup>126</sup> Scotland was becoming a salesman’s delight, but the Bard of Abbotsford cannot be totally blamed for the commercialisation: as Alistair Durie says of Scott and tourism, “he did not create it, anymore than he created Romanticism on which his work fed.”<sup>127</sup>

These curious visitors also came in search of chiefs and clans, for they, too, were being fed into the Highlandism equation. Yet after the ’45, this seemed to be a bland affair. As Samuel Johnson noted with regret on his 1773 Hebridean tour, the days had gone when a chieftain

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<sup>120</sup> Butler, R. W. (1985). Evolution of tourism in the Scottish Highlands. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 (3), 371-391, p. 375, also cited in Byrom, *op cit*.

<sup>121</sup> Grenier, K. H. (2005). *Tourism and identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 53.

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

<sup>123</sup> Crawford, J., Ferguson, L., & Watson, K. (2010). *Victorian Scotland*. Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, p. 116. See also Nenadic, S. (1999). Romanticism and the urge to consume in the early nineteenth century. In M. Berg & H. Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and luxury: Consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850* (pp. 208-227). Manchester: Manchester University, p. 215. See also Flanders, J. (2006/2007). *Consuming passions: Leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper Perennial, p. 220.

<sup>124</sup> Letter to Miss Reid, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1773, Fort William (Letter IX) in Grant, A. M. (1807). *Letters from the mountains: Being the real correspondence of a lady between the years 1773 and 1807*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme.

<sup>125</sup> Macleod, J. (1996/1997). *Highlanders: A history of the Gaels*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 244.

<sup>126</sup> Flanders, *Consuming passions*, p. 219.

<sup>127</sup> Durie, A. (1992). Tourism in Victorian Scotland: The case of Abbotsford. *Scottish Economic & Social History*, 12(1), 42-54. p. 48. Also quoted in McCrone et al., *op cit*. p. 60.

“walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling.”<sup>128</sup> His companion, James Boswell, was equally dismayed when they bumped into a local laird. They had expected to find Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat drinking whisky and “roast[ing] oxen whole.”<sup>129</sup> Instead, he told them he did not carry many arms because they would rust.<sup>130</sup> The Eton-educated chieftain had obviously been “tamed into insignificance.”<sup>131</sup> The day was “little better than a blank.”<sup>132</sup> It got worse: when the travellers met the Maclean laird, he asked them to pray with him.<sup>133</sup>

Johnson mused on the change: “...the clans retain little now of their original character; their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed... and their reverence for their chiefs abated.”<sup>134</sup> Clan loyalty, it seemed, had gone elsewhere. Boswell noted how “I find every where amongst them a high opinion of the virtues of the King now upon the throne, and an honest disposition to be faithful subjects.”<sup>135</sup> Yet a French writer, also in Scotland at roughly the same time, tells a different story: “...these simple inhabitants maintain steadfastly the same fidelity and warmth for their ancient chiefs. They speak of the present king of England only with contempt.”<sup>136</sup> Whatever the view, Highland visitors like Johnson and Boswell were searching for the past - and it is the same today. Twenty-first century tourists can often come to Scotland for its temporal, not its geographical location.

It is small wonder that Johnson and Boswell found few sabre-rattling lairds. John Macleod notes that by the 1760s three-fifths of Scottish chiefs had “to all intents and purposes”<sup>137</sup> left the Highlands. These absentee landlords “maintained fine houses in Edinburgh or London... and increasingly they viewed their ancestral lands... as a source of cash to squander.”<sup>138</sup> Macleod also accuses these “Highland princes”<sup>139</sup> of no longer speaking Gaelic, a view discussed later in this chapter. However, even Samuel Johnson had to admit that as

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<sup>128</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 97.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>136</sup> Scarfe, *To the Highlands*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>137</sup> Macleod, *No great mischief*, p. 185.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

Scotland's lairds "gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will divest themselves of the little that remains."<sup>140</sup> Life in the Highlands, once a structure of "communal, tribal, feudal and commercial relations,"<sup>141</sup> was being replaced by a need to make money from the land.

This chapter will now look at two clan chiefs as they relate to Highlandism. It happens that they are both MacGregors and are the father and grandfather of one of the female subjects of this thesis. For MacGregor history lends itself more than most to Highlandism: a family descended from ancient Scottish kings, yet one that never quite rose to the lofty motto of 'My Tribe is Royal'.<sup>142</sup> No, this outlawed tribe was better fitted to the title of 'the MacEagh', the 'Children of the Mist' - or, as one historian less romantically translates it, the 'Fog Folk'.<sup>143</sup>

"Of old a warlike race,"<sup>144</sup> in 1602 MacGregors in Argyll and Perthshire were said to have murdered 80 Buchanans and stolen 600 cattle, 800 sheep and 280 horses.<sup>145</sup> Loathed by the powers that be, they were faithfully followed by their own. "In their days of trial no men had more occasion for support than the old chiefs and chieftains of the MacGregors."<sup>146</sup> These fiery folk were perfect for folklore and it is Walter Scott who embroiders their role in a bloody battle in 1603. Glenfruin was a massacre, yet the novelist writes about the clash as if it were a rip-roaring tale. "Passions were eager,"<sup>147</sup> he says - whilst the quarrel that started the trouble began on a "very trifling subject."<sup>148</sup>

The story goes that two MacGregor men were refused food and shelter by the rival Clan Colquhoun, so they killed a lamb, but were caught and executed.<sup>149</sup> This was a serious breach of Highland hospitality and someone had to answer for the "horrible and monstrous

<sup>140</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 97.

<sup>141</sup> Womack, *Improvement and romance*, p. 115.

<sup>142</sup> The motto, 'Royal is my Race' appears in several history books. Iain Moncreiffe calls it "Royal is my Blood" in Moncreiffe, I. (1967/1977). *The Highland clans*. London. Barrie & Rockliff, p. 209.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* See also Burke, J. B. (1914). *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British Empire* (106th ed.) London: Harrison. [Also known as Burke's Peerage] p. 1083.

<sup>144</sup> Stewart of Garth, D. (1822/1977). *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland: Vol.2*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 378.

<sup>145</sup> Dodgshon, R. A. (1998). *From chiefs to landlords: Social and economic change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493-1820*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 87.

<sup>146</sup> Stewart of Garth, *Sketches*, p. 374.

<sup>147</sup> Both Scott and Douglas are quoted in MacGregor's account of the Battle of Glenfruin in MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898). *History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections*. Edinburgh: William Brown, pp. 279-300.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

barbary.”<sup>150</sup> Clan Gregor went on to massacre the Colquhouns, the MacGregor laird was caught and hanged and a decree followed: “...the whole tribe to be denounced rebels.”<sup>151</sup> Dogs now tracked outlawed MacGregor men whilst their women were branded on the face with a hot iron.<sup>152</sup> As David Stevenson says, killing a MacGregor was a “service to the crown in the name of law and order.”<sup>153</sup> Some of those being hunted changed their names. Twenty-first century ‘Clan Gregor Society’ DNA research seems to confirm that certain Drummonds and Stewarts may have MacGregor roots.<sup>154</sup> The legendary Rob Roy, today enveloped by “legends and tartan flummery,”<sup>155</sup> took to using his mother’s name of Campbell.

The proscriptions lasted well into the next century. “If the McGregors continue dispersed as they are they can expect no more than to be a nameless people,”<sup>156</sup> one clansman warned in 1745. By now the clan was preparing to support the Jacobite cause and this was a chance to shine: throwing their lot in with Prince Charles Edward Stuart might restore their “ancient wealth, power, and reputation... I therefore beg that you be pleased to Raise as many of the name... and to march them to the Army in what manner you please.”<sup>157</sup> With few guns at their disposal the MacGregors improvised at the battle of Prestonpans. Using scythes attached to poles “they cut the legs of the horses in two and their riders through the middle of their bodies.”<sup>158</sup> After winning the fight the prince is said to have gathered the MacGregor laird in his arms and given his men bread and wine.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* p. 299. See also Douglas, R. (1798). *The baronage of Scotland: Containing an historical and genealogical account of the gentry of that kingdom*. Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, p. 499. This work suggests the MacGregors killed 200 men at Glenfruin. Note: modern-day historians have challenged Douglas’s work. Dr Martin MacGregor calls it “a piece of sustained fiction, marred only by the occasional intrusion of fact” - MacGregor, M. D. W. (1989). *A political history of Clan Gregor before 1571*. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, p. 23.

<sup>151</sup> Douglas, *The Baronage of Scotland*, p. 499. See also contemporary accounts - e.g. Rennie, J. A. (1960/1961). *The Scottish people: Their clans, families and origins*. London: Hutchinson, p. 161. See also MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898). *History of the Clan Gregor*. Edinburgh: William Brown - “they nor none of their posteritie suld call thame selffis Gregour or McGregoure thair efter under the payne of deade,” (p. 301), and “the name of Gregor or MacGregor was for ever abolished.” (p. 309).

<sup>152</sup> Moncreiffe, pp. 209-210. See also Appendix D: PD60/678, 27<sup>th</sup> March 1830. See also MacGregor, *op cit.* “...to mark the wives with a key upon the face.” (p. 383).

<sup>153</sup> Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy*, p. 5.

<sup>154</sup> MacGregor, R. (2005, September). MacGregor DNA Project: Where are we now? *The Clan Gregor Society*. Retrieved from <http://www.clangregor.com/macgregor-dna-project-4/> and discussion with Richard MacGregor.

<sup>155</sup> Stevenson, *op cit.* p. xi. See also Way of Plean, G., & Squire, R. (eds.) (1994). *Scottish clan and family encyclopaedia*. London: Harper Collins, p. 221.

<sup>156</sup> John MacGregor to Gregor McGregor, or Murray, of Coinneachan, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1745 in MacGregor, A. G. M. (1901). *History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections: Vol.2*. Edinburgh: William Brown, p. 383.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> Chevalier Johnstone’s *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, as cited in MacGregor, 1901, *op cit.* p. 374.

<sup>159</sup> MacGregor, 1901, *History*, p. 368.

Deeside MacGregors fought at Culloden, but the main body of Clan Gregor was busy elsewhere, being engaged in harrying English forces on the Scottish east coast.<sup>160</sup> These men survived the slaughter, yet they would still pay for their loyalty to the Jacobite cause. As the prince fled, the MacGregor chief was taken in chains to Edinburgh castle.<sup>161</sup> Like others, he had “embarked in the cause of his hereditary Sovereign because he believed it to be his duty, and although he suffered severely in fortune, his loyalty ennobled the sacrifice.”<sup>162</sup> This quote is a romantic explanation, an example of Highlandism, from one of his female descendants whose story this thesis will follow in later chapters. The reality is that the MacGregor laird’s house was razed to the ground and his heirs fled for their lives.<sup>163</sup> Robert Douglas’s 1798 *Baronage* claims the family was offered a pardon if they would swear loyalty to the king. Word allegedly went back that they would rather “dy with the characters of honest men, than live in infamy.”<sup>164</sup> It is a good story - and one that feeds Highlandism. The truth is that another hot-headed clan would bite the dust.<sup>165</sup>

A nephew of the MacGregor chief was born in the year of the '45 and taken south to England. John Murray as he was called, for reasons of safety, was brought up in Jersey.<sup>166</sup> He would go on to work as a clerk in a London office before joining other Highland exiles in the Indian army in 1770.<sup>167</sup> David Cannadine notes how fighting was the “aristocratic profession par excellence”<sup>168</sup> and it was Walter Scott himself who declared that “India is the corn chest

<sup>160</sup> According to the 2016 ‘Clan Gregor Society’ historian, Peter Lawrie, MacGregors were sent to Sutherland to harry the pro-Hanoverian Earl of Loudoun’s forces. Lawrie, P. (2006). *The Clan Gregor in the last Jacobite rising of 1745-46*. Retrieved from <http://www.glendiscovery.com/macgregor45.htm> See also Appendix D: PD60/44 - *Duncan MacGregor’s Journal of the Clan MacGregor - Transactions in 1745* - “the next day we got the melancholy news that the Battle of Culloden was fought & that we lost.”

<sup>161</sup> Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 505. The claim is that Glencarnock was taken to Edinburgh castle where he broke the legs of an English officer who boasted that no man in Scotland could wrestle him. See also MacGregor, 1901, *History*. quoting from the *Scots Magazine* - “they had all lain in Edinburgh Castle since 1746 on suspicion of treason” - p. 388.

<sup>162</sup> MacGregor, 1901, *History*, p. 389.

<sup>163</sup> Appendix D: PD60/44 - Transcript of *Scots Magazine* report. See Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*. p. 505. Again, the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ historian says MacGregors returned to find their homes burnt to the ground - Lawrie, *op cit.*

<sup>164</sup> Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 505.

<sup>165</sup> It is interesting to compare the Highland MacGregors with the Borderland Armstrong reivers. See Fraser, G. M. (1971/1990). *The steel bonnets: The story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*. London: Barrie & Jenkin, pp. 374-8. Documents in the ‘Clan Armstrong Trust’ Museum at Langholm show the Armstrongs went down fighting and lost both lands and lives.

<sup>166</sup> Burke, *Genealogic and heraldic Dictionary*. p. 1803. See also Appendix F: MacGregor Papers, *Sir Evan and his Father, Family Book*, p. 3. The current MacGregor clan chief says his family took the name ‘Murray’, as their lands were rented from the Duke of Atholl.

<sup>167</sup> Burke, *Genealogical and heraldic dictionary*, p. 1803. John Murray became the army’s Auditor-General in Bengal.

<sup>168</sup> Cannadine, D. (1994). *Aspects of aristocracy: Grandeur and decline in modern Britain* New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 22.

for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send our black cattle to the south.”<sup>169</sup> Niall Ferguson describes how of 116 candidates of a Bengal officer corps recruited in 1782, “fifty-six were Scots.”<sup>170</sup> Andrew Marr underlines the importance of ‘tartanism’ in the heyday of the Empire. “It helped to draw the teeth of Scottish nationalism... letting Scots go forth and enrich themselves as an exotic but familiar British tribe.”<sup>171</sup>

There in India, John Murray’s “great prudence, perseverance and sagacity”<sup>172</sup> soon attracted the attention of superiors. He rose to the rank of Colonel, before becoming Auditor-General of the Bengal Army.<sup>173</sup> Like others, this driven Scotsman was a product of the Empire and “Tory Highlandism”<sup>174</sup> that J.E. Cookson refers to in his work on the Napoleonic Wars. Cookson calls tartan and the military “Tory contrivances”<sup>175</sup> - and tartan politics were certainly being woven into John Murray’s very British army life.

This was someone who was deeply loyal to crown and country. Yet, at heart, he was a Highlander - and one who “preached and practised economy,”<sup>176</sup> at that. John Murray produced “a system of official military [bookkeeping] which bears no example in European armies.”<sup>177</sup> In short, he is credited with inventing the Indian army’s first proper system of accounting. This grasp of finance would no doubt confirm the Duke of Wellington’s view that whilst the Irish were happy in a wine country and the English liked their roast beef, “the Scotch were pleased when the money arrived.”<sup>178</sup>

By the 1780s Murray had saved enough money to return to Scotland and buy a small estate. Lanrick Castle was a crenelated pile near Doune, surrounded by those all-important acres.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Lord Montagu, quoted in Cain, A. M. (1986). *The corn chest for Scotland: Scots in India*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, p. 7. See also Devine, T. M. (2003/2004). *Scotland’s empire: The origins of the global diaspora*, Penguin, p. 251.

<sup>170</sup> Ferguson, N. (2003/2004). *Empire: How Britain made the modern world*. London: Allen Lane, p. 39.

<sup>171</sup> Marr, *Battle for Scotland*, p. 28.

<sup>172</sup> Appendix F: MacGregor Papers, *Sir Evan and his father, family book*, p. 3.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* See also Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary*, p. 1803.

<sup>174</sup> Cookson, J. E. (1999). The Napoleonic Wars, military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the early nineteenth century. *Scottish Historical Review*, 78(1), pp. 60-75.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> Appendix F: MacGregor Papers. A letter from a nephew to Miss MacGregor, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1905 quoting Philippart’s East India military calendar.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> Appendix C: Vol.12, p. 332: 19<sup>th</sup> December 1836 - Queen Victoria relating a story about Wellington.

<sup>179</sup> Appendix D: PD60/829 - Sir John MacGregor Murray’s instructions for his son’s future in the event of his death; PD60/238 - Lanrick Estate sale details; Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 3.

James Porter sees Highlandism as linked to land ownership - and he is right.<sup>180</sup> Possessing territory was vital for British aristocratic standing. In fact, it was so necessary that a future Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, would be given 750 acres to make him politically respectable.<sup>181</sup> John *MacGregor* Murray, as he daringly started to call himself, now had a decent acreage of his own - and he could also feel safer about using his real name, although it would take another two decades for a royal decree to *officially* allow the use of 'MacGregor' again.<sup>182</sup>

In the early 1790s John MacGregor Murray was recognised as 18th chief of Clan Gregor, with 598 MacGregors from Inverness to Glasgow supporting the move.<sup>183</sup> This in itself is interesting, as it shows Scotland's clansmen harking back to the old order. John MacGregor Murray was also made a baronet<sup>184</sup> - and whilst this might be the lowest honour in the aristocratic pecking order, the now 'Sir John' could still feel superior, for the title was a British one. Yet another upper class Scot was now firmly tied to England, joining the likes of Edmonstone of Duntreath, created a baronet in 1774, and Sinclair of Ulbster, honoured in 1786. There were more. Colquhoun of Luss was made a baronet in 1786 with Anstruther of Anstruther being honoured in 1798. Stewart of Athenree was brought into the fold in 1803, Ogilvy-Wedderburn in 1803 and Gordon-Cumming in 1804.<sup>185</sup>

David Cannadine notes the amalgamation of the "inferior" Scottish peerage into the new "supra-national British nobility."<sup>186</sup> Like Highlandism the honours system was a way of

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<sup>180</sup> Porter, J. (1998). The folklore of Northern Scotland: Five discourses on cultural representation. *Folklore*, 109(1-2), 1-14, p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> May, T. (1987/1994). *An economic and social history of Britain, 1760-1970*. London: Longman, p. 70.

<sup>182</sup> Appendix D: PD60/48 - 1774/5 - Act of Parliament rescinds the Acts against the name MacGregor; PD60/885 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1822 - license permitting Sir Evan MacGregor to use the name. See also Lenman, B. (1984/1995). *The Jacobite clans of the Great Glen, 1650-1784*. London: Methuen, Scottish Cultural Press, p.214.

<sup>183</sup> Appendix D: PD60/896, including 1787 copy of Bond of Chieftainry in favour of Sir John MacGregor Murray and the list of men who supported Sir John's right to the chiefship; PD60/48 - copy of declaration acknowledging Sir John Murray MacGregor Bart, Chief of Clan Gregor; PD60/646 - 6<sup>th</sup> August 1794 - letters regarding Sir John MacGregor Murray's right to the Chieftainship. See also Burke *op cit.* p. 1803.

<sup>184</sup> MacGregor of MacGregor of Lanrick was created a baronet in July 1795, no. 434 in The Standing Council of the Baronetage. (2006). *Roll of the Baronets: As authorized by royal warrant*. Epson: The Author, p. 35. See also Appendix D: PD60/871 - Patent of Baronetcy, 1795.

<sup>185</sup> The Standing Council of the Baronetage *op cit.* nos. 355, 403, 404, 447, 470, 473 & 475.

<sup>186</sup> Cannadine, *op cit.* notes the increase in the number of honours bestowed at this time. Between 1700 and 1775 there were only two new peerages a year on average. Between 1776 and 1830 some 209 UK peerages were created. Cannadine (pp. 29-30) details Thompson's *English landed society*; see also Beckett, J. V. (1986). *The aristocracy in England, 1660-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell, and, Richards, G. C. (1928). The creation of peers recommended by the Younger Pitt. *The American Historical Review*, 34(1), 47-54. Michael McCahill refers to

neutralising influential Scots who might have more than a comfortable touch of nationalist fervour about them. Mark Bence-Jones and Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd point out that the increase in the British aristocracy was due to the high number of Scots being ennobled - and it was not just the old school being honoured. "They included great industrialists like the Tennants and the Colvilles, as well as... the Jardines. Eminent Scottish physicians like Sir James Reid and Sir Andrew Clark founded dynasties in the baronetage."<sup>187</sup> Bence-Jones and Montgomery-Massingberd also make the point that self-made Scots were assimilated into the aristocracy more quickly than self-made Englishmen, "perhaps because so many Scots were cadets of old aristocratic families."<sup>188</sup>

Sir John MacGregor Murray now had a castle, a title and a chiefship - and his followers signed an address of welcome. "Lead us at this Awful Crisis, when our Country, our Lives, and Property... are menaced by foreign Arms..."<sup>189</sup> With France seen as a real threat Sir John planned to offer the government 500 fighting MacGregors, but could he find them? As the nineteenth century dawned, Scotland's clansmen appeared demoralised. "It will require much to rekindle the martial spirit of our ancestors, which has, unfortunately, been systematically broken down - we were so long degraded by the privation of our arms and dress, and so much unmanned by being converted into manufacturers,"<sup>190</sup> he told a colleague. Fortunately, Highlandism helped to stir some clan spirit and between 1759 and 1799 around thirty Fencible Regiments with chiefly names like MacLeod, Fraser and Glengarry were raised in Scotland for the defence of the United Kingdom.<sup>191</sup> Sir John's group, the 'Royal Clan Alpine Regiment of Fencible Infantry', was sent to Ireland in 1799.<sup>192</sup> John Prebble notes the irony of it being formed to protect the grandson of a king Sir John's father had fought to unseat.<sup>193</sup>

Yet if Sir John was a military man, he was also a scholar - and this is important, as it shows there was more to this clan chief than plaid and bagpipes. Sir John may have claimed some of the tartan trappings, but he took his Scottish duties seriously. He served as a Perthshire

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this increasing of the peerage as a mania - McCahill, M. (1981). Peerage creations and the changing character of the British nobility, 1750–1830. *English Historical Review*, 96 (379), 259-284.

<sup>187</sup> Bence-Jones, M. & Montgomery-Massingberd, H. (1979). *The British aristocracy*. London: Constable, p. 64.  
<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65.

<sup>189</sup> Appendix D: PD60/99 - Address of Welcome to John MacGregor Murray on his return from India, 1795.

<sup>190</sup> Appendix D: PD60/536 - 11th July 1803, Sir John MacGregor Murray to Major General Alexander Ross.

<sup>191</sup> Adam, F. (1908/2004). *The clans, septs & regiments of the Scottish Highlands*. London: Johnston & Bacon, pp. 477-478.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*. See also Appendix D: PD60/829 - detail on Clan Alpine Fencibles being disbanded - from a cutting from the *Edinburgh Courant*, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1802. Note: some use 'Alpine', others use 'Alpin'.

<sup>193</sup> Prebble, J. (1988). *The King's jaunt: George IV in Scotland*. London: Collins, p. 36.

magistrate and deputy-lieutenant and was made a burgess of Edinburgh for services to city and university.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, John Prebble calls him "the ideal of a duine-usal, a Highland gentleman."<sup>195</sup> Perhaps this Scot would turn out to be one of those lairds of "knowledge and virtue"<sup>196</sup> whose passing Samuel Johnson had so lamented. Maybe he might even avoid being one of the "absentee landlords"<sup>197</sup> so derided by John Macleod.

There were certainly those unsavoury chiefs around at the time. Ian Grimble describes how the Macnab squandered his fortune, spread venereal disease and fathered thirty bastards: "...none of Sir Henry Raeburn's portraits of Highland chiefs is more expressive than his delineation of this debauched turkey cock."<sup>198</sup> It was not Highlandism's finest hour. Yet no such criticism seemed to be levelled at Sir John MacGregor Murray. Indeed, *The Celtic Monthly* felt able to call him "an excellent Gaelic scholar... a truly paternal chief, ever active in promoting the interests of young men belonging to his clan in the first start of their life."<sup>199</sup> Such a description may have been par for the course with a sycophantic late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century press. However, when a modern-day author like Kenneth McNeil can also find some warm words for our subject, it may be worth taking him more seriously.

Kenneth McNeil calls Sir John MacGregor Murray's career "perhaps the most illustrative example of the contradictory energies of 'imperial' Highlanders."<sup>200</sup> Whilst fighting for Empire, Sir John was also doing his bit to preserve Scottish culture. He saved the earliest extant treatise on piping and raised money in India to allow *Ossian* to be produced in a Gaelic form.<sup>201</sup> Indeed, he and his brothers were said to be philanthropic, one obituary declaring that "to be as benevolent as the Murray family, became nearly proverbial in India."<sup>202</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*. See also Appendix D: PD60/891 - 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1793 - seal of Burgess ticket.

<sup>195</sup> Prebble, *King's jaunt*, p. 36. Prebble says Stewart of Garth gave the compliment.

<sup>196</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 100.

<sup>197</sup> Macleod, *No mischief*, p. 185.

<sup>198</sup> Grimble, I. (1980). *Clans and chiefs: Celtic tribalism in Scotland*. London: Blond & Briggs, p. 245.

<sup>199</sup> Miss A. G. Murray MacGregor, Dunkeld. (1894). *The Celtic Monthly*, 2, 64-65. In MacGregor archives and retrieved from [https://archive.org/stream/cecticmonthlymag01mack/cecticmonthlymag01mack\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/cecticmonthlymag01mack/cecticmonthlymag01mack_djvu.txt)

<sup>200</sup> McNeil, K. (2007). *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp. 17-18; See also Black, R. (1986). The Gaelic academy: The cultural commitment of the Highland Society of Scotland. *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 14(2), 1-28.

<sup>201</sup> Sinclair, 1813/2012, *op cit.* p. 6.

<sup>202</sup> Sir John MacGregor Murray, Bart. [obituary]. (1822, September). *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, pp. 277-278.

Empire might have helped to create Highlandism, yet this Empire builder was putting something worthwhile back. As Kenneth McNeil says: "...wealth derived from imperial conquest was put into the service of zealously preserving traditions of Highland culture perceived to be under threat back home."<sup>203</sup> Some of the 'traditions' might be dubious, yet Ronald I. Black also adds to Sir John's reputation. This was a chief who "put the riches of India into Gaelic scholarship."<sup>204</sup> Indeed, Gaelic is said to owe much to Highlandism: Black calls 'The Highland Society of Edinburgh' the first "Gaelic Academy."<sup>205</sup>

Sir John may have been helping to "shape the image of the Highlands,"<sup>206</sup> but he was also urging friends to study Gaelic: "...the attempt to preserve [it] I am afraid is too late," a colleague warned.<sup>207</sup> Some worried about Sir John's eldest son not speaking the language. "They are afraid that he will be brought up in the Low Country way, that he will not mind his clan as he will not have Galick."<sup>208</sup> Mindful of this, the MacGregor chief gave instructions that the boy should master it.<sup>209</sup> Young Evan might be sent to England to be schooled, but his father was "anxious that he should be attached to his country and to his clan."<sup>210</sup> Ironically, talking in Gaelic would be one thing, affecting a 'Scotch' accent would be quite another. The boy was taught in a place "where there is wholesome air, able and virtuous teachers, and the least provinciality of Dialect."<sup>211</sup> Highlandism would have its linguistic limits.

Sir John pressed on, supporting the production of a Gaelic dictionary whilst declaring:<sup>212</sup> "I am most anxious that the Gaelic language, which possesses so much energy and excellence, should be preserved."<sup>213</sup> By now he was a vice-president of the 'Highland Society' formed by

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<sup>203</sup> McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, p. 18.

<sup>204</sup> Ronald I. Black as quoted in McNeil, p. 18.

<sup>205</sup> McNeil, *Scotland. Britain, Empire*, quotes Ronald Black, who calls the 'Highland Society of Edinburgh' the first 'Gaelic Academy' for which Gaelic study "remains indebted" - p. 179.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>207</sup> Appendix D: PD60/546 - 24<sup>th</sup> November 1815 - Donald MacGregor to Sir John Murray MacGregor. His prediction would take some time to come true. Colin Matthew notes that although Gaelic declined in the later part of the 1800s, more than 230,000 people still spoke it in Scotland in 1881 and over 75 per cent used it 'habitually' in the west Highlands and Islands - Mathew, H. C. G. (ed.). (2000). *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>208</sup> Appendix D: PD60/646 - 7<sup>th</sup> May 1793 - from a McGregor to Col. Alex Murray.

<sup>209</sup> Appendix D: PD60/829 - John MacGregor Murray's instructions on the event of his death.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> Appendix D: PD60/42 - pamphlet from R. A. Armstrong, deputy secretary of the 'Highland Society of London', to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>213</sup> Highland Society of Scotland. (1806, January 18). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 3.

his friend, Colonel David Stewart of Garth.<sup>214</sup> Stewart of Garth was a veteran soldier and fellow laird - and he placed another cart on the Highland bandwagon with the publication of his *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*. This book fed Highlandism with its glorification of the kilted warrior: "...nursed in poverty he acquired a hardihood... he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing."<sup>215</sup> Garth championed tartan and the Highland soldier and in 1820 he founded the 'Celtic Society of Edinburgh', one of whose aims was to promote kilt-wearing in the Highlands.<sup>216</sup>

Descendants of Sir John MacGregor Murray say they have never seen a painting of him in a kilt.<sup>217</sup> Yet this early-nineteenth century clan chief was not above promoting the frothier side of Highlandism. He tried to resurrect a MacGregor tartan and sent samples of cloth to the 'Highland Society'. At least he had some idea about family patterns, for other clan chiefs seemed to be clueless: as Stewart of Garth witheringly said, "[Col. Robertson of] Strown does not know what his... is."<sup>218</sup> Moreover, if Sir John MacGregor Murray was laying claim to plaids, he was also calling himself "an aboriginal Highlander"<sup>219</sup> and urging Stewart of Garth to collect clan badges as well as tartans.<sup>220</sup>

Scotland's lairds were vying with each other to see who could be the most 'Scotch'. The chief of the Macdonells of Glengarry dined with the 'Celtic Society' and remarked sniffily: "I never saw so much tartan before in my life, with so little Highland material... they have no right to burlesque the national character or dress of the Highlands."<sup>221</sup> Glengarry set up the

<sup>214</sup> Appendix D: PD60/829 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1788 - John MacKenzie, 'Highland Society' Secretary, to Sir John MacGregor Murray. See also Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 9<sup>th</sup> May 1820 - David Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray - "I'm glad you're coming to the dinner, and that you'll look over my MS. 79 gents attended the last meeting and almost all in full Highland dress."

<sup>215</sup> Stewart of Garth, 1822/1977, *Sketches*, p. 235.

<sup>216</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Stewart, David Stewart of Garth (1772 – 1829), army officer and writer on the Scottish Highlanders.

<sup>217</sup> Discussion with the current chief of Clan Gregor, Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor.

<sup>218</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1815 - Stewart of Garth to Sir John Murray MacGregor - "all chiefs should be applied to and requested by the Society to furnish them with a specimen of their Clan tartan." See also Cheape, H. (1991/1995). *Tartan: The Highland habit*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, p. 48.

<sup>219</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1815 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Stewart of Garth.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> MacDonell to the *Edinburgh Observer*, as quoted in Zaczek, *op cit.* p. 66.

‘Society of True Highlanders’, yet he was an unsavoury character and a Highland hypocrite, as this chapter will show.<sup>222</sup>

Hugh Cheape accuses Scotland’s chiefs of “collud[ing] in the commercial process”<sup>223</sup> of clanship and Sir John MacGregor Murray was certainly caught up in the Highlandism of the age. Yet his research for Douglas’s *Baronage* would still earn him the description of being “an ingenious gentleman who hath been at great pains in collecting the materials, and with much care and accuracy.”<sup>224</sup> Family detail was inevitably tinged with Highland nostalgia and his report of Clan Gregor’s involvement in the ’45 and sent to his friend, the poet and dramatist, John Home, explains how “the Clans boldly and generously supported the weakest, through the influence of rooted, patriarchal habits.”<sup>225</sup> The MacGregors might have become “the firmest pillars of the throne,”<sup>226</sup> but it was clear that Jacobite sympathies were not yet fully extinguished.

In 1816 Sir John was further promoting Highlandism as he planned to bring out a version of *Ossian* for the masses.<sup>227</sup> Yet a keen interest in Highland music had put him touch with serious composers and collectors, among them Alexander Campbell, whose *Albyn’s Anthology* features Jacobite songs.<sup>228</sup> A feast of Scottish verse was emerging - with Sir John supporting it. Campbell sent him the score for *The McGregors Gathering*, written by Scott, “as performed on the great bagpipe by the McCruimmons of Skye.”<sup>229</sup> At the same time Captain Simon Fraser published his collection of *Airs and Melodies peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles*.<sup>230</sup> As music flourished, Derick Thomson notes an

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<sup>222</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Macdonell, Alasdair Ranaldson of Glengarry (1773-1828), chief of the Macdonells of Glengarry and soldier. See also Grant & Cheap, *Periods in Highland history*, p. 246.

<sup>223</sup> Cheape, *Tartan*, p. 54.

<sup>224</sup> MacGregor, 1898, *History*, p. 2 - Miss MacGregor notes how her father provided some of the clan history. See also Appendix D: PD60/43 - *Clan Gregor memoir*.

<sup>225</sup> Appendix D: PD60/44 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1801, Sir John MacGregor Murray to John Home.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53 - 27<sup>th</sup> February 1816, James Hamilton to David Stewart of Garth - “discussion about Macg-Murray’s cheap edition of Ossian...”

<sup>228</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Campbell, Alexander (1764 – 1824), composer and writer.

<sup>229</sup> Appendix D: PD60/845 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1816 - Alexander Campbell to Sir John MacGregor Murray about music scores. The anthology was published in 1816 - Campbell, A., & Scott, W. (1816). *Albyn’s anthology, or, a select collection of the melodies & vocal poetry peculiar to Scotland & the Isles: Hitherto unpublished*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

<sup>230</sup> Donaldson, 1988, *Jacobite song*, p. 93.

increase in Gaelic book publishing at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>231</sup> In some quarters, Highlandism was shaping up to be about more than just a kilt and sporran.

Sir John was also corresponding on a rather more unpleasant subject. Stewart of Garth was aghast at the clearance on Highland estates. There were alleged outrages in Perthshire: "...my blood chilled when I read of the whole of Atholl to be laid waste."<sup>232</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl was said to be selling land and locals were being dispersed. Yet Sir John was reluctant to condemn the duke, who just happened to be his son's father-in-law. Atholl was, he maintained, someone who had "*never* turned out a Tenant, but one or two worthless and good for nothing men."<sup>233</sup> Highlandism was about to be tested.

The duke must be greatly changed, Garth said, or he would not "offer his land to strangers... and drive all his brave Atholl men to cities to become Radicals."<sup>234</sup> Sir John continued the defence. "The duke is not clearing... the old tenants are not coming forward after the end of 19-year leases."<sup>235</sup> Garth pressed on: the inhabitants of a whole district were being cleared and their land was being given to Lowland farmers. Was this not "extirpation?"<sup>236</sup>

Of course, clearance could always be dressed up as 'estate improvement' and, according to John Prebble, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl would have been surprised by the exaggeration of a necessary property sale.<sup>237</sup> Indeed, claims of clearance in a previous century would later be "refuted by Lord Tullibardine with evidence from Estate rentals."<sup>238</sup> That will be further examined in chapter three of this thesis. Whatever the position, as Tom Devine points out, most of the Highland population was still in "a profoundly insecure position and very vulnerable to the will of the landlord class."<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Derick Thomson quoted in Scott, P. H. (ed.). (1993). *Scotland: A concise cultural history*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, pp. 138-139.

<sup>232</sup> Prebble, *King's jaunt*, p. 37. See also, Stirling Archive, MacGregor of MacGregor Papers, and SRO/GD1/53/112, 27<sup>th</sup> March 1820.

<sup>233</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 19<sup>th</sup> April 1820 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Stewart of Garth.

<sup>234</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 27<sup>th</sup> March 1820 - Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>235</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 10<sup>th</sup> April 1820 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Stewart of Garth.

<sup>236</sup> Stewart of Garth quoted in Robertson, J. I. (1998). *The first Highlander: Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB, 1768 – 1829*. East Linton: Tuckwell, p. 89.

<sup>237</sup> Prebble, *King's jaunt*, p. 37.

<sup>238</sup> Anderson, J. (2007). *Atholl Estates: A brief history*. Perth: Blair Castle and Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust, p. 10.

<sup>239</sup> Devine, T. M. (1992). *Scottish emigration & Scottish society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1990-91*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 86.

Peter Lawrie, 2016 historian of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’, says there is little documentary evidence that Sir John MacGregor Murray was involved in large-scale clearance, but he does suggest that others of Clan Gregor may not have been totally innocent. “I think it is highly likely that the [MacGregors of] Glengyle cleared their tenants. When James Hogg visited Glengyle at the start of the nineteenth century he found the entire estate covered with sheep.”<sup>240</sup> This lack of proof against Sir John does not make him a saint. Improvements at Lanrick went on and rents may have risen, for the MacGregor chief was not always inclined to be generous. In 1803 a petition arrived from a struggling clansman who had fought with the MacGregors in the ’45. The old man requested a pension, but Sir John refused.<sup>241</sup>

When the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ was formed in 1822 its members would promise that “those of the clan who have the means [will] do all in their power to assist their poorer brethren.”<sup>242</sup> Yet just how easy was it for an early-nineteenth century laird to house, feed and clothe his people in the way his ancestors had done? The ’45 had forever altered the ties between laird and tenant. Allan Macinnes notes how after this date, “clanship, as the working basis of Highland Society, was destroyed.”<sup>243</sup> Highlandism might be trying to recreate some semblance of clanship, but it was, in effect, more image than reality. Whereas a chief had once been “the father of the clan”<sup>244</sup> and responsible for food and shelter, he might now have other duties like instructing on the wearing of tartan, advising a woman whose husband had been caught distilling whisky, or dealing with requests for money and positions.<sup>245</sup>

Yet Highlandism had put Sir John, a man who had spent most of his life in the south of England and in India, in a powerful position in Scotland. It had given him supporters and placed him on a ‘chiefly’ pedestal. Stewart of Garth noted how Clan Gregor was increasing in numbers and that “much of this prosperity [was] owing to the fostering and zealous

<sup>240</sup> Peter Lawrie also makes the point that MacGregors were more often the ones being cleared: “We know many MacGregors were forcibly cleared by landlords from the 1580s on. The MacGregors of Glengyle held land on an ‘informal’ basis until Rob Roy was able to obtain a regular feu charter from the Duke of Montrose at the start of the 18th century of around 2200 acres for Gregor Glun dubh. Also Archibald of Kilmanan (descendant of the Glenstrae line) held the small estate of Craigrostan until the 1690s when it passed to Rob Roy. Montrose moved to forfeit Craigrostan when Rob Roy was outlawed.”

<sup>241</sup> Appendix D: PD60/44, 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1803 - petition to Sir John Macgregor Murray from Malcolm McGregor, letter refusing the request.

<sup>242</sup> Appendix D: PD60/470 - notes on an undertaking by the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ to help more clansmen.

<sup>243</sup> Allan Macinnes in Way of Plean & Squire, *op cit.* p. 20.

<sup>244</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 94.

<sup>245</sup> Appendix D: PD60/547 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1816, John MacGregor about the clan tartan, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1817, from John McGrigor, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1817, from Alexander MacGregor. Appendix D: PD60/857, 859 and 140 - letters to Sir John Murray MacGregor from clansmen asking for help.

friendship of Sir John MacGregor Murray.”<sup>246</sup> History was being re-written under these new Highland rules. A book tarred the MacGregors as “a race of future Banditti”<sup>247</sup> and clansmen were furious about the slur. Sir John determined to prove his loyalty to the crown. After an alleged assassination attempt on the Duke of Cumberland he declared himself to be “appalled by the ‘Diabolical attempt... and I should rejoice to hear of the Dismissal of every foreign servant in the Kingdom... I trust that every measure of precaution... will be used to detect and to crush all Traitors and their villainies.”<sup>248</sup> They are strong words for the son of a Jacobite.

In 1822 Sir John MacGregor Murray died at the age of 77.<sup>249</sup> As a rather acceptable face of early-nineteenth century Highlandism it is worth mentioning his very Highland funeral. MacGregors from all over Scotland were invited to attend - “in tartans or otherwise”<sup>250</sup> - and some came a very long way. The Rannoch MacGregors, for example, had to travel forty miles before they reached the MacGregor seat at Lanrick Castle. Then there would be a further twenty-two mile walk to the burial ground at Balquhidder.<sup>251</sup> One man, Gregor MacGregor Cardoch, gamekeeper to Colonel Robertson of Struan, badly wanted to be present, but did not wish to inconvenience his master, yet Robertson sent him with his blessing. “You will never attend the funeral of such another Chief. He and I were the last two remaining in Scotland of true Highland Chiefs.”<sup>252</sup> His words are heavy with Highlandism.

MacGregor family records show that mourners ate a breakfast of bread, cheese and porter in the park by Lanrick Castle.<sup>253</sup> Then at ten o’clock the funeral party fell into line: three hundred horsemen and tenantry, sixteen carriages, six coaches, the hearse and mourning coaches and finally, the Deceased Coach carrying two Highlanders who were “fully equipped in the Garb of old Gaul.”<sup>254</sup> It was hot, the dust was terrible and the men’s coats were white, “as if they had been worn by a troop of millers for a year.”<sup>255</sup> Seven hours later the

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<sup>246</sup> Stewart of Garth, *op cit.* p. 372.

<sup>247</sup> Appendix D: PD60/52 - 16<sup>th</sup> January 1801 - letter from General Norman McLeod of McLeod to Malcolm Laing about the “offensive” 1801 book, *MacGregors and the Hebrides*. McLeod complained of “gross misrepresentation.”

<sup>248</sup> Appendix D: PD60/881 - 5<sup>th</sup> June 1810 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Major Thornton, about HRH, the Duke of Cumberland.

<sup>249</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 29. See also Burke, *op cit.* p. 1803.

<sup>250</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 30 - Hugh MacGregor to Rannoch MacGregors, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1822.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31 - Alexander MacGregor of Inverhadden is repeated talking about the funeral. See also Appendix F: Sir John’s funeral.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 33.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

procession reached Loch Lubnaig where MacGregor records show sixty Highlanders and pipers in Clan Alpin tartan waiting to escort the hearse into the glen.<sup>256</sup> There may have been some exaggeration. The 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl's recollection was of "twenty tenantry in tartan and twelve stout men in costume."<sup>257</sup> Again, MacGregor records show pipers were not allowed to play in the glen because the minister was superstitious<sup>258</sup> while Atholl records state that Sir John was "deposited with pipes playing."<sup>259</sup> Highlandism was once again helping to rewrite history. The coffin was sealed into the wall of the family mausoleum<sup>260</sup> and the Duke of Atholl joined other mourners fishing in the loch.<sup>261</sup>

It is interesting to compare Sir John's funeral with that of Alasdair Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry which took place a year later. This was a man obsessed with 'Highland' custom, someone who considered *himself* to be the last example of a "true Highland chief."<sup>262</sup> Glengarry was borne to the grave "carried shoulder high, by the hands of his own people"<sup>263</sup> and accompanied by the wailing of kinsmen.<sup>264</sup> It was a feudal sight in an increasingly industrial age. Yet Glengarry was accused of clearance, cruelty and extravagance.<sup>265</sup> Iain Finlayson tells us how "this remarkable potentate died with debts of £80,000."<sup>266</sup> John Macleod, meanwhile, talks of other money-grabbing lairds losing their fortunes. "Much of what they made was squandered in high living... the last Macleod of Raasay... decided to tart up his policies with two elegant Mediterranean sculptures: when... he received by sea two quite hideous stone mermaids, he went to law. The litigation ruined him and he was forced to emigrate."<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*, p. 34.

<sup>257</sup> Atholl, J. J. H. S.-M. (1908). *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families: In five volumes*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press. Vol.IV, p. 317.

<sup>258</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 35.

<sup>259</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 317.

<sup>260</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 35.

<sup>261</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 317.

<sup>262</sup> Osborne, B. D. (2001). *The last of the Chiefs: Alasdair Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry, 1773–1828*. Glenaruel: Argyll. See also Prebble, J. (1963/1969). *The Highland clearances*. London: Secker & Warburg, p.139.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>264</sup> Finlayson, I. (1987). *The Scot: A portrait of the Scottish soul at home and abroad*. London: Macmillan, pp.109-110.

<sup>265</sup> "Glengarry farms contained 1500 souls. Those farms now have 35 persons. Is this not extirpation? and yet... Glengarry [makes] speeches in his own praise as a true friend of the Highlanders" - Appendix D: PD60/53 - 30<sup>th</sup> April 1820 - Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>267</sup> Macleod, *No great mischief*, p. 43.

Crucially, though, Sir John MacGregor Murray had gone to his grave as ‘MacGregor Murray’ - and to his clansmen, this rankled.<sup>268</sup> Over the years his followers had assumed that their chief would drop the name ‘Murray’: “...they look upon it... with a degree of unpleasant feeling.”<sup>269</sup> It was even suggested that Sir John had kept the name Murray to kow-tow to his high-born Murray relation, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl. “The question then is whether he ought to show more deference to the voice of the Clan who have chosen their representative, Captain and Leader, or to the humours of a father-in-law.”<sup>270</sup> It would be left to Sir John’s son to put things right.<sup>271</sup> As one clansman declared of the young Evan MacGregor: “[He] must either subscribe himself *a real MacGregor* or forfeit his pretensions to the chiefship.”<sup>272</sup>

This chapter will now look at a man who came to embody Highlandism: a chief painted twice by Raeburn, first as a boy in a tartan suit, then as a man in a red and green kilt. In the adult picture Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor stands majestic in Highland uniform. Ironically, the dress of a lowly ironworker is now clothing his elegant upper-class frame.<sup>273</sup> H.V Morton would later note how “the swing of the kilt is a declaration of independence; it is the symbol of aristocracy.”<sup>274</sup> Here our dashing laird poses by a marble pillar, one hand on the jewelled hilt of a curved sword, a gold-tasselled sporran dominating the outfit. From eagle’s feathers to red and black checked hose, he is every inch the decorated clan chief.<sup>275</sup>

This work by George Watson shows just how far Highlandism had travelled by the 1820s. For Highlandism was offering Scotland’s aristocrats the chance to be peacocks. The Honourable Colonel William Gordon was painted in Huntly tartan with Vicci Coltman suggesting that the Roman ruins used as a backdrop give him the air of an emperor.<sup>276</sup> Then there is the not-so-glamorous, but no-less imposing Macnab of Macnab whose tartan-clad frame infuriates the author of *The Great Clan Tartan Myth*.<sup>277</sup> “We find him in a feather bonnet, a thing absolutely foreign to the Highlands, but borrowed from Highland regiments

<sup>268</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 35. Also personal sight of headstone in MacGregor mausoleum.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20 - Alexander MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1821.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 22-23 - 21<sup>st</sup> March 1821.

<sup>271</sup> Letters from and to Sir Evan from the 1820s refer to him as ‘Murray MacGregor’. He is referred to as ‘MacGregor Murray’ in Atholl, *op cit.* e.g. *Vol. IV*, p. 435.

<sup>272</sup> Appendix D: PD60/53 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1821 - from a clansman to Sir John MacGregor Murray, referring to Col. Evan.

<sup>273</sup> Thomas Rawlinson is said to have dressed his foundry workers in Glengarie and Lochaber in a form of the ‘felie-beg’. See Dunbar, 1977, *op cit.* pp. 33-34.

<sup>274</sup> Morton, H. V. (1929/1937). *In search of Scotland*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, p. 133.

<sup>275</sup> Detail from examining Sir Evan MacGregor in the Raeburn painting.

<sup>276</sup> Coltman, Party Coloured Plaid.

<sup>277</sup> Sight of Raeburn painting of Sir Evan.

that had served abroad.”<sup>278</sup> It is the outward face of “synthetic Gaelicism”<sup>279</sup> - and H.V. Morton, the man who coined the term, would be even more exasperated to find a plaided and plumed Sir Evan MacGregor decorating twenty-first century biscuit tins as a symbol of the wild clans of Scotland.<sup>280</sup> However, there was more to this chief than shortbread.

Evan MacGregor Murray fought in the Peninsula war before heading east to India with his wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl - and there he would feel at home.<sup>281</sup> almost half the officer cadets in Bengal were Scots.<sup>282</sup> The British Empire was continuing to expand and it was taking Highlandism with it: around 1814 Evan joined the ‘Highland Society of Madras’.<sup>283</sup> Richard Finlay calls it “a vehicle for the expression of Scottish values.”<sup>284</sup> It was one where “culture revolved around the romantic depiction of Scotland in the past.”<sup>285</sup> Tom Peterkin paraphrases Tom Devine: tartan, kilts and rugged Highland images were promoted by a wealthy elite to protect the Empire. “The romantic vision of Scotland was created to provide a focus for patriotic Scottish feeling without threatening the Empire or the Union of 1707.”<sup>286</sup>

Yet Highlandism could not always mask the often gory times. In 1818 Evan MacGregor Murray was attacked as he helped storm the enemy stronghold of Fort Talnier.<sup>287</sup> It was a close-run thing - “nothing but the most distinguished bravery saved his life”<sup>288</sup> - and the aristocratic Scotsman was badly wounded, yet a stiff upper-lip was still the order of the day. “On the whole I have got very well out of the Scrape,”<sup>289</sup> Evan casually told his father back in Scotland. He had survived, but two other officers both died in the onslaught: a Captain

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<sup>278</sup> Haldane, ‘Great Clan Myth’.

<sup>279</sup> Morton, *In Search of Scotland*, p. 132.

<sup>280</sup> Sir Evan’s painting features on Walkers’ biscuit tins. See also Marr, p. 26 - *Savages on Shortbread tins*.

<sup>281</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 1519 - copied from the *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Gazette*, October 1841: detail of Sir Evan MacGregor’s military career.

<sup>282</sup> John Riddy as cited in Devine, T. M. (2003/2004). *Scotland’s empire: The origins of the global diaspora*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, p. 251. See also Allan, D. (2002). *Scotland in the eighteenth century*. London: Longman, pp. 177-183.

<sup>283</sup> Appendix D: PD60/564 - *Rules of the Highland Society of Madras*

<sup>284</sup> Finlay, R. J. (1998). Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish identity in the eighteenth century. In D. Broun, R. J. Finlay & M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and identity: The making and remaking of Scotland through the ages* (pp. 143-153). London: John Donald, p. 153.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>286</sup> Devine as cited in Peterkin, 2003, *op cit.*

<sup>287</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 284-285.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286 - N. Macleod, Lt. Col. Royal Scots, to Lord James Murray, 24<sup>th</sup> March 1818. See also Appendix D: PD60/551, 553, 874 and 875, Memoranda relating to Mahidpore and Talnier.

<sup>289</sup> Appendix D: PD60/539 - 14<sup>th</sup> August 1818 - Evan Murray MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

MacGregor and a Major Gordon “resigned their invaluable lives...”<sup>290</sup> As another MacGregor solemnly noted: “...our clan are doomed to bleed in their Country’s cause.”<sup>291</sup>

Having lost the use of an arm Evan returned to Britain. An active military career was clearly over, yet financially the young aristocrat should have stayed in the east. As early as 1811 he was more than £20,000 in debt.<sup>292</sup> However, his wife had high hopes for the man who had become the “talk of all Madras.”<sup>293</sup> Lady Elizabeth imagined a parliamentary career for her husband, but with the death of Evan’s father, another job arose in Scotland.<sup>294</sup> As the new baronet of Lanrick and Balquhidder and 19th clan chief of Clan Gregor, the now ‘Sir Evan’ could go from heroic Indian officer to fashionable Highland laird.<sup>295</sup> This was a good time to be seen in a kilt.

So just how committed to Scotland was *this* clan chief? Sir Evan did the usual aristocratic things: becoming a Deputy Lieutenant of Perthshire and a member of the ‘Highland Society of London’.<sup>296</sup> He promoted the ‘Caledonian Asylum’, a group set up to support the children of servicemen killed in action and became a Brigadier General in the ‘Royal Company of Archers’, the king’s bodyguard in Scotland. Like his father, he would also serve as a Vice-President of the ‘Gaelic School Society’.<sup>297</sup> The future of this ancient tongue was still a real worry. Sir Evan was told that the mistake had been to teach Highlanders “to read a foreign language instead of instructing them in their vernacular tongue.”<sup>298</sup> In short, they were being taught English instead of Gaelic.

Speaking Gaelic was one thing. Again, talking in less-lilting ‘Scots’ was quite another. “I hope you will not allow him to acquire any of the Scotch language, as it would be a great

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<sup>290</sup> Appendix D: PD60/882 - *Madras Gazette Extraordinary*, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1818.

<sup>291</sup> Appendix D: PD60/53 - 14<sup>th</sup> September 1818 - John Gregorson to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>292</sup> Appendix D: PD60/300 - 1<sup>st</sup> July 1811 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Evan MacGregor detailing his debts.

<sup>293</sup> Appendix D: PD60/539 - 17<sup>th</sup> April 1818 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>294</sup> Burke, *Dictionary*, p. 1803 - Sir John MacGregor Murray died 28<sup>th</sup> June 1822.

<sup>295</sup> Sir Evan inherited the titles after the death of his father, Sir John. See Burke, *op cit.*

<sup>296</sup> Appendix D: PD60/885 - the Duke of Atholl appointed Sir Evan a Deputy Lieutenant of Perthshire.

Appendix D: PD60/825 - 5<sup>th</sup> April 1823 - letter informing Sir Evan of a ‘Highland Society’ meeting.

<sup>297</sup> Appendix D: PD60/825 - *List of Candidates, and Polling Paper for Election at the Caledonian Asylum*.

Appendix D: PD60/889 - 4<sup>th</sup> May 1825 - Commission by the ‘Royal Company of Archers’, appointing Sir Evan MacGregor Brigadier General. See also Appendix D: PD60/880 - list of archers present at the 1822 royal visit to Edinburgh.

<sup>298</sup> Appendix D: PD60/825 - 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1823 - Major Duncan MacGregor of the ‘Gaelic School Society’ to Sir Evan MacGregor.

disadvantage to him as he will be educated entirely in England,”<sup>299</sup> Sir Evan’s wife cautioned as they considered their oldest son’s education. There was no problem with the boy living north of the border whilst he was young. It was simply the dialect: “...you know Col. Murray and myself have both an aversion to the Scotch Accent... [We] should have no objection to him residing in Edinburgh under the care of an English tutor.”<sup>300</sup> Unlike her husband, the Perthshire-born Lady Elizabeth did not feel the Highland pull. “Sir Evan proposed that I should go and reside in Scotland, but I told him it would *not* suit my state of health, as the climate is so cold.”<sup>301</sup> She would not be the only family member to eschew the place. Her second son would profess a “horror for all Scotch small towns and Scotch lodgings.”<sup>302</sup>

Sir Evan battled on in Scotland. Walter Scott nominated him for membership of the ‘Celtic Society’ and both men lobbied for the Stone of Destiny, the symbol of Scottish kingship, to be returned north of the border.<sup>303</sup> “Why should the Monarch of Great Britain uniting in his person the once Prime Dynasties of England and Scotland retain in London a trophy that after such a Union, might be restored so suitably - particularly at this moment - to resume its natural connexion with the Regalice of his Caledonian Kingdom?”<sup>304</sup> Sir Evan enquired. “Would it not be worthy of the magnanimity of George the Fourth... were it to be replaced by His Majesty’s command not at Scone but at Holyrood - that... his Royal Progenitors might bend from ‘their Airy Halls’ to welcome back to Scotland the ancient ‘Stone of their Power’?”<sup>305</sup> It was a daring suggestion, even with Highland credibility on the rise.

Richard Finlay details how the fear of Scotland losing its sense of identity created a fad for collecting historical manuscripts and ballads “before old Scotia was lost forever.”<sup>306</sup> Now the MacGregor chief commissioned a history of Clan Gregor and an academic churchman, the Reverend William MacGregor Stirling, was set to work on the family story.<sup>307</sup> On *his* death and with Sir Evan’s later illness, the papers would be given to the ‘Iona Club’, founded in 1833 “to investigate and illustrate the History, Antiquities and early literature of the

<sup>299</sup> Appendix D: PD60/291 - 12<sup>th</sup> August 1811 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>300</sup> Appendix D: PD60/539 - 30<sup>th</sup> September 1818 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

<sup>301</sup> Appendix D: PD60/137 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1839 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor.

<sup>302</sup> Appendix D: PD60/652 - 21<sup>st</sup> April 1850 - Evan MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>303</sup> Appendix D: PD60/68 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1822 - Robert Roy, Secretary of the ‘Celtic Society’ to Sir Evan MacGregor, saying he has been admitted a member.

<sup>304</sup> Appendix D: PD60/880 - 5<sup>th</sup> September 1822 - Sir Evan MacGregor to Sir Walter Scott.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>306</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 214.

<sup>307</sup> Appendix D: PD60/53 - William MacGregor Stirling to Sir Evan MacGregor about the *History of Clan Gregor*. See also A.G.M MacGregor, 1898, *op cit.* pp. 2-3.

Highlands.”<sup>308</sup> Seventy years after that, Sir Evan’s daughter, Miss MacGregor, would use them as a base for her own extensive research efforts and chapter six of this thesis describes her work.

This desire to detail family history, laudable as it is, no doubt had hints of a vanity project about it. For Sir Evan had slipped rather too easily into the role of being a “big Highland Cheese”<sup>309</sup> and Highlandism was allowing him to be a more superficial clan chief than his father had been. To look the part, the MacGregor laird set about aggrandising the family seat. Lanrick Castle was now re-named ‘Clan Gregor Castle’ and building work there was extensive. Indeed, so much improvement was going on that makeshift beds were placed in the stables for the extra labourers.<sup>310</sup> Yet, despite having a Highland home, Sir Evan was still a part-time landlord, living variously in Europe, where it was cheaper, or in the south of England, where he kept on spending. As his thrifty father had prophetically said: “...you will have deeply to regret that it is far easier to consume rather than to make a fortune.”<sup>311</sup>

Despite having little money, the MacGregor clan chief still found himself being asked to help other MacGregors<sup>312</sup> and at one stage he considered “boosting the spirit of clanship”<sup>313</sup> by giving smallholdings to those “of sober industrious habits.”<sup>314</sup> We do not know if this happened. What we do know is that this was a man whose fortune was rapidly disappearing. Furthermore, he would not be the only Scottish aristocrat to fall on hard times. Yet Highlandism had become a form of reassurance for some of these increasingly impoverished lairds. Recreating the old world as it was imagined could give status and security.

Was Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor just playing at being a big Highland cheese? John Macleod suggests that these chiefly titles had a “Gothic ring” to them and that “Highland chiefs were now just lairds on the Lowland model.”<sup>315</sup> There is no doubt that Sir Evan

<sup>308</sup> MacGregor, 1898, *History*. See also Appendix D: PD60 (Unlisted Material), Box 2, Bundle 36, *Draft for History of MacGregor Clan... drawn by MacGregor Stirling*, and Box 3, Bundle 63, letters to Sir Evan from William MacGregor Stirling about research into the clan history.

<sup>309</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815 - Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth.

<sup>310</sup> Appendix D: PD60/238 - 1840 - Particulars of the Estate of Lanrick. See also Appendix D: PD60/843 - September 1823 - the Lanrick housekeeper, Mary Anne Bryne, to Sir Evan MacGregor.

<sup>311</sup> Appendix D: PD60/300 - 1<sup>st</sup> July 1811 - Sir John Murray MacGregor to Evan MacGregor, telling his son he is £21,000 in debt. Appendix D: PD60/37 - 16<sup>th</sup> July 1809 - Sir John Murray MacGregor to Evan MacGregor.

<sup>312</sup> Appendix D: PD60/77 - 1822 - various letters from clansmen in straightened circumstances asking for aid.

<sup>313</sup> Appendix D: PD60/86 - 1<sup>st</sup> October 1822 - Major Donald MacGregor to Sir Evan MacGregor.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>315</sup> Macleod, 1996/7, *Highlanders*, p. 185.

enjoyed being a big Highland cheese. He promoted the tartan trend, took an interest in Highland games<sup>316</sup> and formed one of the earliest clan groups. The ‘Clan Gregor Society’ was set up in 1822 and the early support it received showed just how far Highlandism had travelled as a Liverpool merchant and the British consul at Panama each sent a donation of £50.<sup>317</sup> Clan societies and their role in promoting Highlandism will be further discussed in chapter six of this thesis.

Sir Evan would also play a major part in Highlandism’s crowning hour - and this came in 1822 when the British king announced a visit to Scotland. As a ruling monarch had not been north of the border since 1650 the news caused a mix of excitement and alarm.<sup>318</sup> George 1V made it clear that he expected to see a “national and characteristic” Scotland. Arthur Herman says this meant meeting the Highlanders of Walter Scott’s novels.<sup>319</sup> The stage was set for theatre. The now *Sir* Walter was tasked with organising the Edinburgh event<sup>320</sup> and he urged Scotland’s lairds to arrive “in Highland costume, attended with Highlanders.”<sup>321</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl announced he planned to attend and informed his son-in-law, Sir Evan MacGregor, that he, too, was needed in the capital. Sir Evan promised to arrive with an entourage: “...40 to 60 picked men of my clan, properly equipped.”<sup>322</sup>

In early August Atholl and his duchess arrived in Edinburgh at the house they had rented for a hundred pounds.<sup>323</sup> By now the place was heaving and reality was dawning as bands of armed Highlanders thronged the city’s streets. This jolly tartan jaunt was now a “foolish fancy.”<sup>324</sup> These were men “under no military discipline [who] ... might quarrel with others

<sup>316</sup> Appendix D: PD60/825 - ‘St Fillan’s Highland Society’ leaflet about 1823 Games at Lochearnfoot. The paper in the MacGregor archive at Stirling is reputed to be the earliest printed leaflet for a Highland Games.

<sup>317</sup> Munro, R. W. (1977). *Highland clans and tartans*. London: Octopus, p. 116. See also Zaczek, 2005, *op cit.* p. 99 - “the Clan Gregor Society was founded in the euphoric aftermath of King George’s visit.” Note: ‘Clan Gregor Society’ records show Sir John had the idea of setting up a society, but Sir Evan brought it to fruition. See Appendix D: PD60 (Unlisted Material), Box 4, Bundle 70, letters about the formation of the society. See also Appendix D: PD60/893 - booklet on the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ - pp. 17-20.

<sup>318</sup> Maclean, F. (1995). *Highlanders: A history of the Highland clans*. London: Adelphi, p. 232.

<sup>319</sup> Herman, *How Scotland made the modern world*, p. 298.

<sup>320</sup> Sutherland, *op cit.* p. 234 - “Scott’s was the first baronetcy of George 1V’s reign.” See also Daiches, *op cit.* p. 105. See also Lockhart, J. G. (1837/1888). *Memoirs of the life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, p. 426 - “Scott’s baronetcy was conferred... by the King personally.” See also Prebble, 1988, *op cit.* p. 82 and pp. 86-103.

<sup>321</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 320 - Sir Alexander M. MacKenzie to the Duke of Atholl, 26th July 1822.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid, pp. 320-321 - Sir Evan Murray MacGregor to the Duke of Atholl, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1822.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 319 - the Lieutenant of Perthshire Committee hired Lady Seaforth’s house in Charlotte Square for the duke to stay in.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 322 - the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl’s Journal, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1822.

or amongst themselves.”<sup>325</sup> Even Sir Evan MacGregor was concerned. “There will be a large collection of Highlanders attending other chiefs and it is very desirable that the MacGregors should be cautioned to avoid all cause of strife, on the joyful occasion of their assembling to see their Sovereign.”<sup>326</sup> Highlandism might be noble and romantic, but could Highlanders be trusted to behave themselves?

Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus noted how “the whole country went mad. Everybody strained every point to get to Edinburgh.”<sup>327</sup> By now Sir Walter Scott had decreed that the king would be in a kilt, so “no gentleman is to be allowed to appear in anything but the ancient Highland costume.”<sup>328</sup> This command “unleashed clan panic.”<sup>329</sup> The very Borderland Elliot family found themselves clad in brand new bright-blue Highland outfits; the Earl and Countess of Minto were under the impression that they could not attend without a tartan to their name.<sup>330</sup> On the eve of the royal arrival an Edinburgh newspaper declared how “we are now all Jacobites, thorough-bred Jacobites.”<sup>331</sup>

George IV stepped off the boat at Leith, carrying cutlery used by the ‘Young Pretender’ in 1745 - “strange relics for the godson of Butcher Cumberland to cherish”<sup>332</sup> - and being met by just what he expected to see in Scotland: waves of “revived ancient dresses.”<sup>333</sup> Indeed, the spectacle was so contrived that Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, not there, but with a first-hand account from her father, wrote in her journal: “I dare say he thought the country all Highland, expected no fertile plains, did not know the difference between the Saxon and the Celt.”<sup>334</sup> A plaided curtain rose as the monarch was driven through the city’s streets.

Watching from an upstairs window the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl noted the colourful procession: “...persons dressed up by Sir W. Scott in fantastic attire.”<sup>335</sup> Everyone was in on the tartan

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<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>326</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father* - Sir Evan Murray MacGregor to Major Donald MacGregor, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1822, p. 41.

<sup>327</sup> Grant, 1898/1972, *Memoirs of a Highland lady*, p. 260.

<sup>328</sup> Scottish Tartans Authority (n.d.). *George IV visit to Edinburgh*. Retrieved from <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/the-growth-of-tartan/george-iv/>

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> Claim from the current clan chief, Margaret Elliott of Redheugh. Note: ‘Elliott’ can be spelled many ways. See also Trevor-Roper, 1983/2003, ‘invention’ p. 31.

<sup>331</sup> *Edinburgh Observer*, quoted in Prebble, 1988, *King’s jaunt*, p. 123.

<sup>332</sup> James Loch to Lady Stafford, quoted in Prebble, p. 249.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>334</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland lady*, p. 261.

<sup>335</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 326.

act. “The Mania is the Highland garb, and that carried to such a pitch that *Sir Wm Curtis* assumes it,”<sup>336</sup> he wrote. Later writers are not so kind about the former Lord Mayor of London. Ivor Brown says the man was seen “prancing about the city in a Stuart kilt, to which he had no claim at all.”<sup>337</sup>

Fitzroy Maclean describes how Lowlanders were wearing clothes that their ancestors “who regarded Highlanders as being akin to Hottentots, would not willingly have been seen dead in.”<sup>338</sup> Others watched jealously from the sidelines, with Major Duncan MacGregor of Learan complaining about “Spurious Highlanders.”<sup>339</sup> Yet one journalists was carried away by the theatre. “They came marching along, to their wild, native music, chieftains and clans - the descendants of those heroic and loyal warriors, who, true to their Prince, within less than a hundred years ago had pierced with their claymores into the very heart of England. They were now conducting their lawful - their hereditary Prince, down to Holyrood... and enjoyed... the varied splendour of the garb of Old Gaul.”<sup>340</sup>

With the Jacobite rebellion very past history, a British king could start to feel safely ‘Scotch’ and George IV now prepared to receive the great and the good clad in a kilt.<sup>341</sup> It was a frightful sight on an unpopular monarch. One newspaper would, on his death, remark that “there never was an individual less regretted by his fellow creatures.”<sup>342</sup> Murray Pittock points out how Highlandism had already provided a diversion to help rescue the king from his political troubles. This pageant, though, was to be “of the past entirely, and no current political events, not even the Clearances, were to jar the smooth progress of the expansive ‘Celtic’ play-acting which gripped Edinburgh in 1822.”<sup>343</sup>

Indeed, the scene was so bizarre that some people did not recognise their monarch in his bright red tartan. A painting by David Wilkie shows four eagles feathers in the regal bonnet,

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<sup>336</sup> *Ibid*, p. 325.

<sup>337</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, p. 17.

<sup>338</sup> Maclean, *Highlanders*, pp. 233-234.

<sup>339</sup> Major Duncan MacGregor of Learan to Sir Evan Murray MacGregor, from Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, p. 133.

<sup>340</sup> Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1822 as quoted in Dunbar, 1977, *op cit*. p. 40.

<sup>341</sup> Magnusson, M. (2000/2001). *Scotland: The story of a nation*. London: Harper Collins, p. 650. See also Atholl, *op cit*. Vol. IV, p. 326; and Prebble, 1988, *op cit*. p. 268. See also Lockhart, *op cit*. p. 485 - “The King... [appeared] in the full Highland garb.”

<sup>342</sup> *The Times* newspaper quoted in Hibbert, C. (1972). *George IV*. London: Longman, pp. 782-783. See also Cannadine, D. (1983). The context, performance and meaning of ritual: The British monarchy and the “Invention of tradition”, c.1820-1977. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.) *The invention of tradition* (pp. 101-164). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 109.

<sup>343</sup> Pittock, *The invention of Scotland*, p. 90.

as befits the ‘chief of chiefs’. George IV carries Highland pistols and a dirk. Yet there is something that jars. The very ‘Scotch’-looking king wears the ‘Order of the Garter’.<sup>344</sup> It is Britain’s highest order of chivalry and its patron saint is the English St George.<sup>345</sup>

If this picture was a further attempt to reconcile the Union with Scottish ‘tradition’, the MacGregor laird was sending out less contradictory messages in *his* tartan outfit. Sir Evan was flanked by seven of the “Handsomest and Steadiest men”<sup>346</sup> in Rannock and seven more from Breadalbane - and these Highland gods and the equally sturdy MacGregors of Lanrick and Balquhidder were sporting matching red and green kilts. John Prebble notes how Sir Evan was “pale and obviously ill,”<sup>347</sup> yet he calls him a “bird of paradise.”<sup>348</sup> *The Honours of Scotland*, a painting by Denis Dighton, shows the man in full Highland uniform.<sup>349</sup> From checked stockings to silver-buckled shoes, the heroic army officer looks every inch the glamorous clan chief.

It is a masterful depiction, yet Prebble finds it insulting. Here was a soldier, badly scarred in war, but “no mark of this incredible experience is visible... Indeed a brave and honest man is almost lost within the monstrous vulgarity of the Highland costume he proudly wore for the King’s visit.”<sup>350</sup> Highlandism was sanitising the marks of battle whilst embellishing the idea of British militarism. Yet the sight of a tartanned and tooled-up clan chief strutting through the Scottish capital flanked by followers and impudently carrying the accoutrements of war - the broadsword, dirk, skean-dhu and duelling pistols - no doubt thrilled many who saw him on the day. The scene would certainly have fulfilled Samuel Johnson’s hopeful description of a laird who “walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling.”<sup>351</sup> It

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<sup>344</sup> Wilkie, D. (1829). George IV (1762-1830) [portrait]. Retrieved from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/401206/george-iv-1762-1830>

<sup>345</sup> *The Order of the Garter*. <https://www.royal.uk/order-garter>

<sup>346</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father* - 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1822, Sir Evan Murray MacGregor to Major Donald MacGregor, p. 41.

<sup>347</sup> Prebble, *King’s jaunt*, p. 298.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid*, p. 134.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid*. Note: Iain Moncreiffe describes how “the distinguishing marks of kings or chiefs in many parts of the world, from Africa to America, is the wearing of eagle’s feathers... The convention has long been established that a chief wears three eagle’s feathers, the chieftains of cadet branches wear two, and the gentlemen of the clan may wear one... the Sovereign, as Chief of Chiefs, wears four.” Moncreiffe, *Highland Clans*, p. 19.

<sup>350</sup> Prebble, *King’s jaunt*, p. 129.

<sup>351</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 97.

might even have proved a contemporary historian right when he claimed that the only time a chief maintained a “tail of followers” was to “impart glamour at a Belgravia ball.”<sup>352</sup>

Clan Gregor escorted the crown jewels, the ‘Honours of Scotland’, through the city’s streets.<sup>353</sup> The MacGregor chief marched past the Hanoverian king bearing the Jacobite sword that his grandfather had used to crush government troops at the battle of Prestonpans.<sup>354</sup> Sir Evan would go on to raise the toast to the king, “the Chief of Chiefs,”<sup>355</sup> at the royal banquet. As Richard Finlay says, this address presumed that Scotland was still an old-fashioned clan-based society - which, after Culloden, it was not.<sup>356</sup>

Finlay calls the event a “highly theatrical reinvention of history.”<sup>357</sup> Andrew Marr describes it as an equally defining moment for Scotland as Culloden, or the Union: afterwards “the tartan cult grew until ordinary Scots succumbed to it almost unquestioningly. Scotland moved from nation state to spectacle, an *ersatz* land and race, grounded in deceit.”<sup>358</sup> Yet the Highland cult now had a royal leader - and the MacGregors had their day of glory, although being entrusted with the crown jewels had caused “great jealousy and dissatisfaction.”<sup>359</sup>

Those jostling for plaided position need not have been too envious for the jaunt had almost ruined the MacGregor chief.<sup>360</sup> Moreover, if Sir Evan was out of pocket, other families were also counting the cost. The king drank Glenlivet whisky and Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recalls being ordered by her father to send what spirit they had from the cellar at home. It and fifty brace of ptarmigan went direct to Holyrood House and her father was later given a judgeship in Bombay, “showing on what trifles great events depend.”<sup>361</sup> Sir

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<sup>352</sup> Macleod, *Highlanders*, p. 43. Note: Iain Moncreiffe describes how a Highland chief was followed by armed clansmen. The ‘tail’ included the bard, or ‘seanachaidh’, the henchman, “the chief’s personal bodyguard... the ‘bladaire’, or tatler (the chief’s ‘mouthpiece’) the harper, or piper, and even a special man to carry their chief dry-shod over fords.” Moncreiffe, pp. 19-20.

<sup>353</sup> Maclean, *Highlanders*, p. 234. See also Lockhart, *Life of Walter Scott*, p. 483 for details of the procession through the city - following the trumpeters, Campbells, the tail of Breadalbane, the pipers and Scots Greys, Colonel Stewart of Garth and the Celtic Club, was Sir Evan McGregor, “mounted on horseback and tail of McGregor.” Note: Walter Scott found the Scottish Regalia in Edinburgh castle a few years before. See also Daiches, *Walter Scott*, p. 105; Magnusson, *Scotland*, 647; Cheape, *Highlands*, p. 50.

<sup>354</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 58.

<sup>355</sup> Devine, *Clanship to crofter’s war*, p. 88, and Maclean, *Highlanders*, p. 234.

<sup>356</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 212.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>358</sup> Marr, *Battle for Scotland*, p. 27.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>360</sup> Prebble, *King’s jaunt*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>361</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, p. 261.

Evan received a less grand reward. A letter from Walter Scott went thus: “I enclose a testimony of our Sovereign’s satisfaction with his Highland Following, which can be more appropriate to none than to your brave MacGregors...”<sup>362</sup> The king had thanked chiefs and clans for dressing so splendidly and for giving “a peculiar and romantic character”<sup>363</sup> to the visit.

Yet this was more than ceremonial. This event, driven by Highlandism, was political. According to Murray Pittock, Scott’s pronouncement that “we are *the clan*, and our king is *the chief*” highlighted the Stuart myth being promoted in the early nineteenth century and showed how the novelist was “transmuting Scottish Jacobite ideology into a British Hanoverian form.”<sup>364</sup> Scott was a man with Jacobite sympathies, but unionist leanings, and Pittock notes how this was the start of a climate in which “Stuart and Hanoverian loyalties could be made one.”<sup>365</sup> Angus Calder, meanwhile, describes how the “tartan-wrapped visit”<sup>366</sup> marked the ideological means by which “a Union of practical convenience became a Union of irrational loves and fears, sublimated in militarism, tartanry, royalism and, eventually imperialism.”<sup>367</sup>

Importantly, though, the 1822 visit had boosted an interest in chiefs and clans. One newspaper article claimed to show that whilst Sir John MacGregor Murray had raised the MacGregor clan from “obscurity and neglect,”<sup>368</sup> his son had gone even further in allowing them to shine. Highlandism was restoring a once-proscribed race and now 2650 clansmen capable of bearing arms signed a document thanking Sir Evan. They were grateful to have “tasted the delight of expressing, as a tribe, our devoted loyalty to the Chief of Chiefs of Scotland.”<sup>369</sup> The monster address was sixty-five feet long. It shows how the cult of clans was taking off.

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<sup>362</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, Sir Walter Scott to Sir Evan MacGregor, p. 68.

<sup>363</sup> Appendix D: PD60/880 - n.d. - “the King wishes to make you the Channel of Conveyance to the Highland chiefs and their followers.”

<sup>364</sup> Pittock, *The invention of Scotland*, p. 89.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>366</sup> Calder, A. (1994). *Revolving cultures: Notes from the Scottish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, p. 103.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>368</sup> Allegedly published in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1822, and detailed in Appendix F: *Sir Evan and his father*, p. 68.

<sup>369</sup> Appendix D: PD60/897 - September 1822 - address to Sir Evan MacGregor. See also John Prebble, *King’s jaunt*, p. 357. See also MacGregor Papers - a Glasgow newspaper report from December 1822 - *The Clan Gregor*.

John Prebble claims the royal visit changed Scotland forever. “A bogus tartan caricature of itself had been drawn and accepted, even by those who mocked it, and it would develop in perspective and colour.”<sup>370</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper points out that even Walter Scott’s loyal son-in-law thought the event a “hallucination:”<sup>371</sup> as J.G. Lockhart pointed out, those Celtic tribes lauded in Edinburgh had “always constituted a small, and almost always an unimportant part of the Scottish population.”<sup>372</sup> Yet Richard Finlay points out that the tartan panorama was exactly what a nineteenth century English aristocrat expected to see in Scotland<sup>373</sup> and Coinneach Maclean suggests that Walter Scott was well-aware of the artificiality of the spectacle: “...in other instances [Scott] was scrupulous about the presentation of Highlanders, noting that Rob Roy should be wearing tartan breeches instead of a kilt on the front cover of his 1817 novel.”<sup>374</sup>

Alex Tyrrell notes how Walter Scott may have been the enthusiastic designer of the ‘plaied pageant’, but says that “the next generation of Scottish landowners [would show themselves] to be his apt pupils.”<sup>375</sup> From now on, tartan was not just allowed: it would be de-rigeur. The number of patterns increased ten-fold after the royal visit with one weaver working forty extra looms to meet demand.<sup>376</sup> Carol Craig describes how it started a fashion, with Lowland Scotland literally “[stealing] the clothes off Highlanders they had previously despised.”<sup>377</sup> John Telfer Dunbar says “the dress in its new form was now the Scottish National Dress.”<sup>378</sup> Scotland’s chiefs could parade a rebel cloth and still be loyal to their Hanoverian masters.

Chiefs and clans could re-invent themselves - and the tartan drive would continue, hiding a multitude of sins along the way. Richard Finlay notes how the royal visit “coincided with a

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<sup>370</sup> Prebble, *King's jaunt*, p. 364.

<sup>371</sup> Lockhart as quoted in Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (1983/2003). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 31.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>373</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 212.

<sup>374</sup> Taken from summary of a talk given by Coinneach Maclean. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies. (2013, March 19). *The tourist gaze on Gaelic Scotland*. University of Glasgow. Retrieved from <http://cscs.academicblogs.co.uk/the-tourist-gaze-on-gaelic-scotland/> Note: Maclean produced a thesis on this subject - Maclean, C. (2014). *The tourist gaze on Gaelic Scotland*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

<sup>375</sup> Tyrrell, A. (2003). The Queen's 'Little Trip': The royal visit to Scotland in 1842. *Scottish Historical Review*, 82(1), 47-73, p. 64. Note: the term ‘plaied pageant’ was used by Scott’s son-in-law, J. G. Lockhart. Lockhart, *op cit.*

<sup>376</sup> Millar, D. (1985). *Queen Victoria's life in the Scottish Highlands, depicted by her watercolour artists*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, p. 69. Millar says it was Messrs Wilson of Bannockburn.

<sup>377</sup> Craig, C. (2003). *The Scots' crisis of confidence*. Edinburgh: Big Thinking, p. 228.

<sup>378</sup> Dunbar, 1977, *Highland costume*, p. 4.

ferocious economic and cultural onslaught against the Gaels which would eventually lead to clearance, famine and emigration.”<sup>379</sup> Raeburn may have painted Macdonell of Glengarry in all his tartan finery. He might have been patron of ‘The Gaelic Society’ and have made small gestures like helping to “finance the studies of Ewen MacLachlan, the fine Gaelic scholar.”<sup>380</sup> Yet Glengarry still forced hundreds of people from his land.<sup>381</sup>

Malcolm Grey reminds us of how Scotland’s landlords could not escape a “wounding involvement with the problems of overpopulation. The condition of the people on their estates... led many of the old aristocracy into debt and into large-scale selling of ancestral property.”<sup>382</sup> Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recalls how her own family Highland home was rented out when the family went to India in 1827. It was let with shooting, “a new and profitable scheme for making money out of the bare moors.”<sup>383</sup>

Yet the Victorian historian, W.H. Skene, despaired. “The country remains a most disheartening spectacle of desolation and distress, exhibiting the wreck of that singular and interesting people who have inhabited the same rugged territory from the earliest dawn of history.”<sup>384</sup> Walter Scott also talked of the day the pibroch would sound in the glen, “but the summons will remain unanswered.”<sup>385</sup> He might want to ask himself what part he had played in that. The Abbotsford author had created the Highlands as a place of romance. He had made the bens and glens fashionable and soon, even a queen, would want a part in this plaided play...

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Highlandism is an invented tradition and it is one that grew out of a fear of Scottish identity being lost in an increasingly ‘British’ society. Political and military interests were involved in this re-working of Scotland and Tom Devine notes Union

<sup>379</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 212, with reference to Devine, T. M. (1995). *The great Highland famine: Hunger, emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth century*. Edinburgh: John Donald, pp. 1-33.

<sup>380</sup> Grant & Cheape, *Periods in Highland history*, p. 216.

<sup>381</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 214. See also Prebble, *King’s Jaunt*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>382</sup> Gray, M. (1992). The course of Scottish emigration, 1750-1914. In T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish emigration and Scottish society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1990-1991* (16-36). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 30.

<sup>383</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, p. 283.

<sup>384</sup> Skene, *Highlanders*, p. 98.

<sup>385</sup> Quoted in Herman, *Scottish enlightenment*, p. 292.

and Empire as being key in the phenomenon. Highlandism was a way of neutralising the Highland rebel. Tartan could be viewed as quaint and Jacobite verse might be safely alluring. Scotland's now harmlessly-tartanned lairds could be brought into the British fold, being further tied to England by British honours and titles.

Highlandism, a backwards-looking movement, was fed by escapism and this seemingly romantic world was starting to provide a sop to a manufacturing revolution that was making Scotland one of the most industrialised nations on earth. As a brutal age of iron and steel emerged, people yearned for 'sunnier' days and Highlandism could soften the harshness of industry - and war. It might allow people to live in the past, without actually having to recreate it.

Literature also encouraged the development of the Highland fad. The *Ossian* epics of James Macpherson fitted with the Romantic Movement of the eighteenth century and whilst this poetry might today be damned as "literary hoax,"<sup>386</sup> then it found an eager audience. *Ossian* was followed by Walter Scott's re-writing of Scottish history. Scott created a national identity, encouraging tourism through dramatic poetry and novels, but critics see the artificiality: the gap between myth and reality was growing, for Highlandism could hide a myriad of social problems.

This chapter has touched on the Highlandism attached to 'chiefly' funerals, for Scotland's lairds were busy fuelling the plaid-mania - among them Sir John MacGregor Murray and Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor. Sir Evan, in particular, would fall on hard times and Highlandism's glamorous trappings and feudal feel could give him new status. Yet both of these clan chiefs brought more to the tartan equation than egos and escapism. They supported clan research and promoted Gaelic. Sir John encouraged Scottish music and the piping tradition.

For this work is starting to show that Highlandism's intellectual foundations are deeper than thought and that an aristocratic contribution to Scottish life is more complex than has been imagined. Some of the early criticisms of Highlandism have arisen because the movement was driven in the main by the British military, the British Empire and the British aristocracy.

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<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*

Yet there were benefits coming from early Highlandism, not least in terms of a recognition of Scotland. ‘Tartanry’ may be a derogatory term for some, but by the early-nineteenth century it was helping Scottish business and tourism.

Of course, there are the embarrassments: the 1822 visit to Edinburgh by George IV saw Lowland and Borderland lairds inventing ‘clan’ tartans and the Scottish aristocracy wrapping itself in the country’s ‘national’ dress. This work acknowledges the artificiality of the event, a contrived happening where “Stuart and Hanoverian loyalties could be made one.”<sup>387</sup> Yet it also recognises the boost given to tartan manufacturers after the king’s visit to the Scottish capital.

Finally, this chapter has shown how the Highlandism of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was a male-driven phenomenon. Those few women who promoted ‘tartanry’ did so through a depiction of Jacobite romance in poetry and song, through Highland travel writings and an adoption of tartan dresses and home furnishings. The next chapter will show how one woman, in particular, was about to play a major role in the development of Highlandism...

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<sup>387</sup> Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, p. 103.

## CHAPTER TWO - QUEEN VICTORIA: ROYALTY TAKES 'TARTANRY' TO NEW HEIGHTS

### Introduction

As the nineteenth century progressed, the cult of the kilt was taking off. Two brothers were busy inventing clan tartans whilst tartan was becoming “a badge of unchallengeable family and antiquity.”<sup>1</sup> Now, though, a woman would take Highlandism to new heights. Queen Victoria fed the phenomenon through her love of tartan and her adoption of a Highland home. There were good reasons to hide away in the hills. This was a time of civil unrest and there in her Deeside castle she could inhabit a ‘feudal’ world, protected by loyal Highlanders.

This ‘Scotch’ adventure produced some interesting spin-offs. Highlandism had already been extending to homes and the building of Balmoral encouraged a rash of ‘baronial’ architecture. A regal presence was having a ‘colonising’ effect with incomers following royal example and travelling north. The hunting and shooting fashion may have started before Victoria’s reign, but by the end of the nineteenth century some 2.5 million acres of land would be used for field sports.<sup>2</sup> The charge is that it has caused an imbalance in land ownership that still exists today.

In later years the queen would dislike the idea of Balmoral being viewed simply as a sporting playground: “it is her palace and not a mere shooting box in the Highlands.”<sup>3</sup> However, a more serious criticism is that by romanticising the Highlands - and it was the *north* of Scotland Victoria loved and not the industrialised Lowlands - the monarch was able to hide the country’s social woes under a multi-coloured plaid. George Scott Moncrieff dubbed the tartan craze “Balmorality... a deadening slime.”<sup>4</sup> There in her Scottish castle, royalty could Highland-fiddle whilst the rest of Scotland burned...

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<sup>1</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (2010) ‘Plaiding the invention of Scotland’ in I. Brown (ed.), *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth* (pp. 32-47). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Figures from Orr, W. (1982). *Deer forests, landlords and crofters: The western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian times*. Edinburgh: John Donald; Wightman, A. (2010/2013). *The poor had no lawyers: Who owns Scotland (and how they got it)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1644 - 24<sup>th</sup> December (envelope dated 29<sup>th</sup> 1888, Sir Henry Ponsonby reporting the queen’s views to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>4</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, G. (1932). Balmorality. In D. C. Thomson (ed.), *Scotland in quest of her youth* (pp. 69-86). London: Oliver & Boyd), p. 86.

Yet how fair is this accusation? It is true that Victoria and Albert became patrons of emigration societies at a time when clearance was still underway. Colin Matthew notes how “in a curious way royal patronage was held to legitimise the clearances of the Highlands.”<sup>5</sup> Moreover, whilst the queen professed to love Scotland, it was the untouched Highlands she adored and not the cities. Yet whilst she was certainly infected by ‘tartanitis’,<sup>6</sup> Victoria was not responsible for starting the tartan trend. Ian Mitchell may accuse the queen of creating a “trashy version of Highland life,”<sup>7</sup> yet there were positive spin-offs. Her promotion of tartan gave a boost to weavers and tourism. Furthermore, whilst critics can regard her support for Highland games as an example of working class control, Victoria’s endorsement of the Braemar Gathering has created an interest which lasts to this day.

Indeed, this chapter suggests that some good might be coming from a royal Highland addiction. The queen’s presence north of the border helped to foster a sense of Scottish community pride.<sup>8</sup> Victoria might view Scotland as a land of majestic stags and loyal gillies, yet this particular monarch of the glen appeared to be a decent landlord. Balmoral was improved under royal care with tenants’ living conditions enhanced and Gaelic speaking encouraged. Indeed, a regal connection was boosting Deeside generally. Local firms were given royal warrants and ‘royal tourism’ was on the rise. Then there is the argument that being in the Highlands made the queen a better person. Here the most powerful woman in the world could mix with the poor - which gave her a hint of a common touch.

This chapter also looks at a literary figure much admired by the queen and being claimed by the Highlandism of the age. Robert Burns was the poet who in his populist mode might not have much cared for royalty. Yet by the mid-Victorian age, the former ploughman and his republican verses were being wrapped in tartan and lauded by monarchy. Historians have pointed out how Burns’ standing was fashioned more by popular objects and commemorations than by literary criticism.<sup>9</sup> Like Jacobitism, radical lines could be made more palatable by Highlandism.

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<sup>5</sup> Matthew, H. C. G. (ed.). (2000). *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Longford, E. (1964/2011). *Victoria*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 255.

<sup>7</sup> Mitchell, I. R. (2000). *On the trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*. Edinburgh: Luath, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2002) ‘Queen Victoria and the cult of Scottish monarchy’ in E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 216.

<sup>9</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. & Whatley, C. A. (2014). Poems and festivals, art and artefact and the commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844-c.1896. *Scottish Historical Review*, 93(1), 56-79.

As the Victorian age got underway Highlandism was continuing to allow people to be ‘Scotch’, but still loyal to Britain. Victoria would throw herself into encouraging this idea whilst promoting the virtues of Highland regiments. Her enthusiasm was matched by an expanding nineteenth century press which was reinforcing the idea of a colourful ‘Walter Scott’ Scotland. Again, Highlandism was masking the reality of the age.

**“The Queen’s first visit to the land of ‘brown heather and shaggy wood’ must indeed be marked by some worthy demonstration worthy of and suitable to the occasion, but we trust that it will be of a character more becoming to the intelligence of the nation than the costly and ridiculous fooleries which signalised the visit of her uncle”<sup>10</sup>**

Richard Finlay suggests that the 1822 royal visit was Highlandism’s crowning moment and that the phenomenon waned for some years after.<sup>11</sup> Yet Robert Robson reminds us that by the time of Walter Scott’s death in 1832, “the Scotland of Adam Smith had been displaced in the consciousness of the world by the Scotland of the Scottish minstrels, of Rob Roy, of Gothic castles and of ‘The Heart of Midlothian’.” Robson continues: “...a new Scotland had been born and Scots, rather to their surprise, found that they were living in it.”<sup>12</sup> Fifteen years after George IV’s famous tartan jaunt a ‘Celtic Fancy Ball’ was held in Edinburgh’s Assembly Rooms with 550 people dancing to a backdrop of plaid, dirks and pistols. The irony is that some of the weapons had been used to fire on rebels in the ’45.<sup>13</sup>

Earlier that decade a writer on Scottish Gaelic culture had also been promoting Highlandism. James Logan’s book, *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners, as Preserved among the Highlanders*, was published in 1831.<sup>14</sup> In it, Hugh Trevor-Roper claims that he repeated all the fables: “... the recent Highland mythology: the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, the

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<sup>10</sup> Visit of Her Majesty to Scotland. (1842, August 18). *The Perthshire Advertiser and Strathmore Journal* quoted in Kerr, J. (1992/1998). *Queen Victoria’s Scottish diaries*. Orpington: Eric Dobby, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 213.

<sup>12</sup> Robson, R. (1967). *Ideas and institutions of Victorian Britain*. London: G. Bell & Sons, p. 144. See also Raleigh, J. H. (1963). What Scott meant to the Victorians. *Victorian Studies*, 7(1), 7-34.

<sup>13</sup> Celtic Fancy Ball. (1837, January 28). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Logan, James (1797 – 1872), writer on Scottish Gaelic culture.

antiquity of the kilt, the differentiation of clan tartans.”<sup>15</sup> In his defence, Ian Grimble points out how Logan had actually taken the trouble to tour northern Scotland on foot, collecting tartan patterns along the way.<sup>16</sup>

It was this increasingly fashionable multi-coloured cloth that would cement Highlandism’s building blocks. Murray Pittock notes how “tartan’s final - and fantastic - codification by the Jacobite wannabees John and Charles Sobieski Stuart in *Vestiarum Scotticum* (1842) and *The Costume of the Clans* (1845) allowed it to be a badge of unchallengeable family and antiquity.”<sup>17</sup> The Sobieski brothers - real name Allen - claimed to be descended from Prince Charles Edward Stuart, but, as Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recalled: “...nobody was more astonished at this assumption than their own father, a decent man who held some small situation in the Tower of London.”<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, the Sobieskis were admired. Lord Lovat built them a mansion on the island of Eilean Aigas. Here, “surrounded by Highland bric-a-brac [they] held court, wrote books and amassed debts.”<sup>19</sup>

Hugh Trevor-Roper calls these two men the real inventors of clan tartans. Their book on Highland costume, was, he says “shot through with pure fantasy and bare-face forgery.”<sup>20</sup> William Donaldson is more tactful: as the brothers “mourned the departure of the mythic world picture, they were helping to recreate it, combining a full-blown Romantic medievalism with the old heroic tradition.”<sup>21</sup> Like Macpherson, they “began an industry which would thrive in Scotland long after their death.”<sup>22</sup> The Borderland Armstrong tartan

<sup>15</sup> Trevor-Roper, H. (2009). The invention of tradition: The Highland tradition of Scotland. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 15-42). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 38. Logan admired *Ossian*, saying that while authenticity was still a “vexed question... no rational being can now, it is believed, entertain any doubt that these poems have existed in Highland tradition through successive centuries.” Logan, J. (1851/1976). *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic manners, as preserved among the Highlanders, being an historical and descriptive account of the inhabitants, antiquities, and national peculiarities of Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 241.

<sup>16</sup> Grimble, I. (1980). *Clans and chiefs: Celtic tribalism in Scotland*. London: Blond & Briggs, p. 223.

<sup>17</sup> Pittock, ‘Plaiding the Invention’, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Stuart, John Sobieski Stolberg (real name John Carter Allen, 1795? – 1872), and Charles Edward Stuart (real name, Charles Manning Allen, 1799? – 1880), imposters. See also Grant E. (1898/1972). *Memoirs of a Highland lady, 1797-1827*. London: John Murray, p. 271.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*. See also Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, pp. 110-113.

<sup>20</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention*, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Donaldson, *Jacobite song*, p. 113. See also Womack, P. (1989). *Improvement and romance: Constructing the myth of the Highlands*. London: Macmillan, p. 113.

<sup>22</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention*, p. 41.

was invented by them in 1842, as was the Maxwell tartan.<sup>23</sup> Neither of these reiving families was generally considered a ‘clan’ before that date. Yet, as the ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ notes: the Sobieskis “added mystery, romance and some spurious historical documentation to the subject of tartans.”<sup>24</sup>

If two brothers could peddle the Highland myth, it was royalty who went on, rather more innocently, to give it mass appeal. Queen Victoria spent nearly seven years of her sixty-three year reign in Scotland.<sup>25</sup> We can compare that to the almost five weeks she honoured Ireland with and the seven nights she gave to Wales.<sup>26</sup> Richard Finlay talks of the “remarkable impact [she] had in giving the British monarchy a Scottish dimension.”<sup>27</sup> In return, a royal head in the Highlands could make Scots feel a real part of the British Empire. On her first visit to Edinburgh in 1842 one newspaper noticed how the nation went “clean daft”<sup>28</sup> with canny Scotsmen not quite so shrewd in the frenzy of seeing their pretty young ruler. There were the exceptions: a leg of mutton was thrown at the royal carriage as it trundled through the capital’s streets, yet Victoria’s first appearance on Scottish soil caused great excitement.<sup>29</sup>

That devotion would wax and wane over the years, but, in general, the monarch could be held in high regard north of the border. When her fifty-year tenure was celebrated in 1887, the folk of northern Perthshire were asked to help fund the royal milestone. Highland generosity for the ‘Queen’s Jubilee Offering’ was touching, although some had first baulked at the idea: “...a-truth I’ll no gae nothing - and on second thought, I think I will give you something, as my Father had a great regard for the Queen,”<sup>30</sup> one person declared. That sentiment would be

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<sup>23</sup> ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ website (<http://www.tartansauthority.com>) shows the Armstrong tartan (registered 1842, ITI 793); Maxwell tartan (registered 1842, ITI 1500).

<sup>24</sup> ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’, (n.d.). *Tartan display*. Retrieved from <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan-ferret/display/1555/hay-1842-clan>

<sup>25</sup> Hector Bolitho, *Victoria: The Widow and Her Son*, as quoted in Loughlin, J. (2007). *The British monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 53. See also Lee, S. (1904). *Queen Victoria: A biography*. London: Smith, Elder and Co, p. 565; Hardie F. (1935/1963). *The political influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* See also Matthew, *Nineteenth Century Britain*, p. 124 - “Victoria visited Ireland three times, in 1849, 1851 and 1861 and then not until 1900.”

<sup>27</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 224.

<sup>28</sup> Summary: Queen Victoria’s Visit. (1842, September 10). *Leeds Times*, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Emily Crawford, *Victoria, Queen and Ruler*, as quoted in Duff, D. (1968). *Victoria in the Highlands: The personal journal of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*. London: Frederick Muller, p. 245.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix A. Quote from Atholl MSS. Bundle 1660 - 5<sup>th</sup> July 1887, Janet Gillespie quoting a donor, to Miss MacGregor. The Queen’s Jubilee was celebrated in June 1887. The Women’s Jubilee gift totalled £75,000 - see Longford, *op cit.* p. 544. See also Hibbert, C. (2000). *Queen Victoria: A personal history*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 379-383.

returned. Scotland would become the “brightest jewel”<sup>31</sup> in Victoria’s crown. Her Highlanders would be endowed with “energy, courage, worth, inimitable perseverance, determination and self-respect.”<sup>32</sup>

The story of the monarch’s love affair with these northern lands is worth telling from its early days as it forms the backdrop for her promotion of Highlandism. Victoria might later muse on the Scottish blood in her veins, but her background was solidly Hanoverian.<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Longford describes how the girl heard mostly German spoken for the first few years of her life and was a full three years old before she learnt English.<sup>34</sup> Cecil Woodham-Smith notes how Victoria’s mother was thought to be “too German, too fond of Germany, too closely surrounded by German relatives and retainers.”<sup>35</sup> A German governess would further influence the princess, right up until her marriage.<sup>36</sup>

Yet, even as a child, Victoria was not unaware of Scotland. Delia Millar describes how at six-months-old the princess was painted in a ‘Scotch’ bonnet adorned with tartan ribbon.<sup>37</sup> As a schoolgirl she learned about Scottish history, the ‘North British’ lands being known through pets and clothes.<sup>38</sup> ‘Highlander’ was the name of a royal pony. The Duchess of Gordon gave her a black ‘Scotch’ terrier and she would take possession of a Highland deerhound.<sup>39</sup> Aged fourteen Victoria danced a reel and watching a performance of Walter Scott’s *Guy Mannerling* she was fascinated by an actor doing the Highland Fling.<sup>40</sup> Tartan was tantalising. One boy at Kensington Palace was “dressed like a Scotch-man with bare legs and a plaid

<sup>31</sup> Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1871, quoted in Victoria, Queen of Britain. (1985). *Queen Victoria in her letters and journals: A selection.* (edited by C. Hibbert). New York: Viking.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1883, 2010). *More leaves from the journal of a life in the Highlands from 1862 to 1882.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Reprints - 12<sup>th</sup> September 1873 - “for Stuart blood is in my veins.”

<sup>34</sup> Longford, *Victoria*, p. 22.

<sup>35</sup> Woodham-Smith C. (1972). *Queen Victoria: Her life and times, vol.1, 1819-1861.* London: Hamish Hamilton, p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 53-55. Baroness Lehzen was governess and kept strict control over her royal charge. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher repeat the claim that the princess was devoted to the woman, but “greatly in awe of her” - see Queen of Great Britain. (1908). *The letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-1843 (Vol.1).* (edited by A. C. Benson & Viscount Esher). London: John Murray, p. 25. They also note the influence of other Europeans in Victoria’s early life, such as Baron Stockmar and her Uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians.

<sup>37</sup> Millar, D. (1985). *Queen Victoria’s life in the Scottish Highlands, depicted by her watercolour artists.* London: Philip Wilson Publishers, p. 70.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix C: Vol.1, p. 84: 28<sup>th</sup> August 1832 - Victoria as a schoolgirl learning about Scottish history.

<sup>39</sup> Appendix C: Vol.3, p. 189: 7<sup>th</sup> June 1833 - Victoria rides the pony, ‘Highlander’; Vol.4, p. 258: 26<sup>th</sup> February 1834 - Victoria gets a ‘Scotch’ terrier; Vol.7, p. 163: 19<sup>th</sup> July 1835 - Victoria gets Highland deer-hound.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix C: Vol.4, p. 4: 13<sup>th</sup> August 1833 - Victoria dances a Scottish reel; Vol.4, pp. 167-168: 28<sup>th</sup> November 1833 - Victoria watches *Guy Mannerling* at the opera.

dress. [He] danced about very funnily.”<sup>41</sup> In 1834 she sent her half-sister a ‘Scotch’ dress with details of a new tartan she herself planned to wear.<sup>42</sup>

Yet, if Scottish cloth was intriguing, the country itself could still be viewed with some disdain. Indeed, in the early days of her reign, Victoria would find herself being teased about those living in the outer reaches of her realm. Whilst the Irish had “the vices and virtues of barbarians,” she was told that mountaineers and Highlanders could be “very fraudulent.”<sup>43</sup> As her prime minister declared - albeit perhaps in jest - the ‘Scotch’ were “a dreadful people”<sup>44</sup> and feared all over the world. Lord Melbourne had them summed up: Edinburgh folk were “a most conceited set”<sup>45</sup> whilst his sister considered Glasgow a “nasty town.”<sup>46</sup> Scottish Reformers were said to be “very violent people”<sup>47</sup> and the country’s universities had more “pure unmixed blackguardism, and of a lower sort”<sup>48</sup> than found in English seats of learning.

Melbourne quoted Johnson’s view that for a Scotsman “the only fine Prospect is the road to England.”<sup>49</sup> He also mocked the accent. A Scot had appeared before a judge to say he wished to ‘show cause’. It came out as “shoe cows.”<sup>50</sup> The story made the queen laugh. Then there were those northern aristocrats to pity: “...many of these Scotch families being poor.”<sup>51</sup> In this case Victoria was referring to the Errolls, but they were not the only struggling upper class Scots. E.F. Benson talks of the “impoverished Gordons”<sup>52</sup> at Abergeldie Castle whilst Melbourne’s sister, Fanny, had visited the nearly financially-ruined John Atholl MacGregor. The man was heir to a baronetcy and a clan chiefship and was living with his wife in a “wretched”<sup>53</sup> abode. Melbourne noted with satisfaction that their sorry situation had “cured Fanny of love in a cottage!”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Appendix C: Vol.5, p. 144: 20<sup>th</sup> July 1834 - watching Charles dancing in a plaid dress.

<sup>42</sup> Millar, *Queen Victoria*, p. 70.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix C: Vol.5, p. 296: 6<sup>th</sup> June 1838 - Melbourne tells Victoria mountaineers and Highlanders are “fraudulent.”

<sup>44</sup> Appendix C: Vol.13, p. 260: 17<sup>th</sup> January 1840 - the ‘Scotch’ a “dreadful people” says Melbourne.

<sup>45</sup> Appendix C: Vol.11, p. 100: 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1839 - Edinburgh a “most conceited set.”

<sup>46</sup> Appendix C: Vol.7, p. 171: 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1838 - Glasgow considered a “nasty town.”

<sup>47</sup> Appendix C: Vol.5, p. 38: 8<sup>th</sup> April 1838 - Scotch reformers “very violent people.”

<sup>48</sup> Appendix C: Vol.13, p. 260-261, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1840 - *op cit.* Vol.13, p. 241: 12<sup>th</sup> January 1840 - “talked of the universities in Scotland and having gone down excessively.”

<sup>49</sup> Appendix C: Vol.8, p. 29: 11<sup>th</sup> October 1838 - Melbourne quoting Johnson.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix C: Vol.12, pp. 53-4: 18<sup>th</sup> August 1839 - Melbourne mocking Scottish accents.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix C: Vol.6, p. 34: 15<sup>th</sup> June 1838 - many Scottish aristocrats are poor.

<sup>52</sup> Benson, E. F. (1930/1938). *As we were: A Victorian peep show*. London: Penguin, p. 53.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix C: Vol.7, pp. 261-262: 30<sup>th</sup> September 1838 - Melbourne on MacGregor family accommodation.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

Ironically it would be a scandal involving a Scottish aristocrat that threatened to do the young queen great damage. In 1839 Lady Flora Hastings, the daughter of an Ayrshire earl, was seen at court with a swollen stomach.<sup>55</sup> Victoria disliked the woman who was referred to rudely as ‘Scotty’,<sup>56</sup> and Lady Flora had to undergo an examination to prove she was not pregnant. She died soon after of a liver tumour, but her humiliation got the sympathy of the press and Victoria was hissed at Ascot.<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Longford calls it “the most disastrous episode of her early reign”<sup>58</sup> whilst Christopher Hibbert devotes a whole chapter to ‘The Hastings Affair’.<sup>59</sup> Lady Flora’s relatives never forgave the queen, keeping the blinds drawn at the family home when she came north of the border and sticking stamps with the royal head on upside down on letters.<sup>60</sup>

Yet Scotland was creating some interest in England and by the 1830s *Court Magazine* was treating its readers to features such as ‘A Pleasure Party in the Highlands.’<sup>61</sup> Highlandism was being linked to fun and relaxation. Charles Withers notes how the Highlands became a “recreational commodity”<sup>62</sup> from this decade on. Mark Bence-Jones and Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd relate how the annual exodus of “aristocratic England to Highland lodges in pursuit of the grouse and the stag”<sup>63</sup> started around 1838 and cite Edward Ellice, a wealthy politician who bought part of the Macdonell’s Invergarry estate in Inverness-shire. Other aristocrats were also crossing the border at this time. In 1838 Lady Cowper planned to “make a Tour in Scotland”<sup>64</sup> whilst another courtier asked Lord Melbourne to beg the queen for permission to go shooting there.<sup>65</sup> The monarch herself was still refusing to visit either Scotland or Ireland.<sup>66</sup> However, she had appointed a Scotsman as her physician.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Hastings, Lady Flora, Elizabeth (1806 – 1839), courtier.

<sup>56</sup> Somerset, A. (1984/2004). *Ladies in waiting: From the Tudors to the present day*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, pp. 269-279.

<sup>57</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Hastings, Lady Flora - see K. D. Reynolds’ description of her illness and death. See also Longford, *op cit.* p. 129; Woodham-Smith, *op cit.* pp. 164-170.

<sup>58</sup> Longford, *Victoria*, p. 132.

<sup>59</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, pp. 76-84.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* See also Friends of Loudoun Kirk. (2008). *Loudoun burials*. Retrieved from <http://loudounkirk.wikifoundry.com/page/Loudoun+Burials>

<sup>61</sup> Crawford, J., Ferguson, L., & Watson, K. (2010). *Victorian Scotland*. Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, p. 116.

<sup>62</sup> Withers, C. W. J. (1992). ‘The historical creation of the Scottish Highlands’ in I. Donnachie & C. Whatley (eds.), *The manufacture of Scottish history* (pp. 143-156). Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 154.

<sup>63</sup> Bence-Jones, M., & Montgomery-Massingberd, H. (1979). *The British aristocracy*. London: Constable, p. 65.

<sup>64</sup> Appendix C: Vol.6, p. 166: 18<sup>th</sup> July 1838 - Lady Cowper wishes to make a tour in Scotland.

<sup>65</sup> Appendix C: Vol.11, p. 261: 29<sup>th</sup> July 1839 - a courtier wishes to go shooting in Scotland.

<sup>66</sup> Appendix C: Vol.12, p. 165: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1839 - Victoria will not go to Scotland; Vol.12, p. 200: 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1839 - the queen tells Melbourne she will go somewhere, “but not to Scotland or Ireland.”

Victoria had also become addicted to Walter Scott. She had met the writer as a young girl and as a teenager waxed lyrical about his work:<sup>68</sup> "...[he] is *my beau ideal* of a Poet; I do so admire him both in Poetry and Prose!"<sup>69</sup> When finally allowed to start reading his stories a fantasy world opened up. "The Bride of Lammermoor, the *first novel* I have ever read!"<sup>70</sup> It was escapism at its best, yet Lorn Macintyre reminds us of how only three of Scott's books - *The Highland Widow*, *The Two Drovers*, and *The Fair Maid of Perth* - really portray the old Highlands.<sup>71</sup> Still, this flight into the past gave the novelist poetic license. It helped the Abbotsford writer avoid current realities - and the queen liked that. Frank Hardie points out how she "scarcely ever read modern authors."<sup>72</sup>

The Victorian writer, Theodore Martin, noted how on a visit to Scott's house, the young queen hesitated when asked to sign his journal: "I felt it would be presumption to do."<sup>73</sup> Victoria would go on to have a whole room decorated with scenes from the novelist's works, yet adulation apparently had its limits.<sup>74</sup> When asked to help fund the vast Scott monument being built in Edinburgh, a politician urged caution. This "madness for Monuments," Lord Melbourne declared, was a "sheer waste of public money... his works are his best monument."<sup>75</sup> Her advisor was not alone in his views. Other Englishmen might also admire Walter Scott, yet they, too, seemed reluctant to put their hands in their pockets to subsidise the Princes Street edifice: "...if the Scotch wish for a more exclusive monument, the Scotch... should pay for it,"<sup>76</sup> the writer, Edward Bulwer Lytton, bullishly declared. "I feel if I were a Scotchman, I would sell the coat off my back rather than ask a man not a Scot to subscribe."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, p. 56. When Victoria ascended the throne she appointed James Clark who would be her doctor for 23 years. See Appendix H: ODNB - Clark, Sir James (1788 – 1870), physician.

<sup>68</sup> Lockhart, J. G. (1837/1888). *Memoirs of the life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* Edinburgh: Robert Caddell, p. 690 - "presented to the little Princess Victoria - I hope they will change her name."

<sup>69</sup> Appendix C: Vol.12, p. 188: 1<sup>st</sup> November 1836 - Victoria waxing lyrical about Walter Scott.

<sup>70</sup> Appendix C: Vol.4, p. 6: 9<sup>th</sup> January 1838 - Victoria reading *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

<sup>71</sup> Macintyre, L. M. (1976). *Sir Walter Scott and the Highlands*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

<sup>72</sup> Hardie, *Political influence*, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> Queen Victoria, quoted in Martin, T. (1901/2013). *Queen Victoria as I knew her*. London: William Blackwood, p. 15.

<sup>74</sup> Claim in *The private life of Queen Victoria: By one of Her Majesty's servants*. (1901). London: C. Arthur Pearson, p. 126.

<sup>75</sup> Appendix C: Vol.6, pp. 270-271: 8<sup>th</sup> August 1838.

<sup>76</sup> Edward Bulwer Lytton, quoted in Mackay C. (1877/2008). *Forty years' recollections of life, literature and public affairs: From 1830 to 1870*. London: Chapman & Hall, p. 190.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

However, by the start of the 1840s Victoria had a definite view on how a Scotsman should look. Lord Douglas had been at a palace ball: "...extremely handsome in his Scotch costume."<sup>78</sup> The Band of the 72<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders were playing at Windsor: "...very handsome with their bonnets, but they *ought* to have kilts."<sup>79</sup> The queen had already cast Scots in a certain garb and, without it, they seemed dull. When her daughter wed a Highlander - the son of the Duke of Argyll - Victoria was disappointed when the new husband failed to wear a kilt at the wedding.<sup>80</sup> Mind, the Campbell wealth may have made up for any let-down in terms of Highland pageant: "...it is a very brilliant Marriage in a worldly point of view as he is immensely rich."<sup>81</sup>

Two years after her own marriage the monarch saw her Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, "about a little trip to Scotland."<sup>82</sup> Victoria was twenty-three when she and Albert first set foot on Scottish soil. In the autumn of 1842 they planned to travel by sea from Woolwich to Dalkeith, then go on to tour the Highlands "where no Sovereign of England has been since the Union, & none perhaps before, excepting Charles 11nd when in his misfortunes."<sup>83</sup> Whether it was deliberate timing, or just an accident, one newspaper suggested that the queen would land in Scotland on the same day as another more unfortunate royal head had once done. Mary Queen of Scots was the last monarch to visit the Highlands.<sup>84</sup>

In early September the royal couple spotted the Scottish shoreline - "bold, and wild, totally unlike our coast"<sup>85</sup> - and heard the anchor weighed at Leith: "...a welcome sound."<sup>86</sup> The queen noticed that the days were longer in Scotland and that Edinburgh was "so regular... the *High Street*... very fine... the Castle... most striking."<sup>87</sup> She was struck by the difference between the Scottish and English characters and by the number of red-haired people. Yet on this visit, the monarch hoped to keep her northern subjects at bay. The royal stay at

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<sup>78</sup> Appendix C: Vol.6, p. 210: 26<sup>th</sup> July 1838.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix C: Vol.12, pp. 22-23: 14th July 1841.

<sup>80</sup> Appendix C: Vol.60, p. 67: 21<sup>st</sup> March 1871 - "it was such a pity he was not wearing his kilt."

<sup>81</sup> Queen Victoria to the Empress Frederick, quoted in Duff, *Victoria in the Highlands*, *op cit.* p. 361.

<sup>82</sup> Appendix C: Vol.14, p. 48: 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1842.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* p. 54: 7<sup>th</sup> August 1842.

<sup>84</sup> The Queen's visit to Scotland. (1842, September 3). *Hampshire Advertiser*, p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1868, 1973). *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861.* (edited by A. Helps). London: Folio Society), 30/31<sup>st</sup> August and 1<sup>st</sup> September 1842

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

aristocratic houses was to be “strictly private.”<sup>88</sup> After a ‘Scotch’ breakfast of porridge at the home of the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, Victoria and Albert started for the Highlands.<sup>89</sup>

In Perth, the Earl and Countess of Mansfield showed them the mound where ancient Scottish kings had been crowned at Scone Palace. At Dunkeld, meanwhile, Lord and Lady Glenlyon, the future Duke and Duchess of Athole, prepared a ‘Highland’ welcome.<sup>90</sup> It was a piece of theatre, one that encompassed the grand and the simple, for Highlandism could show that both might exist side by side. The family’s private army, the Atholl Highlanders, paraded in kilts whilst a triumphal arch of humble heather crowned the red sandstone bridge. Great canvas tents hung with mirrors and filled with flowers stretched down to the River Tay whilst respectful locals cheered from a distance. It was the Scottish social event of the year with lairds and landowners ordered to arrive in tartan, accompanied by their pipers.<sup>91</sup> The royal couple sat down to a Highland feast and the ‘Scotch’ pageant was sealed by some fast and furious displays of sword dancing and reeling.<sup>92</sup>

It was a tartan triumph - and the plaided theme continued. Further west at mighty Taymouth Castle a sea of kilts waited. Lord Breadalbane’s men lined the route clad in Campbell tartan whilst the earl himself appeared dramatically in full Highland uniform.<sup>93</sup> As one English newspaper noted: “The noble marquis has given orders to have several hundred of his people clad in the garb which every Highlander was wont to wear.”<sup>94</sup> Although just how many locals could afford that sort of get-up in the 1840s is debatable. A book of black and white photographs of everyday Victorian life shows that kilted working class men are few and far between.<sup>95</sup>

As with Walter Scott, though, why let the facts get in the way of a good story? Pipers played, people cheered and the monarch was entranced. “It seemed as if a great chieftain in olden

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<sup>88</sup> British Library, Peel Papers, Add. MS 40434, fos. 231-3, Queen Victoria to Sir Robert Peel, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1842, quoted in Alex Tyrrell, *The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842*, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 213, April 2003, p. 48

<sup>89</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1868/1973) *Leaves*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1842.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 6/7th September. Note: the 6<sup>th</sup> duke and duchess spelled the name ‘Athole’ instead of ‘Atholl’.

<sup>91</sup> Kerr, *op cit.* pp. 11-24. See also Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1868/1973) *Leaves*. 7<sup>th</sup> September 1842. See also Her Majesty’s visit to Scotland. (1842, September 12). *Morning Post*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>92</sup> Kerr, *op cit.* pp. 22-23. See also Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, *Leaves*. 7<sup>th</sup> September 1842.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> The Queen’s visit to Scotland. (1842, September, 3). *Hampshire Advertiser*, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Minto, C. S. (1970). *Victorian and Edwardian Scotland from old photographs*. London: Batsford.

feudal times was receiving his sovereign,”<sup>96</sup> she waxed. One newspaper noted how Scotland was being repatriated: “...no longer a half savage population, torn to pieces by the quarrels of the feudal chiefs.”<sup>97</sup> These once troublesome lairds were now loyal to Britain. A Highland feudal age could be safely resurrected. Scotland and England might co-exist peacefully. “We are now all one *people*,”<sup>98</sup> the publication declared.

Alex Tyrrell suggests the Taymouth scene offered the queen “a picture of the Highlands as an old, organic community consisting of the monarch, the aristocracy and her loyal retainers.”<sup>99</sup> It is left to Ian Mitchell to point out the irony. Taymouth Castle stood on Campbell land where the old clan system had long been destroyed - and now the old Highland way of life was being reinvented as pageant: “...history occurring, as Marx said, first as tragedy and then as farce.”<sup>100</sup> Mitchell claims it took 656 horses to transport the royal party to Breadalbane: “...for a piece of neo-feudal nonsense... the Highlands were starving, and in the Glasgow slums people slept a dozen or more to a room.”<sup>101</sup> Michael Paterson reminds us that despite a growing and prosperous middle class, “the majority of Queen Victoria’s subjects were poor.”<sup>102</sup>

Such radical thoughts presumably did not enter royal heads. More piping followed - “we have both become quite fond of the bag-pipes”<sup>103</sup> - and Albert went shooting.<sup>104</sup> They danced reels at the castle and a piped boat trip up Loch Tay sealed the Highland adventure: moody mountains reflecting in clear loch waters and loyal gillies singing wild Gaelic songs.<sup>105</sup> Alex Tyrrell notes how fiction was becoming fact. Victoria was “presented with a vision of an age-old country imbued with the values of the romantic castle, bagpipes and tartans, blood sports,

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<sup>96</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, *Leaves*, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1842.

<sup>97</sup> Summary, Queen Victoria’s visit. (1842, September 10). *Leeds Times*, p. 4.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Tyrrell, A. (2005). Paternalism, public memory and national identity in early Victorian Scotland: The Robert Burns Festival at Ayr in 1844. *History*, 90(297), pp. 42-61.

<sup>100</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* p. 130.

<sup>102</sup> Paterson, M. (2008). *Life in Victorian Britain: A social history of Queen Victoria’s reign*. London: Constable & Robinson, p. 32.

<sup>103</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, *Leaves*, 8-9th September 1842.

<sup>104</sup> Appendix C: Vol.14, p. 119: 8<sup>th</sup> September 1842. See also The Queen in the Highlands. (1842, September 17). *Leeds Times*, p. 7; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, *Leaves*, 10<sup>th</sup> September 1842.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

the military tradition, the ritualised Celticism of dances and festivals and an appropriated version of Jacobitism.”<sup>106</sup>

Tyrrell quotes a newspaper of the time that commented on the “strangeness of a ‘Queen of the House of Brunswick’ requesting the song ‘O waes for me Prince Charlie’”<sup>107</sup> during her Scottish trip. Chapter five of this work will further examine her claim to be a ‘Jacobite’. Yet the monarch left her northern lands with two Highland terriers and much regret: “...this is our last day in Scotland, a really delightful country.”<sup>108</sup> Others in the royal party could not leave quickly enough. Victoria noted how her prime minister was greatly relieved to be back in England: “...for that he thought I had never been more exposed”<sup>109</sup> when going through Stirling and Linlithgow. Highlanders might be alluring, but could Scots really be trusted?

Back in England the Highland theme continued as Albert surprised Victoria with a piper at Buckingham Palace.<sup>110</sup> By now the queen was even using the odd ‘Scotch’ word, albeit rather strangely: her royal diaries record seeing “a charming brood of wee little bantams.”<sup>111</sup> The interest had been sparked. In 1844 the couple came north again and first stop this time was industrial Dundee - a very different proposition, as the monarch noted. “The situation of the town is very fine, but the town itself not so.”<sup>112</sup> It probably was not. Dundee’s biggest spinner had gone bankrupt two years before and a depression brought on by “railway speculation, overtrading and undue extension of mills and factories”<sup>113</sup> followed. Times were so hard that Lord Cockburn could sum up the east coast city as “a sink of atrocity, which no moral flushing seems capable of cleansing.”<sup>114</sup> Indeed, the 1861 census shows 79.6 per cent of Dundonians living in houses with just one or two rooms.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> The *Glasgow Argus*, as quoted in Tyrrell, A. (2003). The Queen's 'Little Trip': The royal visit to Scotland in 1842. *Scottish Historical Review*, 82(1), 47-73, p. 66.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Appendix C: Vol.14, p. 131: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1842.

<sup>109</sup> Appendix C: Vol.15, p. 54: 4<sup>th</sup> February 1843.

<sup>110</sup> Appendix C: Vol 15, p. 210: 19<sup>th</sup> June 1843.

<sup>111</sup> Appendix C: Vol.16, p. 14: 11<sup>th</sup> August 1843.

<sup>112</sup> Appendix C: Vol.18, p. 37: 11<sup>th</sup> September 1844. T. C. Smout also notes Dundee as a “mean city” - Smout, T. C. (1986/1987). *A century of the Scottish people, 1830-1950*. London: Collins, p. 33.

<sup>113</sup> Warden, A. J. (1864). *The linen trade: Ancient and modern*. London: Longman, pp. 617-618; Watson M. (1990). *Jute and flax mills in Dundee*. Fife: Hutton Press, p. 14.

<sup>114</sup> Lord Cockburn as quoted in Miskell, L., Whatley, C. A., & Harris, B. (eds.). (2000). *Victorian Dundee: Image and realities*. London: Tuckwell, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> 1861 Census of Scotland as quoted in McCaffrey J. F. (1998). *Scotland in the nineteenth century*. London: Macmillan, p. 34.

Victoria waved to the waiting crowd - and left as quickly as she could. She was on her way to somewhere rather more picturesque. Romantic Blair Castle had been lent by Lord and Lady Glenlyon and it came with a host of Highland touches: fresh heather placed in rooms, water fetched from a well and a piper playing under the window from where they could hear the stags “roaring like lions.”<sup>116</sup> The Glenlyons had even made a new approach to the castle to make it easier for royal carriages to reach the front door.<sup>117</sup> The monarch, though, was relishing the outdoor challenge and was toiling over rugged mountain paths. Her ‘Scotch’ stamina would later be touched on in a book written by a courtier.<sup>118</sup>

Highlandism was giving royalty the chance to prove itself physically. Albert went stalking and bagged a ‘Royal’.<sup>119</sup> Jane Anderson notes how the prince put the seal of approval on Scottish field sports during this stay.<sup>120</sup> The queen, meanwhile, was admiring the servants. The head-keeper, Peter Fraser, was a “curious red haired little old man”<sup>121</sup> who was clearly devoted to his master, Lord Glenlyon. It was comforting to think there was such feudal loyalty around. “One sees so much of that kind of attachment, in the Highlands.”<sup>122</sup> Victoria was also immersing herself in Highland history and reading about the ‘Old Pretender’s’ attempts to claim his throne.<sup>123</sup> As she would later declare: “I love my peaceful wild Highlands, the glorious scenery, the dear good people who are much attached to us.”<sup>124</sup>

Here, the most powerful woman in the world could relax, for this was a place that breathed “freedom and peace”<sup>125</sup> It was miles away from Glasgow - “the squalid industrial megalopolis,”<sup>126</sup> as T.C Smout calls it - that grew by a third between 1831 and 1841. Edmund Swinglehurst notes how the romantic Highland scene “suited the reaction against the

<sup>116</sup> Kerr, *Queen Victoria’s Scottish Diaries*. pp. 43-88; Atholl, J. J. H. H. S.-M. (1908). *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families: In five volumes*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, Vol.IV, p. 446. See also Appendix C: Vol.18, p. 70: 26<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - “roaring stags.”

<sup>117</sup> Blair Castle. (1844, September 10). *Dundee Courier*, p.2. - “a new approach has been made to the castle... passing through the avenue of splendid trees, called ‘MacGregor’s walk’.”

<sup>118</sup> *The private life of Queen Victoria*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>119</sup> Appendix C: Vol. 18, p. 69: 25<sup>th</sup> September 1844.

<sup>120</sup> Anderson, J. (2007). *Atholl Estates: A brief history*. Perth: Blair Castle and Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust, p. 9.

<sup>121</sup> Appendix C: Vol.18, p. 56: 19<sup>th</sup> September 1844.

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

<sup>123</sup> Appendix C: Vol.18, p. 209: 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1844.

<sup>124</sup> Queen Victoria to King Leopold, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1851 in Victoria, *More Leaves, op cit.*

<sup>125</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 50: 8<sup>th</sup> September 1848.

<sup>126</sup> Smout, *A century of the Scottish people*, p. 8.

industrial prison that was growing around the nation.”<sup>127</sup> The monarch was looking for escape, not least from London - and where a queen went, others followed. In 1843 Prince Alexander of the Netherlands declared himself to be “delighted”<sup>128</sup> with Scotland. Grand-Duchess Stephanie of Baden visited in 1850,<sup>129</sup> as did the Duke of Parma, whilst a year later Queen Marie Amelie would be “charmed”<sup>130</sup> with the place.

However, Victoria was not the only famous face fanning the fires of Highlandism at this time. As the nineteenth century progressed a Lowland-born bard who penned much of his work in the Borderlands was growing in popularity - and not least for his depictions of Highland life.<sup>131</sup> Lines like “The bonniest lad that e'er I saw, Bonie laddie, Highland laddie, Wore a plaid and was fu' braw, Bonie Highland laddie. On his head a bonnet blue, Bonie laddie, Highland laddie, His royal heart was firm and true, Bonie Highland laddie,”<sup>132</sup> shout the message of Highland worth. Robert Burns was becoming a legend and in 1844 a tribute festival was held in Ayr.<sup>133</sup> The ploughman poet’s background was key: “...had he been a rich man and lived in a palace... he would never have become the idol of the Scottish people.”<sup>134</sup>

Crowds of up to 80,000 poured in for the event, with the Victorian journalist, Charles Mackay, touching on the ‘Scotch’ symbols that accompanied it: “...the ancient historic flag of Scotland, under the gleam and glamour of which Bruce fought and won the battle of Bannockburn... a gigantic thistle.”<sup>135</sup> Scotland’s emblems were being venerated. Yet this gathering was very different to the George 1V jaunt. According to Alex Tyrrell, the ‘Burns Festival’ shied away from invented traditions like tartan.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, as Mackay noted: unlike 1822, the British aristocracy did not dominate. Indeed, the Ayrshire event made efforts to include the peasantry whilst “not a single Englishman of any note was present.”<sup>137</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Swinglehurst, E. (1982). *Cook's tours: The story of popular travel*. Poole: Blandford Press, p. 17. See also Knox, W. J. (1999). *Industrial nation: Work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800 to the present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 85-93 for detail of heavy industries.

<sup>128</sup> Appendix C: Vol.16, p. 184: 1<sup>st</sup> November 1843.

<sup>129</sup> Appendix C: Vol.29, p. 27: 31<sup>st</sup> January 1850.

<sup>130</sup> Appendix C: Vol.32, p. 156: 17<sup>th</sup> October 1851.

<sup>131</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - see Burns, Robert (1759–1796), poet.

<sup>132</sup> *Highland Laddie* in Burns, R. (1986). *The complete works of Robert Burns* (edited by J. A. Mackay). Ayrshire: Alloway Publishing, p. 587.

<sup>133</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999/2000). *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000*. London: Allen Lane, p. 294.

<sup>134</sup> Patrick Park, quoted in Mackay, *op cit.* p. 254.

<sup>135</sup> Mackay, *Burns*, p. 259.

<sup>136</sup> Tyrrell, ‘The Queen’s Little Trip’, pp. 42-61.

<sup>137</sup> Mackay, *Burns*, p. 251.

The Burns' jaunt promised to be a more honest gathering than 1822 had ever been. Yet even this seemingly 'classless' affair involved attempts to reconcile the Union with Scottish nationalist fervour. Murray Pittock and Christopher Whatley remind us of how some of the event's organisers were "drawn from the ranks of Scotland's Tories."<sup>138</sup> They also make the point that Burns' standing as a poet was created more by popular objects and commemorations, rather than by literary criticism.<sup>139</sup>

K. Theodore Hoppen calls the cult of Burns "a kind of Lowland antidote to tartanry."<sup>140</sup> Yet even Scotland's Bard could not escape being 'tartanised'. Robert Burns was being venerated in early Victorian times. "Something like a religious cult"<sup>141</sup> was emerging - and with this adulation came a whole feast of Highlandism. Again, Murray Pittock and Christopher Whatley note how "tartan-ware celebrating Burns often adopted Royal Stuart tartan, symbolic of dynastic loyalty and underpinning Burns' 'Highland' identity."<sup>142</sup>

Burns, tartan and the royal family were all being linked in this Victorian Highland surge - and over the years plaid has continued to wrap itself around the ploughman poet and his verses. In 'The Homecoming' year of 2009 some 3,600 Burns suppers were held in more than eighty countries.<sup>143</sup> Scotland's Bard was, and still is, being used to promote Highlandism - and he may well have hated it. Opinion is divided on whether he held firm anti-monarchist views. Working for the Crown as an excise man, it would have been difficult to be openly antagonistic. Yet Burns was certainly a radical.<sup>144</sup>

Burns also wrote about Jacobite nostalgia and it is Murray Pittock who points out how his attempts to make Jacobite song respectable was a two-edged sword: "...the flaw in this aim was that it could be hijacked by a localized, sentimentalized version of this identity, which

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<sup>138</sup> Pittock M. G. H. & Whatley, C. A. (2014). Poems and festivals, art and artefact and the commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844–c.1896. *Scottish Historical Review*, 93(1), 56-79.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Hoppen, K. T. (1998/2003). *The mid-Victorian generation, 1846-1886*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 542.

<sup>141</sup> Tyrrell, 'The Queen's Little Trip', p. 42.

<sup>142</sup> Pittock & Whatley, 'Poems and Festivals', pp. 66-67.

<sup>143</sup> Carnochan, W. B. (2013). *Scotland the brave: A Scottish-American mosaic*. Portola Valley, CA: Galloway Hills Press, p. 53.

<sup>144</sup> Armstrong, M. (2016, January 25). Was Robert Burns really a radical? *The Guardian*; Hope, C. (2008, December 31). Robert Burns 'was a republican who sympathised with the French revolution'. *The Telegraph*.

could regionalize and marginalize Scotland by removing the politics from its lyrics.”<sup>145</sup> Uncompromising verses could be neutralised by Highlandism - and the blessing of a royal fan. For, despite the Bard’s revolutionary words, among his followers was the great British queen. Frank Hardie may say that Victoria had no feeling for poetry, apart from her “emotional interest”<sup>146</sup> in Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*, written after Albert’s death. Yet she looked at Burns’ socially meaningful words with an innocent eye. They were “so poetical - so simple in [their] dear Scotch tongue.”<sup>147</sup>

Mary Miers calls the queen’s early visits to Scotland “a significant chapter to the story of how the Victorian perception of the Highlands transformed the image of Scotland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>148</sup> Thanks to royal endorsement, the country was now a place of plaid. It was the land of the ‘Monarch of the Glen’ and the Highland warrior. It was the abode of the kilted piper where a clansman saluted his chief. No wonder Victoria liked it. In 1847 she came north again, this time staying in a Highland lodge where Albert could play at being a hunter-gatherer and the royal children were “enchanted”<sup>149</sup> at fishing in a stream. It was a taste of freedom and a long way from stuffy Windsor.<sup>150</sup>

Encouraged by their Scottish doctor, the couple decided to find a healthy Highland retreat of their own and the following year they leased a “pretty little castle in the old Scotch style.”<sup>151</sup> Balmoral stood on the banks of the River Dee: the mountain air “most refreshing,” the soil “delightfully dry,” the view “exceedingly fine.”<sup>152</sup> Importantly, the Aberdeenshire hills reminded Albert of home. Stanley Weintraub notes how the prince “saw Scotland through a Thuringian lens.”<sup>153</sup> In 1848 they bought the place and set about re-building on the site. Five

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<sup>145</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1991). *The invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish identity, 1638 to the present*. London: Routledge, p. 80.

<sup>146</sup> Hardie, *Political Influence*, p. 28.

<sup>147</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1976). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1865; See also Appendix C: Vol.35, p. 145: 24<sup>th</sup> May 1853 - Albert gives Victoria a statue of Burns’ ‘The Highland Mary’.

<sup>148</sup> Miers, M. (2012, March 7). A Highland paradise. *Country Life*, pp. 46-56, p. 48.

<sup>149</sup> Appendix C: Vol.24, p.65: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1847 - royal children fishing in a Highland stream.

<sup>150</sup> Queen Victoria to Princess Frederick William about Windsor: “I cannot ever feel the slightest affection or tendre for this fine, old dull place”. Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit.* 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1859.

<sup>151</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, p. 177. Hibbert says it was Sir James Clark, an expert on lung diseases, who advised her of the benefits of Highland air. See also Lindsay, P. R. (1902). *Recollections of a royal parish*. London: John Murray, p. 29; Victoria, *Leaves*, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1848.

<sup>152</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*.

<sup>153</sup> Weintraub, S. (1997). *Albert: Uncrowned king*. London: John Murray, p. 201.

years later “the cornerstone of [a] large, new, much-turreted and battlemented”<sup>154</sup> building was laid - and it would start a trend.

The same year that Balmoral appeared in all its Gothic glory, Charles Tennant, one of the “new, socially acceptable entrepreneurs”<sup>155</sup> infiltrating the landed classes, purchased an estate in the Scottish Borders and built himself a baronial pile. The queen’s presence on Deeside was encouraging southern wealth to spend money on northern properties - but it was doing more than that. Tom Devine notes how a royal connection influenced stonework on Scottish court buildings, council offices and hospitals.<sup>156</sup> Highlandism was extending to buildings, yet altering Scotland’s homes to suit the fashion of the day was nothing new.

James Macaulay noted the Gothic Revival of the mid-eighteenth century and asked why a Highland chief should have built a Gothic castle at Inveraray in 1745. “The question was the more puzzling when it was known that the Highland chief was the third Duke of Argyll, who, before his succession to the dukedom, had been a noted Palladian builder in England.”<sup>157</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century Lord MacDonald wrote to Armadale Castle on Skye to compliment them on improvements there. “I am happy to find the rooms correspond with our idea of the gothic, they are most *substantial*: everything *Classical* and *Ornamental*.”<sup>158</sup> As James Macaulay said, and as chapter one of this thesis showed with the MacGregor castle at Lanrick, it was now “safe for Scottish lairds and Highland chiefs to quit their tower-houses and equip their families with abodes which it was now felt their splendid ancestries warranted.”<sup>159</sup>

The Campbell’s Taymouth Castle in Perthshire is one example of the baronial style, but James Macaulay suggests that Walter Scott’s Abbotsford is the “unsung prototype of Scots-Baronial architecture”<sup>160</sup> that was sweeping the country by the start of the nineteenth century. The style does not please everyone. Lorn Macintyre calls Scott’s Borderland house, complete

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<sup>154</sup> Longford, *Queen Victoria*, p. 255.

<sup>155</sup> Lambert, A. (1984/1985). *Unquiet souls: The Indian summer of the British aristocracy*. London: Macmillan, pp. 17-18.

<sup>156</sup> Devine, *The Scottish nation*, p. 293.

<sup>157</sup> Macauley, J. (1975). *Gothic revival: 1745-1845*. London: Blackie, p. xix.

<sup>158</sup> Appendix D: PD60/276, Lord Macdonald to Mr Gillespie, c.1790.

<sup>159</sup> Macaulay, *Gothic revival*, p. 1.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 195 & 227. Macaulay also refers to Cluny Castle in Aberdeenshire, 1836 (p. 335), Dundas Castle, West Lothian, 1818 (p. 321), and Duns Castle, Berwickshire, 1818 (p. 241).

with Rob Roy curiosities and piper, “the mockery of a Highland mansion.”<sup>161</sup> Ian Mitchell, meanwhile, dismisses the whole Scots-Baronial thing as feudal architecture, a “feudalised life style”<sup>162</sup> whilst George Scott Moncrieff goes further to declare Balmoral an embarrassment on the River Dee: “...a hundred petty lairds at once built imitations, and not a few insolvent heirs in consequence.”<sup>163</sup>

Yet when Scott Moncrieff tries to blame Balmoral for mistakes made in *Edinburgh* architecture, another journalist, Ivor Brown, leaps to royal defence. “So poor Queen Victoria, when she was attracted and delighted by the climate and scenery of Upper Deeside, was responsible for the Scottish response to the Reformation, to the Industrial Revolution and the latter’s defacing of the lands between Forth and Clyde with the squalor still sadly visible... These are but the foolish observations of an emerging pamphleteer.”<sup>164</sup> Yet Balmoral was certainly rebuilt to look the turreted part. Indeed, Murray Pittock suggests it was modelled on the Highland mansion house occupied by the Sobieski brothers, repeating the quote that ‘Eilean Aigas’ was a “‘Celtic Xanadu’, full of ‘antique weapons, trophies of the chase, banners, busts, and every conceivable kind of Highland bric-a-brac’.”<sup>165</sup> Pittock goes further: the queen “seemed to go down a similar path in making Jacobite-related images and tableaux a centrepiece of her Scotland and of entertainment at Balmoral.”<sup>166</sup>

It is interesting to note that Balmoral had no royal Welsh or Irish equivalents.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, from this Highland idyll, the monarch could compare her Scottish property with her English ones. Northern rain meant lush grass and leafy trees: “...beautifully green... quite refreshing after poor burnt up Osborne.”<sup>168</sup> Here, she could scramble up mountains and wade through burns:<sup>169</sup> “...the scenery is beautiful... so wild and grand”;<sup>170</sup> the heather “quite wonderfully brilliant.”<sup>171</sup> Graeme Morton calls it an “everyday ‘home’ built on the romanticism of Ossian

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<sup>161</sup> Macintyre, ‘Sir Walter Scott’, p. 555.

<sup>162</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 3.

<sup>163</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, ‘Balmorality’, p. 75.

<sup>164</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, p. 14.

<sup>165</sup> Pittock, *Plaiding the invention*, p. 45.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> Matthew, *19<sup>th</sup> Century Britain*, p. 124.

<sup>168</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1975). *Advice to a grand-daughter: Letters from Queen Victoria to Princess Victoria of Hesse*. (edited by R. Hough). London: Heinemann, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1885.

<sup>169</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - *Ascent of Ben-na-Bhourd*, and 14<sup>th</sup> September 1859 - *Ascent of Morven*.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1849.

<sup>171</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1975, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1885.

and the Jacobite creationism of Scott.”<sup>172</sup> Leaving the place would become unbearable. To her Uncle Leopold, Victoria wrote: “My heart is *bien gros* at going from here. I love my peaceful, wild Highlands, the glorious scenery, the dear good people who are much attached to us.”<sup>173</sup> It was becoming increasingly hard to return to “tame, dull, formal England and the prison life of Windsor!”<sup>174</sup> Back on the edges of London she felt miserable. “Here we are again, far away from my beloved Highlands!”<sup>175</sup>

Victoria considered Balmoral to be “cheerful and unpalace-like.”<sup>176</sup> Yet rooms were draughty and even those used to cooler climes could be tested. Tsar Nicholas declared the place to be “colder than Siberia”<sup>177</sup> whilst the normally hardy Duchess of Athole was once heard to complain: “14 at dinner, no fire and the windows open!”<sup>178</sup> A highly Highland décor might not appeal to a very English lord: “...thistles in such abundance that they would rejoice the heart of a donkey... it is very cold there and I believe my feet were frost-bitten at dinner,”<sup>179</sup> the Earl of Clarendon complained. There was also the tedium: taking tea with Presbyterian ministers and visiting elderly villagers was not the height of excitement.<sup>180</sup> There were midges galore and there was sketching in the rain. To many, Balmoral offered a “heavy and disciplined dullness.”<sup>181</sup> It may not have been the sort of Highlandism Walter Scott imagined.

Celeste Ray points out how in Victorian Scotland “acknowledgement of actual political and economic practises could not have coexisted with the myth and romance of Highlandism.”<sup>182</sup> Yet, in some quarters, the two could indeed sit side by side. Victoria’s Deeside tenure

<sup>172</sup> Morton, G. (2010). Identity out of place. In T. Griffiths & G. Morton. (eds.). *A history of everyday life in Scotland, 1800-1900* (pp. 256-287). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 272.

<sup>173</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1908, Vol. 2, *op cit.* to the King of the Belgians, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1851.

<sup>174</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1964). *Dearest child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858-1861.* (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1858; Appendix C: Vol.32, pp. 129-30: *op cit* - even leaving Balmoral in a downpour was hard.

<sup>175</sup> Appendix C: Vol.36, p. 99: 15<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - Victoria mourns being away from her “beloved Highlands.”

<sup>176</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1964, *op cit.* 13<sup>th</sup> November 1858.

<sup>177</sup> Reid, M. (1987). *Ask Sir James: The life of Sir James Reid, personal physician to Queen Victoria.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 124; Victoria, Queen of Britain, 1985, *op cit.* p. 456.

<sup>178</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. KMA 105 - 25<sup>th</sup> May 1888, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>179</sup> Maxwell, H. (ed.). (1913). *Life and letters of George, Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (Vol.2). London: Edward Arnold, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1856.

<sup>180</sup> A Highland castle was not everyone’s idea of a good time, as Henry Ponsonby noted at Inveraray Castle: “[Princess] Louise gets a Presbyterian Minister on a sofa near her; another Minister sings songs. Campbell of Islay wanders about, joining in the song, or sipping his tea, and I sit with an enormous book of the Argyll letters since 1660 which Lorne lumps into my lap”, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1875 in Ponsonby, A. (1942). *Henry Ponsonby: Queen Victoria’s private secretary: His life from his letters.* New York: Macmillan, p. 123.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid* - Arthur Ponsonby comments on the atmosphere.

<sup>182</sup> Ray, C. (2001). *Highland heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 43.

allowed her to sign increasingly complex British Empire papers in a cosy, feudal, Highland world. Jonathan Faiers goes further to repeat a suggestion that she and Albert may have “indulged themselves in a form of amateur ethnography”<sup>183</sup> at Balmoral: “...creating tableaux in stage settings... It is tempting to imagine the royal party... sucked into a tartan limbo that satisfied their desire for escapism.”<sup>184</sup>

Alex Tyrrell calls the monarch’s first visit to Scotland “an early example of the phenomenon that has become known as ‘Balmorality’.”<sup>185</sup> It was the writer, George Scott Moncrieff, who coined the derogatory term and, to him, Balmorality was a “deadening slime... a glutinous compound of hypocrisy, false sentiment, industrialism, ugliness, and clammy pseudo-Calvinism.”<sup>186</sup> He has a point. The timing of the move to Balmoral was unfortunate. A swinging kilt was probably not the right image to project when Scotland’s lower orders were facing desperate problems. Whilst royalty partied in the hills and glens these were the ‘Hungry Forties’. Grant Jarvie quotes Hunter’s view of 1840s crofters: “...poverty, threat of eviction, overcrowding...”<sup>187</sup> Matthew Dennison notes how: “...against this background of grit and upheaval, Victoria and Albert evolved a holiday world of escape.”<sup>188</sup>

Royalty was playing at being ‘Scotch’ at a time when real Scots were under such severe pressure. Then there is the fact that the monarch and her husband became Scottish landowners during a period when Highland clearance and enforced emigration were still in operation. They even chose to become patrons of Highland and Island emigration societies, something that has left them open to criticism<sup>189</sup> Colin Matthew argues how “in a curious way royal patronage was held to legitimize the clearances of the Highlands, so savage a movement that it left no immediate political legacy, only an oppressive emptiness and sense of absence in the glens which even the queen herself sometimes felt.”<sup>190</sup> It is Murray Pittock

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<sup>183</sup> Faiers, J. (2008). *Tartan*. Oxford: Berg, p. 190.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> Tyrrell, ‘The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’, pp. 47-73.

<sup>186</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, ‘Balmorality’, p. 86.

<sup>187</sup> J. Hunter, quoted in Jarvie, G. (1989). Culture, social development and the Scottish Highland gatherings. In D. McCrone, S. Kendrick & P. Straw (eds.), *The making of Scotland: Nation, culture & social change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 201.

<sup>188</sup> Dennison, M. (2013). *Queen Victoria: A life of contradictions*. Glasgow: William Collins, p. 58.

<sup>189</sup> Prebble, J. (1963/1969). *The Highland clearances*. London: Secker & Warburg, pp. 239-304. See also Jarvie, *Highland Games*, p. 200.

<sup>190</sup> Matthew, *19<sup>th</sup> century Britain*, p. 124.

who wryly suggests that “land without people, landscape without community, makes for the best views.”<sup>191</sup>

However, it was not just Scotland struggling in the early years of Victoria’s reign.<sup>192</sup> Famine, strikes and unemployment marked the whole of Britain and the continent in the 1840s. In his book, *Albert: Uncrowned King*, Stanley Weintraub devotes a full chapter to ‘The Violent Year’ of 1848, as “thrones trembled across Europe.”<sup>193</sup> Albert was regaling his friend, Baron Stockmar, with details of English riots and he worried about trouble spreading from further afield. “European war is at our doors, France is ablaze in every quarter, Louis-Phillipe is wandering about in disguise...”<sup>194</sup> The prince told politicians he was concerned about the unemployed. “Surely this is not the moment for the tax-payers to economise upon the working classes!”<sup>195</sup> There was reason for concern. There had already been two attacks on his wife. A gun was fired at her in London whilst some months later she was threatened again.<sup>196</sup> The state of Ireland was most alarming and there was fear of Chartist violence.<sup>197</sup> Lamps outside Buckingham Palace were smashed and Victoria was sent to Osborne for safety.<sup>198</sup> It was small wonder that on reaching Balmoral, all “seemed to breathe freedom & peace.”<sup>199</sup>

Indeed, as the Irish problem got worse, Victoria could later compare countries. “The peculiar & rather treacherous character of the Irish” was “so different from the Scotch, who are so loyal!”<sup>200</sup> Balmoral was uncomplicated and, importantly, safe. Here were “no soldiers... [just] a single policeman.”<sup>201</sup> As one newspaper declared: “She needs no steel-clad attendants - no fence of bristling bayonets. She comes among a people of simple manners, but of honest

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<sup>191</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1999). *Celtic identity and the British image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.42.

<sup>192</sup> Devine, T. M. (1994). *Clanship to crofters' war: The social transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 146–176. See also Lynch, M. (ed.). (2011). *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 74 - “Chartism in Scotland was undoubtedly vigorous,” with widespread unemployment.

<sup>193</sup> Weintraub, *Victoria*, p. 193.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, p. 192 - 27<sup>th</sup> February 1848, Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar.

<sup>195</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1908, Vol. 2 - 10<sup>th</sup> April 1848, Prince Albert to Lord John Russell.

<sup>196</sup> The man who tried to kill Queen Victoria twice: Assassination attempt on Queen Victoria, 30 May 1842.

(2016, May 30). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/only-in-britain/queen-victoria-assassination-attempt/> - John Francis pointed a pistol at the monarch in the Mall, and on 3rd July 1842, another man, John William Bean brandished a gun filled with tobacco and paper.

<sup>197</sup> Woodham-Smith, *The great hunger*, pp. 289-290. The rising of 1848 was a failure, but it worried royal heads.

<sup>198</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit.* pp. 199-203. See also Weintraub, *op cit.* pp. 192-212.

<sup>199</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 50: *op cit.*

<sup>200</sup> Appendix C: Vol.55, p. 122: 10<sup>th</sup> May 1866 - Victoria compares the ‘Scotch’ to the Irish.

<sup>201</sup> Charles Greville as quoted in Weintraub, *op cit.* p. 205.

hearts.”<sup>202</sup> The Highlands offered privacy and protection. Graeme Morton points out how after Albert’s death this Highland backdrop became the queen’s “antidote to the shards of radicalism that developed in part from her seclusion.”<sup>203</sup>

Victoria felt secure in her northern lands - unlike elsewhere in her realm. “The people are burning & attacking houses & forcing people to join them!”<sup>204</sup> she exclaimed of the Irish after a happy (and safe) day out on the Scottish hills. Fenianism threatened to be a problem. In 1866 its commander-in-chief claimed a membership of around 80,000 in Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, plus 15,000 in the army.<sup>205</sup> Irishmen and women were coming over in droves to work in Scottish cities, but could they be trusted? R.F. Foster notes how they made up 4.8 per cent of the Scottish population in 1841.<sup>206</sup> At Balmoral the queen’s Highlanders sang defiantly: “Now Fenians, beware; for if ever ye dare, To tread on the banks of the Dee, Each chieftain and clan will rise to a man, To ken what your errand will be...”<sup>207</sup>

Hector Bolitho, meanwhile, points out another reason for Scotland being preferred to Ireland: the queen was “rigidly protestant.”<sup>208</sup> Victoria had no truck with Catholicism and she loved the “simple Scotch service”<sup>209</sup> - which suited the establishment. Alex Tyrrell notes how Victoria’s form of Scottishness, “unlike contemporary visions of Irishness, carried no threat to the Union.”<sup>210</sup> Richard Finlay says God was key in giving Scotland a national identity in the eighteenth century - “religious beliefs had a much greater impact on the lives of most Scots than abstract political concepts”<sup>211</sup> - and in dour Highland kirks the monarch looked to find the tartan worshippers she imagined to be populating the countryside around her.

They were not always visible. As she noted at Crathie kirk near Balmoral: “...the quite attentive peasant congregation, was pleasing to see, but the absence of kilts was a great

<sup>202</sup> The Queen’s visit to Scotland. (1848, September 13). *Dundee Courier*, p. 2.

<sup>203</sup> Morton, ‘Identity out of Place’, p. 272.

<sup>204</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 64, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1848.

<sup>205</sup> Devoy, J. (1929). *Recollections of an Irish rebel*. New York: Charles P. Young; Hall, C., McClelland, K., & Rendall, J. (eds.). (2000). *Defining the Victorian nation: Class, race, gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 216.

<sup>206</sup> Foster, R. F. (1988). *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*. London: Allen Lane, p. 362.

<sup>207</sup> Life at Balmoral: An ex-Highland gillie. (1893, November 3). *Bow Bells: A magazine of general literature and art for family reading*, p. 437.

<sup>208</sup> Bolitho, H. (1934, May). Queen Victoria and Ireland. *The English Review*, p. 539.

<sup>209</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 52: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1848.

<sup>210</sup> Tyrrell, ‘The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’, p. 71.

<sup>211</sup> Finlay, R. J. (1999). Keeping the covenant: Scottish national identity. In T. M. Devine & J. R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth century Scotland: New perspectives* (121-133). Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, p. 123.

pity.”<sup>212</sup> Yet a kilt was not the only ‘Scotch’ attraction. Gillian Gill explains how Albert found “common cause in a scorn of England, where money, not blood and brains and bravery, made the man.”<sup>213</sup> Scots were brave and honest and allowances might be made for them - but sometimes, even a favourite could go too far. In 1868 Benjamin Disraeli had to give the monarch the unwelcome news that “Scotland stabbed us in the back!”<sup>214</sup> over a Reform Bill.

Tom Devine describes how an essentially urban Scotland “adopted a rural face”<sup>215</sup> in Victorian times. Did the queen’s stay in the Highlands give, as Ian Mitchell claims, “the royal stamp to the feeling, growing with industrialisation, that the real Briton was the thatched cottage country-dweller, or in Victoria’s case, castle-dweller, who shunned the ugliness of urban life, and in particular the ugliness and threat of its working class”?<sup>216</sup> Murray Pittock also suggests that the Highlands offered an escapist view of history,<sup>217</sup> but Ian Mitchell is scathing. “For Victoria, for the aristocracy, and increasingly for the bourgeoisie, the creation of a mythical Highlands was a solace from the uncertainties, ugliness and threats of industrial society, and especially its still uncertain element: the working class. In the Highlands there was manly endeavour and feudal loyalty.”<sup>218</sup>

In these remote communities there could also be cheer and colour. In the 1850s the queen and her entourage visited Aberdeen - “...a large, rich town... with very loyal people”<sup>219</sup> - and here they found the houses decked with tartan and the faces cheerful. It was quite unlike a trip they had made to a highly industrialised city in the north of England. “Manchester was miserable in comparison,”<sup>220</sup> the monarch’s dresser, Frieda Arnold, recalled.

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<sup>212</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 52: *op cit.*

<sup>213</sup> Gill, G. (2010). *We two: Victoria and Albert - rulers, partners, rivals*. New York: Ballantine Books, p. 230.

<sup>214</sup> Appendix C: Vol.57, p. 333: 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1868.

<sup>215</sup> Devine, *The Scottish nation*, p. 231.

<sup>216</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 2.

<sup>217</sup> Pittock, 1991, *The invention of Scotland*, p. 103.

<sup>218</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 83.

<sup>219</sup> Arnold, F. J. (1994). *My mistress the queen: The letters of Frieda Arnold, dresser to Queen Victoria, 1854-59*. (edited by B. Stoney and H. Weltzien). London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, p. 199.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

In the Highlands there was also poverty - and at times royalty could simply not avoid seeing it.<sup>221</sup> Whilst out walking the queen stopped at a Deeside hovel: "...like a wretched kennel & really as if no human being *could* live in it."<sup>222</sup> She called the village of Tomintoul "the most wretched tumbledown looking place I ever saw... miserable, dirty looking houses & people."<sup>223</sup> E.F. Benson may say such squalor produced "no more than a monetary and entirely barren sense of ugliness with which she had nothing to do,"<sup>224</sup> and that the warm petticoats she distributed were reserved for the clean and tidy poor. It is Frank Prochaska who reminds us that, whatever else she is accused of, Victoria did not lack compassion.

Indeed, "schooled in charitable matters by her mother,"<sup>225</sup> between 1837 and 1871 the queen gave £8,160 a year - nearly fifteen per cent of her Privy Purse income - to good causes whilst in 1882 that figure was twenty per cent. By 1851 she was contributing to 210 charities, "including fifty schools, thirty-seven hospitals, twenty-one churches and eighteen asylums. There were donations for the relief of victims of earthquakes and storms, fires and shipwrecks, famines and colliery disasters."<sup>226</sup> In fact, the monarch "gave more of her money to institutions than individual applicants, which was a significant departure from earlier reigns."<sup>227</sup>

Prochaska considers if she was generous by the standards of her day. "The money she paid out in charities drops to under ten per cent of her private fortune if we add to her Privy Purse income the money that she saved from other classes of her Civil List and the revenues paid to her from the Duchy of Lancaster, and before the birth of the Prince of Wales, the Duchy of Cornwall."<sup>228</sup> Yet Prochaska reckons it still compared well with landed aristocrats who

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<sup>221</sup> T.C. Smout quotes the 1861 census, which recorded that 34 percent of Scottish houses only had one room, and that just under two-thirds of the population lived in homes with one or two rooms in Smout, *Century of the Scottish people*, p. 33.

<sup>222</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, p. 107: 28<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Victoria notes Deeside cottage is like a hovel; Vol.44, p. 50: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1857 - one Deeside woman: "a filthy, ugly, untidy old creature."

<sup>223</sup> Appendix C: Vol.49, p. 238: 5<sup>th</sup> September 1860 - Tomintoul is a wretched place.

<sup>224</sup> Benson, *op cit.* p. 32.

<sup>225</sup> See Civil List, Privy Purse Accounts Balance Sheet, 1837-1871, and Annual Charities List, 1882 -1892, as quoted in Prochaska, F. (1995). *Royal bounty: The making of a welfare monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 76-77.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, Patronage, Index to Patronage and Charities, 1838-1851 and Donations Made by her Majesty the Queen to Sufferers by Fires, Explosions, Ship-wrecks.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid*, p. 78.

typically gave away “between four and seven per cent of their incomes to charity by the middle of the nineteenth century.”<sup>229</sup>

Aid, from whichever source, was desperately needed in nineteenth century Scotland. During Victoria’s reign the country had some of the worst slums in Europe. Yet there was also great wealth being accumulated there, especially by those Scots who went abroad.<sup>230</sup> Empire and industry were transforming the land. The 1851 census showed Scotland to be the most industrialised nation in the world.<sup>231</sup> Glasgow would be the second city after London, an “industrial giant”<sup>232</sup> and a centre for shipbuilding and research into science and engineering.<sup>233</sup> Despite the hold of Highlandism, this was not just a nation of tartan-tat. Angus Calder reminds us how Scotland was a place of “pioneering industry and exciting opportunity.”<sup>234</sup>

Listening to critics one might imagine a royal couple reeling in their Highland castle whilst Scotland burned. Victoria did enjoy dancing and Albert did wear the kilt - and it is this royal adoption of tartan that vexes some.<sup>235</sup> Yet Ivor Brown reminds us that whilst the queen and her consort may have designed their own tartans - the ‘Balmoral’ and the ‘Victoria’ - they did not actually invent the plaided craze.<sup>236</sup> Judith Flanders agrees: the queen spearheaded the fashion for tartan, but did not start it. Indeed, tartan was being sold in English towns a good two years before her royal foot took one step over the border.<sup>237</sup> Alison Adburgham adds to the debate. Victoria may have fanned the tartan trend “to fever heat,”<sup>238</sup> but shops in Manchester were selling clan cloths well before she fell in love with the Highlands.

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<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>230</sup> Devine, T. M. (2003). *Scotland’s empire and the shaping of the Americas, 1600-1815*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 332-337. Devine talks of tobacco lords and sugar princes. Glasgow was called the second city of Empire. Its magnificent city chambers, a symbol of historic wealth, were opened by Queen Victoria in 1888. See also *The Scotsman* - The opium wars: how Scottish traders fed the habit, 6th September 2005. James Matheson from Sutherland became one of the richest landowners in Britain.

<sup>231</sup> Devine, T. M. (2012). *Scottish history in question: An evening with Professor Tom Devine*. Retrieved from <http://www.rse.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Scottish-History-in-Question.pdf>

<sup>232</sup> MacKenzie, J. M. (1999). The second city of the empire: Glasgow, imperial municipality. In F. Driver & D. Gilbert (eds.), *Imperial cities: Landscape, display and identity* (pp. 215-237). Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 230.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.* p. 217.

<sup>234</sup> Calder, A. (1994). *Revolving culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*. London: I. B. Tauris, p. 101.

<sup>235</sup> Life at Balmoral’, p. 437. See also Appendix C: Vol.28, p. 8: 6<sup>th</sup> September 1849 - for all the family in tartan.

<sup>236</sup> See *Scottish Tartans Authority* - <http://www.tartansauthority.com/> See also Brown, 1955, *op cit.* p. 17.

<sup>237</sup> Flanders, J. (2006/2007). *Consuming passions: Leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper, p.221.

<sup>238</sup> Adburgham, A. (1964). *Shops and shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in what manner the well-dressed Englishwoman bought her clothes*. London: Allen and Unwin, p. 71.

Murray Pittock calls tartan “the stuff of loyalty to the crown”<sup>239</sup> and, through her endorsement, the monarch would give it international recognition. Dorothy Thompson describes how palace approval lent plaid “a spurious royal and aristocratic cachet.”<sup>240</sup> To Thompson it is a harmless enough fancy, which is just as well, as this cloth would travel to the most unlikely places. At London’s Great Exhibition in 1851 the great African lion-hunter, Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming, strode through the crowd clad in his traditional lion-hunting outfit which consisted of a tattered Comyn tartan kilt...<sup>241</sup>

Fun aside, Richard Finlay suggests it was royal solemnity that helped to promote Highlandism, for ‘tartanry’ was to be “taken seriously.”<sup>242</sup> Elizabeth Longford calls it “tartanitis”, an “endemic disease”<sup>243</sup> infecting Balmoral wallpaper, carpets, curtains and chairs. Mary Miers describes how there was even tartan linoleum in the servants’ quarters.<sup>244</sup> With such enthusiastic royal approval it is hardly surprising that germs spread. Michael Lynch notes how tartan “opened up a myriad of opportunities for Scottish firms to use it on items ranging from door knobs to biscuit tins.”<sup>245</sup> It was masking the realities of Highland life, but, for some, the multi-coloured fabric was proving a godsend. Ian Grimble talks of “canny clothiers”<sup>246</sup> out to make a buck from this growing fashion.

Ivor Brown agrees that tartan may have produced “a bogus Scottish-ness,”<sup>247</sup> but he cannot see how Victoria can be censured because unconnected firms jumped on the multi-coloured bandwagon. Brown reminds us that it was not the queen, but her uncle, George IV, who started the royal tartan trend in 1822. “Balmoral can hardly be blamed for kilts ordered and for capers cut a quarter of a century before it was taken over.”<sup>248</sup> Alison Adburgham adds to the debate: Scottish shops and warehouses had opened in London a decade before Victoria

<sup>239</sup> Pittock, 2010, *Loyalty and identity*, p. 43.

<sup>240</sup> Thompson, D. (1990). *Queen Victoria: The woman, the monarch and the people*. London: Virago, p. 54.

<sup>241</sup> Harrison, F. (1921, June). My Victorian memories. *Fortnightly Review*, p. 884; Gordon-Cumming, R. G. (1850). *A Hunter’s life in South Africa*. Edinburgh: William Chambers; Capstick, P. H. (2013). *Safari: The last adventure*. New York: St Martin’s Press.

<sup>242</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 214.

<sup>243</sup> Longford, *Victoria*. p. 255. Patricia Lindsay says tartan was “conspicuous in the draperies of the carriage” in Lindsay, p. 31.

<sup>244</sup> Miers, M. (2014, August 8). The history of tartan. *Country Life*. Retrieved from <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/history-tartan-60043#sPdqjWH04eh5CZpM.99>

<sup>245</sup> Lynch, M. (1991/2000). *Scotland: A new history*. London: Pimlico, p. 355.

<sup>246</sup> Grimble, *Clans*, p. 14.

<sup>247</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

went north, with “canny Scots business men... only too happy to cash in on the romance of the Highlands.”<sup>249</sup> Indeed, it can be argued that all Victoria did was to boost a weaving industry. Jonathan Faiers says she promised textile manufacturers she would make tartan popular - and she did.<sup>250</sup>

Balmoral, though, is damned for more than its multi-coloured cloth. Adrienne Munich argues that whilst Victoria and Albert did not invent the Scotland portrayed in their royal diaries, their devotion to the Highlands was “another colonizing masquerade” and that Balmoral became a “colonial outpost.”<sup>251</sup> Wealthy English families were now following the royal trail and buying homes in Scotland. They were donning kilts and bringing southern accents and afternoon tea rituals north. Highlandism was colonising and it is left to Ivor Brown to try to defend Balmoral. “Because a single house was built beside the Dee, it is blamed and even cursed for some ugly episodes of Scottish history whose origin lay elsewhere and was of far earlier date.”<sup>252</sup>

When he wrote this, he had an old adversary in his sights. George Scott-Moncrieff was penning republican tracts in the 1930s at a time when Scottish nationalism was raising its head. As Brown says: “[Scott Moncrieff] curiously assumed that the occupation of Balmoral by Queen Victoria was responsible for almost anything bad that happened in Scotland either then or later on.”<sup>253</sup> Scott-Moncrieff suggests Victoria and Albert cleared people to make way for deer forests and sheep farms. Brown disagrees: “...this is monstrously unfair. I can find no evidence that the Royal family ever evicted anyone from their new demesne and much evidence that they were exemplary landlords.”<sup>254</sup>

Stanley Weintraub gives more evidence of this, describing the run-down parts of the Balmoral estate before the royal arrival: “...peasants [living] in near-feudal simplicity - two-room hovels of unhewn stones closed up with a mortar of mud and thatched with heather.”<sup>255</sup> Ronald Clark admits the place was “certainly not flourishing”<sup>256</sup> when the couple first came.

<sup>249</sup> Adburgham, *op cit.* pp. 70-73, discusses James Locke’s ‘Scotch Tartan Warehouse’ which opened in Regent Street and ‘The Scotch House’ which was run by two Glasgow tailors who went south in 1839.

<sup>250</sup> Faiers, *Tartan*, p. 193.

<sup>251</sup> Munich, A. (1996). *Queen Victoria’s secrets*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 39 & 41.

<sup>252</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 13.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>255</sup> Weintraub, *Victoria*, p. 203.

<sup>256</sup> Clark, R. W. (1981). *Balmoral: Queen Victoria’s highland home*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 29.

So does Patricia Lindsay, although as the daughter of Victoria's devoted Balmoral factor, Dr Andrew Robertson, she has perhaps more reason than most to defend the queen. Despite that, Patricia Lindsay was there at the time, so her story is worth listening to - and it goes thus: pre-Victoria, the Balmoral soil was poor, "the crofts, or holdings... barely yielded sufficient grain for the support of the family. Agriculture was of the most primitive description: most of the ploughing was done by oxen, and manual labour supplied the rest."<sup>257</sup> There is more: "The dwellings of the peasants were mere hovels... the floors... of earth, often so uneven that in damp weather pools of water had to be stepped across to reach the peat fire."<sup>258</sup>

For some tenants, it could only get better in Aberdeenshire - and it did. J.C. Morton describes Albert as a "Wise Prince and an Illustrious Man"<sup>259</sup> and notes that no sooner had he bought the Deeside estate than "measures were taken to increase the comfort and elevate the condition of the tenants."<sup>260</sup> Morton repeats Dr Robertson's account of improvements: hovels replaced with bright cottages and modern agricultural practises introduced to help cropping. It was not always easy: "...to get a Highlander to change a custom handed down to him from his forefathers... requires great patience."<sup>261</sup> Gillian Gill relates how a series of small strikes by workmen demanding better labour conditions took the prince by surprise. "A Highlander like Sandy McAra might be happy in the role of feudal servant to his laird, but a Scottish workman from the south had a strong sense of his rights."<sup>262</sup>

In the end, as J.C. Morton detailed, Balmoral alterations were significant: wasteland drained, new roads opened up and old ones repaired, fences renewed, tradesmen and labourers encouraged to settle locally and houses with gardens offered at moderate rents. There was more: a library and schools were built and teachers were appointed, "with liberal salaries, and the means of... education brought within the reach of every family."<sup>263</sup> *National Magazine* reported how a "a hopeful spirit was awakened in the people."<sup>264</sup> As Frank Pope Humphrey

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<sup>257</sup> Lindsay, *Recollections of a royal burgh*, pp. 2-4. See also *Royal Deeside Scotland* - <http://www.royal-deeside.org.uk>

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> Morton, J. C. (1863/2012). *The Prince Consort's farms: An agricultural memoir*. London: Longman - see introduction and pp. 12-13.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> Gill, *We two*, p. 239.

<sup>263</sup> Morton, J. C. *The Prince Consort*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>264</sup> Balmoral Castle. (1862, June). *National Magazine*, pp. 49-50.

declared in 1894: "...no estates in the country show more commodious farm buildings or snugger cottages."<sup>265</sup>

Much of this work was down to Albert, who was philanthropically active elsewhere, too. Frank Prochaska details the numerous charity works the prince consort was involved in: "...he was determined to do something to ameliorate the condition of the British working classes."<sup>266</sup> Yet the man was not a saint, particularly when it came to field sports. The queen's husband once shot a deer from a Balmoral window and he tried to design the landscape so he could easily creep up on his prey.<sup>267</sup> The gillies thought it unsporting: a "German trick" and "furrin ways."<sup>268</sup>

Palace patronage in northern Scotland would not just make life easier for some locals. It would also boost the Deeside economy. Firms like Begg's whisky could now use a royal connection for marketing purposes. Ronald Clark tells us how in 1848 "the list of Aberdonian tradesmen who were soon able to put the Royal Arms above their premises began to show that the Queen's interest in Scotland was not confined to the scenery. Royal warrants were issued to a cabinet maker and upholsterer, a watch and clock maker, a jeweller, silk mercer and clothier."<sup>269</sup> A piano maker, ironmonger, hosier and glover would soon be added to the list, as were businesses in other cities, including Perth and Edinburgh.

There was more: a coming industry - that of royal tourism - was about to transform the area. This 'progress' would, however, be at a price and even the loyal Ivor Brown would have to admit that a "cult of 'bogus' Scottish life"<sup>270</sup> followed Victoria's Highland tenure, although, as he says, the "donning of unnecessary kilts and bonnets and wagging of unnecessary sporrans in a pseudo-Caledonian masquerade, though it has greatly irritated trousered Scottish journalists... [did] not seem greatly to have distressed what was left of the Highlanders."<sup>271</sup> Adrienne Munich agrees that royal approval "stimulated an enduring market

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<sup>265</sup> Humphrey, F. P. (1893). *The Queen at Balmoral*. London, T. Fisher Unwin; The Queen at Balmoral [book review]. (1894, February 3). *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 77, p. 130.

<sup>266</sup> Prochaska, *Royal bounty*, pp. 82-83 - "he gave public addresses, inaugurated institutions and opened new hospital wings."

<sup>267</sup> Millar, *Balmoral*, p. 25.

<sup>268</sup> The Marquis of Huntly, quoted in Duff, D. (1972). *Albert & Victoria*. London: Frederick Muller, p. 244.

<sup>269</sup> Clark, *Balmoral*, pp. 32-33. "The previous year Alexander Jack, boot maker of Inverness, was appointed 'Highland Shoe or Brogue Maker to Her Majesty and H.R.H Prince Albert for the North of Scotland'."

<sup>270</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 15.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

where everyone could play at being a wee bit Scottish.”<sup>272</sup> Tom Devine notes the irony. One of the poorest places in Europe was providing some of the “main emblems of cultural identity”<sup>273</sup> for the entire country.

It is appropriate to discuss the role of newspapers and journals in this. The queen might have made the news and set the fashion, but it was the press who published the romantic hill and heather images. Editors the length and breadth of the land were highlighting royal Highlandism, but first they had to get the story. Delia Millar talks of reporters being up at dawn to get an exclusive during the queen’s visit to Blair Castle in 1844. One journalist from the *Morning Post* was found hiding in a bed of nettles to try to catch a glimpse of the monarch.<sup>274</sup>

A palace-hungry press sensationalised followed her Scottish visits. Even the unruly Irish noted Victoria’s first trip north in 1842.<sup>275</sup> In England, the *Leeds Times* reported on the reception she received at Taymouth Castle, rows of tartanned pipers and fireworks outshining anything London could offer: “...all was one vast representation of a fairy scene.”<sup>276</sup> At Drummond Castle, meanwhile, the papers described how she was met by clansmen carrying ancient weapons, broadswords and halberds, presenting “a noble and imposing appearance.”<sup>277</sup> Then there were the lairds: Campbell of Monzie, “dressed with great splendour in Highland costume,”<sup>278</sup> (the simple shepherd’s tartan) and the Master of Drummond whose clothes and decorations “cost no less than a thousand pounds.”<sup>279</sup> It shouts antiquity, nobility and wealth. It suggests drama and romance. Importantly, the press reported how the lower orders were behaving with “the utmost propriety.”<sup>280</sup>

On another royal trip to Scotland the London *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* headlined how Gaelic inscriptions welcomed the “Queen of the Highland Hearts”<sup>281</sup> whilst purple heather and red mountain ash berries added colour to ceremonial arches. The *Caledonian Mercury*

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<sup>272</sup> Munich, *Victoria’s secrets*, p. 46.

<sup>273</sup> Devine, *The Scottish nation*, *op cit.* p. 231.

<sup>274</sup> Millar, *Queen Victoria’s life*, p. 25.

<sup>275</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1842, August 31). *The Cork Examiner*, p. 1.

<sup>276</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1842, September 17). *Leeds Times*, p. 7.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>281</sup> The Queen’s Highland tour. (1847, August 29). *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, p. 7.

described how a piper accompanied the monarch to Lochgilphead, “and at every stoppage blew out swelling pibrochs.”<sup>282</sup> The *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser* breathlessly told its readers that the queen, or rather, the very Gaelic “Bhan Righ,” would attend “a genuine Highland gathering, with games, athletic sports, dancing and fire-works.”<sup>283</sup>

Such coverage reassured the people that it was as it had always been in the Highlands. It was the arrival of the “fair Sovereign who [had] done so much to remove the antipathies of Highlandmen to the House of Hanover, if any exist, and to substitute them for boundless love.”<sup>284</sup> Royal Highlandism was uniting the country with Britain’s newspapers whipping things to fever pitch. The irony is that whilst Queen Victoria hated the press - David Newsome claims that journalists were not to be received at court - she would have lapped up these reports of her time in Scotland.<sup>285</sup>

Indeed, on her many tours north of the border, the monarch was greeted with the “enthusiastic plaudits, so characteristic of Scottish hearts.”<sup>286</sup> In sycophantic British newspapers Highland hills when linked to royalty were not just any old peaks: they would become “high, green and finely wooded”<sup>287</sup> ones. Scottish trees could find themselves described as “baronial.” Lochs were “sweet” whilst valleys might be “smiling and fertile.”<sup>288</sup> Given the vagaries of the weather it is interesting to see the Highland climate described as “salubrious.”<sup>289</sup>

Importantly, if that master of Highlandism, Walter Scott, could be brought into an article, so much the better. “Her Majesty passed beside the North Inch, the scene of the famous combat between the Clan Chattan or McIntosh, and the Clan Quhe’e, or Mackays, so vividly described by the author of ‘Waverley’ in ‘The Fair Maid of Perth’,”<sup>290</sup> one paper excitedly reported. As the *London Journal* noted in 1848: the Highlands was “a fairy-tale land of purple beauty, such as it seems to belong to the old romance and where the people of old

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<sup>282</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, September 20). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 3.

<sup>283</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, August 27). *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> Newsome, D. (1997). *The Victorian world picture: Perceptions and introspections in an age of change*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, p. 146.

<sup>286</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, August 27). *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>287</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, September 20). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 3.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> Her Majesty’s Visit to Scotland. (1842, September 12), *Morning Post*.

romance might be met without wonder.”<sup>291</sup> At the same time the press was reporting the Highland and Island misery ensuing from the famine years.

By now, though, even Lowland newspapers were cashing in on a royal Highland connection. The queen’s arrival in Dundee in 1844 was covered extensively by the local paper, the *Dundee Courier*. As the monarch arrived in the squalid Tayside city, the welcome was frenzied: a carpeted quayside, a mass of flags and flowers and one woman displaying a sign emblazoned with ‘Hail Queen of the Scottish Hearts’. Here were loyal subjects, the paper declared, people who would never criticise their monarch, unlike the “puppy” *Spectator* magazine and the “slanderous”<sup>292</sup> *Morning Post*. The rather bleak Lowland city was racing to jump on the Highland bandwagon and it hoped an enthusiastic welcome might guarantee a place in royal hearts. “Imposing as has been the reception of Her Majesty at the Castles of her Highland Lords, we question if these spectacles can vie with the present; or equal the grandeur of the countless throng collected at Dundee.”<sup>293</sup>

Yet in the monarch’s eyes, it was always the land further north that had the real worth. Terms like “good Scotch Highlanders”<sup>294</sup> crop up regularly in royal letters and diaries. These were not any old subjects: they were folk with “honest weather beaten”<sup>295</sup> faces. Highlanders fighting in the Crimean War were “brave & true,”<sup>296</sup> unlike the cowardly Turks who “ran away shamefully.”<sup>297</sup> To speak to a northern Scot was to have an open conversation. Victoria noted how she and Albert were “always in the habit of conversing with the Highlanders... the good breeding, simplicity, and intelligence which makes it so pleasant and even instructive to talk to them.”<sup>298</sup>

For the queen, it was a case of “my English”, but my “dear Scotch”<sup>299</sup> subjects. T.C. Smout is right when he talks of the “mythological ‘Scotch peasant’... self-reliant, poor and pious... the imaginary paragon against which real Scots of the lower classes were so often measured, and

<sup>291</sup> The Queen’s Visit to Scotland. (1848, October 7). *London Journal*, p. 66.

<sup>292</sup> The Royal Visit. (1844, October 8). *Dundee Courier*, p. 2.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> Appendix C: Vol.24, p. 27: 17<sup>th</sup> August 1847; Vol.55, p. 231: 6<sup>th</sup> September 1866 - “good loyal Highlanders.”

<sup>295</sup> Appendix C: Vol.31, p. 275: 1<sup>st</sup> June 1851.

<sup>296</sup> Appendix C: Vol.38, p. 182: 4<sup>th</sup> November 1854.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> Victoria, *Leaves, op cit.* 7<sup>th</sup> October 1859.

<sup>299</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971/1981). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

invariably found wanting.”<sup>300</sup> Yet the monarch seemed to care for her Highland locals, giving old ladies warm clothes and forgiving male failings.<sup>301</sup> In Scotland excuses could be made for drunken servants, especially at the infamous Balmoral gillies’ ball.<sup>302</sup> At her Deeside castle “license was granted to the staff, and no comment was made if gait was unsteady or soup spilt at table.”<sup>303</sup> This thesis will concentrate more on alcoholism, a seedier side of Highlandism, in chapter three.

The monarch might be criticised for her role in helping to create a tartanned Scotland. She may be judged for getting a selfishly warm glow from her acts of kindness towards the lower Highland orders. Yet how much more would she have been damned if she had stayed in her royal English apartments and not made these small gestures? Moreover, as this chapter has already shown, it was not just Victoria as Highland benefactor. When fire gutted a line of workmens’ huts Albert paid out 318 pounds, 11 shillings and 7 and a half pence to help replace the structures and belongings.<sup>304</sup>

Delia Millar notes how wood, venison and oatmeal were distributed from Balmoral whilst shoes were given to one family to allow the children to walk to school.<sup>305</sup> Gillian Gill reminds us that the royal couple patronised local tradesmen and that game shot by the prince “reached the protein-starved women and bairns in the bothies.”<sup>306</sup> At Albert’s ‘Balmoral School of Art’ men were taught furniture-making whilst girls learned to embroider.<sup>307</sup> Again, all this is perhaps trivial in the great scheme of things, but it is worth marking. Then there is the support the queen and her husband gave to Gaelic. When he arrived in Scotland Albert began to learn the language and lessons were soon arranged for estate workers. According to Delia Millar, in 1851 “110 would-be [Gaelic] scholars enrolled.”<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Smout, *op cit.* p. 10.

<sup>301</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, *op cit.* 26th September 1857 - *Visits to the old women* - “I gave her a warm petticoat.”

<sup>302</sup> Duff, *Victoria in the Highlands*, p. 363.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>304</sup> Weintraub, *Victoria*, p. 290.

<sup>305</sup> Millar, *Queen Victoria's life*, p. 77.

<sup>306</sup> Gill, *We two*, p. 242.

<sup>307</sup> Clark, *Balmoral*, p. 60.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65 - the queen and prince once came to dinner at the castle “armed with an immense Gaelic dictionary as large as themselves.” See also Victoria, *Leaves*, *op cit.* 30<sup>th</sup> August 1849 - *The first stay at Alt-na-Giuthasach*. See also Appendix C: Vol.27, p. 324: 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1849 - “Albert took his 1<sup>st</sup> lesson in Gaelic.” See also Millar, *Queen Victoria*, p. 77.

A former gillie noted how Balmoral pay was, “all things considered, remarkably good for young men unskilled in the art of peace.”<sup>309</sup> He added that gifts arrived from the castle to neighbouring cottages - “a haunch of venison to many an obscure dwelling”<sup>310</sup> - and that some tenants paid no rent for years. When one of her servants was shipped to Australia to try to stop him drinking the queen sent money to help the man start a new life.<sup>311</sup> When the royal dresser, Mrs MacDonald, died, a memorial service was held at Windsor.<sup>312</sup> When two peasant boys were feared drowned in the River Dee, Victoria watched the search and was heartbroken when a small body was recovered: “...the poor, sweet, innocent ‘bairnie’.”<sup>313</sup> Such thoughtfulness was never going to save the world, but it does indicate more of a concern for those around her than the monarch is sometimes given credit for.

Moreover, as chapter five of this thesis will detail, proceeds from the publication of the monarch’s royal journals, or *Leaves*, would be used to help educate poor Deeside boys. The aristocratic Miss MacGregor, one of the subjects of this thesis, and who is detailed more fully in chapters three, four and five, summed up Victoria’s character in Scotland. This queen was head of a vast empire, yet “she knew everyone on her estate, from the servants to the hill men, to their wives and the number and names of their children. In short she was a good country woman.”<sup>314</sup> There are shades of Highlandism in that statement. This was a mighty monarch with a common ‘Scotch’ touch. Now, Miss MacGregor was undoubtedly biased and the kindly incidents she mentions are, again, perhaps trivial in the great scheme of things. Yet they still show the queen’s thoughtfulness for some of those around her.

It is Ivor Brown who points out how “these quiet friendships and relationships”<sup>315</sup> with ordinary folk were “not possible in the English palaces.”<sup>316</sup> Brown goes further: Balmoral was Victoria’s refuge: “...a complete escape from the odious world of Yellowplush and of the lackeys-in-waiting.”<sup>317</sup> In the Highlands Victoria could pretend she was a woman of the people and lead a relatively simple existence. She would have been more criticised if, like her

<sup>309</sup> Life at Balmoral, pp. 436-437.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> Lindsay, *Recollections of a royal burgh*, p. 117.

<sup>312</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7/50 - 7<sup>th</sup> July 1899 - Miss MacGregor to Harriet Phipps. According to Miss MacGregor, Mrs MacDonald was the ‘Annie’ referred to in the monarch’s ‘Leaves’. Annie was the daughter of a blacksmith from Abergeldie and her portrait hung in the royal apartments, painted by the queen herself.

<sup>313</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1883/2010, *More leaves, op cit.* 13<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - *The Spate*.

<sup>314</sup> Appendix D: PD60/642 - Miss MacGregor lecture - *Highlanders under the Early Stuart Kings*.

<sup>315</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 23.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

son, the Prince of Wales, she had decided to lead a racy life. With Victoria, it was the opposite.<sup>318</sup> This woman looked for plainness and when Balmoral proved too grand she found a bothie on Loch Muich.<sup>319</sup> Admittedly the comfortable wooden house was not quite like the hovels around her, but it did give some sort of foothold in a rural world.<sup>320</sup> As John Morrison notes of the Victorian royal family: “When in Scotland, they saw themselves as part of a different culture and subject to different conventions and rules.”<sup>321</sup>

And so to Victoria’s support for Highland Games. In 1848 the monarch attended a gathering at Invercauld - and here the most powerful woman in the world was fascinated by peasant prowess on track and field.<sup>322</sup> The very ‘Scotch’ Duke of Athole and the very English Duke of Leeds who were meant to receive her at the event were late,<sup>323</sup> but at least Leeds’ men were suitably clad: being decked in “the wonderful Plaid he has invented for them.”<sup>324</sup> This thesis will discuss the influence aristocrats had on Highland games and the Highlandism they bestowed them with in chapter three. For now, though, the queen thrilled to these athletic and dancing displays and by 1866 she would order the word ‘royal’ to be added to the ‘Braemar Highland Society’.<sup>325</sup>

Was she nobly saving something ancient? Or was she creating another piece of theatre in which she, herself, could star? Or did Victoria innocently champion a new tourist attraction? The Braemar Games claim to originate from the eleventh century when the Scottish king is said to have summoned the clans to the Braes of Mar for a hill-race. Grant Jarvie qualifies this. “Since the Highlanders did not arrive until the fourteenth century, a question mark must be raised against the assertion that the hill-race on Craig Choinneach was in fact a Highland Gathering of the clans and not just a gathering at which clans folk were present.”<sup>326</sup> Others, too, question the matter. Ian Mitchell complains that today’s Highland gatherings are in almost every respect “a 19th century invention”<sup>327</sup> - and, like the tartan we see today, he has a

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<sup>318</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Edward V11 (1841–1910) - the prince was known for parties, racing and women.

<sup>319</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1849 - *The First Stay at Alt-na-Giuthasach*.

<sup>320</sup> Appendix C: Vol.24, p. 68: 13<sup>th</sup> September 1847 - “passed some wretched looking typical Highland bothies.”

<sup>321</sup> Morrison, J. (2012). ‘The whole is quite consonant with the truth’: Queen Victoria and the myth of the Highlands. In *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (pp. 1-6). London: Royal Collections Trust.

<sup>322</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, pp. 56-7: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - Gathering at Invercauld.

<sup>323</sup> Benson, *Letters*, p. 53.

<sup>324</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 56: *op cit.*

<sup>325</sup> *The Braemar Gathering*: <https://www.braemargathering.org/>

<sup>326</sup> Jarvie, *Highland games*, p. 197.

<sup>327</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 80.

point. These modern games are no doubt quite different to the events that took place a thousand years ago.

Then how many Scottish sports are exactly the same as when first played? The football enjoyed by sixteenth century Borderland reivers is not identical to 21<sup>st</sup> century soccer.<sup>328</sup> The ancient Viking method of haaf-netting now sees salmon fishers standing in the Solway in neoprene waders, mobile phone in pocket.<sup>329</sup> However, Mitchell continues: "...soon the local lairds were in on the act, subsidising the games... This was not entirely disinterested."<sup>330</sup> Patronage was giving the upper class standing. Indeed, Mitchell sees Victorian Highland games as a means of social control: "...a method of ensuring that the minds of the lower orders were occupied with non-radical thoughts."<sup>331</sup> He has another point. Getting angry Scotsmen to expend their energies on the running field was probably a good idea.

Alex Tyrrell suggests that the monarch took her place "among these 'chiefs' at carefully stage-managed ceremonies which modelled a Scottish society where landowners held pride of place as exemplars of paternalist values."<sup>332</sup> These Highland events were becoming an aristocratic entertainment. In 1849 one newspaper reported on the Atholl Gathering, "a brilliant affair... among others [there], the Earl and Countess of Shannon, Hon. Mr. Murray, Colonel Gordon Drummond"<sup>333</sup> - and so the high-born list goes on... A Highland Games was giving Scotland's lairds a stage on which to parade a well-fed, kilt-clad frame. It is Grant Jarvie who notes the irony in the descendants of those who contributed to the demise of the Highland way of life now being seen as "the guardians of its existence."<sup>334</sup>

Yet perhaps the Victorian landowner could not win: damned if he supported Highland games and damned if he did not... Moreover, royal and aristocratic patronage may have boosted Scotland's Highland gatherings. The queen supported the 'Braemar Highland Society' and expected others to do the same, once flying into a rage on hearing that lairds were not planning to attend a games at Old Mar. Whilst "the love of *low* sports"<sup>335</sup> like pigeon

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<sup>328</sup> Detail from having witnessed reiving re-enactment.

<sup>329</sup> Detail from having witnessed haaf-netting.

<sup>330</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 81.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> Tyrrell, 'Queen Victoria's little visit', p. 70.

<sup>333</sup> The Duke and Duchess of Atholl. (1849, September 29). *Morning Post*, p. 3.

<sup>334</sup> Jarvie, *Highland games*, p. 199.

<sup>335</sup> Queen Victoria to Henry Ponsonby, quoted in Millar, *Victoria's life*, pp. 81-82.

shooting, racing and gambling were on the increase, she thundered, every effort should be made to support the old ones. Her endorsement, although well-meaning, has had some perhaps unwished-for results. Today's tests of strength can be mired in tartan-tat - and even that arch-royal supporter, Ivor Brown, has had to admit that the queen was "no doubt, the indirect cause of a Highland vogue which has developed its tiresome, tawdry, and vulgar aspects."<sup>336</sup> Yet, in Victoria's defence, he argues that she, too, would have hated the ensuing commercialisation.

Nigel Tranter sums up the frothier side of Victoria's influence on Highlandism: "English Midlands manufacturers equally with London lords wearing kilts, plaids and long shaggy sporrans... long-legged deer-hounds and wolf-hounds were the thing to own. Landseer with his stags at eve and very still life heaps of slain grouse, was the artist to patronise, and was duly knighted. And sham-castles and shooting-lodges sprouted up every glen and by every loch-side. All this of course, brought money and some people into the Highlands, and it was certainly better than sheep, which needed so few to tend them. And by any standards we must take our hats off to the energy, initiative and sheer driving-force of those Victorian industrialists and others, who filled the empty glens with literally thousands of great houses... and roads [built] out of their own pockets..."<sup>337</sup> It is left to Rosalind Mitchison to remind us that some of the roads on aristocratic land were subsidised by government grants.<sup>338</sup>

Ian Mitchell notes how Victoria found the Highlands a "harmonious world where the social classes could live with the 'reciprocal duties of masters and servants' clearly delineated."<sup>339</sup> He is right, for this was a queen who liked to think she had the common touch, but was still class-conscious. "A democratic monarchy is what she will never belong to"<sup>340</sup> is one famous quote - and during her reign these words looked as if they might be realised. By 1868, a year after the second Reform Act, only around 150,000 people could vote in Scotland.<sup>341</sup> Victoria

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<sup>336</sup> Brown, 1955, *Balmoral*, p. 18.

<sup>337</sup> Tranter, N. (1987/1991). *The story of Scotland*. Glasgow: Neil Wilson, p. 250.

<sup>338</sup> Mitchison, R. (1970/1990). *A history of Scotland*. London: Methuen, p. 394.

<sup>339</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 4.

<sup>340</sup> Victoria, quoted in Young, G. M. (1936/2002). *Portrait of an age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 151.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.* See also Trueman, C. N. (2015, March 27). The impact of the 1867 Reform Act. *The History Learning Site*. Retrieved from <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/british-electoral-history-since-1832/the-impact-of-the-1867-reform-act> - In Scotland in the 1868 election, a total of 149,341 votes were cast.

also reported with relief how Highlanders “never marry out of their class.”<sup>342</sup> Folk must know their place. Yet Arthur Helps, the editor of her Highland journals, produced the interesting statement of how the queen hoped for “no abrupt severance of class from class, but rather a gradual blending together of all classes.”<sup>343</sup>

Today it sounds trite, but there does seem to have been a genuine relationship between Victoria and her Highlanders. These were people who were “free from anything like bluster, so straightforward - no flattery, so simple & honest.”<sup>344</sup> A good morning could be spent visiting old women in cottages. “I spun before Grant and Mrs Grant on Monday, and dear good Grant said ‘Ye spin as well as any old woman in the country’,”<sup>345</sup> Victoria said proudly - and the sentiment was returned. “It was Her Majesty coming out which had brought luck”<sup>346</sup> was a saying amongst gamekeepers when the shoot was a good one. These northern Scots were not just loyal. They were the source of her “splendid Highland regiments, which were painting half the world British Red for her.”<sup>347</sup> It is Tim Newark who makes the interesting point that the Highland quotient got smaller quite quickly in the Highland regiments because there were simply were not enough people.<sup>348</sup>

This was the royal who could arrive in Scotland to a civic welcome clad in a simple shepherd’s shawl.<sup>349</sup> In a humble croft she might allow herself to be patted on the back and be wished every blessing.<sup>350</sup> Where else in her realm could she visit a bothy to dry her son’s wet stockings: “...a truly Highland scene”?<sup>351</sup> The great British queen drank milk and ate cake in common kitchens.<sup>352</sup> She examined stocks of tea in grocer’s shops.<sup>353</sup> K.D Reynolds and H.C.G Matthew note how she saw Highlanders as noble peasants “with none of the cringing servility, corrupted manners, and predatory impertinence of southerners.”<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Queen Victoria, quoted in Robbins, K. (1988). *Nineteenth-century Britain: Integration and diversity*. Oxford: Clarendon, p. 172.

<sup>343</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, p. ix.

<sup>344</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, pp. 115-116: *op cit.*

<sup>345</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1976), *op cit.* 31<sup>st</sup> May 1865.

<sup>346</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p. 64: *op cit.*

<sup>347</sup> Tranter, *History*, pp. 248-249.

<sup>348</sup> Newark T. (2010). *Highlander: The history of the Highland soldier*. London: Constable.

<sup>349</sup> The Royal Visit, (1844, October 8) *Dundee Courier*.

<sup>350</sup> Appendix C: Vol.44, p. 51: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1857.

<sup>351</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, p. 127: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1850.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 108-109: 28<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Victoria drinking milk in common kitchen.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 93-94: 19<sup>th</sup> September 1850.

<sup>354</sup> Reynolds K. D., & Matthew, H. C. G. (2007). *Queen Victoria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 29.

Elizabeth Langland talks of the “bourgeois aristocrat”<sup>355</sup> and Victoria had more than a touch of the ‘bourgeois royal’ about her.

Michael Paterson refers to the shyness that dogged the monarch throughout her life: “...she was not gifted at small talk.”<sup>356</sup> Perhaps it was easier to start conversations with those from the lower ranks. Of course, there would always be limits to discourse, but, happily, most people were “cautious in ever giving an opinion.”<sup>357</sup> As Victoria said: “...all this pleased and amused me, & the reciprocal acquaintance between the Sovereign & the Peasant, can only attach them more & more & cause a kindly affection & interest between both.”<sup>358</sup> Today the words sound pompous. Yet this was a break-through in royal life and it was one that would not be repeated for more than a century when Princess Diana would also seek out the poor and suffering.

Indeed, it can be argued that living in the Highlands made the Victorian queen a better person. Nigel Tranter suggests it was Walter Scott who led the way in fashioning a theatrical Scotland and that it was hardly her fault that Victoria “developed a somewhat lop-sided and fanciful notion of her northern subjects.”<sup>359</sup> Yet the derogatory term ‘Balmorality’ lives on, although some spring to royal defence. One twentieth century clan chief called the sniping at Victoria “mildly irritating as well as ungrateful.”<sup>360</sup> Indeed, Iain Moncreiffe maintained that without the monarch, Scotland “might have continued to be a mere backwater called North Britain.”<sup>361</sup>

Even the fiercest critics have to admit that a royal Highland passion helped to lift different parts of the country. Even early on in her reign press reports were giving publicity to unfashionable places like Dundee.<sup>362</sup> Victoria may not have spent much time in these industrial cities, yet Richard Finlay points out how her presence still helped foster a community pride, providing “increased ceremonial roles for the army and the volunteers, as

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<sup>355</sup> Langland, E. (1995). *Nobody's angels: Middle-class women and domestic ideology in Victorian culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 65-70.

<sup>356</sup> Paterson, *Brief history*, p. 26.

<sup>357</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, p. 111: 30<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Highlanders happily cautious in giving an opinion.

<sup>358</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, p. 108: *op cit.*

<sup>359</sup> Tranter, *History*, p. 248.

<sup>360</sup> Moncreiffe, ‘Balmorality’. p. 173.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>362</sup> See Victoria, *Leaves*, for details of her travels - e.g. Edinburgh - 1<sup>st</sup> September 1842, Dundee - 11<sup>th</sup> September 1844, Dumbarton - 17<sup>th</sup> August 1847.

well as the justiciary and the county sheriffs.”<sup>363</sup> Finlay continues: “...the royal palace at Holyrood in Edinburgh regained some of its former presence as a result of Victoria’s visits... the fact that numerous statues, fountains, buildings and other civic monuments have Victoria’s dedication is an ample testament to her presence within Scottish society at this time.”<sup>364</sup>

Indeed, the queen loved the Highlands so much, she started to send people parts of it. When her oldest daughter got married the monarch was “choosing many Scotch things”<sup>365</sup> for the girl’s trousseau. Over the years Vicky continued to receive Highland treasures from mama, including a Scottish cloak and a biscuit box of Aberdeenshire granite.<sup>366</sup> The queen also took Scotland back to her English courts. A stag’s head hung in the Windsor kitchen whilst the table could be adorned with golden figures of men tossing the caber.<sup>367</sup> Highlanders, it seems, really were worth their weight in the precious metal. Whilst reviewing the troops in England in 1853 there was praise for the Cavalry: “a fine sight.”<sup>368</sup> Yet it was a Scottish regiment that really shone: “...quite magnificent, marching with 9 or 11 pipers, only accompanied by drums, playing ‘The Highland Laddie’. They looked wild & picturesque beyond measure.”<sup>369</sup>

Wild and picturesque beyond measure - and it was not just the Highland soldier being lauded. Angus Calder notes the “the constitution of the Faithful Highland Gillie as ideal Scot.”<sup>370</sup> Highlandism was a yearning for an ordered world and one royal servant remarked how “Balmoral, more than any other of Her Majesty’s houses, breathes almost exclusively of the past.”<sup>371</sup> Here on Deeside, ancient ‘customs’ could be resurrected and embellished. The building of cairns, “a truly Scotch institution,”<sup>372</sup> would allow the monarch to mark births, marriages and deaths. Comfort food like oatmeal porridge would feed nursery nostalgia.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 216.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>365</sup> Appendix C: Vol.44, p. 10: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1857.

<sup>366</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1971, *op cit.* 16<sup>th</sup> November 1870.

<sup>367</sup> *The private life of Queen Victoria*, pp. 33 & 85.

<sup>368</sup> Appendix C: Vol.35, pp. 216-217: 30<sup>th</sup> June 1853 - the Cavalry a “fine sight” on parade, but Highland regiments are “quite magnificent.”

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>370</sup> Calder, *Notes*, p. 9.

<sup>371</sup> *The private life of Queen Victoria*, p. 210.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.* p. 212.

<sup>373</sup> Appendix C: Vol.14, p. 101: 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1842 - “I tasted oatmeal porridge,”; Vol.49, p. 236: 5<sup>th</sup> September 1860 - “some excellent porridge.”

Then there was the Scottish tongue. Victoria told her granddaughter that “haste ye back” meant “come back soon again.”<sup>374</sup> Windsor was freezing: “...the wind went through ones ‘bones’, as the Scotch say.”<sup>375</sup> A foreign dignitary was said to be rather odd: “...quite eccentric & ‘no canny’, as the Scotch would say.”<sup>376</sup> The monarch could even adopt a ‘Scotch’ accent. Lady Lytton recalled how she once sat down to dinner, saying: “I a doant know why the candles give noa light now, it is so daark.”<sup>377</sup> Another time she asked a servant if he had any money to give to an old lady. “Aboot twelve shillings,” he replied. “Ah, that won’t do *at all*, I always give her five poond,” the queen said.<sup>378</sup> Despite this, Scottish dialect would continue to have its no-go areas, well beyond Victoria’s reign: “Scotticisms, Words and Phrases to be avoided” warned an etiquette book of 1910.<sup>379</sup>

Maureen Martin reminds us how few Victorian men in the Highlands actually wore kilts on a daily basis.<sup>380</sup> That item of clothing was generally left to Scottish regiments, aristocracy and royalty - and for Victoria, the greatest compliment came when her husband was told he “looked more like a Highlander than anything else.”<sup>381</sup> The *Caledonian Mercury* noted how the kilted prince was “a magnificent Highlander and certainly the Saxon dress does not set off his fine figure to the same advantage.”<sup>382</sup> Highlandism was making Albert a near god and now this royal deity picked up his gun.<sup>383</sup>

F.M.L. Thompson notes the “spectacular growth of deer stalking in the Highlands after the 1840s... court and aristocratic interest [following] suit.”<sup>384</sup> Glyn Sattersley describes how “the establishment of the sporting estate, emulating the enthusiasm of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Balmoral, is often cited as the start of land management for deer.”<sup>385</sup>

<sup>374</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1975, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1875.

<sup>375</sup> Appendix C: Vol.29, p. 15: 15<sup>th</sup> January 1850.

<sup>376</sup> Appendix C: Vol.40, p. 327: 1<sup>st</sup> December 1855.

<sup>377</sup> Lytton, E. V. B. (1961). *Lady Lytton’s court diary, 1895-1899*. (edited by M. Lutyens). London: Hart-Davies, p. 37.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36.

<sup>379</sup> *How to write English* as quoted in Morris, R. J. (1990) Scotland, 1830-1914: The making of a nation within a nation. In W. H. Fraser & R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Vol 2 - 1830-1914* (pp. 1-8). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 3.

<sup>380</sup> Martin, M. M. (2009). *The mighty Scot: Nation, gender, and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity*. New York: University of New York, Suny Press, p. 72.

<sup>381</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, p. 115, 1850, October 3.

<sup>382</sup> The Queen in the Highlands, 1847, September 20, *Caledonian Mercury*.

<sup>383</sup> Appendix C: Vol.34, p. 78: 13<sup>th</sup> September 1852 - “Albert killed... five stags.”

<sup>384</sup> Thompson, F. M. L. (1988). *The rise of respectable society: A social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. London: Fontana, p. 268.

<sup>385</sup> Satterley, G. (1992). *The Highland game: Life on Scottish sporting estates*. Shrewsbury: Swan Hill Press, p.7.

Following royal example, Scottish field sports were now a must for those who could afford them. It would have an immense effect on land ownership.

In 1845 the Marquess of Salisbury bought the Isle of Rhum - just to have his own deer forest.<sup>386</sup> By the 1850s the list of Scottish estate owners included a Yorkshire woollen tycoon and a Swansea copper-smelting magnate.<sup>387</sup> Thirty years later the list had expanded, the “Beerage join[ing] the peerage”<sup>388</sup> as shooting tenants in the Highlands: a Bass at Cluanie, a Guinness at Achnacarry and a Whitbread in Assynt. Palace patronage was also encouraging overseas’ interest: in the 1880s W.L. Winans, the son of an American railway magnate, controlled 200,000 acres of deer forest in the west Highlands.<sup>389</sup>

Yet it was not just ownership of land that was important in the Victorian age. For a society that increasingly saw men working in offices, shooting was being viewed as a manly pursuit. Maureen Martin calls it “the construction of Scotland as a locus for primal masculinity.”<sup>390</sup> Highlandism was offering health and adventure to any macho male willing to brave the elements. Chasing the deer could repair a body, but the damage done to society is resented today. Andy Wightman reminds us of how pre-1811 there were only half a dozen or so forests “actively managed for hunting.” By the end of the nineteenth century there were between 130 and 150, covering 2.5 million acres: “...a vast outdoor playground for the upper strata of British society.”<sup>391</sup> Chapter three will examine in more detail the effect this had on the Highlands.

Did royal links really manage to reduce the Highlands to a rich man’s pleasure park? In later years Victoria seemed sensitive to such criticism. In 1888 Henry Ponsonby instructed the Duchess of Athole to tell a newspaper editor that “the Queen does not like the idea of Balmoral being treated as a sporting place and says it is her palace and not a mere shooting box in the Highlands.”<sup>392</sup> Ronald Clark points out how after Albert’s death his shooting interests continued to be hers - as did his interest in conservation, so she “reacted quickly

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<sup>386</sup> Thompson, *Respectable society*, p. 268.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.* p. 269.

<sup>388</sup> Fraser, W. H. (2001). The Victorian achievement. In G. Menzies (ed.), *In search of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 185.

<sup>389</sup> Thompson, *Respectable society*, p. 269.

<sup>390</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, p. 66.

<sup>391</sup> Figures from Orr, quoted in Wightman, *The poor had no lawyers*, p. 222.

<sup>392</sup> Atholl MSS. Bundle 1644, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1888, Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

when, early in the 1870s, several thousand trees in the Ballochbuie Forest were sold... to an Aberdeen timber merchant.”<sup>393</sup>

These ancient trees were put under royal protection and the fact that they were saved is another small mark in Victoria’s favour, as is the point that Highlandism made her hardy. Lady Mallet noted how the elderly queen once drove to Braemar in a blinding snowstorm.<sup>394</sup> The Highlands seemed to make her hardy and in an era when women were thought to be delicate creatures, the young monarch became an enthusiastic climber. Alex Inkson McConnochie notes how Victoria made her first hill ascent in 1848, eight days after arriving at Balmoral. “It was cold, wet and cheerless,”<sup>395</sup> yet she went on to conquer some towering peaks.

The queen’s yearning to be part of the Scottish scene shines through in her letters and diaries. “We had a very gay Ball last night... I do so enjoy reels,”<sup>396</sup> she wrote in later years. Yet one particular passage seems to sum up early royal Highlandism. It is a reaction in 1850 to a sketch of an Edwin Landseer painting. Victoria is stepping out of a boat at Loch Muich whilst Albert is in a kilt standing by a stag he is supposed to have killed. Bertie, the young kilted prince, sits on a deer pony. He is watched over by MacDonald the keeper, a plaid and rifle on his dependable Highland shoulders. Holding the boat steady are more loyal Highlanders.<sup>397</sup> Victoria was entranced by the scene: “...the solitude, the sport... as Landseer says, a beautiful, historical exemplification of peaceful times, & of the independent life we lead in the dear Highlands... no other Queen has ever enjoyed, what I am fortunate enough to enjoy in our peaceful happy life here. It will tell a great deal.”<sup>398</sup>

It would indeed. A twenty-first century Royal Collection exhibition describes how Landseer’s model for the Highland scene was the “*sacre conversazione* of Raphael or Correggio where a Madonna is flanked symmetrically by groups of saints holding their attributes.”<sup>399</sup> Prince Albert is St George: “...his kilt like Roman armour, and with a stag

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<sup>393</sup> Clark, *Balmoral*, p. 86.

<sup>394</sup> Lady Mallet’s diary, October 1895, quoted in Clark, *op cit.* p. 87.

<sup>395</sup> McConnochie, A. I. (1898, June). The Queen as mountaineer. *Strand Magazine*, pp. 613-618; See also *Life at Balmoral*, *op cit.* p. 437.

<sup>396</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1964, *op cit.* 8th September 1860.

<sup>397</sup> Appendix C: Vol.30, pp. 92-94, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1850.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>399</sup> Landseer, E. (1850). *Queen Victoria landing at Loch Muick* [portrait]. Royal Collection Trust. Retrieved from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403221/queen-victoria-landing-at-loch-muick>

instead of a dragon.”<sup>400</sup> MacDonald, the keeper, is St Christopher, protecting the Christ Child, or, in this case, the prince.<sup>401</sup> The queen, of course, is the Madonna.

It takes a fishing event into sacred areas. It is a million miles from Victorian Dundee or Glasgow. Yet Delia Millar reminds us of how the ‘Boat Picture’ was never the hoped-for Highland masterpiece.<sup>402</sup> The artist could not get the faces right and when the painting was shown at the Royal Academy of 1870 he apparently took one look and left the room with a shudder.<sup>403</sup> The picture went into store at Windsor Castle where it was damaged by water. It was finally destroyed in the 1920s.<sup>404</sup> Was Highlandism to prove nothing more than a Victorian phenomenon?

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown how a young Queen Victoria took up from where her uncle, George IV, left off in promoting Highlandism. The monarch would give Scotland’s tartan and bagpipe image further royal approval and strengthen the idea of the northern Scot as a ‘Noble Savage’. This was also the start of the queen’s attempt to link herself to the Jacobite cause. As chapter one detailed, Jacobitism was one of the driving forces behind Highlandism.

Victoria was greatly influenced by Walter Scott and she wanted to believe in the Scotland he had created. She also admired Robert Burns’ poetry and this chapter has seen how Highlandism had now claimed Scotland’s Bard and was wrapping him in plaid, too. This writer of radical verses may have hated it - and the ensuing links to royalty - but tartanry would boost Burns’ popularity. Historians have made the point that his poetic standing was created more by popular objects and commemorations than by literary criticism.<sup>405</sup>

Royalty was feeling the threat of civil unrest in the mid-Victorian age and the Highlands were seen as ‘safe’. Furthermore, this royal adoption of Balmoral encouraged a rash of Baronial architecture throughout Scotland which led to the rise of the castellated cult. Highlandism

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>402</sup> Millar, *Recollections of a royal burgh*, p. 51.

<sup>403</sup> Leslie, G. D. (1914). *The inner life of the Royal Academy: With an account of its schools principally in the reign of Queen Victoria*, London: John Murray, p. 163; See also Millar, *op cit.* p. 51.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.* p. 51.

<sup>405</sup> Pittock & Whatley, ‘Poems and Festivals’.

had extended to houses and the fashion has left the country with some interesting stately homes and castles. It has also led to millions of Scottish acres being used for field sports and contributed to an imbalance in land ownership today. Victoria and Albert promoted Scotland as a place of sporting pleasure, yet this work has noted that the Scottish shooting trend started before her reign.

Furthermore, despite the ‘colonising’ effect caused by her Deeside tenure, evidence shows that the queen and her husband were good landlords at Balmoral. Tenants’ living conditions were improved, schools were built and Gaelic was encouraged. Royal warrants were given to Scottish firms and even towns outside the Highlands might start to cash in on a regal connection whilst a royal presence boosted civic pride throughout the country. Victoria’s travels were bringing Lowland cities like Stirling and Dundee into the public eye - and although she did not spend much time in these places, Highlandism could give them a touch of glamour, too.<sup>406</sup>

Victoria has been criticised for became patrons of emigration societies.<sup>407</sup> Yet she seemed to genuinely care for her own local Highlanders. Despite having an affinity with them, her adoption of Scotland was a further attempt to bring the country further into the British fold. Indeed, the queen’s presence north of the border might strip away the last vestiges of Jacobite rebellion. As one newspaper reported: the “fair Sovereign... [has] done so much to remove the antipathies of Highlandmen to the House of Hanover, if any exist, and to substitute them for boundless love.”<sup>408</sup> Scots could now parade their tartan ‘traditions’ whilst feeling a part of Union and Empire. With men enlisting into Highland regiments, the Highland warrior was being further neutralised. Yet royal Highlandism was skewing the social picture. The impression being given was of a Scotland populated by happy, kilt-clad subjects. The reality was of poverty and struggle.

This chapter has touched on the fact that virility and stamina were being linked to Highlandism in the Victorian age and press coverage showed Scotland as a place of happy hill dwellers and romantic loch lovers. It was the land of the stag and the plaid, as newspapers and magazines sensationaly promoted royal Highlandism. Pipers, plaids and Walter Scott all

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<sup>406</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 216.

<sup>407</sup> Matthew, *Nineteenth century Britain*, p. 124.

<sup>408</sup> The Queen in the Highlands, 1847, August 27,

made good copy, but journalists also had to report on the poverty and the misery ensuing from famine. Victoria might try to ignore this and escape into the past. The reality was that Scotland was becoming increasingly industrialised, with all the problems that came to the cities.<sup>409</sup>

Ian Mitchell calls Highlandism a “trashy version of Highland life”<sup>410</sup> and ‘Balmorality’ is a scathing word to describe her Deeside tenure. Yet if the queen fuelled the craze for tartan-tat, this chapter has noted how she did not invent it. Moreover, her endorsement helped tartan manufacturers to market their wares - and her support for Highland Games may have helped them survive, albeit in a ‘tartanised’ way. Victoria viewed the Highlands through a tartan lens, but her obsession encouraged tourism and reinforced what would become iconic national symbols, invented or otherwise. This woman would sell Scotland to the world. After all, where a queen goes, others follow...

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<sup>409</sup> MacKenzie, ‘Glasgow; second city’, pp. 215-223.

<sup>410</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 129

## CHAPTER THREE - THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLE: ARISTOCRATIC PROMOTION OF A 'PLAIDED' SCOTLAND

### Introduction

The last chapter saw royalty giving Highlandism new momentum in the 1840s and 1850s. This one will examine the influence that an upper class Scotswoman had on the phenomenon during that time. The social history of Victorian highborn Scots has been little researched and whilst sympathetic attention has been given to the clearances and to mining and crofting communities, there has been a tendency to overlook, or even caricature, landed Scottish society. Using relatively unexplored archives, this work casts new light on Highland aristocratic life and suggests that some of the contributions are more complex than a parody.

The first decades of the nineteenth century were troubling. Class conflict, an economic depression and a burgeoning industrial revolution all featured. It is small wonder that Highlandism, with its emphasis on an ordered past, was seen as comforting. The Highland phenomenon might be reassuring in more ways than one. As John Morrison notes: "...rather than resistance to English political hegemony, there was encapsulated within Highlandism an extravagant loyalty to the British state."<sup>1</sup>

The 6<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Athole was among those who clung to Jacobite times whilst being fiercely loyal to her Hanoverian queen. This Scottish aristocrat would be caught up in the Victorian mania for pipes and plaids. Anne Athole wore tartan dresses. She founded London's kilted Caledonian Ball and fuelled Queen Victoria's Highland fascination by reading aloud from Walter Scott novels.<sup>2</sup> The "truly Scotch"<sup>3</sup> duchess might be found dancing reels, or arranging deer antlers at her north Perthshire castle. Then, in an age when an upper class Scotswoman might choose an English husband, she had married a Highlander.

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<sup>1</sup> Morrison, J. (2012). 'The whole is quite consonant with the truth': Queen Victoria and the myth of the Highlands. In *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (pp. 1-6). London: Royal Collections Trust. Retrieved from [https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20\(Morrison\)\\_1.pdf](https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20(Morrison)_1.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Caledonian Charities Trust. (2017). *Caledonian Ball: History*. Retrieved from <http://www.royalcaledonianball.com/history>

<sup>3</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971/1981). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

Yet, despite the tartan trappings, Anne Athole's 'Scotchness' was genuinely felt and this chapter will show how it had cultural spin-offs. Blair Castle was a place where Gaelic was spoken and where pipers and fiddlers were encouraged to develop their music. Highlandism was again helping to preserve Scottish culture.

Maureen Martin calls clearance on Atholl land "notorious"<sup>4</sup> and by the end of the nineteenth century large parts of the estate were earmarked for field sports.<sup>5</sup> However, this chapter suggests that Anne Athole and her husband were not as culpable as some of their ancestors may have been in evicting tenants. It was certainly not perfect during their tenure. Life at Blair was feudal, with a famous public row over the right to walk across estate land. More money could be spent on the stables than on the servant bill,<sup>6</sup> but the duchess appeared to care for her tenants and workers and was generally regarded as a benevolent landlady.

Highlandism was now influencing who might look the 'Highland' part and be chosen to work at the duchess's castle - and this chapter examines the relationship between servant and master on an estate where everything worked, as long as people knew their place. Yet Highlandism could hide a myriad of social problems and one of the less appealing sides of the 'Scotch' idyll was excessive drinking. Alcoholism was a big problem in Victorian Scotland: consumption of wine and spirits were linked to manliness which, in turn, was associated with Highlandism.

This chapter gives examples of events that encompassed Highlandism, including the 1839 Eglinton Tournament where Anne Athole's fiancé arrived at the head of a kilted private army. For Scotland's Fencible Regiments were now playing their part in the Highlandism equation and a Highland uniform could boost status. Plaid was fashionable and in the 1840s a Russian Grand Duke found himself chasing Highland deer in a tartan suit whilst an Athole visit to the Palace of Compiègne saw French heads being turned by plaid and pibrochs.

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<sup>4</sup> Martin, M. M. (2009). *The mighty Scot: Nation, gender, and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity*. New York: University of New York, Suny Press, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Atholl, J. J. H. H. S.-M. (1908). *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families: In five volumes*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, Vol.IV, p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 452 - "a dispute arose." See also Reynolds, K. D. (1998). *Aristocratic women and political society in Victorian Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 33.

John Morrison suggests that Highlandism “gave expression to the myth of egalitarianism.”<sup>7</sup>

Yet this chapter reveals that the different classes on the Atholl estate *did* mix to a greater extent than they did on English ones, not least at dances, agricultural shows and Highland games. These increasingly tartanned shows were overseen by a kilted aristocracy.

Highlandism was continuing to give lairds status whilst promoting the idea of happy, healthy Scots on the sports field. Critics see Victorian Highland gatherings as a form of social control, but it can be argued that upper class support may have helped them to survive.

### **“The Duchess of Atholl... so wise, so excellent and so pleasant and so truly Scotch”<sup>8</sup>**

Anne Home Drummond came into the world in 1814, a year before Napoleon was defeated on the fields of Waterloo.<sup>9</sup> British victory should have brought some sort of relief, but what followed was unsettling as an economic depression fell on Scotland.<sup>10</sup> In 1820 one laird detailed how family debts exceeded twenty-six thousand pounds whilst rents barely reached a thousand: “...every ounce of victuals consumed in this house must be on borrowed money.”<sup>11</sup> David Stewart of Garth was not the only Highland aristocrat feeling the pinch. “Macnab and Lude are gone. Struan hangs by a thread - which his death will break. Ballechin... has sold £11,000 worth of lands - and is still running up new debts.”<sup>12</sup> Even the man who ‘made’ Scotland was in trouble. Walter Scott was ruined when his publishers failed in 1826. He would spend the rest of his life writing his way out of debt.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Morrison, J. (2003). *Painting the nation: Identity and nationalism in Scottish painting, 1800-1920*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1976, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Murray (nee Home Drummond) Anne, Duchess of Atholl (1814–1897), courtier. See also O’Gorman, F. (1997/2009). *The long eighteenth century: British political & social history, 1688-1832*. London: Arnold, p. 239.

<sup>10</sup> One laird reported how Highlanders were existing on five potatoes a day: “...without salt or milk to give each of their family, with no bed covering or blanket, sleeping among ferns (they cannot afford straw) and the dried tops of potatoes” - Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/111/G - April 1823 - Stewart of Garth to the Rev. Alexander Irvine.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 1820, no exact date.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 19<sup>th</sup> April 1820, Stewart of Garth to Sir John Macgregor Murray - transcript from Stirling Archives, MacGregor Papers. Tom Devine notes how in 1846 the Macdonald estates in Skye and North Uist had gross incomes of £11,269 after payments of public burdens, but roughly 71 percent of that went to fund the interest on the family’s debt of £140,676. See Devine, T. M. (1988). *The great Highland famine: Hunger, emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth century*. Edinburgh: John Donald p. 83.

<sup>13</sup> Mackie, J. D. (1964/1991). *A history of Scotland*. London: Penguin, p. 326 - “a wild joint-stock mania in 1825 and 1826 ruined thousands of speculators.” By 1826 the publishing firms John Ballantyne and Archibald Constable had failed - *Walter Scott: Financial hardship*. (2003). Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh University. Retrieved from <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/biography/finance.html>; Wilson, A. N. (1980/1996). *A life of Walter Scott: The Laird of Abbotsford*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

In the 1830s Anne Athole's future father-in-law, Baron Glenlyon, left the Highlands and headed south across the border.<sup>14</sup> Having disposed of his London house he planned to live in a hotel and was raising funds by selling Perthshire property.<sup>15</sup> At the family castle, meanwhile, his wife, Lady Glenlyon, was blocking up windows to avoid taxes.<sup>16</sup> "I *need* not live at Blair, & therefore *one* cow is all I *need* keep,"<sup>17</sup> the baroness said bravely as she prepared to decamp to a smaller abode. "The sheep I will kill off or sell, as well as the chickens & Turkeys. There will then be nothing but the Horse & cart... but as no Tax is now paid for *Cart* Horses, it will only cost me its *feed*."<sup>18</sup>

If money was tight, class conflict was also raising its head in Scotland.<sup>19</sup> In 1820 an armed group of "Radicals from Glasgow,"<sup>20</sup> allegedly on their way to attack the Carron ironworks, was captured near Falkirk. One aristocrat noted with satisfaction how the ringleaders were hanged and beheaded.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, if there was insurrection, health was also a problem and the early 1830s saw a cholera epidemic in the Glasgow area.<sup>22</sup> Then spiritual unrest erupted, with sharp divisions in the Scottish church<sup>23</sup> whilst in 1846 famine hit the Highlands as potato crops failed.<sup>24</sup> All the while the dark wheels of Victorian industry were turning.<sup>25</sup> As

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<sup>14</sup> Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, pp. 422 & 418. George's father was living in a London hotel in 1834.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 419- 420.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 14<sup>th</sup> April 1836, Lady Glenlyon to George Murray.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 28<sup>th</sup> January 1836.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2002). Queen Victoria and the cult of the Scottish monarchy. In E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 214 - "class conflict and industrial dispute... the growth of Chartism." Tom Devine also talks of the "Radical War" that developed in 1920 in Devine, T. M. (1999/2000). *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000*. London: Allen Lane, pp. 226-230.

<sup>20</sup> The 4th Duke of Atholl, quoted in Atholl, *Chronicles. Vol.IV*, p. 295. See also Knox, W. J. (1999). *Industrial nation: Work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800 to the present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 57 & 61.

<sup>21</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles, Vol.IV*, p. 298.

<sup>22</sup> Cholera outbreak in Paisley. (2007). *National Archives of Scotland: A National Records of Scotland*. Retrieved from <http://www.nas.gov.uk/about/071011.asp>; See also The rise of Glasgow: Urban growth in Victorian Scotland. (2014, September 19). *The Victorian achievement: Glasgow*. BBC. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/victorian/features\\_victorian\\_urban.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/victorian/features_victorian_urban.shtml) - "the first cholera epidemic... killed 3000 alone."

<sup>23</sup> In 1843 there was a 'Disruption' in the Established Church, when more than a third of Scotland's ministers left to set up the Free Church and tens of thousands of worshippers followed. See Mackie, *History*, pp. 331-332; Maclean, F. (2000). *Scotland*. London: Thames and Hudson, p. 204; Matthew, H. C. G. (ed.). (2000). *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 204.

<sup>24</sup> Keay, J., & Keay, J. (2000). *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 785-786. Crowther says some were only kept alive by charity and government relief in Crowther, M. A. (1990). *Poverty, health and welfare*. In W. H. Fraser & R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Vol 2 - 1830-1914* (pp. 265-289). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 266.

Richard Finlay says: "...it seemed as if Scotland was losing its distinctive national identity as the forces of modernisation ripped through the nation, in the words of Henry Cockburn, 'like an economic scythe'."<sup>26</sup> Could Highlandism, with its colour and its emphasis on a more ordered time, provide some sort of comfort?

Like most aristocrats, Anne Home Drummond was no doubt shielded from the worst. K.D. Reynolds points out that ladies were usually the dispensers of charity, not the receivers.<sup>27</sup> Susie Steinbach calls these "elite women"<sup>28</sup> a tiny, but significant group. Angela Lambert notes how the English upper class consisted of some 10,000 people in 1889.<sup>29</sup> They belonged to around 1500 families and they all knew 'of' each other: "...their tribal characteristics were either an ancient name and lineage, or a title - and an ancient title was better than a recent one."<sup>30</sup> Importantly, they owned land: "...well over ninety per cent of the acreage was theirs."<sup>31</sup> It was a similar story in Scotland. As this thesis has already noted: by 1900 more than half the Highland acreage would be owned by just fifteen landowners.<sup>32</sup>

This chapter will now examine what made Anne Athole, the daughter of Henry Home Drummond, a Perthshire M.P, so truly 'Scotch'.<sup>33</sup> Theirs might be a substantial estate, but the children were strictly raised with "no excess of food."<sup>34</sup> Indeed, breakfast might be porridge whilst dinner could be a boiled egg. Anne once complained and the meal was pointedly given to a nursery maid. At the age of thirteen the Home Drummond girl was sent to school in London.<sup>35</sup> It was not the British upper class norm: according to Pat Jalland, most young

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<sup>25</sup> Scotland was on the cusp of an explosion of shipbuilding and rail and road construction, with an expansion of industry in towns like Glasgow. See Maclean, F. (2000). *Scotland*, pp. 190-194. See also Mackie, *History*.

<sup>26</sup> Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the cult', p. 214, quoting Cockburn, H. (1872). *The life of Francis Jeffrey*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, p. 151.

<sup>27</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, pp. 102-128.

<sup>28</sup> Steinbach, S. (2004/2005). *Women in England, 1760-1914*. London: Phoenix, p. 83. 'England' is the book's title, but the author notes how during this time the landed families of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland had merged into a single elite.

<sup>29</sup> Lambert, A. (1984/1985). *Unquiet souls: The Indian summer of the British aristocracy*. London: Macmillan, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Wightman, A. (2010). *The poor had no lawyers: Who owns Scotland (and how they got it)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, p. 64.

<sup>33</sup> Jenkins, T. (2009). Home Drummond, Henry (1783-1867) of Blair Drummond, Perth and 22 Fludyer Street. In Fisher, D. R. (ed.), *The history of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1820-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/home-drummond-henry-1783-1867>.

<sup>34</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne, Duchess of Athole*, by Miss MacGregor, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

ladies were educated at home.<sup>36</sup> There in the English capital, “little Scotchy,”<sup>37</sup> took comfort in the bag of oatmeal that arrived each week for her porridge. She learned to draw and speak French and Italian, with other accomplishments no doubt including music, dancing and deportment.<sup>38</sup> Aged eighteen she came north again, happy to leave London, “this detestable city.”<sup>39</sup>

The very Scottish Miss Home Drummond had already declared she could not be “induced to marry anyone whose home was over the border.”<sup>40</sup> Fortunately, she found herself being courted by a Highlander - and a titled one at that. George Glenlyon was heir to the Atholl dukedom. With large estates in northern Perthshire he was what has been termed a “mighty magnate”<sup>41</sup> - and he was not alone in owning vast tracts of Scotland. David Cannadine quotes figures showing how nearly ninety-three per cent of the country’s territory was held in estates of more than a thousand acres by 1880, compared to fifty-six per cent of English land.<sup>42</sup>

Lord Glenlyon was an army officer - and a bold one, at that. When breaking a collarbone after falling during a steeplechase, he re-mounted and went on to win the race.<sup>43</sup> He would carry foreign office dispatches to Paris during the French civil war and his letters home record the brutality of the time: “...prisoners when taken were held by the men while the women cut off their heads and mutilated them.”<sup>44</sup> Other unfortunates had hands and feet cut off.<sup>45</sup> Yet France’s woes had done Highlandism a favour. The bloody revolution had put any hopes of a renewed Scottish uprising firmly into perspective. William Donaldson notes how

<sup>36</sup> Jalland, P. (1986/1988). *Women, marriage and politics, 1860-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.* p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* See also Dunbar, J. (1953). *The early Victorian woman: Some aspects of her life, 1837-1857*. London: Harrap, pp. 86-92. See also Hellerstein, E. O., Hume, L. P., & Offen, K. M. (eds.). (1981). *Victorian women: A documentary account of women’s lives in nineteenth century England, France and the United States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 74-75.

<sup>39</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD24/532/14 - 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1831 - Anne Home Drummond to Henry Home Drummond.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.* p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> The term ‘mighty magnate’ is used in McCrone, D., Morris, A., & Kiely, R. (1995/1999). *Scotland – the brand: The making of Scottish heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 118. Glenlyon’s uncle, the 5th Duke of Atholl, was invalided out of the army. He was mentally ill and being cared for in London, so George would inherit the Blair and Dunkeld estates of 200,000 acres. Detail from Bateman, J. (1876/1971). *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p. 18. Compare this to his aristocratic neighbours - the Duke of Argyll, with 175,000 acres; *ibid*, p. 14; the Earl of Mansfield with about 50,000; *ibid*, p. 298; the Earl of Fife is shown with almost 250,000; *ibid*, p. 164, whilst the Duke of Sutherland possessed more than a million acres; *ibid*, p. 431.

<sup>42</sup> Cannadine, D. (1990/1996). *The decline and fall of the British aristocracy*. London: Picador, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Atholl, *op cit.* Vol. IV, p. 451 - in 1834 George joined the (Royal North British) Dragoons (Scots Greys) as a Cornet 2<sup>nd</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 426.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 452-453. George went twice to France in 1848. See also 30th June 1848, the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p. 454.

the “spectre of Republicanism rendered the traditional opposition of Hanoverian and Stuart obsolete at a stroke.”<sup>46</sup> A safe century after the ’45 George Glenlyon, the descendant of a Jacobite, was working hand-in-glove for the British government.<sup>47</sup> The noble lord was equally as ‘Scotch’ as his wife, yet he was eager to support the British state. After France he returned to London to be sworn in as a special constable in anticipation of Chartist riots.<sup>48</sup> Highlandism was again proving that Jacobitism and Union could co-exist.

In 1839 Lord Glenlyon asked Anne Home Drummond’s father for his daughter’s hand: “I shall endeavour as far as possible to contribute to her happiness.”<sup>49</sup> It sounds rather loveless, yet Joan Perkin points out that a Victorian aristocratic marriage could be a very satisfactory one. English and, presumably, Scottish upper class wives were among the most liberated women in Europe.<sup>50</sup> Susie Steinbach notes their access to legal protection with property sometimes kept out of a husband’s hands through the use of a ‘trust’.<sup>51</sup> Female aristocrats could often fight their corner: brought up to a hearty country life they were not “reared as shrinking violets.”<sup>52</sup> K.D. Reynolds adds to the debate. Whilst there were certainly unhappy titled marriages, many were successful.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, if a young Anne was shy, she was strong-willed.<sup>54</sup> A London phrenologist examined her head and declared the bumps to be lumps of firmness. “If the lady was married, her husband must find her difficult to guide.”<sup>55</sup> Anne Athole could handle her sometimes hot-headed spouse: “...*his* temper may be quick but no-one could be more *truly kind & considerate* in *every* way... surely *my* ticket in the *marriage lottery* may be considered a *prize!*”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, p. 94.

<sup>47</sup> Bruce Lenman describes Glenlyon’s ancestor, Lord George Murray, as the outstanding Jacobite general of the ’45 in Lenman, B. P. (1984/1995). *The Jacobite clans of the Great Glen, 1650-1784*. London: Methuen, p. 157.

<sup>48</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 453.

<sup>49</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD24/1/532/27 - 18th July 1839 - Lord Glenlyon to Mr Home Drummond

<sup>50</sup> Perkin, J. (1989). *Women and marriage in nineteenth-century England*. London: Routledge, p. 5. Note: David Cannadine says that through marriage the “hitherto separate territorial elites of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales gradually merged into a new, authentically British landed class” - in Cannadine, D. (1994). *Aspects of aristocracy: Grandeur and decline in modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> Steinbach, *Women in England*, p. 85.

<sup>52</sup> Perkin, *English society*, p. 101.

<sup>53</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD24/1/532/15 - 26<sup>th</sup> November 1839 - Lady Glenlyon to Henry Home Drummond. Phrenology was popular in Victorian times. The writer George Eliot was among those who thought you could tell a person’s character by their head bumps - in Longford, E. (1981). *Eminent Victorian women*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 71.

During their courtship Highlandism would present itself in an unlikely form in Ayrshire. The Eglinton Tournament, a mainly English display of medieval combat, was organised by the 13<sup>th</sup> Earl of Eglinton, “a dashing, wealthy nobleman... head of an ancient Scottish family.”<sup>57</sup> Robert Robson calls it the “greatest of all Gothick adventures,”<sup>58</sup> although Ian Anstruther has another more scathing description: it was “the greatest folly of the century.”<sup>59</sup> Alex Tyrrell connects the 1839 jaunt with the queen’s first visit to Scotland in 1842. Both were tartan affairs: “...Eglinton asked those coming to wear plaids and bonnets with a sprig of heather.”<sup>60</sup> Tyrrell suggests that Eglinton was continuing the job of building the image of a colourful Highland hierarchy - and he is right. Lord Glenlyon arrived at the head of a kilted private army.<sup>61</sup>

J.E. Cookson discusses the “cult of tartanry”<sup>62</sup> during the Napoleonic age and notes the military and political interests that lay behind Highlandism. Fencible Regiments raised by Scotland’s lairds were part of phenomenon. These groups were formed in the decades after the Jacobite rebellion when finding militias for the king was tactical. Allan Macinnes calls it “an imperial avenue for the political rehabilitation of the clan elite”<sup>63</sup> and offering men to fight for Britain certainly helped Simon Fraser of Lovat win back his Scottish estates in 1774.<sup>64</sup> Even a woman aristocrat could try to curry royal favour in this way. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Duchess of Sutherland raised the Sutherland Fencibles.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Anstruther, I. (1963/1986). *The knight and the umbrella. An account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839*. Gloucester: Sutton, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Robson, R. (1967). *Ideas and institutions of Victorian Britain*. London: G. Bell & Sons, p. 145.

<sup>59</sup> Anstruther, *The knight and umbrella*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Tyrrell, A. (2003). The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The royal visit to Scotland in 1842. *Scottish Historical Review*, 82(1), 47-73, p. 68.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*; Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 426-427.

<sup>62</sup> Cookson, J. E. (1999). The Napoleonic Wars, military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the early nineteenth century. *Scottish Historical Review*, 78(1), 60-75, p. 60.

<sup>63</sup> Macinnes, A. I. (1996). *Clanship, commerce and the house of Stuart, 1603-1788*. East Linton: Tuckwell, p. 217. Fencible Regiments were raised and disbanded between 1759 and 1802 - “they came into existence at periods when the menace of French invasions stirred the imagination” in Barnes, R. M., & Allen, C. K. (1956/1969). *The uniforms and history of the Scottish regiments*. London: Seeley Service, p. 88.

<sup>64</sup> Macinnes, *ibid*. See also Adam, F. (1908/2004). *The clans, septs, & regiments of the Scottish Highlands*. London: Johnston & Bacon, p. 453.

<sup>65</sup> In 1798 the Duchess of Sutherland raised the Sutherland Fencibles to help quell the Irish uprising – see Appendix H: ODNB - Gower, Elizabeth Leveson, Duchess of Sutherland (1765–1839), landowner. See also Ewan, E. L., Innes, S., Reynolds, S., & Pipes, R. (eds.). (2006). *The biographical dictionary of Scottish women: From earliest times to 2004*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 348.

For their part, the Atholl Highlanders were formed in 1777 to help at home during the American Wars of Independence.<sup>66</sup> Troops were sent to Ireland, but on hearing they were then being ordered to sail to India, a riot ensued.<sup>67</sup> It was a shameful event, with one crumb of comfort: of the ringleaders, “not one was a Highlander.”<sup>68</sup> These paragons of virtue would later be offered for service during the Crimean war, but would be told they were not needed.<sup>69</sup> If truth were known the British government of the 1850s had probably decided that a kilted private army was more of a vanity affair.

That was certainly the case in 1839 when the Atholl Highlanders were reformed for the Eglinton Tournament. Their job was to provide a ceremonial bodyguard for their lord and master - and now a mix of kilted farmers, gamekeepers, shoemakers and foresters marched onto the jousting field.<sup>70</sup> Men had been chosen to look the ‘Highland’ part: of the sixty-nine rank-and-file, nineteen were over six feet tall whilst a further thirty-six topped five feet nine.<sup>71</sup> The tartan spectacle added theatre to aristocratic daring. Lord Glenlyon went into battle as the ‘Knight of the Gael’.<sup>72</sup> He had spent three hundred and fifty pounds on armour and silk costume, with a further one thousand pounds needed to equip, feed and dress his supporting kilted cast.<sup>73</sup> Highlandism was proving theatrical - and expensive.

Money mixed with make-believe on the Ayrshire west coast. Three hundred aristocrats feasted on swan, peacock and boar’s head whilst a thousand danced at a ball.<sup>74</sup> For the lower orders there was no such comfort. Their job done, the Atholl Highlanders marched up the coast in the pouring rain. At Ardrossan they boarded a steamer for Glasgow and yomped north, sleeping in stables and dancing reels on lawns. Dunkeld was reached in the dark, the cathedral bells peeling. The tartan team had covered more than a hundred miles and as a reward, men could keep their uniforms.<sup>75</sup> Once again, the Highlander had proved himself.

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<sup>66</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 66.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 73 & 94-103.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, p. 106.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 459 - the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole offered the Atholl Highlanders to Lord Palmerston in 1854.

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

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 427-428.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 426 & 432.

<sup>73</sup> Anstruther, *Knight and umbrella*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>74</sup> Fairlie-Cunninghame, C. (1896, January). The Eglinton Tournament. *The Pall Mall Magazine*, p. 37.

<sup>75</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, pp. 431-432.

George Glenlyon and Anne Home Drummond were married the next month at her father's house at Blair Drummond.<sup>76</sup> Further north in Perthshire celebration dinners were held and great bonfires blazed between the Dunkeld and Blair estates.<sup>77</sup> The newly-weds approached Blair Castle where servants physically dragged the carriage up the avenue, the canon firing overhead.<sup>78</sup> The new Lady Glenlyon was lifted across the threshold and a dairymaid broke an oatcake over her head: "...probably no bride had ever had a warmer or more picturesque welcome to her Highland home."<sup>79</sup> It sets the scene for a highly Highland life.

Martha Vicinus may repeat the view that a Victorian woman's duty was to "suffer and be still."<sup>80</sup> Trevor May can point out that when Queen Victoria came to the throne, "all women, of whatever class, were subject to laws which put them on a par with male criminals, lunatics and minors."<sup>81</sup> It is left to Joan Perkin to detail the comfort and power that money could bring - and it goes some way to explain the "coolly realistic"<sup>82</sup> view that Victorian upper class ladies might have had of wedlock. Lord Glenlyon had been ogling the chorus girls' legs at a London theatre and he told his wife about it.<sup>83</sup>

There were the usual eccentricities. The noble earl could be found in court finery at the palace, or wearing tatty tweeds and boiling beef for the hounds in Highland kennels.<sup>84</sup> Anne might be dressed in silk and waiting for orders at Windsor Castle, or clad in tartan and dusting her Scottish castle.<sup>85</sup> Making porridge and testing farm machinery was all recorded in her diary, as was the health of her beloved cows.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* George and Anne were married on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1839 at Blair Drummond. See also Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne, op cit.* p. 22.

<sup>77</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles, Vol. IV*, p. 433.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 433-434. See also Miss MacGregor, quoted in Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne, op cit.*

<sup>80</sup> Vicinus, M. (ed.). (1972/1973). *Suffer and be still: Women in the Victorian age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, introduction. Vicinus quotes from Ellis, S. S. (1842). *The daughters of England: Their position in society, character and responsibilities*. New York: Appleton, pp. 73 and 94.

<sup>81</sup> May, T. (1987/1994). *An economic and social history of Britain, 1760-1970*. London: Longman, p. 257.

<sup>82</sup> Perkin, *English society*, p. 54.

<sup>83</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 11 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1846 - Lord Glenlyon to Lady Glenlyon.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 1519 - 29<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - the Duchess of Athole to Mrs Home Drummond. In November 1852, the duke was invested with the Order of the Thistle at Windsor - "neither, I think, was a KT made in his kilt!" See also *Ibid.* Bundle 640 - 4<sup>th</sup> April 1856 - "His Grace boiling and potting Beef for the Hounds at kennels till twelve o'clock at night!"

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 639 - 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1852 - "went to the Queen at Buckingham Palace by command." Contrast with Bundle 640, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1857 - "very busy in Castle - unpacked 'images!'" Took possession of bureau out of No. 6 and sat up to 4.30 to arrange it. 5th November 1857 - "dressed in our tartan dresses and cleaned out the museum immediately after breakfast!"

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* - 16<sup>th</sup> February 1857 - "porridge making and washing by machinery [in kennels.]"; 17<sup>th</sup> March 1859 - "dairy conversation from morning to night!"; 18<sup>th</sup> April 1859 - "HG starts for Ayrshire in search of a bull and a

Like the queen's adoption of simple Highland customs, it was a life of contrasts: one day ordering ankle elastic for the duke, the next, receiving the Siamese ambassadors at court.<sup>87</sup> Highlandism could offer its well-connected followers the chance to roll up their sleeves and feel 'normal' and this Perthshire family was very well-connected indeed.<sup>88</sup> The 1st Earl of Atholl was half-brother to King James 2<sup>nd</sup>. The 4th welcomed Mary Queen of Scots with two thousand Highlanders on a deer hunt. The 2nd marquis received his dukedom from Queen Anne before Jacobite sympathies spilt the family. A son loyal to the Hanoverians became the next duke and devotion to crown and country was complete.<sup>89</sup>

Ten months after her marriage, Anne gave birth to the Athole son and heir and her husband advanced on the forest to kill a deer before returning to smear its blood on the baby.<sup>90</sup> This act was meant to bind the infant to the Highlands - and it must have worked. Aged ten, Lord Tulliebardine, or Bardie, as he was known, was learning Gaelic and he would also play the bagpipes.<sup>91</sup> Yet, as always, Highlandism had its Scottish limits. Like the sons of other aristocrats the boy was not schooled in Scotland.<sup>92</sup> Bardie went to Eton where he soon got the lie of a very English land.<sup>93</sup> "I fag for Tyroll and Brougham, they are very kind to me and never lick me. All I have to do is put a plate on the table and look Busy with the butter."<sup>94</sup>

However, despite the southern set he joined, the youth destined to be the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl<sup>95</sup> would remain fiercely 'Scotch'. One letter home shows a sketch of an English soldier and a

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dairymaid." Contrast with *ibid*, 28th May 1859 - "great dinner at the palace", and 21<sup>st</sup> November 1859 - "the Princess Royal's birthday. Great dinner in the Waterloo Gallery." See also *ibid*, Bundle 642 - 24<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - "the Queen's birthday... Order of Victoria and Albert from the Queen"; 26<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - "first birth of Duchess Ladybird's calf."

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 641 - 7<sup>th</sup> August 1862; Bundle 1519 - 26th November 1857, the Duchess of Athole to Mrs Home Drummond.

<sup>88</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole was Chief of the 'Dundee Highland Association' from 1856 – 1862. See *The Celtic Annual: Yearbook of the Dundee Highland Society Year Book*, 1910-1911.

<sup>89</sup> Jauncey, J. (2004). *Blair Castle*. Blair Atholl: Atholl Estates Heritage House Group, pp. 4-6. See also Anderson, J. (2007). *Atholl Estates: A brief history*. Perth: Blair Castle and Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust, p.4.

<sup>90</sup> Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 434. Note: the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess spelled their name 'Athole'.

<sup>91</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - 19<sup>th</sup> August 1850; Box 75, Bundle 10 - 25<sup>th</sup> August 1861 - Bardie, in London, has "not even energy to play the pipes." He slips into Gaelic - "beannachd libh... blessings on you!"

<sup>92</sup> For example, Sir John MacGregor Murray, the chief discussed in chapter one of this thesis, wanted his son to be taught in England - see Appendix D: PD60/829.

<sup>93</sup> Bardie went to Eton in July 1853 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 458. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 20 - 16<sup>th</sup> September 1853 - Lord Tullibardine to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 2nd October 1853.

<sup>95</sup> Note: the 7<sup>th</sup> duke would change the spelling back to 'Atholl'.

kilted Highlander: “...fight between the Clan MacGregor and the English,”<sup>96</sup> he wrote gleefully as the Englishman is shown being knocked to the ground. On taking possession of his estates this duke would insist that all jobs go to Scots. “Sandie Campbell here gets the mason work, MacDonald, Dunkeld, Plumber. Jack, Dunkeld, Slater. Brodie, Birnham, Plaster...”<sup>97</sup> A potential coachman might speak like an Englishman, but he could still be employed - because “his ancestors were Scotch.”<sup>98</sup>

The more pipers Bardie, the 7<sup>th</sup> duke, had playing around his dinner table, the better.<sup>99</sup> At the funeral of an old retainer he noted how it was a “very pretty sight - the people all talking Gaelic round the grave - I counted 15 kilts!”<sup>100</sup> The nursemaids looking after his children would speak Gaelic.<sup>101</sup> Bardie would send his children to the Gaelic church service and he inaugurated a Gaelic competition for other young Highlanders.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, on his death he was praised by the ‘Gaelic Society of London’.<sup>103</sup> Again, upper class Highlandism was making a contribution to preserving an ancient tongue.

J.S. Lewis describes how intimate moments like the birth of an heir became public property to those who served a well-connected family. “[It] was of paramount importance for the perpetuation of the family tradition and the transmission of its property.”<sup>104</sup> When Bardie came into the world great celebration dinners and balls were held.<sup>105</sup> Yet, in Scotland, the birth of a *girl* could still be cause for excitement, not least because it was an excuse for a party. When Bardie’s first child, Dorothea, was born in 1866, the tenantry went mad: “...cannon firing... pipes playing... the mob consumed bread and cheese and whisky at the front door and... danced until 2 in the rain.”<sup>106</sup> Even when a *third* girl - and *still* no male heir

<sup>96</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 2 - 7<sup>th</sup> September 1852 - Lord Tullibardine to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, Box 60, Bundle 20 - 23rd March 1869 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 33 - 19<sup>th</sup> December 1880 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1656 - 6<sup>th</sup> September 1881 - the 7<sup>th</sup> duke asks the Dowager Duchess of Athole if he can borrow her piper: “...do see if you can’t spare him because it is the only time I have a chance of having 12 pipers around the table & up and down the ballroom.”

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, Box 60, Bundle 13 - 16th April 1865 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>101</sup> Hetherington, S. J. (1989). *Katharine Atholl, 1874-1960: Against the tide*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, p. 56 - “like almost everyone else in Atholl at the time, they all, as a family, spoke Gaelic fluently and with enjoyment - it had been Bardie’s first language.”

<sup>102</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 7/469 - *Record of Competitors in the Duke of Atholl’s Gaelic competition*. See also *ibid*, Box 75, Bundle 2 - 25th April 1880 the 7th Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1535 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl obituary.

<sup>104</sup> Lewis, J. S. (1986). *In the family way: Childbearing in the British aristocracy, 1760-1860*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 60-61. See also Reynolds, *op cit.* p. 27.

<sup>105</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 435.

<sup>106</sup> Lady Dorothea Louisa was born in London on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1866 - *ibid*, p. 478. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 14 - 3rd July 1866 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

- arrived, estate workers still partied, firing guns in the dark whilst locals left their beds to dance around the castle.<sup>107</sup> However, a boy was preferable: “I have settled... to have 21 guns for a son or 18 for a girl fired at Blair,”<sup>108</sup> Bardie would declare. After all, Highlandism was a male-dominated phenomenon.<sup>109</sup>

So just how much has been detailed about the lives of Scottish upper class women? An investigation of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* shows a number of prominent female aristocrats between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but they are generally recognised for being courtiers, or noblewomen.<sup>110</sup> Apart from the usual suspects like Mary Queen of Scots and Flora Macdonald, it appears that few Scottish upper class women gained *real* fame at this time - although one, the land-clearing Duchess of Sutherland, certainly achieved infamy.<sup>111</sup> The Duchess of Buccleuch was Mistress of the Robes to Victoria from 1841 to 1846 whilst her daughter-in-law held the same position at the end of the monarch’s reign.<sup>112</sup> The Duchess of Roxburghe was also a royal servant, as was Anne Athole, and discretion there was key. One lady of the bedchamber, Amelia Murray, had to resign her post when her charity work and written descriptions of slavery were deemed too political.<sup>113</sup>

A few nineteenth century Scotswomen did manage to find themselves something akin to a ‘job’. The novelist, Lady Scott, wrote for newspapers and magazines.<sup>114</sup> Lady Colin Campbell was an art critic and journalist whilst Lady Archibald Campbell became a theatre producer.<sup>115</sup> Millicent Fanny Gower campaigned to stop lead being used in pottery glaze and founded a society for disabled people.<sup>116</sup> Yet some Victorian families struggle to find any women of note at all. The Marchioness of Lothian’s claim to fame appears to be that

<sup>107</sup> Lady Evelyn was born on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 481. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 17 - 18<sup>th</sup> March 1868.

<sup>108</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 14 - 5<sup>th</sup> March 1866 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>109</sup> See chapter four of this thesis for a further discussion on the Scottish landscape being ‘male’.

<sup>110</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Hamilton, Lady Anne (1766–1846), courtier; Campbell, Elizabeth, Duchess of Argyll (c.1733–1790), courtier; Stanley, nee Bruce, Lady Augusta Elizabeth Frederica (1822–1876), courtier.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid* - Gower, Elizabeth Leveson, Duchess of Sutherland (1765–1839): “...she was the target of great hatred in the Highlands.” See also McKenzie, A. (2001). *The Highland clearances*. Lanark: Geddes & Grosset, pp. 8-9 - “the evictions carried out in the Highlands during the early nineteenth century were more severe and cruel in Sutherland than in any other region.”

<sup>112</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Scott, Charlotte Anne Montagu-Douglas, Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry (1811–1895). Louisa Jane Montagu-Douglas was Mistress of the Robes from 1886–1892 and from 1895–1901.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid* - Murray, Amelia Matilda (1795–1884), writer and courtier.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid* - Scott, Harriet Anne (1819–1894), novelist.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid* - Campbell, Gertrude Elizabeth (1857–1911), art critic and journalist, and Campbell, Janey Sevilla (1846–1923), theatre producer.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid* - Gower, Millicent Fanny Sutherland-Leveson (1867–1955), society hostess and social reformer.

of “Roman Catholic convert.”<sup>117</sup> *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* mentions a few more aristocratic ladies: among them Lady Aberdeen, a philanthropist and social campaigner, and the composer, Lady Mildred Bowes-Lyon.<sup>118</sup> However, Elizabeth Longford’s book, *Eminent Victorian Women*, contains no Scottish-born females, although one - Dr James Barry, who was *thought* to be a woman - did study medicine in Edinburgh.<sup>119</sup>

There again, how much power and money did these upper class Scotswomen have? In his 1876 review of *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* John Bateman details how out of 1,644 people with holdings of at least 3,000 acres fewer than a hundred were female.<sup>120</sup> K.D. Reynolds reminds us of how histories of the British aristocracy have tended to push women to the sidelines.<sup>121</sup> Allan Massie’s list of *101 Great Scots* includes a handful of females, among them, Mary Queen of Scots, Flora MacDonald and, interestingly, Queen Victoria.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, whilst David Cannadine notes the “urgent need for more women’s history of upper-class women,”<sup>123</sup> his own thorough book, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, mentions only around forty women out of more than a thousand men. This chapter will further examine the life of the very ‘Scotch’ Anne Athole.

In 1840 Lord Glenyon left the army and turned his attention to his land and properties.<sup>124</sup> In 1846 he would become the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole, with a routine to Highland life. For the first half of the year they would live on the Dunkeld estate in a house handy for spring fishing.<sup>125</sup> Then, when August came, they would move twenty miles north to Blair Castle for the grouse shooting and stalking.<sup>126</sup> Anne was learning more about the man she had married. He might call her “my dearest Pet,”<sup>127</sup> but there was another passion in his life: George Athole was obsessed with field sports.

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid* - Kerr, Cecil Chetwynd, Marchioness of Lothian (1808–1877), Roman Catholic convert.

<sup>118</sup> Ewan *et al.*, *Biographies*, pp.3 & 42.

<sup>119</sup> Longford, *Eminent Victorian women*, pp. 227-248.

<sup>120</sup> Bateman, *Landowners*. See also Horn, P. (1991). *Victorian countrywomen*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 39.

<sup>121</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> Massie, A. (1987). *101 great Scots*. London: Chambers, pp. 46, 101 & 183.

<sup>123</sup> Cannadine, (1990/1996), *The decline and fall*, p. 7. See also index, pp. 794-813.

<sup>124</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 434.

<sup>125</sup> St Adamnam’s was the Athole’s Dunkeld residence, and was nicknamed the ‘cottage’. It was a bow-fronted mansion house on the banks of the Tay between the cathedral and the river. The queen called it “pretty and beautifully situated” - Appendix C: Vol.18, p. 79: 1<sup>st</sup> October 1844.

<sup>126</sup> The Duchess of Athole’s diaries also show a routine to their lives - e.g. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - March to June of 1847 - the duke fished on the Tay and local lochs. In July, “all move up to Blair.”; March to May 1850, Tay fishing at Dunkeld, then the household moved to Blair in early August.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, Box 58, Bundle 17 - 14<sup>th</sup> January 1850.

This was the person who could kill eight deer with seven shots. Luckily, she bore it with good humour.<sup>128</sup> Her husband was “up to the neck in Deer at present,”<sup>129</sup> she told a cousin. “Much as he would like to join yr shooting parties *now*, he cannot possibly leave the Harts while there is one fit for killing.”<sup>130</sup> Anne tried to be supportive by watching the slaughter from the carriage.<sup>131</sup> At other times she was in the castle, doing cross-stitch and writing letters.<sup>132</sup> To be a good correspondent was “considered a well-bred woman’s duty.”<sup>133</sup>

Chapter two of this thesis touched on Albert’s passion for hunting and shooting at Balmoral and suggested how royal field sports were helping to shape Highlandism. It would be the same on the aristocratic Atholl estate. Boosted by royal patronage there was now money to be made from killing game and there was no shortage of men wanting to blast away on a Scottish moor. Maureen Martin describes how Highland stalking became a nineteenth century male rite - “you are what you hunt”<sup>134</sup> - and it was not just deer. George Athole bought two packs of otter hounds - not a sport for the faint-hearted, often involving a two in the morning start and a return twenty hours later.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, a Highland stay at Blair could involve wading through bog, or crawling in midge-infested heather. Yet an exhausting hill stalk was presumably more character-building than a stroll across rolling English downs.

Victorian Highlandism was sorting out the men from the boys - and it was bringing jobs. Pamela Horn notes how the shooting fad created a rise in rural employment. In 1851 there were 1,944 gamekeepers in Scotland. By 1901 the number had risen to 5,367.<sup>136</sup> Yet it is John Morrison who reminds us that local communities could be split by this new class of worker. “Those who worked on the sporting estates appear to have routinely abused their

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<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 638 - 20<sup>th</sup> August 1850, and 24<sup>th</sup> May 1849 - “the Duke out rook shooting,”; 24<sup>th</sup> December 1847 - “Duke out fox hunting,”; 12<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - “all up the glen... 17 deer killed.”

<sup>129</sup> Appendix D: PD60/149 - 9<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - the Duchess of Athole to Sir John MacGregor.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>131</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - 3rd March 1847 - “walked up the river to join the Duke fishing.”

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1848 - “commenced Vanity Fair.”; *Ibid*, Bundle 639, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1850 - “reading and writing as usual.”

<sup>133</sup> Dunbar, *Victorian women*, p. 88.

<sup>134</sup> Martin, *On the trail*, p. 13.

<sup>135</sup> References to otter hunting abound in the Duchess of Athole’s diaries. See Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - 6<sup>th</sup> June 1849 - “the Duke starts at half past one for otter hunting.”; Bundle 639 - 31<sup>st</sup> May 1851 - “three days of most successful otter hunting.” See also Atholl, *op cit. Vol. IV*, p. 456 - 19<sup>th</sup> June 1849 - “this year his Grace started a pack of otter-hounds.” See also Charles Christie [obituary]. (1900, December 28). *Dundee Courier*, p. 4.

<sup>136</sup> *Population Censuses: Reports for England, Wales and Scotland* for 1851, 1852-3, 1901 and 1904 as cited in Horn, P. (1999). *Pleasures & pastimes in Victorian Britain*. Stroud: Sutton, p. 99.

positions to harass, exploit and undermine crofting tenants.”<sup>137</sup> Moreover, if there were a few more jobs, there was now less land for people to live on. By 1892 the Scottish deer forest area would rise to 2.47 million acres, compared to 1.97 million a decade earlier.<sup>138</sup>

Leah Leneman claims that Atholl dukes tried to stop people from trespassing, or grazing their animals on estate land,<sup>139</sup> but was David Stewart of Garth’s accusation that “the whole of Atholl [would be] laid waste”<sup>140</sup> over-exaggerated? There is no mention of clearance at this time in the Atholl history, the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*. Then the said work was compiled by a Duke of Atholl who may have been selective in his research. The suggestion that Glen Tilt was “virtually emptied to create a pleasure park”<sup>141</sup> around 1784 simply does not appear in the *Chronicles*. All we see for that year is a story about a trial over a stolen watch, the idea of building a bridge over the Tay, and a marriage.<sup>142</sup> What is confirmed, though, is that by 1827 the 4th Duke of Atholl had ordered tenants to remove their stock from the fields to make way for a deer hunt.<sup>143</sup>

There was wealth in woodlands and the 4th duke now came upon the “startling idea”<sup>144</sup> of renting them out: “...probably at this date no forest had ever been let.”<sup>145</sup> An area known as ‘Fealer’ was leased for £300 to one Captain Horatio Ross who shot eighty-five deer and two thousand and twenty grouse in one season.<sup>146</sup> Yet the man proved a “troublesome tenant.”<sup>147</sup> He would fire indiscriminately into the herd, which was not considered gentlemanly - a criticism echoed on another Perthshire estate where “the kind of sportsmen we now have is

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<sup>137</sup> Morrison, ‘The whole is quite consonant’.

<sup>138</sup> *Lands in Scotland used as deer forests* - Report of the Departmental Committee as cited in Horn, p. 114.

<sup>139</sup> Leneman, L. (1986). *Living in Atholl: A social history of the estates, 1685-1785*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 178.

<sup>140</sup> Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray, quoted in Prebble, J. (1988). *The King’s jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August 1822*, “one and twenty daft days”. London: Collins, p. 37.

<sup>141</sup> Gibson, R. (2012). *The Highland clearances trail*. Edinburgh: Luath Press, p. 96. The ‘Clan Donnachaidh Society’ says the duke removed people to improve his deer stalking: “...he cleared Glen Garry and the land between Dunkeld and Dalguise.” Clan Donnachaidh Society. (n.d.). *The clearances*. Retrieved from <http://www.donnachaidh.com/clearances.html>

<sup>142</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, pp. 120-121.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 121-130, & 386. Kinvaid estate was bought for £8050, the upper portion of Glengarry in 1788 for £4,800, Easthaugh of Dalshian for £2,000, and Dungarhill near Dunkeld for £6,500 in 1789.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 341.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, p. 395.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1828 - Mr Scrope to the Duke of Atholl.

cotton manufacturers, coal proprietors, ironmongers.... so that the most of our Highland chiefs are gone and many do not know what real sport is..."<sup>148</sup>

They came with their money, but not necessarily their class. F.M.L Thompson notes how Scotland's tenants were becoming "less exclusively aristocratic."<sup>149</sup> Highlandism was attracting the nouveau riche and their hunting methods could be questionable. Yet, the fact was, the wild and mountainous Atholl estate needed the income, regardless of who carried the gun. By the 1840s deer fences were being erected and by the end of the nineteenth century large parts of Atholl hill land would be earmarked for shooting.<sup>150</sup> The early-twentieth century journalist, Thomas Johnston, referred darkly to it: the Landowners Return of 1874 showed the 7th Duke of Atholl owning 194,640 acres in Perthshire with a rental income of £40,758 whilst a 1908 Parliamentary Return indicated he was the largest owner of deer forest in the non-crofting counties of Scotland.<sup>151</sup>

It was a powerful position to be in. Then, as early as 1814, the economist, Sir John Sinclair, had declared how "in no country in Europe are the rights of proprietors so well defined and so carefully protected"<sup>152</sup> as in Scotland. Highlandism was sheltering, but some things you could not insure against. Over the decades a feud with a neighbour had overshadowed sport on the Atholl estate. William Robertson of Lude encouraged his tenants to poach game on the 4<sup>th</sup> duke's land. He even offered to pay the fine if they were caught and took to firing a canon to scare the deer and spoil the duke's stalking.<sup>153</sup>

Maureen Martin calls clearance on Atholl land "notorious"<sup>154</sup> whilst one Edwardian churchman claimed the family had the "unenviable distinction of being the first to introduce

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<sup>148</sup> Peter Robertson, forester on one of the Argyle deer forests, quoted in Thompson, F. M. L. (1988). *The rise of respectable society: A social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. London: Fontana p. 268.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 154 & 268.

<sup>150</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 426.

<sup>151</sup> Johnston, T. (1909/2002). *Our Scots noble families*. Glendaruel: Argyll, p.34. The 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl might possess vast tracts of land, but he was not the biggest Scottish landowner. Cannadine, 1994, *op cit*. p. 710, lists the Greatest British Landowners of around 1880 and reports that the Duke of Buccleuch boasted 460,108 acres, whilst the Duke of Sutherland had 1,358,545. Cannadine echoes the view that even after selling large tracts of land in the twentieth century, the Atholls were owners of such large estates, that they remained "substantial magnates" - p. 109.

<sup>152</sup> Sinclair, J. (1814). *General report of the agricultural state and political circumstances of Scotland: Drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*. Edinburgh: Constable, p. 115; See also Devine, 1999, *op cit*. p. 450. Sir John Sinclair was a politician and agricultural improver who took an interest in political economy and finance - see Appendix H: ODNB - Sinclair, Sir John (1754–1835).

<sup>153</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 206.

<sup>154</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, p. 172.

evictions on a whole-scale scale into the Highlands.”<sup>155</sup> It was the Reverend Donald Mackintosh of Ardeonaig who suggested that Glen Tilt was emptied in 1784: “...the Duke of Atholl had a taste for deer.”<sup>156</sup> The minister alleged that a thousand people were removed, yet he admitted relying on “local tradition”<sup>157</sup> for corroboration of his facts.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl’s son would refute these allegations in 1911, using evidence from estate rentals: “...it is the grossest exaggeration to speak of the Glen as having been ‘cleared’.”<sup>158</sup> Yet, over the years, critics have continued to insist that the Atholl family *did* clear land. The 3<sup>rd</sup> duke, they said, stood accused of “[depriving] without pretence of compensation”<sup>159</sup> the pastures of the men of Glen Tilt. The writer, Robert Somers, claimed the glen was emptied “...twenty or thirty years before the burnings and ejectments of Sutherland were heard of.”<sup>160</sup> In the 1840s more clearance was alleged which allowed David Stewart of Garth to use the term, “grinding and cruel oppressor.”<sup>161</sup>

George Athole, as 6<sup>th</sup> duke, appears not be as damned as his forebears, although Robert Somers was still able to describe the “desolation” and “devastation”<sup>162</sup> felt in Glen Tilt during *his* tenure. Yet if George had a penchant for killing deer - “[Glen Tilt] serves no better than the occasional playground of a Duke”<sup>163</sup> - he was certainly not an absentee landlord. Unlike those lairds who played at being ‘Scotch’, this one *was* fiercely Highland. He did not have a London house;<sup>164</sup> neither did he wed an English aristocrat, something that Malcolm Gray notes would have created “links of ownership between English and Scottish estates.”<sup>165</sup> Crucially, perhaps, unlike other wealthy Scottish aristocrats like the Duke of Sutherland and

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<sup>155</sup> Black page in Atholl history... Commercial landlordism. (1911, November 3). *Dundee Advertiser*.

<sup>156</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 41.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, see letter from the Rev. Mackintosh to Lord Tullibardine, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1911.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 43-44 - see letter of 5<sup>th</sup> December 1911.

<sup>159</sup> Blackie, J. S. (1883, March 3). Alexander Mackenzie’s *The History of the Highland Clearances* [book review]. *The Athenaeum*, pp. 275-276.

<sup>160</sup> Somers, R. (1848/1977). *Letters from the Highlands on the famine of 1846*. Inverness: Melvins Bookshop, p.11.

<sup>161</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/111/G - 15<sup>th</sup> April 1823 - David Stewart of Garth to the Rev. Alexander Irvine.

<sup>162</sup> Somers, *Letters*. pp. 19 and 22. Contrast the 6th Duke of Athole’s treatment of his tenants with that of the Sutherlands - for example, the burnings at Strathnaver, described in Prebble, J. (1963/1969). *The Highland clearances*. London: Secker & Warburg, pp. 49-115.

<sup>163</sup> Somers, *Letters*, p. 23.

<sup>164</sup> Appendix A - the Duchess of Athole’s diaries and newspaper reports and gossip columns show they often stayed at the Hanover, or George Hotel.

<sup>165</sup> Gray, M. (1981). *The regions and their issues: Scotland*. In G. E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol.1 (pp. 81-93). London: Routledge, p. 82.

the Marquis of Bute, George Athole did not own large tracts of *English* land.<sup>166</sup> It may go some way to explain his devotion to his Highland estates.

This is not to say that the 6<sup>th</sup> duke was blameless. Yet on his death, he could be described as a man whose “affections were bound up in his wild Highland possessions. He loved the simple people among whom he was born.”<sup>167</sup> Another obituary may have had Highlandism in mind when it noted how he was: “...not only an excellent landlord, but he added to the manners of the old country gentleman something of the romance of the Highland chief... [there was} his kindly manner to even the humblest classes of the community.”<sup>168</sup> Such flattery is par for the course for the age, but Tom Devine reminds us how Highland landlords did seem to have a “peculiar and personal authority far stronger even than their counterparts in the Lowlands.”<sup>169</sup> One Victorian newspaper would even claim that “Atholl has not, like Breadalbane, been ever subjected to wholesale evictions... in Atholl exists a patriarchal and local clannish state of social and industrial organisation... Anyone who thinks that this has arisen through landlord despotism... is vastly mistaken.”<sup>170</sup>

“Patriarchal and local clannish’ has more than a hint of Highlandism about it. However, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole would prove himself less than hospitable when strangers tried to cross his land.<sup>171</sup> In 1848 a university professor wanted to take his students through Glen Tilt, only to find the way barred by gillies.<sup>172</sup> A legal battle ensued over the right to walk across estate land. The duke lost the case and bad publicity ensued.<sup>173</sup> “[It] was as a result of a famous outburst of his temper under great provocation... [he] afterwards publically confessed his fault and apologised,” one newspaper of the time explained.<sup>174</sup> George Athole had a temper.

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<sup>166</sup> Bateman, *Great landowners*. suggests the Duke of Sutherland owned some 32,000 acres in England, p. 431, whilst the Marquis of Bute had around 23,000, p. 69.

<sup>167</sup> Burial of the Duke of Athole. (1864, January 25). *The Caledonian Mercury*, p. 4.

<sup>168</sup> The Duke of Athole [obituary]. (1864, March). *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Review*, p. 383.

<sup>169</sup> Burt, E, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, 1754, quoted by Devine, T. M. (1988). Unrest and stability in rural Ireland and Scotland, 1760–1840. In R. Mitchison & P. Roebuck (eds), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939* (pp. 126-139). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 129.

<sup>170</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1662 - *Northern Chronicle*, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1897 - The Late Dowager Duchess of Atholl

<sup>171</sup> Somers, *op cit.* p. 20 - “on one occasion he presented his gun to two gentlemen...” See also Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 452 - “a dispute arose.”

<sup>172</sup> The Scottish Rights of Way & Access Society. (2008, July 27). *History of ScotWays*. Retrieved from <https://www.scotways.com/about-us/50-history-of-scotways> - the website explains the history of the society and of how Atholl land came into the argument: “...one of the most celebrated cases of the history of access in Scotland”. See also Anderson, *op cit.* p. 10.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* The Lords found against the duke in 1853. See also Atholl, *op cit.* Vol.IV, p. 458.

<sup>174</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1662 - 26<sup>th</sup> May 1897 - *Northern Chronicle*. Note: local unrest continued into the 7<sup>th</sup> duke’s tenure. In 1868 an angry crowd attacked the Dunkeld Bridge gates and threw them in the river. Soldiers

He was aloof with strangers. Yet, as the same Victorian paper noted: this was a man who “knew his tenants intimately... an excellent landlord... The way in which the Atholl people look at their relations with the Castle at present is that the Duke and his family belong to them - not they to the Duke.”<sup>175</sup>

Of course, later journalists would poo-poo any hint of praise. In 1909 Thomas Johnston was claiming that the Atholl history read “like an Arabian romance of successful crime.”<sup>176</sup> Their crest showed “a demi savage proper holding in his right hand a dagger.”<sup>177</sup> They were living up to the family motto of “ ‘Furth Fortune and fill the fetters’ ”<sup>178</sup> - and during George Athole’s tenure there was certainly abject poverty not many miles from his castle with one Perthshire policeman declaring how “the poor here are a most miserable people - *worse than in Ireland.*”<sup>179</sup>

The health campaigner, Dr William Pulteney Alison, might warn that the suffering in the Highlands and Islands was “discreditable to the rich in Scotland,”<sup>180</sup> but his words probably had little effect on an estate where no-one actually starved. Not that the Atholes were unaware of Scotland’s social problems. In 1847 Anne Athole dithered about spending £400 on some new gates, but, in the end, she managed to persuade herself: “...they are not our own people [starving], if I was *quite sure* the Gates were *exactly* the things we want...”<sup>181</sup> Again, this is Scottish reality, masked, in part, by Highlandism.

Previous chapters have shown Sir Walter Scott and Queen Victoria as key in making the Highlands fashionable. The 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Athole now played their own part in the ‘tartanisation’ process by inaugurating what is believed to be the world’s oldest charity

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quelled the trouble - Atholl, *op cit. Vol. IV*, pp. 481-482. A year later ‘The Hermitage’, a famous Atholl beauty spot on the River Bran, was blown up - *ibid*, p. 484.

<sup>175</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1662, *op cit.* 26<sup>th</sup> May 1897.

<sup>176</sup> Johnston, *Noble families*, p. 35.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Captain Grove, quoted in Mackay, C. (1877/2008). *Forty years’ recollections of life, literature and public affairs: From 1830 to 1870*. London: Chapman & Hall, pp. 383-384.

<sup>180</sup> Alison, W. P. (1840). *Observations on the management of the poor in Scotland and its effects on the health of the great towns*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, p. 66. See also Crowther, *op cit.* p. 265. It was different in the cities. Charles Mackay (*op cit.*) quotes the Rev Guthrie, who declared that the Poor Laws led to great hardship in Edinburgh: “...in many cases, people have no choice but to *steal or starve.*”; Mr Steele: “there is *much begging* in Greenock.”; Bailie Forbes, Aberdeen: “[their houses] are exceedingly filthy and ill-ventilated.” pp. 380-382. See also Mitchison, R. (1970/1990). *A history of Scotland*. London: Methuen, pp. 387-390.

<sup>181</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 61 - 18<sup>th</sup> July 1847 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole. See also Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 54.

dance. The ‘Royal Caledonian Ball’ started as a private London gathering for Scottish friends and by 1849 it was a fund-raiser for Scottish charities.<sup>182</sup> Chapter six will give more detail of how this form of Highlandism has since helped charities north of the border. For then, like today, there was no shortage of people wanting to dance reels in kilts. As Fitzroy Maclean says: by the mid-nineteenth century “every Englishman was busy finding himself a Scottish great-grandmother and the children of half Europe were tricked out in fancy tartans *a la Lucia di Lammermoor.*”<sup>183</sup>

Foreigners were fascinated by the craze and in 1847 the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia arrived at Blair Castle where the Duke of Athole hoped to impress with plaid.<sup>184</sup> There would be Highland toasts and the ‘Nish Nish’.<sup>185</sup> His Athole Highlanders would parade in tartan, with family and friends being encouraged to add to the ‘Scotch’ feel: “...if Charles could by any possibility put on the kilt in this *warm* weather...”<sup>186</sup> This thesis has shown how the theatre of Highlandism was now a form of identity for the Scottish aristocracy. It was part of the social scene. Yet, despite that, when the foreign visitor arrived, bowls of very English strawberries and cream were served at tea whilst Russian music was played to make him feel at home.<sup>187</sup> Being ‘Highland’ would still prove “as merry as a marriage feast.”<sup>188</sup> The Grand Duke sported a tartan suit on the hill which gave “great satisfaction in the glen.”<sup>189</sup> Clad in plaid, slaughtering deer and dancing reels, even a titled Russian could now feel like a laird.

As Queen Victoria would declare: “For health and relaxation no one would go to Ireland, and people only go who have their estates to attend to. But for health and relaxation thousands go to Scotland.”<sup>190</sup> Among those looking for a change of air in 1860 was the Empress of the French.<sup>191</sup> Eugenie was travelling incognito to recover from the death of her sister.<sup>192</sup> The

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<sup>182</sup> The Royal Caledonian Charities Trust, *op cit.*

<sup>183</sup> Maclean, *History*, p. 203.

<sup>184</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 451 - George succeeded his uncle as 6<sup>th</sup> duke in 1846 and adopted ‘Athole’ as the spelling of the title. The Russian grand duke arrived at Blair the following year.

<sup>185</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.* p. 36.

<sup>186</sup> Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 13, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1847, the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>187</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.* pp. 36-37. See also Appendix E: SRO/GD24/1/532/31 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1847 - the Duchess of Athole to Mrs Home Drummond.

<sup>188</sup> Hawthorn. (1847, September). A few words on the Grand Duke Constantine’s visit to the north of Scotland. *New Sporting Magazine*, pp. 219-220.

<sup>189</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, *op cit.* pp. 36-37.

<sup>190</sup> Queen Victoria to Benjamin Disraeli, 7<sup>th</sup> March 1868, quoted in Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, *Queen Victoria in her letters and journals: A selection*. (edited by C. Hibbert). New York: Viking.

<sup>191</sup> Goodman, J., & Moncreiffe, I. (1983). *Debrett’s royal Scotland*. Exeter: Webb & Bower, p. 75. See also Atholl, *op cit.* Vol. IV, p. 467. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 29 - 5<sup>th</sup> December 1860 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

‘Scotch’ mist “would be in harmony with the melancholy of her heart.”<sup>193</sup> What was Highland tonic for a British Queen might well rejuvenate a French Imperial Highness.<sup>194</sup> With Blair Castle shut for the winter she and the Duke of Athole toured the place by candlelight, before taking tea in the housemaid’s room.<sup>195</sup> It was quaintly old-fashioned, and Highlandism received a further boost when a old retainer was found to sing Gaelic and Jacobite songs.<sup>196</sup>

The empress called her Scottish trip “one of the most agreeable remembrances”<sup>197</sup> and a year later the duke visited her in France where it seemed that Highlandism also had a toehold. Alison Adbergham notes how the sentimental ties between Scotland and France led to a “great vogue”<sup>198</sup> for tartans in Paris after the fall of Napoleon and now the empress greeted the duke at Compiegne dressed in Athole-tartan silk.<sup>199</sup> His Grace’s piper, Aeneas Rose, was instructed to play a pibroch.<sup>200</sup> The men danced the Reel of Tulloch and the duke’s valet, Charles Christie, did a sword dance.<sup>201</sup> Highlandism was alive and well in that continental palace. Christie taught a French prince to dance the Highland Fling,<sup>202</sup> but the French women had other matters on their minds. “The ladies have been *all* very curious to know if we wore drawers under our kilts & they cannot understand how we do not *expose* ourselves,”<sup>203</sup> the duke told his wife. Highlandism was shaping up to be rather risqué.

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<sup>192</sup> Mme Carette notes how the death of the Duchess d’Alba devastated the empress in Carette, Mme. (1889). *My Mistress, the Empress Eugenie: Or court life at the Tuilleries*. London: Dean and Son.

<sup>193</sup> Quoted in Sergeant, P. W (1911). *The last empress of the French*. London: T. Werner Laurie, p. 261.

<sup>194</sup> Queen Victoria believed in the restorative power of Highland air. See Appendix C: Vol.28, p. 50: 1<sup>st</sup> October 1849 - “the beautiful exhilarating mountain air of the Highlands.”; Vol.35, p. 287: 20<sup>th</sup> August 1853 - “the Highland air is sure to do him good.” Victoria would become fond of the Empress of the French, see Vol.45, p. 162: 21<sup>st</sup> April 1858 - “the dear Empress Eugenie, whom one feels for so deeply.”

<sup>195</sup> Goodman & Moncreiffe, *Debrett’s Royal Scotland*, p. 75.

<sup>196</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1964). *Dearest child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858-1861*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1860.

<sup>197</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 15 - 24<sup>th</sup> August 1863 - the Empress of the French’s words, relayed to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>198</sup> Adburgham, A. (1964). *Shops and shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in what manner the well-dressed Englishwoman bought her clothes*. London: Allen and Unwin, p. 71.

<sup>199</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 16 - 12<sup>th</sup> November 1861 - *His Grace’s Letters from Compiegne*, the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* See also Bundle 16(2) - 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1861 - “the Comtesse wishes very much if possible you could be accompanied by your Piper ... and also if you would all bring your Highland Dress.”

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 16 - 13<sup>th</sup> November 1861 - *His Grace’s Letters from Compiegne*.

<sup>202</sup> Charles Christie [obituary], *op cit.* See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 2nd January 1901 - the 7th Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - Christie entered the 6th Duchess of Athole’s service as a footman in 1835 and stayed with the family until 1897.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* Box 75, Bundle 16 - 12<sup>th</sup> November 1861 - *His Grace’s Letters from Compiegne*.

Angela Lambert examines what was important to the Victorian upper class and quotes the 15<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby who summed up what he and his ilk stood for in 1881. “The objects which men aim at when they become possessed of land... may I think be enumerated as follows: (1) political influence; (2) social importance... (3) power exercised over tenantry; the pleasure of managing, directing and improving the estate itself; (4) residential enjoyment, including what is called sport; (5) the money return – the rent.”<sup>204</sup> Lord Derby was fabulously wealthy. When he died in 1893 he left a staff of 727.<sup>205</sup>

Yet, despite their own vast acreage, the Atholes still worried about money. The duchess’s diary shows taxes on carriages, male servants, dogs, horses and gamekeepers.<sup>206</sup> When her husband actually got a *paid* job, that of Lord-in-Waiting at the palace, she was delighted.<sup>207</sup> “I long to hear how much you are to get for yr. services - Forgive my *mercenary* views.”<sup>208</sup> The funds were welcome, for his promotion from baron to duke had brought little financial relief. There might be land and property, but they were capital poor. “[W]e went on to the farm where everything *would* be perfect if *I* could become possessed of somebody’s bank stock - I should not care who’s - I could spend it *so* judiciously,”<sup>209</sup> she mused.

David Cannadine talks of the “interlocking, interrelated, and interacting elites of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.”<sup>210</sup> Linda Colley speaks of the “fusing of the English and Celtic elites,”<sup>211</sup> adding that by the nineteenth century aristocratic women were more likely to opt for English husbands than fellow Scots. The Atholes had relations across various borders, yet theirs was never one of those “Anglo-Scottish” houses where statesmen discussed matters on walks.<sup>212</sup> Indeed, Blair Castle was a thoroughly ‘Scotch’ place and those that visited were usually friends and family, with evidence that as the duchess got older she grew less tolerant of strangers. “I sat between a Prince from the Punjab, & somebody’s son from Hyderabad,

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<sup>204</sup> Lambert, *Unquiet souls*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 639, the year 1853 - see back pages.

<sup>207</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 449 - George became a Lord in Waiting in 1846.

<sup>208</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 9 - 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1846 - Lady Glenlyon to Lord Glenlyon.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* Box 61 - 12<sup>th</sup> July 1853 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole, quoted in Reynolds, *op cit.* p.54.

<sup>210</sup> Cannadine, *Decline and fall*, p. 5.

<sup>211</sup> Otto, P. C. (1974). *Daughters of the British aristocracy: Their marriages in the 18th and 19th centuries*.

Unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, p. 395; Colley, L. (1992/1996). *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707-1837*. New York: Yale University Press, p. 159.

<sup>212</sup> For example, the Atholls and the Derbys were related. Lady Amelia Stanley married the 1<sup>st</sup> Marquis in 1659 - see Jauncey *op cit.* p. 24. See also quote from Isabel, Marchioness of Aberdeen, quoted in Davidoff, L. (1973). *The best circles: Society, etiquette and the season*. London: Croom Helm, p. 28.

very pleasant both of them, & spoke beautiful english... I told [them] where I dwelt, but no more, as I fear we shall be at home when they pass [to Scotland].”<sup>213</sup>

The fact was that politicians and social butterflies were few and far between at Blair. Perhaps a rough and ready Highland life did not much appeal to a fancy southerner. “Put up [deer] Heads with Emily, the Pipers and Duncan,”<sup>214</sup> read the duchess’s diary in 1858. A good afternoon might be spent watching the sheep shearing: “9 men at work and had done 12 hundred in a week.”<sup>215</sup> Then the weather could scare anyone of a delicate disposition: “...rode in a hurricane of wind and snow... enjoyed it much.”<sup>216</sup> As Queen Victoria said: the duchess was “truly Scotch.”<sup>217</sup> She was also hardy, but crippling headaches, possibly migraines, dogged her and after the birth of her first baby Anne Athole had no more children.<sup>218</sup> This was an unusual state of affairs for a Victorian aristocrat. Pamela Horn says the years between 1760 and 1850 produced the highest fertility in the history of the English aristocracy.<sup>219</sup> However, having a small family may have freed the duchess to concentrate on her estate.<sup>220</sup>

K.D. Reynolds echoes the view that the British upper class believed it was their destiny and duty to govern. “The attempt to fulfil this mission dominated every facet of aristocratic life, from the design of their houses to holding office at the royal court.”<sup>221</sup> Jessica Gerard notes how a landowner’s wife had to “uphold her husband’s position, maintain the family’s reputation, further his and the children’s interests and demonstrate class solidarity by offering hospitality to her social circle.”<sup>222</sup> North of the border there was now an added duty. Alex Tyrrell notes how “the cult of heroes, romantic paternalism and the evolution of Scottish national identity... provided a cultural framework for an assertion of aristocratic paternalism

<sup>213</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1659 - 28<sup>th</sup> July 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 24<sup>th</sup> July 1858.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid* - 24<sup>th</sup> October 1856.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid* - Bundle 641 - 11<sup>th</sup> October 1860; 14<sup>th</sup> August 1861 - “sail in Water Lily... pouring rain but very pleasant.”

<sup>217</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

<sup>218</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - 9<sup>th</sup> January 1848 - “very ill all day.”; 11<sup>th</sup> March 1850 - “violent sick headache, bolt to bed!” See also Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 451 - “by whom he had an only son.”

<sup>219</sup> Horn, 1991, *Ladies of the manor*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>220</sup> Steinbach, p. 85 - “aristocratic women, like other women, spent much of their adult lives bearing and raising children.” The Duchess of Athole’s own daughter-in-law would have seven children (one died as a baby) and at least three still-born babies - see Atholl, *Chronicles. Vol.IV*, pp. 474-475 & pp. 491-493.

<sup>221</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 1.

<sup>222</sup> Gerard, J. (1994). *Country house life: Family and servants, 1815-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 128.

in Scotland.”<sup>223</sup> In the Duchess of Athole’s case, this was aristocratic maternalism. Upper class women controlled the kitchen, staff and gardens.<sup>224</sup> Her husband could be away on business and Anne would have to pay bills, or arrange the shooting.<sup>225</sup> “You have acted with your usual discretion & good sense when left alone & I approve of all you have done. I really think I must give up the management of my affairs to you,”<sup>226</sup> the duke said admiringly.

Hefted to the Highlands, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole rarely attended debates in the House of Lords, but when he did J.V. Beckett notes how he sat as ‘Earl Strange’ on the 1856 roll, one of seventy-three peers using a title that was not their usual one.<sup>227</sup> This reluctance to go south was because George was a home bird who he was happiest left to his sport. By the late 1840s a boat was launched on the River Tay whilst another capsized on the loch.<sup>228</sup> Sailing promised to be a racier business than shooting ever was. The ladies spotted a naked man swimming.<sup>229</sup> Then there was the very ‘Scotch’ business of curling.<sup>230</sup>

The ‘Dunkeld Curling Club’ was formed in 1820 and when the lochs froze the duke and his team would battle for coveted trophies like the ‘Duchess’s Broom’.<sup>231</sup> Prostrating yourself on the ice was a great leveller. It was something servant and master could do side by side.<sup>232</sup> Indeed, when the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole retired as ‘skip’, his valet took the coveted place.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Tyrrell, A. (2005). Paternalism, public memory and national identity in early Victorian Scotland: The Robert Burns Festival at Ayr in 1844. *History*, 90 (297), pp. 42-46.

<sup>224</sup> Perkin, *English society*, p. 77.

<sup>225</sup> The duke was Grand Master Mason of Scotland - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, pp. 442-443. It was a position he held until his death in 1864. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 641 - 25<sup>th</sup> March 1863 - “the Duke starts for Edinburgh to visit Canongate Kilwinning Lodge.” The duchess’s diaries show him on railway business - Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 28<sup>th</sup> March 1857 - “His Grace accepts office of Director of the Railway from Stanley to Birnham.” See also Bundle 640 - 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1855 - “started at 6.15 to pay the Duke’s Bills.”; Bundle 641 - 11th October 1862 - “at home struggling with accounts!”

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, Box 58, Bundle 3 - 14<sup>th</sup> December 1842 - Lord Glenlyon to Lady Glenlyon.

<sup>227</sup> The Duke of Athole [obituary]. (1864, March 1). *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Review*, pp. 382-383; Beckett, J. V. (1986). *The aristocracy in England, 1660-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 483.

<sup>228</sup> Sailing detail from the Duchess of Athole Diaries: e.g. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 638 - 7<sup>th</sup> June 1849 - “the boat is capsized... but [is] righted.” *Ibid* - 13th June 1849 - “the Duke... out sailing.”

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 6<sup>th</sup> August 1855.

<sup>230</sup> World Curling Federation. (2017). *History of curling*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldcurling.org/history-of-curling> - “the first recognized curling clubs were formed in Scotland.” See also Cowan, E. J., Finlay, R. J., & Paul, W. (2000). *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a nation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, pp. 118-119 - “curling probably originated in Scotland.”

<sup>231</sup> For details about the Duchess’s Broom, see the Duchess of Athole Diaries. For example, in 1875 she presented it to the match winner, before marching home at the head of a piped procession - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 644 - 10th February 1875. See also Bundle 639 - 15<sup>th</sup> February 1853 - the duchess attended the Grand Match at Carsebreak, arriving at 8.30 and getting home twelve hours later; 26<sup>th</sup> February 1853 - “41<sup>st</sup> day of curling... match with Megginch... Dunkeld won by 20. Emily and I looking on all day.”

<sup>232</sup> Pictures in Blair Castle Archives show the duke and the marquis playing on the ice, side by side with the workers.

<sup>233</sup> Charles Christie [obituary], *op cit.*

There were other ways for the different Highland classes to mix. Fêtes and ploughing matches were supported by the laird and his wife, as was the servant's hay picnic. "...drive up and join them at 4.30,"<sup>234</sup> the duchess wrote in 1859. John Morrison may suggest that Highlandism "gave expression to the myth of egalitarianism,"<sup>235</sup> yet the Athole estate appears to have had genuine bonds of relationships and community. Dominic Lieven makes the point that whilst aristocracy was powerful in England, it was less so in Victorian Scotland: "...after electoral reform in 1832 Conservatives had to reconcile themselves to being in a permanent minority in Scotland."<sup>236</sup>

Crushing stiffness might be relaxed in the hills and glens and, like the queen, the Atholes mixed with *hoi polloi*.<sup>237</sup> They might join staff for ceilidhs in the servants' hall. "Danced the new year in with Neil the coachman,"<sup>238</sup> the duchess reported in 1859. A Highland shindig meant all classes getting together. "Col. Moray, to my great fright... took me to dance with him the eightsome reel,"<sup>239</sup> her maid recalled as she got up to hop with a local laird. The Duke and Duchess of Athole once kept warm by dancing reels with a servant whilst a drum major played the flute and a valet turned the music pages.<sup>240</sup> It was the same at Balmoral balls where all ranks danced together. "The people behaved, as they generally do in such cases, admirably - free, graceful and comparatively at their ease - and yet never forward,"<sup>241</sup> Sir Theodore Martin noted. It would never be an equal relationship, yet Highlandism was allowing more social mixing than could perhaps happen in England.

J.V. Beckett notes the country house as maintaining the social cohesion of the community. "This could be achieved in a number of ways, primarily through involving local people in affairs emanating from the house, and by providing facilities and services within the community."<sup>242</sup> Jessica Gerard explains how "long-established families had built up a

<sup>234</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 12<sup>th</sup> August 1859.

<sup>235</sup> Morrison, *Painting the nation*, p. 11.

<sup>236</sup> Lieven, D. (1992). *The aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*. London: Macmillan, p. 16.

<sup>237</sup> Victoria attended the gillies' ball at Balmoral where different ranks danced together in Hibbert, C. (2000). *Queen Victoria: A personal history*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 326-327.

<sup>238</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 1<sup>st</sup> January 1859; 27<sup>th</sup> January 1857 - "dance in the Servants' Hall at 10... leave Hall about 4.30."

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 649 - 5<sup>th</sup> January 1882; 28<sup>th</sup> October 1887 - "Mr M. Drummond asked me to dance Petronella with him."

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 6<sup>th</sup> March 1858.

<sup>241</sup> Martin, T. (1901/2013). *Queen Victoria as I knew her*. London: William Blackwood, p. 8.

<sup>242</sup> Beckett, *Aristocracy in England*, p. 344.

mystique of dynasty, a rich accumulation of history and customs transcending any individual owner or servant, which could inspire the staff to preserve and perpetuate the family's heritage and home.”<sup>243</sup> Or, as a servant on one English estate remarked: “We all belonged to the same family, and there was a sense of pride in serving in the Big House.”<sup>244</sup> Yet let no-one get ahead of him or herself. One year the Duke of Athole had to inform his wife that he had “expel[ed] from the house” a pregnant housemaid: “...*your* Mary Robertson. She is to swear her child to Don. McBeath.”<sup>245</sup>

As Angela Lambert notes: whatever the upper classes enjoyed it was “far too dangerous to risk their servants indulging in the same pleasures.”<sup>246</sup> It is left to Lady Dorothy Nevill to sum it up. Whilst the aristocracy was “not very much given to making public profession of their desire to elevate the populace and of their love of social reform... I think on the whole they did their duty... [they] made a point of attending all sports and festivities in that part of the country where their estates lay – no doubt in many cases they were thoroughly bored... but they realized that it was good policy to mingle with their neighbours, and a result of all this was that great good-fellowship prevailed between high and low.”<sup>247</sup>

Indeed, long-serving staff on the Athole estate could become an integral part of the great “family.”<sup>248</sup> When the 6<sup>th</sup> duke’s valet got married the ceremony took place in the Dunkeld House dining room.<sup>249</sup> Servants helping with the haymaking might be treated to a carriage ride.<sup>250</sup> A dairymaid could be presented with a wedding dress when leaving to get married.<sup>251</sup> On special occasions there were strawberry feasts for local children.<sup>252</sup> Working class effort was encouraged: “...to garden & admired Archie Campbell (the old gardener’s) Pansies.”<sup>253</sup> When the Athole heir reached his majority, parties for hundreds of estate workers, high and

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<sup>243</sup> Gerard, *Country life*, p. 240.

<sup>244</sup> Badeau, A. (1885). *Aristocracy in England*. New York: Harper & Brothers, pp. 173-174; Alsop, S. M. (1983). *Lady Sackville: A biography*. New York: Avon Books, p. 94.

<sup>245</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 25 - 10<sup>th</sup> December 1857 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole. Note: in 1860 the *Scotsman* reported that the rate of illegitimacy in the country was nine percent, the second-highest in Europe - Seton, G. (1860). *The causes of illegitimacy, particularly in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas.

<sup>246</sup> Lambert, *Unquiet souls*, p. 143.

<sup>247</sup> Nevill, D. F. (1912). *My own times*. (edited by R. H. Nevill). London: Methuen, pp. 212-213.

<sup>248</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 11<sup>th</sup> November 1858 - “Peter MacGregor leaves the Family after 45 years’ service.”

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 639 - 21<sup>st</sup> May 1851.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 24<sup>th</sup> October 1856.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 642 - 4<sup>th</sup> July 1865 - “out to the dairy with Emily and to give Jessie her marriage dress.”

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1857.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 644 - 11<sup>th</sup> July 1874.

low, ensued.<sup>254</sup> These rewards may seem trivial today. It was certainly feudal then. Yet it is difficult to judge these things by today's standards.

Viola Klein describes how a rising Victorian middle-class “put a premium on the idleness of their women. It attached a definite prestige value to it.”<sup>255</sup> However, a spirited Scottish female aristocrat could always try to buck that tedious trend - and if she was well-connected enough, she might even find herself, if not quite a job, at least a role. K.D. Reynolds calls the upper class woman a natural patron of the rural poor and Anne Athole felt it was her duty to look after old and ailing retainers.<sup>256</sup> Anne Summers may see home visiting as “the attempt to transpose the values and relations of domestic service to a wider class of the poor,”<sup>257</sup> but the duchess seemed genuinely interested in her tenants’ welfare. She may have been “the trusted and beloved friend”<sup>258</sup> of a queen, moving “in the highest ranks of society,”<sup>259</sup> but, as one churchman noted: “...her duty was in the Vale of Athole.”<sup>260</sup>

There are numerous examples of the duchess’s obligations to the poor, but one instance is a description of two days spent visiting locals: “...went up to Blair... & examined [the] School... 40 children... a few little dear men of 5 or 6 in kilts & very thick coats & very sturdy but particularly intelligent.”<sup>261</sup> The duchess then called in at a keeper’s cottage to drink milk and eat oatcakes, after which another school visit was followed by an arduous trip on horseback to see a hill man’s wife whose husband had gone mad, leaving the woman with eight children. This mercy mission was carried out on horseback in thick snow. Over these forty-eight hours there were “many calls to make & friends to see in the cottages.”<sup>262</sup>

On another trip to see tenants at Inver each cottage was visited and the duchess knew everyone’s name. Mrs McGregor, the woodsman’s wife, had a spotlessly clean abode,

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<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 1518 - 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> August 1861 - Miss MacGregor diary, 1861.

<sup>255</sup> Klein, V. (1949). Emancipation of women: Its motives and achievements. In N. Annan, et al. (eds.), *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians: An historic revaluation of the Victorian age*. London: Sylvan Press, 1949/1950, pp. 261-268.

<sup>256</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 112.

<sup>257</sup> Summers, A. (1979). A home from home: Women’s philanthropic work in the nineteenth century, In S. Burman (ed.), *Fit work for women* (pp. 33-63). London: Croom Helm, p. 39; Gerard, *op cit.* p. 125.

<sup>258</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1516 - from Anne, Duchess-Dowager of Athole, from service in Little Dunkeld Parish Church, p. 11.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD24/1/542 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1861 - Miss MacGregor to Mrs Home Drummond. Miss MacGregor notes how she and the duchess “visited sick and bereaved people” - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1518.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

complete with goldfish bowl, and she advised her aristocratic visitor to feed her own fish on oatmeal.<sup>263</sup> In a different house the carpenter's wife, Mrs MacDougal, was recovering from having a stillborn baby. It was one of five she had lost and with eight remaining children the "wretchedly small"<sup>264</sup> place was none too tidy. At another cottage an old man shook the duchess's hand: "...proud to see Her Grace."<sup>265</sup>

Anne Athole worried about her people. One, James Gow, had died of blood poisoning: "...a more *faithful & devoted* servant, I am sure never lived... What will become of his farm wife & six children?!"<sup>266</sup> Then there was Mrs Harriot: "Willie Duff's Daughter... I do not think she will live through the night and then her poor idiot son, Willie, will have to be thought about also."<sup>267</sup> Numerous diary entries show the duchess helping the poor.<sup>268</sup> She noted each sickness and death in her diary.<sup>269</sup> Indeed, after her own passing, it was said that "her aid or her presence was ever with her people. The poor in many cases were housed, and fed, and clothed, and nursed, and comforted from the House of Dunkeld."

The Victorian obsession with illness and death has been well-documented and again, such newspaper tributes were probably par for the course at the time. However, there must be some truth in the words. As Trevor May says: the aristocracy was expected to give value for money and the duchess certainly did that after being widowed in 1864.<sup>270</sup> To honour her duke's memory she started an annual dinner for forty-nine elderly retainers, which was his age when he died.<sup>271</sup> When her gillie, Willie Duff, retired, he left service with a house, a cow and a pension of twenty pounds a year.<sup>272</sup> Her Dunkeld dairy was the only major source of milk, but she did not abuse the monopoly, "[disposing] of her wares at prime cost, so no other dairy was wanted."<sup>273</sup> Quotes like "up the glen... to see the sheep clipping... 1500 sheep, 25

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<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*: Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 893 - 11th March 1861 - *Visit to Inver*.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 396 - 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1895 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 646 - 21<sup>st</sup> February 1883 - 'to cottages to see sick people & widows.'

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid* - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1882 - "the butcher's child has died of whooping cough."

<sup>270</sup> May, *Social and economic history*, p. 91.

<sup>271</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1516 - 20<sup>th</sup> September 1866 - among the duchess's artefacts is a card, saying "Dunkeld, Dinner to 49 Persons aged about 64 & upwards, given by the Duchess Dowager in remembrance of the birth-day of the late Duke of Athole, who died aged 49, in 1864." Athole died aged 49 - see Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 472.

<sup>272</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 645 - 8th July 1879.

<sup>273</sup> Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole. (1897, May 19). *Dundee Courier*, p. 4.

clippers - such a pretty sight & so many old friends,”<sup>274</sup> and “ginger wine [at one farm], whisky & shortbread [at another]”<sup>275</sup> when visiting tenants suggest a genuine fondness for them. Yet there would always be limits to any camaraderie. As another century dawned, the duchess’s son, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole, would storm from the house after discovering that the family typist expected to sit down and eat with them.<sup>276</sup>

It might be cosy on this Highland estate, but no-one dared take a liberty. When the duchess’s maid bought a clock she had to ask for permission to keep it in her room.<sup>277</sup> As with Highlandism, all was fine, as long as people knew their place. Above all, country tradition must be preserved. As the queen’s private secretary, Henry Ponsonby, noted: “I had an argument with the Duchess about the Ballot Bill. She says... it is a low and vulgar measure... She has wild ideas of the tenants being in the same mind as she is. She said the ballot was probably necessary in the towns but in the country all they asked was to be let alone.”<sup>278</sup>

The duchess lived in an imagined age. Yet she somehow kept the common touch. A Dunkeld minister’s daughter recalled how her mother was pulling peas in the garden when Anne Athole and a well-heeled companion arrived at the manse door. “[She] went just as she was, for the Duchess and she were such good friends that there was no formality between them... judge my mother’s confusion when she found herself being presented to Princess Louise, wearing an old straw garden hat and her apron full of peas!”<sup>279</sup>

This thesis has already shown how Highlandism favoured a handsome man. The reality was that poor Scotswomen were stocky, their skin was bad and they had to work harder than women of a comparable class in England.<sup>280</sup> Twenty-three per cent of Scottish brides were unable to sign the marriage register in 1855, compared to eleven per cent of males.<sup>281</sup> Indeed, compulsory education was not introduced in Scotland until 1872.<sup>282</sup> Eighteen years earlier,

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<sup>274</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 643 - 19<sup>th</sup> July 1870.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 646 - 5<sup>th</sup> January 1885.

<sup>276</sup> Hetherington, *Katherine Atholl*, p. 67.

<sup>277</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 649 - 17<sup>th</sup> October 1886

<sup>278</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/431 - 11<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby

<sup>279</sup> Mary Wilson Angus, quoted in Crerar, M., MacIntosh, E., Angus, M. W., and Cox, E. (1987/1993). *Dunkeld remembered*. Dunkeld: Dunkeld and Birnam Historical Society, pp. 53-54.

<sup>280</sup> Joseph Mawman as cited in Grenier, K. H. (2005). *Tourism and identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 27.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>282</sup> Matthew, H. C. G. (ed.). (2000). *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 184.

though, Anne Athole had built a school for girls in Dunkeld and the newspapers talked of its facilities - “100 pupils and a staff of three teachers”<sup>283</sup> - and of how the duchess funded prizes “such as are never seen in the ordinary Board school.”<sup>284</sup>

Female students learnt to read and write. They studied the bible and were taught to curtsey.<sup>285</sup> Anyone who was naughty had to stand with their head down in the drawer of an old dresser. “It was horrid, you had to push your hands into the far corners... and your back soon got tired.”<sup>286</sup> Yet the school became the duchess’s “great hobby.”<sup>287</sup> She regularly visited, marked hundreds of prize-books and followed her girls’ lives, even when they left to get married.<sup>288</sup> Losing a child was heart-breaking: the death sadly recorded in her diary.<sup>289</sup>

As well as children to educate, there were estate widows to console.<sup>290</sup> When death happened it was important that the duchess viewed the body and among the more tragic casualties was a young gamekeeper who was killed after being thrown from a dogcart.<sup>291</sup> Accidents occurred and disease was all around. Croup could take a child off and whilst Highlanders were generally healthier than town dwellers, they were more likely to get tuberculosis.<sup>292</sup> Anne’s charity did not go unnoticed. “Her active and practical help and sympathy in all that went for the welfare of the people in the district, and especially of the poor, were always prominent and ready,”<sup>293</sup> one newspaper waxed. In later years the duchess would even

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<sup>283</sup> The school was opened in 1854 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol. IV*, p. 460. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1282 - 2nd March 1898 - Closing of the Duchess’s School. See Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole, *op cit.*

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1282 - *op cit.* p. 5.

<sup>286</sup> Mary Wilson Angus, in Crerar et al., p. 45.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, and Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 644 - 5<sup>th</sup> August 1876 - “occupied with school prizes all day.”; 8<sup>th</sup> August - “play of school, prize giving.”

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 1516, from from Anne, Duchess-Dowager of Athole, from service in Little Dunkeld Parish Church, p. 9 where the duchess was recorded as saying - “I was very pleased to notice \_\_\_’s success in the London University Matriculation.”

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 640 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1857 - “little Mary Hally dies today of scarlet fever - the first of my children!” Infant mortality was 120 per thousand in Scotland in the early 1850s - see Crowther, *op cit.* p. 282. See also Wilson, A. N. (2002/2003). *The Victorians*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 539-545. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 21<sup>st</sup> February 1858 - “Old Fleming the woodman died suddenly.”; Bundle 641 - 4<sup>th</sup> January 1864 - nurse goes “to see Robert, Mr McNaughton’s little boy who dies at night - supposed of croup.”

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 645 - 27<sup>th</sup> February 1877 - “went to see Mrs Carrington and her husband’s body! He looked like an old Crusader!”

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 645 - 12/13<sup>th</sup> June 1879 - the duchess heard the news of the death and called to see his mother and view the body.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 644 - 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1875 - “Ist sad tidings of the morning! dear little Willie Turner’s death during the night of croup!... Willie was 5 last August.” See also Fraser, W. H., & Morris, R. J. (eds.). (1990). *People and society in Scotland: Vol 2 - 1830-1914*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 284.

<sup>293</sup> Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole, *op cit.*

provide a nurse for Dunkeld.<sup>294</sup> Then, as Stephanie Blackden notes: by the end of the century most of Scotland's poor could expect free treatment from a parish doctor.<sup>295</sup>

Drink was one of the baser sides of Scottish life and, like poverty, could be masked to some extent by Highlandism. In 1812 Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus called alcohol the bane of the country. "Decent gentlewomen began the day with a dram. In our house the bottle of whisky... was placed on the side-table with cold meat every morning. In the pantry a bottle of whisky was the allowance per day... the very poorest cottages could offer [it]."<sup>296</sup> When James Hogg took a Highland tour some years before he was kept awake at an inn. "A whole band of Highlanders, both male and female... entered my room, and fell to drinking whisky with great freedom."<sup>297</sup> In 1784 the writer, B. Faujas de St Fond, partook of a Highland dinner and noted how, unlike in England, the women stayed for the after-party. "In a very short time the toasts commence; it is the business of the mistress to begin the ceremony. A large glass filled with port wine is put into her hand."<sup>298</sup>

F.M.L. Thompson details how the Scots of the 1830s drank nearly five times as much spirits per head as their English neighbours.<sup>299</sup> W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris talk of a "tolerance of drunkenness in Scotland to a much greater extent than in England."<sup>300</sup> Indeed, Victorian Scottish laws on inebriation were less severe than English ones, with drinking being associated with manliness.<sup>301</sup> This thesis has shown how virility could be linked to Highlandism, yet an excess of alcohol showed a sorrier side to the Highland idyll.

The Duchess of Athole's diaries contain a number of references to inebriated staff. Her piper, John Macpherson, came seeking forgiveness after one drinking spree. He was made to sign a paper promising he would not touch another drop.<sup>302</sup> Then Her Grace had to have a serious interview with Robert Buchanan "about taking the pledge after *incapacity* on Wednesday

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> Blackden, S. (1986). The Board of Supervision and the Scottish parochial medical service, 1845–95. *Medical history*, 30 (02), 145-172; See also Crowther, *op cit.* p. 285.

<sup>296</sup> Grant, E. (1898/1972). *Memoirs of a Highland lady, 1797-1827*. London: John Murray, p. 135.

<sup>297</sup> Hogg, J. (1888/1986). *A tour of the Highlands in 1803: A series of letters*. London: James Thin, p. 55.

<sup>298</sup> Faujas-de-St- Fond, B. (1907). *Travels in England and Scotland 1784* (trans. A. Geikie). Glasgow: H. Hopkins, pp. 71-72.

<sup>299</sup> Thompson. *The rise of respectable society*, *op cit.* p. 314 - "drink and sex were the popular pastimes of the working classes," p. 307.

<sup>300</sup> Fraser & Morris, *People and society*, p. 242.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.* See also Smout, T. C. (1986). *A century of the Scottish people, 1830-1950*. London: Collins, pp. 133-158.

<sup>302</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 641 - 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> March 1860.

last.”<sup>303</sup> Lynne Haims considers drunkenness evidence of defiance. Poor tenants might resort to illicitly distilling spirits.<sup>304</sup> The same sorry saga was being played out at Balmoral where one Deeside gillie recalled how “whisky was given away as freely as water.”<sup>305</sup> Like the queen who “overlooked [Highland] peccadilloes, their predilection for whisky,”<sup>306</sup> when it came to drink, Anne Athole tried to turn a blind eye with her own people’s failings. It was not in keeping with the wholesome Highland picture.

Even a high-minded ‘Highland Society’ was not above disgracing itself, drink-fuelled members stripped to the waist to run races at Dunkeld and waving weapons about: “...so riotous and dangerous.”<sup>307</sup> It would get no better. Donald and Alastair Campbell - “there is no good in the Campbells”<sup>308</sup> - had been fighting drunk in the Blair Castle cellar. “The only thing we can do is to pay their wages and send them off... then the dairymaid must go at the term as she drinks, also!”<sup>309</sup> the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl raged. The local tailor’s hand shook so much he could hardly thread a needle and even the physician took to the bottle.<sup>310</sup> Dr Roberts died after falling down in the street: “very drunk... what a wasted life.”<sup>311</sup> The Duchess of Athole remained philosophical. On a train to Windsor an inebriated man forced his way into

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<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 645 - 15<sup>th</sup> June 1877.

<sup>304</sup> Haims, L. (1981). *In their place: Domestic servants in English country houses, 1850-1870*. Unpublished PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, p. 317; Gerard, *op cit.* p. 265. See also Atholl, *op cit.* Vol.IV, pp. 454-455 - letter to the 6<sup>th</sup> duke from tenants in Strathummel about distilling.

<sup>305</sup> Life at Balmoral: An ex-Highland gillie. (1893, November 3). *Bow Bells: A magazine of general literature and art for family reading*, p. 437.

<sup>306</sup> MacLeay, K. (1869-70/1986). *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria*. (edited by D. Millar and A. M. MacGregor). London: Haggerston Press, p. 10. There are references in the queen’s diaries to servants being drunk. The gillies/keepers, Brown and Grant, are described as being ‘bashful’ - see Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1868/1973). *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861*. (edited by A. Helps). London: Folio Society, 4th September 1860. See also Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1883/2010). *More leaves from the journal of a life in the Highlands, from 1862 to 1882*. Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Reprints, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1868, which describes the ‘fire-kindling’ at the Glassalt Shiel, where the men drank whisky toddy and sang in the steward’s room. The queen herself drank in moderation and had a “curious myopia” about her gillies’ weaknesses. When asked if he took tea in the basket when he drove out with the monarch, John Brown is said to have answered: “...we tak oot biscuits and speerits.” Quoted in Lamont-Brown, R. (2000). *John Brown: Queen Victoria’s highland servant*. London: Sutton, pp. 62 & 53. Dorothy Thompson also notes how alcohol was “not frowned on at Victoria’s court, and one at least of her sons, Prince Alfred, Duke of Coburg, died prematurely largely as the result of his uncontrolled drinking” - see Thompson, D. (1990/2001). *Queen Victoria: Gender and power*. London: Virago, p. 86.

<sup>307</sup> Atholl, *op cit.* Vol.IV, pp. 368-369 - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1826 - Frederick Graham to the Duke of Atholl.

<sup>308</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 28 - 22nd August 1875 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 429 - 19<sup>th</sup> April 1897 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid* - 20<sup>th</sup> April 1897 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Duchess of Atholl.

her carriage whilst another tried to sit on her maid's knee. As she calmly noted: "They were of the labouring class orders."<sup>312</sup>

The problem was that alcohol was a part and parcel of Highland life. Patricia Lindsay describes how remote glens seemed "to lend themselves temptingly to a safe indulgence in illicit distilling."<sup>313</sup> F. Marian McNeill relates how ale and whisky featured in rural communities from the cradle to the grave. "Drink was provided for the howdie (midwife) and the kimmers (neighbour wives) who attended the lying-in... it contributed to the merriment of the Highland *reiteach*, or betrothal feast, and at every rustic wedding... It was in evidence at the 'foondin' o the hoose' (the laying of the foundation stone)... But for hilarious conviviality, the greatest occasion of all was the funeral."<sup>314</sup> McNeill notes one farewell to a 'Scotch' laird. "The Highland gentleman in Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* considered it a disparagement on his family that not above a hundred gallons of whisky were consumed at his grandmother's funeral."<sup>315</sup> Mourners at Forbes of Culloden's mother's burial were so drunk they arrived at the grave to find the corpse had been left behind.<sup>316</sup> They are amusing stories and ones that boost the colourful Highland image. Yet the reality was that Scotland's love affair with the bottle would blight many a hearth and home.

If the Duchess of Athole could afford to ignore drunkenness, she could not neglect the servant situation.<sup>317</sup> One of her duties was to find staff for both the Blair and Dunkeld estates and she had acquired a new gardener: "...another captivating man... 6 foot 3 at least and in manner as *straightforward* as in body he is big."<sup>318</sup> K.D. Reynolds reminds us how Victorian servants represented their masters and mistresses, rather like receptionists are the face of today's businesses.<sup>319</sup> Another butler was needed and the duchess had seen someone. "...a good height, tho' not so tall... extremely respectable looking, & and a very pleasant address. In short to *my* mind he looks like what our upper servant ought to look like."<sup>320</sup>

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid*, Box 58, Bundle 29 - 17<sup>th</sup> November 1860 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>313</sup> Lindsay, P. R. (1902). *Recollections of a royal parish*. London: John Murray, p. 9.

<sup>314</sup> McNeill, F. M. (1973). *The Scots cellar: Its traditions and lore*. Edinburgh: Reprographia, p. 50.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>317</sup> Susie Steinbach tells us how elite women helped direct servants - Steinbach, *op cit*. p. 86.

<sup>318</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 25 - 17th November 1857 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>319</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 36.

<sup>320</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 22 - 7<sup>th</sup> November 1855 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

Appearances were key, with Highlandism having an influence on who was being chosen. Jessica Gerard notes how “servants acted as symbols embodying the family’s power and affluence.”<sup>321</sup> Atholl staff would be expected to look the part in kilt and bonnet.<sup>322</sup> Hugh Cheape notes tartan being adopted “as a kind of livery”<sup>323</sup> with wealthy patrons producing a “new race of piper-servants of the Highland estates.”<sup>324</sup> The problem was that whilst some workers were happy to parade in plaid, not everyone wanted to work north of the border. “He is an Englishman, but *likes* driving in Scotland & no other coachman does... they all wish to come up to London for the season,”<sup>325</sup> the duchess said, as she considered one appointment.

As Highlandism looked back it could presumably favour four legs over four wheels - and the animals on the Blair and Dunkeld estates might get more attention than the humans. “Fed the beasties and visited the people as usual” is a telling entry in the Duchess of Athole’s diary.<sup>326</sup> It suggests an order of importance. The Duke of Athole was chief of the ‘Glasgow Celtic Society’ and in 1857 he returned from their games and the ‘Glasgow Highland and Agricultural Show’ with a prize Ayrshire cow.<sup>327</sup> It was the start of the celebrated Dunkeld herd and it would become an obsession: “...*cow discourse* from Breakfast time till 3 o’clock.”<sup>328</sup>

Anne worried about their feed. “Spent the whole day with His Grace on cows. Went out to Dairy and Byres - slept over the straw cutter!”<sup>329</sup> Her best stock won awards. “Telegram from Inverness - my Ayrshires have taken 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Prize.”<sup>330</sup> Court matters could be overshadowed by news that the dreaded ‘rinderpest’ was in the locality.<sup>331</sup> Empty hours in southern palaces might usefully be filled by reading books on breeds.<sup>332</sup> The duke could be found conducting milk production experiments in a bedroom. At calving time he barely got

<sup>321</sup> Gerard, *Country house*, p. 3.

<sup>322</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 13 - 29th October 1865 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - “we have engaged a footman... he has got his suit of grey & kilt & bonnet.”

<sup>323</sup> Cheape, H. (1991/1995). *Tartan: The Highland habit*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, p. 46.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>325</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 27 - 16<sup>th</sup> May 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 644 - 4<sup>th</sup> February 1877.

<sup>327</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 462.

<sup>328</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 641 - 16<sup>th</sup> April 1860; See also Atholl, *op cit. Vol. IV*, pp. 461-462, for details of the herd.

<sup>329</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS., Bundle 640, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1859.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.* Bundle 642 - 1<sup>st</sup> August 1865.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.* - 24<sup>th</sup> September 1865 - “letter from the Queen and to the Queen... the *Rinderpest* proclaimed in the hills... 2 more cattle killed & burned.”

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.* - 26<sup>th</sup> January 1866. Note: Atholl Archives at Blair show dozens of pictures of photographs of dogs and horses.

an hour's sleep a day.<sup>333</sup> As the duchess said: "I did *not* mention [to the queen] that you lived *both day & night* in the Byre, lest you should appear quite *cracked!*"<sup>334</sup>

If cows were a fascination, the duchess's diaries are also littered with references to dogs.<sup>335</sup> Money could always be found to treat sick hounds and it was a passion she shared with the queen who presented her with several puppies.<sup>336</sup> Then there were the horses, with more being spent on the stables one year than on staff wages.<sup>337</sup> It has been said that the upper class love their animals more than their children and Blair Castle archives show dozens of pictures of favoured ponies and hounds. Yet sentiment had its limits. Vermin was rooted out by ferrets, squirrel could be eaten at dinner and horses past their best were boiled up for dog meat.<sup>338</sup> Even Anne's precious cows could go to the slaughterhouse. "Condemned Rosie... Fanny... & Gore"<sup>339</sup> she wrote in 1855.

The Duchess of Athole's diaries between 1839 and 1850 show that much of her early-married life was spent in Scotland. However, a southern court beckoned and with no London abode, Anne rented rooms in a hotel.<sup>340</sup> Not having a house in the capital did not matter, for she had little ambition to be a great political or social hostess. Then she was already in pole position: as Leonore Davidoff says "...historically the Court was considered to be the greatest house among very many great houses."<sup>341</sup> In early 1852 Anne was made Mistress of the Robes in Lord Derby's short-lived government, but had to resign nine months on after a change of

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<sup>333</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 20<sup>th</sup> July 1859; Box 60, Bundle 5 - 14<sup>th</sup> May 1862 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid*, Box 61 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1862 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole, quoted in Reynolds, *op cit.* p. 53.

<sup>335</sup> See numerous references to dogs in the Duchess of Athole's Diaries - e.g. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 639 - 28<sup>th</sup> May 1851 - "walked out with my dogs"; 640 - 27<sup>th</sup> July 1857 - "my 'Nettle' had five puppies this morning.>"; Bundle 641 - 28<sup>th</sup> March 1864 - "Waldina fell over the bank of the Banvie & sprained her back!... sent her to Edinburgh [for treatment]."

<sup>336</sup> Appendix A: KMA 105 - 1<sup>st</sup> March 1870 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - "did I tell you about the Dachshund the Queen has given me?" In 1895 Victoria gave her another one, 'Janie' - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1661 - 10<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> October 1895.

<sup>337</sup> Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole, *Dundee Courier*, *op cit.* p. 4 - "her stud of horses is a rare one." Reynolds, *op cit.* p. 33, shows expenditure at Blair in 1856. Wages came to £962.8.7 whilst the stable bill was £972.18.6.

<sup>338</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 14<sup>th</sup> January 1857; 19<sup>th</sup> January 1857 - "boiling day at kennel - 3 horses cut up & cooked."

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*, 4<sup>th</sup> August 1855 - "HG boiling and potting beef for the hounds."

<sup>340</sup> The house was sold in 1836 to members of the Windham Club for £17,500, with an extra £2,400 for furniture - see Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 422. See hotel detail from Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*,

<sup>341</sup> Davidoff, *Family fortunes*, p. 24.

government.<sup>342</sup> The queen told her she hoped to “attach [her] more permanently to her service”<sup>343</sup> in the near future and two years later the duchess was offered the job of Lady of the Bedchamber. It was a role she would play up to her death in 1897.<sup>344</sup> Victoria liked having ‘Scotch’ ladies around her. Several of her Mistresses of the Robes came from north of the border.<sup>345</sup>

Anne’s first waiting was a whirl of balls and dinners.<sup>346</sup> There was a French play, a Covent Garden opera and the King of Portugal to entertain.<sup>347</sup> It was worlds away from Highland Scotland and in palaces seething with intrigue she sensibly kept her head down. The diary entry, “had a most pleasant conversation with Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary this morning after breakfast - upon schools in Scotland... went up to London to the dressmakers,”<sup>348</sup> seems to sum her up. Yet the duchess was not averse to asking for favours. When her son fretted about not being invited to a court ball and complained about being treated “like rag tag!”<sup>349</sup> a word was whispered in the royal ear. When he worried about the effect that government plans to tax guns and crests would have on his Atholl Highlanders - “we cannot cut all our [clothes] to bits to take off the crests; neither can we take to walking about armed with big sticks”<sup>350</sup> - the duchess may have done some careful lobbying. Yet did her discretion consign her to the side lines?

K.D Reynolds suggests Anne Athole is not given the weight of aristocrats like Jane Ely, or Jane Churchill, in biographies of Victoria.<sup>351</sup> Frank Hardie says “no jot or tittle”<sup>352</sup> of anything published shows that she had any political influence over the monarch. Yet Hardie

<sup>342</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 457-458. In December 1852 Lord Aberdeen succeeded Lord Derby as Prime Minister. Derby had been in office just 305 days. See *Queen Victoria and their Terms of Office*, taken from Nevill, B. St.-J. (ed.). (1984). *Life at the court of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*. London: Webb and Bower p. 24. See *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 457-8, March 1852, and December 1852. See also Appendix C: Vol.35, p. 10: 10<sup>th</sup> January 1853 - “my very great regret at parting with her”

<sup>343</sup> Miss MacGregor’s words, from Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne, op cit.*

<sup>344</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 459 - 20<sup>th</sup> May 1854.

<sup>345</sup> Detail from Lindsay, W. A. (1898). *The royal household*. London: Kegan Paul. He cites the Duchesses of Sutherland, Buccleuch, Athole, Argyle and Roxburghe, although the English Duchesses of Manchester and Wellington also took their turn.

<sup>346</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 639 - 20<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> June 1854 - “go to lunch at the Palace & wait for orders. Household dinner at the palace. Ball at night... Attend the Queen to the French Play... Ball at Mrs Richard Cavendish... Dinner at the palace - King of Portugal & Duke of Oporto. Caledonian Ball at night...”

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, Box 61, Bundle 9 - 27<sup>th</sup> November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, Box 60, Bundle 24 - 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, Bundle 438 - 1<sup>st</sup> June 1870, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>351</sup> Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, pp. 216-217.

<sup>352</sup> *Quarterly Review* of April, 1901, quoted in Hardie, F. (1935/1963). *The political influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 227.

also repeats the view that her influence was unique. “No-one, perhaps, ever charmed her Royal Mistress so completely.”<sup>353</sup> Indeed, there are more than eleven hundred references to the Duchess of Athole on the ‘Queen Victoria Journal’ website.<sup>354</sup> There was much to link the women.<sup>355</sup> Both were a similar age;<sup>356</sup> Anne had attended the queen’s coronation and wedding,<sup>357</sup> both married within a few months of each other;<sup>358</sup> their first child was born at roughly the same time;<sup>359</sup> they would both be widowed relatively young,<sup>360</sup> and both lost a mother in the same year that they lost a husband.<sup>361</sup> More importantly, the two women loved animals, sketching - and Scotland.<sup>362</sup>

W.A. Lindsay notes how Anne Athole was “an esteemed personal friend of the Queen for 55 years.”<sup>363</sup> Helen Rappaport claim the duchess’s “vigorous common sense” made her “the most resilient and least awestruck”<sup>364</sup> of all the monarch’s ladies. Mary Ponsonby declared how she had great tact. “[She] understands everything, and nothing can be truer than all her views about things.”<sup>365</sup> Victoria herself described Anne Athole as “charming, sensible, clever...”<sup>366</sup> She would become part of the royal inner circle, there at intimate times. “The Dss of Atholl included in our small family dinner,”<sup>367</sup> the queen wrote as Albert lay dying. It

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<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>354</sup> See *Queen Victoria’s Journals*. <http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org>

<sup>355</sup> When the queen stayed with the Atholes at Blair in 1844 she wrote in her diary, “Ldy Glenlyon got into the Phaeton with me; she is such a nice person” - Appendix C: Vol.18. p. 69: 25<sup>th</sup> September 1844. By 1859, she was referring to the duchess as “the good Duchess of Atholl.” Note: the queen spelled Anne’s name ‘Atholl’ - see Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1964), *op cit.* - 31st October 1859.

<sup>356</sup> *Queen Victoria’s Journals* - see royal timeline. Victoria was born in 1819. Anne was born in 1814; Appendix H: ODNB - Anne Athole.

<sup>357</sup> In Appendix A: Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*, p. 19 - Miss MacGregor suggests the duchess was at Victoria’s coronation.

<sup>358</sup> *Queen Victoria’s Journals* - see royal timeline. Victoria married on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1840. Anne married on 29th October 1839 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 432.

<sup>359</sup> *Queen Victoria’s Journals* - see royal timeline. Victoria’s first child, Vicky, was born on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1840 whilst Anne’s son, Bardie, was born three months earlier on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1840 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 434.

<sup>360</sup> *Queen Victoria’s Journals* - see royal timeline. Victoria lost her husband in December 1861. Anne lost hers in January 1864 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 472.

<sup>361</sup> *Queen Victoria’s Journals* - see royal timeline. The queen lost her mother in March 1861. The duchess lost her mother in November 1864 - see Atholl, *op cit. Vol.IV*, p. 476.

<sup>362</sup> Appendix C: Vol.63, p. 309: 9<sup>th</sup> December 1874 - “the Dss of Atholl brought in her sketches & I showed her mine.”

<sup>363</sup> Lindsay, 1898, p. 44.

<sup>364</sup> Rappaport, H. (2011/2013). *Magnificent obsession: Victoria, Albert and the death that changed the monarchy*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin p. 134.

<sup>365</sup> Ponsonby, M. (1927). *A memoir, some letters and a journal*. 8th February 1868. London, John Murray, pp. 62-63.

<sup>366</sup> Appendix C: Vol.39, p. 198: 9<sup>th</sup> April 1855.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*, Vol.50, p. 367: 8<sup>th</sup> December 1861.

shows how important this Highland aristocrat was to the monarch and helps to explain how Anne Athole's 'Scotchness' may have rubbed off on royalty.

Yet if the duchess fed Highlandism in the highest circles, it appeared to be done with a genuine passion for the Highlands. For Scotland was home and after exhausting court efforts, northern Perthshire life was grounding. Anne Athole might be testing a new steam boiler in the castle courtyard, or worrying about a new grate for the pantry.<sup>368</sup> The contrasts between north and south were stark. The queen's oldest daughter was getting married and she and the duke were invited to the palace ball: "...only 1100 invitations"<sup>369</sup> Yet equally exciting at Blair was the arrival of two geese and a gander.<sup>370</sup> By now Lord Palmerston's government was out and Lord Derby's was in, but a more pressing matter in northern Perthshire was the forthcoming curling match and the fact that Mary the housemaid was not coming back to work.<sup>371</sup> London was important, but Scotland mattered more.

Scotland was also very dear to the monarch and in 1861 Victoria announced she would visit the Atholes at Blair Castle. The royal party planned to come across from Balmoral and sleep at the village of Dalwhinnie.<sup>372</sup> This low-key excursion would be "very delightful to the Queen and the Prince."<sup>373</sup> Royal Highlandism was having an outing and it wanted to be unbothered by the masses. Yet Highland reality threatened to take the gloss off things early on in the venture, for a keenness to be 'Scotch' had meant an uncomfortable night at a local inn: "...hardly anything to eat... two miserable, starved Highland chickens, without any potatoes! No pudding and no *fun*,"<sup>374</sup> the queen moaned.

Spirits soared, though, as the royal party crossed the wilds of Drumochter to be met by the kilt-clad Duke of Athole.<sup>375</sup> This was a Scotland the queen could relate to - as was baronial Blair Castle. "All seemed so familiar again! No-one there except the dear Duchess... and

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<sup>368</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 17<sup>th</sup> February 1858; Box 58, Bundle 25 - 20<sup>th</sup> July 1857, the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1858.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid*, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1858.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid*, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1858.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid*, Box 61, Bundle 3 - 7<sup>th</sup> October 1861 - General Grey to the Duchess of Athole.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid*; Lecture by Miss Murray MacGregor, the Queen's Visits to Perthshire. (1899, December 4). *Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*.

<sup>374</sup> Victoria, *Leaves, op cit.* 8<sup>th</sup> October 1861.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid*, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1861.

Miss MacGregor.”<sup>376</sup> Miss MacGregor, a clan chief’s daughter - and the subject of the next chapter - had come to live with the Atholes in 1851 as Anne’s companion.<sup>377</sup> Now the thirty-two-year-old aristocrat was curtseying before the highest lady in the land and would be quickly judged.<sup>378</sup> Victoria hated the decadence of her class, an aristocracy devoted to “amusement and frivolity from morning till night... a toleration of every sort of vice.”<sup>379</sup> Moreover, despite the colour around Highlandism, Albert disliked extravagance in dress.<sup>380</sup>

Miss MacGregor was large and plain and photographs show her soberly clad.<sup>381</sup> Even the queen would later comment on her lack of fashion sense.<sup>382</sup> Yet there were other reasons as to why Victoria might warm to this woman. K.D Reynolds notes that “moral rectitude”<sup>383</sup> was an essential qualification for ladies around the monarch and Miss MacGregor was a churchgoer and a careful drinker.<sup>384</sup> Indeed, she would prove to be more censorious than the queen. When later editing royal journals there was a complaint about her deleting references to alcohol to please the ‘Total Abstinence Movement’.<sup>385</sup> Yet for all that, Miss MacGregor believed champagne medicinal. Maybe it was this mix of views that would endear her to the monarch: a woman with her own contradictions. Elizabeth Longford calls the queen

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<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>377</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 462 - “the Duke’s first cousin, who had resided with the family since the death of her brother Sir John in 1851.

<sup>378</sup> Victoria spoke her mind. Examples from Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit.* include 27<sup>th</sup> June 1863 - to the Crown Princess of Prussia “I fear [Princess Alexandra] will never be what she would be had she a clever, sensible and well-informed husband, instead of a very weak and terribly frivolous one!”; 1<sup>st</sup> March 1865 - “I had a reception yesterday of the whole Corps Diplomatique at Buckingham Palace - a great bore”; 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1859 - “an ugly baby is a very nasty object.”

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.* 26<sup>th</sup> June 1872.

<sup>380</sup> “The Prince had the greatest possible dislike for extravagance in dress” - Queen Victoria to Theodore Martin, quoted in Martin, 1901/2013, *op cit.* pp. 37-38.

<sup>381</sup> The Atholls liked to weigh family, visitors and animals - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 403 - *Weights*. In 1853 Miss MacGregor was 10 stone and by 1882 she was 14 stone 6; see also Atholl MSS. 7/523 - *Atholl Weights Book*.

<sup>382</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADDA/36/423 - 4<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - “yesterday she (the Queen) sent for MacGregor to drive with her with order that she was to make herself smart.” See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 2 - 10<sup>th</sup> July 1883 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - “quite independent of Her Majesty’s opinion, I do not like the effect of your face in that beaded bonnet.”

<sup>383</sup> Reynolds, 1998, *Aristocratic women*, p. 197. See also Longford, E. (1964/2011). *Victoria*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson p. 157, where Elizabeth Longford talks of the “high” attitude Victoria set for herself, and of Albert’s prudery: “...he was determined never to go in the way of temptation.”

<sup>384</sup> The duchess and Miss MacGregor attended church on Sunday - see the Duchess of Athole diaries, e.g. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 641 - 18<sup>th</sup> March 1860 - “to church with Emily.”; 25<sup>th</sup> March & 1<sup>st</sup> April. See also Bundle 640 - 6<sup>th</sup> April 1855 - “took the Sacrament with the Queen.”

<sup>385</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/Y/165/84 - October 1883 - Lady Jane Ely to Sir Theodore Martin.

“prejudiced and prudish, tolerant and romantic.”<sup>386</sup> Such a description could well fit Miss MacGregor.<sup>387</sup>

More importantly, though, was the fact that Miss MacGregor was a Highlander and a clan chief’s daughter.<sup>388</sup> “Good Miss McGregor,”<sup>389</sup> as the queen came to call her, spoke Gaelic and knew about Celtic history and tradition.<sup>390</sup> What the monarch was not yet to realise was that there were other things to link her, the duchess and Miss MacGregor. All three women were hardy.<sup>391</sup> Theodore Martin noted how Victoria once visited Liverpool in a downpour without complaint. “The open-air drives in the Highlands had, no doubt, accustomed Her Majesty to bear exposure...”<sup>392</sup> The Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor also braved the elements, presenting ploughing match prizes in a “blinding snowstorm.”<sup>393</sup> Highlandism was character building, but there was more to unite the ladies. Each felt she had the common touch; each preferred the company of writers and churchmen to fancy courtiers<sup>394</sup> and whilst

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<sup>386</sup> Longford, 1964/2011, *op cit.* p. 625.

<sup>387</sup> Ponsonby noted of Miss MacGregor: “I like her and the duchess and all their prejudices” - see Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/430 - 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>388</sup> Miss MacGregor’s claim was to be “heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander” - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - 1909, *Speech by Miss MacGregor to the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh*.

<sup>389</sup> The queen referred to Miss MacGregor as “good” - see Appendix C: Vol.59, p. 110: 20<sup>th</sup> May 1870. Note: the queen spelled her name ‘MacGregor’.

<sup>390</sup> There are references in the Duchess of Athole’s diaries to Miss MacGregor researching at Blair - e.g. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1858 - “George & Emily at old Papers,”; 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1858 - “George & Emily at old Charters till lunch.” As early as 1858 Miss MacGregor was corresponding in Gaelic with the Duchess of Athole’s son, Bardie - see Atholl MSS. KMA 105 - 24<sup>th</sup> March 1858 - “Aimili ghaolach.” As chapters four and six of this thesis show, Miss MacGregor would become one of the Gaelic experts of the day. Chapter five will detail how she checked Gaelic names in the Queen’s *More Leaves* (Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1883/2010, *op cit.*). She gave Gaelic classes in Perth and attended Gaelic church services - see Atholl MSS. Bundle 641 - 6<sup>th</sup> September 1863.

<sup>391</sup> The queen was hardy in the Highlands. See Victoria, *Leaves*, *op cit.* - 18<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - “we scrambled up an almost perpendicular place.”; 16<sup>th</sup> September 1852 - “walked a good long way along the top of the very steep hills.” Miss MacGregor and the Duchess were also hearty ladies. See Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 16<sup>th</sup> August 1856 - “after lunch the whole household turned out to make hay in the Hercules field.”; 20<sup>th</sup> August 1856 - “Emily & I assisted by Christie and Duncan arrange the lumber garret.”; Bundle 639 - 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1854 - “Emily energetic with the deer hounds.” Sometimes it was too much - see Atholl MSS. Bundle 640 - 30<sup>th</sup> September 1856 - “expedition to Ben-y-ghloe - unsuccessful. Towed up by James Drummond with the wind in my teeth and very tired.”

<sup>392</sup> Martin, 1901/2013, *op cit.* p. 63.

<sup>393</sup> Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole, *Dundee Courier*, *op cit.*

<sup>394</sup> The queen liked to visit peasants in cottages. See Victoria, *Leaves*, *op cit.* - 26<sup>th</sup> September 1857 - *Visits to the Old Women*. Even in England the queen could drop in on the locals. See Appendix C: Vol.56, p. 17: 28<sup>th</sup> January 1867 - when Victoria, the duchess and Miss MacGregor were together at Osborne - “called at one of the Cottages to see a poor woman, Mrs Heath, who is suffering from an internal cancer...” Note the queen’s “hatred of display.” Arthur Ponsonby says she liked the discretion of “good, excellent General Grey” whilst Sir James Reid was a “clear-sighted Scot” - in Ponsonby, A. (1933). *Queen Victoria*. London: Duckworth, pp. 128-129. Miss MacGregor was invited to court with churchmen and writers like “good” Dr Macleod who spoke Gaelic and read Burns, and Arthur Helps, Dr Caird and Dr Taylor. See also Appendix C: Vol.56, p. 4: 4<sup>th</sup> January 1867; Vol.61, p. 173: 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1872; Vol.61, p. 183: 16<sup>th</sup> June 1872. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 645 - 11<sup>th</sup> March, 1878 - where Miss MacGregor dined with the Dean of Windsor and Theodore Martin

Victoria disliked crowds, the duchess and Miss MacGregor also leaned to low-key gatherings.<sup>395</sup> In fact they would have much in common with another Victorian aristocrat: Lady Dorothy Nevill was said to have “an abiding horror of what came to be called the ‘smart set’.”<sup>396</sup> Highlandism might look flashy in a kilt, but it yearned for simple things.

At Blair Castle another ‘Great Expedition’ was about to begin and with it came further examples of Highlandism.<sup>397</sup> The party travelled through Glen Tilt in carriages until the road ended and the duchess and Miss MacGregor took their leave. Now the monarch mounted a pony and two pipers led the way, Athole and his tartan-clad keepers following on foot. “The wild strains sounded so softly amid these noble hills... our people and the Duke’s all in kilts, and the ponies, made altogether a most picturesque scene,”<sup>398</sup> the queen recalled wistfully. Highlandism was making the hills ‘noble’, the ‘wild’ pipes soft. They forded the river on horseback and the tartan scene would be captured on canvas by the Bavarian-born artist, Carl Haag. This work epitomises Highlandism: kilt-clad pipers playing up their waists in water, the most powerful woman in the world on a simple hill pony, a kilted Highland aristocrat and her loyal servant, John Brown, following gamely alongside. Victoria was damp and muddy, yet buoyed by rustic ‘Scotch’ adventure.<sup>399</sup>

You have it all: a rough-it royal day in the hills and glens, complete with plaid and bagpipes. Victoria was starring in her own Highland play. Walter Scott would have been in his element, but not everyone finds Haag’s painting so appealing. Ian Mitchell calls it something that “epitomises more than most the feudal romanticism of Balmorality... we could be in the Middle Ages rather than the Workshop of the World.”<sup>400</sup> Such thoughts were presumably a million miles from royal minds as the duke produced whisky from an ancient silver flask - note, there is nothing uncomfortably modern about this adventure - and the queen’s health was drunk to a Gaelic salutation. Victoria reached Balmoral, tired and jubilant, after

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<sup>395</sup> Ponsonby, 1933, pp.131 & 125. In the early days Victoria was always at social events, but London never attracted the older queen for more than a few days.

<sup>396</sup> Quoted in Furniss, H. (1923). *Some Victorian women, good, bad and indifferent*. London: Bodley Head, p.136.

<sup>397</sup> The queen called her travels in Scotland her ‘great expeditions’, referring to them in her *Leaves* - e.g. ‘First Great Expedition: To Glen Fishie and Grantown, in Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, op cit. 4th September 1860.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid*, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1861.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid*. See also the Carl Haag painting, *The Fording of the Poll Tarff*, in Millar, D. (1985). *Queen Victoria’s life in the Scottish Highlands, depicted by her watercolour artists*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, p. 118.

<sup>400</sup> Mitchell, I. R. (2000). *On the trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*. Edinburgh: Luath, pp. 63-64.

travelling sixty-nine miles. She told her diary it was the most enjoyable expedition she had ever made.<sup>401</sup> Highlandism was making everyone happy - and hardy.

Meanwhile, the reality of this Walter Scott yarn faced the duke and his men as they returned to Blair Castle. With no moon to light the way, each tied a white handkerchief to his back to guide the one behind. The river was forded more gingerly this time; men wading arm-in-arm, carrying lighted policeman's lanterns and singing 'God Save the Queen' with the harts roaring around them.<sup>402</sup> This thesis has shown how Highlandism was firmly tied to monarchy and whilst Scottish 'custom' might be treasured - nay, a Jacobite flirtation even encouraged - duty to the crown was paramount. John Morrison sums it up: "...rather than resistance to English political hegemony, there was encapsulated within Highlandism an extravagant loyalty to the British state."<sup>403</sup> Four hours on the duke climbed gratefully into his waiting carriage, but it rolled into a ditch, so he had to walk the last few miles, reaching the castle in the early hours with the pipes wailing. The duchess relayed all this to the queen. It would help to confirm her vision of the heroic Highlander.<sup>404</sup>

After the Duchess of Athole's death one tribute declared how "to everything Scotch the Duchess was passionately attached."<sup>405</sup> Even in the early days at court the duchess showed where her interests lay: "...dined with the Queen at night - looked at histories (i.e. prints) of Kings of Scotland."<sup>406</sup> At southern courts she read the *Scotsman* newspaper.<sup>407</sup> Words like 'flitting' and 'wee' were part of her vocabulary, as was the phrase "wearing awa'."<sup>408</sup> Anne Athole was said to be a master of Lowland Scots and "a Scotch household where porridge was unknown did not find much favour in her sight."<sup>409</sup>

She might be found doing Highland dances on the Dunkeld green, or arranging stags' antlers on the walls of her castle.<sup>410</sup> The "disagreeable"<sup>411</sup> London weather would always be meanly compared to romantic Highland mists. 'Scotch' air was infinitely preferable to city fogs and

<sup>401</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1861.

<sup>402</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 18 - 11<sup>th</sup> October 1861 - the Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria

<sup>403</sup> Morrison, *Painting*.

<sup>404</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 18 - 11<sup>th</sup> October 1861 - the Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1515 - *The Late Dowager-Duchess of Athole*, claim by Annie S. Swan.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 6<sup>th</sup> April 1855.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 396 - 13<sup>th</sup> April 1895, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 645 - 4<sup>th</sup> December 1880.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1515 - *The Late Dowager-Duchess of Athole*, claims by Annie S. Swan.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid* Bundle 640 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1858; Bundle 641 - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1860.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 640 - 13<sup>th</sup> November 1859 - "disagreeable fogs."

streetlights lit by gas.<sup>412</sup> Even southern shoots could be inferior to Highland ones. “Did you ever hear of such foolish business to be called *sport*. I read in one of the papers today that some place where a shooting party had assembled they had to wait until the London train came in with 100 *dead* pheasants, which were scattered about during the day’s sport to make the bag heavier!”<sup>413</sup> It was not the sort of day one hoped to see in the Highlands. In Scotland she was busy. At a southern court it was not always so. “It is too curious how I do less & less here, the longer I stay!”<sup>414</sup> The Duchess of Athole would cross Europe and visit the Holy Land, but Scotland, “our dear home,”<sup>415</sup> held her heart.

Then there is the Athole family’s support for Highland Games. David Webster details how the Atholl Gathering is one of the oldest annual Highland Games still in existence, yet it is one that was very nearly lost. The event began in 1824 when a group of Stuarts and Robertsons decided that local clans should meet “to promote and cement a generous, manly and brotherly friendship as existed between their ancestors.”<sup>416</sup> Again, it was a laudable Highland aim, as was the emphasis on reviving athletics and encouraging Scottish dancing and music. Yet tartan would never be far from the picture. From the start there would be an emphasis on the “manufacture at home and the general adoption of Dress of those fabrics that have ever been peculiar to the Highlands.”<sup>417</sup> Contestants would be expected to appear “in the *plaids* or *Tartans of their Clans*. ”<sup>418</sup>

From 1846 this event was held at Blair Castle. Bringing it up to the ‘big house’ was a way of controlling the event and bolstering the duke’s standing as a Highland laird - and it is Miss MacGregor who captures the essence of the games, a day when Highlandism shines through.<sup>419</sup> “The sun is wont to shine bright and auspicious... the foliage is in its prime of beauty & the berries of the mountain ash have first attained their coral tint... Roused from their slumbers, the ladies attire in gala toilettes and hasten to breakfast which the officers attend in grey jackets, their duties not requiring full uniform till afterwards. The tents of the Athole Highlanders are pitched on the grass ... and the Barouche is ordered... ready to

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid*, 14<sup>th</sup> November - “thick yellow fog-candles at 2.30.”

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*, Box 61, Bundle 9 - 28th November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid*, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1874.

<sup>415</sup> See *ibid*, Bundles 657-1 and 657-2 for examples of Tours. Quote about Dunkeld from *ibid*, Bundle 642 - 4<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

<sup>416</sup> Webster, D. (2011). *The world history of Highland games*. Edinburgh: Luath, p. 65.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid*, quoted on p. 65.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>419</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, p. 450 - that year the ‘Tilt Meeting’ became the ‘Athole Gathering’.

convey the first detachment of visitors to the ground, returning immediately after having done so to fetch the Duchess & other ladies.”<sup>420</sup>

It is a perfect Highland picture: the weather fine, a private army marching, a benevolent aristocracy watching... A plaied amusement is about to begin, although it is one where people know their place. “Inside the arena are tents, one of which is reserved for the Duchess & her friends, another for the Secretary of the Society in whose tents are placed the various webs & plaids for prizes.”<sup>421</sup> Dinner at the castle was at nine, after which aristocrats prepared for the next round of entertainment. “The first carriages for the Ball are ordered about a quarter to eleven and are ready to take any ‘weakly’ persons back from it at about half past three. The unwearyed however keep it up with unflagged spirit till seven o’clock. The reels are still kept up with soul & fire.”<sup>422</sup> The words that suggest Highlandism are there: ‘beauty’, ‘coral tint’, ‘soul and fire’, and ‘cordiality’. There is elegance and stamina and there is also some thought for the lower orders. It is a piece of kilted theatre and two decades later one writer would smugly sum up the way that a Scotsman could now feel himself different to an Englishman. “Here and there a piper, in full and gorgeous panoply, with high-plumed bonnet and richly adorned pipes, strutting about like a gamecock... Here and there one saw the English tourist, conspicuous in a white waistcoat and puggaree-trimmed hat, looking highly inquisitive, but decidedly not at home.”<sup>423</sup>

Grant Jarvie suggests that the Atholl Gathering can be seen as a means of Victorian social control, with angry young men being encouraged to take out their frustrations on the games field.<sup>424</sup> Yet the event would become a mainstay of northern Perthshire’s aristocratic and working class social life - and it was not the only one to be supported. In 1856 the Duke of Athole attended the Dundee Games and as Chief of the ‘Glasgow Celtic Society’ he also visited the Glasgow Games.<sup>425</sup> Like royal backing for the Braemar Gathering, aristocratic support was giving glamour and support to local events although the patronage was not

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<sup>420</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1520 - Miss MacGregor Notes.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>423</sup> The Athole gathering. (1871, October). *Belgravia: A London Magazine*, pp. 432-437.

<sup>424</sup> Jarvie, G. (1989). Culture, social development and the Scottish Highland gatherings. In D. McCrone, S. Kendrick & P. Straw (eds.), *The making of Scotland: Nation, culture & social change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 200.

<sup>425</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 460-462.

totally altruistic. It gave a chance for the ‘big Highland cheeses’ to parade in their Highland uniform.

Grant Jarvie describes the ‘Balmoralization’ at these games - for the kilted Duke of Athole was not the only titled head to grace Highland fields. The Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Airlie, the Farquharsons of Invercauld, and the Duke of Argyll all “held positions of influence within the social milieu of the Highland gatherings and Games.”<sup>426</sup> These increasingly tartanned gatherings were still providing healthy exercise and prizes for the lower orders. In 1857 the Duke and Duchess of Athole attended Glasgow’s Celtic Gathering where the ‘Highland Fling’ competition was won by John McPherson, a saddler, with William Menzies, a Dunkeld farmer, coming second.<sup>427</sup> The title of ‘Best dressed Highlander at his own expense’ was claimed by one of Athole’s own men, Duncan McDonald of Dunkeld.<sup>428</sup> Highlandism was starting to touch classes other than the aristocracy.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown how bloody revolutions in France tempered any lingering thoughts of a renewed Jacobite rebellion. Highlandism could safely be allowed to develop and the phenomenon would further offer Scotland aristocrats comfort and colour in an age of industrial change, for the first part of the nineteenth century was an unsettling period with threats of rebellion, an economic depression, division in the church and famine. The chance to look back to more ordered times was cheering.

The “truly Scotch”<sup>429</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Athole would grow up in this disquieting age and although tied to the British state, she would remain genuinely devoted to the Highlands. Anne Athole viewed northern Perthshire, not just as a place of plaided adventure, but as a much-loved home. To her, Highland food, sport and weather were preferable to anything England might offer. Her attachment to Scotland was further cemented by the fact that she married a Highlander who preferred to stay north of the border and did not own vast acres of English land.

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<sup>426</sup> Jarvie, *Highland games*, p. 200.

<sup>427</sup> Webster, p. 89.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90.

<sup>429</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1971, *op cit.* 18<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

Highlandism certainly featured in the duchess's life. She wore tartan dresses and founded a famous kilted ball in London. She employed her own piper whilst her husband boasted a private kilted army. All this tartan theatre appealed to Queen Victoria who was embarking on a series of 'Great Expeditions' in the hills and glens. Anne Athole encouraged this royal travel and provided some of the 'Scotch' adventure the monarch wanted to see. The duchess would further fuel Highland interest by reading Walter Scott stories out loud at court.

On a less frivolous side, the duchess did her bit to preserve Scottish culture. She spoke Gaelic and Lalland Scots whilst further chapters will show how the Atholl family had long encouraged traditions of piping and fiddling. Upper class Highlandism was again helping to protect music and language. Moreover, whilst life on the Atholl estate was feudal, the duchess still managed to keep the common touch: visiting the poor, helping with hay making and being hands-on with horses and cows. Aristocratic Highlandism was making the upper class healthy and hardy.

The fact that titled Europeans were going mad for plaid shows the effect that Highlandism was having in the early Victorian age. There was a tartanned stay at the Palace of Compiegne and a visit to Blair Castle by a Russian Grand Duke who would throw himself into the 'Highland' experience. This chapter has also given examples of aristocratic events that epitomised Highlandism: among them the 1839 Eglinton Tournament in Ayrshire where kilted Atholl Highlanders thrilled the crowd. Scotland's Fencible Regiments were still playing their part in the 'Highland' project. The plaided phenomenon was even starting to influence who might get front-line estate jobs with a 'tartan' image now important for footmen and carriage drivers.

Using unpublished letters and relatively unexplored archives, this chapter has shed further light on aristocratic Highland life in the Victorian age. Social histories of the Scottish upper class are sketchy and those that are there can tend to portray landowners as something of a caricature. This chapter has shown that some upper class stories have more depth to them. If Highlandism is accused of creating a "myth of egalitarianism,"<sup>430</sup> this chapter has detailed how the different classes on the Atholl estate *did* mix to a greater extent than they perhaps did in England.

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<sup>430</sup> Morrison, *Painting the nation*, p. 11.

This chapter has touched again on land clearance. Early Atholl dukes may have been “notorious”<sup>431</sup> in evicting tenants, but the 6<sup>th</sup> duke and duchess do not appear to have been as culpable as some of their ancestors were. It was certainly a feudal way of life on the Blair and Dunkeld estates, but Anne Athole appeared to be a kind and caring mistress who recognised her responsibilities. The duchess started a school for girls and visited the sick and dying. However, she did not appear to be too concerned with Scotland’s wider problems. In the same year that she spent hundreds of pounds on new estate gates, famine was gripping parts of the country.

This thesis has already discussed how a rosy Highland view could mask social problems – and one of the scourges of the Victorian age was inebriation. Yet alcohol was associated with manliness in Scotland, with virility being linked to Highlandism, so the peccadilloes of these northern warriors might be overlooked by royalty and the upper class.

Finally, this chapter has further looked at Highland Games, repeating the view that they, too, were being subjected to processes of ‘Balmoralisation’ during the mid-Victorian age. These gatherings, once the province of the strong, but lowly, were increasingly becoming tartanned social events to bolster and amuse the great and the good. Yet, if critics see these games as a form of social control in the Victorian age, it can be argued that an upper class interest may have helped some of them to survive.

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<sup>431</sup> Martin, *Mighty Scot*, p. 172.

## CHAPTER FOUR - MISS MACGREGOR: A CLAN CHIEF'S DAUGHTER SELLS THE TARTAN 'DREAM'

### Introduction

This thesis has seen how a queen and a duchess promoted Highlandism in Victorian times. It will now detail how a lady of lesser rank, yet still from the upper class, helped to boost Scotland's tartan image. Amelia, (usually called Emily) Murray MacGregor, and referred to as 'Miss MacGregor', is a shadowy figure in Scottish history. She is mentioned occasionally in relation to Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Athole. This work will show how she deserves recognition in her own right, not least as a clan historian and Gaelic scholar.

Miss MacGregor, a clan chief's daughter, was not born in Scotland. However, being of serious Highland descent, she would make the country her home for nearly seventy years. Indeed, she would describe herself as "heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander."<sup>1</sup> In a male-dominated Victorian world this is a statement more in keeping from a man - and this chapter discusses the idea of Highlandism as a masculine concept.

Miss MacGregor, a dowdy, but spirited spinster, would hold her own in a mostly male world of Gaelic teaching and research. Highlandism would influence her work. It would colour her view of the past, affirm her belief in a Scottish feudal system and show her as a woman of contradictions: a meticulous researcher, romance still found a place in her writings; intensely loyal to the British crown, her hero was the rebel leader, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'. With Jacobite leanings she identified with Walter Scott's view of Highlanders.<sup>2</sup> From Empire-building stock this woman found a way of reconciling independent Scottish pride with a deep loyalty to queen and country.

Miss MacGregor was a dedicated tartan-wearer. A promoter of chiefs and clans she saw Highlanders through a tartan lens. She also produced one of the defining works on Highlandism, the art book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*. Yet she would take Highlandism

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *The opening of the Glasgow waterworks*, speech by Miss MacGregor to the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898). *History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections: Vol. 1*. Edinburgh: William Brown, p. 291.

beyond its tartan and bagpipe image. Through her research efforts and an extensive knowledge of Gaelic, Miss MacGregor would be described as a “Celtic lecturer.”<sup>3</sup> She penned a detailed history of ‘Clan Gregor’. Because of her friendship with the Duchess of Athole and her own great interest in the Highland ‘story’, she would be admitted into the ‘learned’ inner circle that Queen Victoria gathered around her. In short: Miss MacGregor tried to give Highlandism some sort of intellectual backbone. She was also not immune to social problems and would prove to be a tireless charity campaigner in her local community.

This chapter also examines the monarch’s 1859 opening of the Loch Katrine Waterworks when the queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor came together for what is thought to be the first time and where the romance of Highlandism met the reality of Victorian industrial progress. Here, in the heart of Walter Scott and Rob Roy country, the future mixed with the past. With royal and aristocratic support, even a network of iron pipes and a day of relentless rain might be seen as alluring in Scotland’s hills and glens.

Again, using unpublished research and relatively unexplored archives, this chapter gives a further idea of how Victorian Scottish aristocrats lived. This thesis has already shown how some had fallen on hard times and that Highlandism was allowing them to recreate the old world as it was imagined. Chapter one of this thesis described Miss MacGregor’s father, Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor, who almost ruined the family through his tartan extravagances and the “splendid splash”<sup>4</sup> he made for the 1822 royal visit to Edinburgh. Now this Scottish laird was trying to save his estate and maintain some upper class standing - and that meant taking a tiresome job in a far-flung foreign land. With a crumbling castle and a chiefly reputation to uphold, for some of Scotland’s aristocrats Highlandism was proving more of a hindrance than a help.

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<sup>3</sup> See Diary for October: Miss MacGregor’s lectures. (1917, November). *The Review of Reviews*, pp. 392-393.

<sup>4</sup> Gore, J. (1935). *Nelson’s Hardy and his wife: Some account of the lives and married life of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, GCB (“Nelson’s Hardy”) and of his wife, Louisa, Lady Hardy (afterwards Lady Seaford), derived from the hitherto unpublished journals and correspondence of Lady Seaford, and from the Hardy papers, 1769-1877*. London: John Murray, p. 153.

## “I can have but one claim; viz that I am heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander”<sup>5</sup>

The above is quite an assertion for a Victorian woman in Scotland and it would be an unusual claim for a Scottish female, even today. In her essay on how Germans see Scotland, Petra Dolata asks the interesting question: “...are there Scotswomen?”<sup>6</sup> After all, it is generally a man who wears the outfit that so marks a Scot: being socially correct, women wear tartan skirts, not kilts. David McCrone calls it a macho thing. “The Kailyard, tartanry and Clydesidism have no place for women... there is no analogous ‘lass o’ pairts’; the image of tartanry is a male-military image.”<sup>7</sup>

Chapter three of this thesis indicated how difficult it was for Scottish women to make a real mark. How many of them, apart from the flame-haired Mary, Queen of Scots, or the plaid-clad Flora MacDonald stand in the same hall of fame as William Wallace, Charles Edward Stuart, Walter Scott, Robert Burns, or even the simple Highland soldier?<sup>8</sup> Countries like England and France had beautiful female figures to represent them, yet Maureen Martin points out that in Scotland “a kilted man became the key visual signifier... functioning as the primal male element of female Britannia.”<sup>9</sup> Again, David Hesse reminds us that “the Scottish dreamscape is gendered, the Scottish dreamscape is male.”<sup>10</sup>

Enter a clan chief’s daughter, a woman who would construct that masculine Highland mantle for herself. Miss MacGregor was not born in Scotland and her first acquaintance with her ancestral, “not native, alas!”<sup>11</sup> land, only came when she was well into her teenage years. The girl was sixteen when she first visited Scotland in 1845. Up until then she had lived on the continent and in southern England, so being launched into the land of Walter Scott was a

<sup>5</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *Opening of the Glasgow waterworks*.

<sup>6</sup> Petra Dolata’s *Der Kilt ist mannlich, Gibt es Schottinnen?* as quoted in Hesse, D. J. (2011). *Warrior dreams: Playing Scotsmen in mainland Europe, 1945-2010*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> McCrone, D. (1992). *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation*. London: Routledge, p.190.

<sup>8</sup> Hesse, *op cit.* p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> England/Britain had ‘Britannia’, the icon modelled on the duchess of Richmond. See Appendix H: ODNB - Stuart, Frances Teresa, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond (1647 - 1702), courtier. France, meanwhile, had ‘Marianne’, an allegory that became a symbol of the French republic, see France This Way. (n.d.). *Marianne, historic symbol of France and the French*. Retrieved from <http://www.francethisway.com/history/marianneoffrance.php>. See also Martin, M. M. (2009). *The mighty Scot: Nation, gender, and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity*. New York: University of New York, Suny Press, pp. 32 & 131.

<sup>10</sup> Hesse, ‘Warrior Dreams’, p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653 - 16<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

heady experience. When reaching Dundee by boat she recalled how it was “all she could do to keep herself from getting down on her knees and kissing the black earth.”<sup>12</sup>

It seems over the top, yet this was someone who had led a nomadic life and now she was coming ‘home’ to the land of ‘Clan Gregor’ with some no small fantasies about the place. It was a safe century after the final Jacobite uprising and she was young and impressionable. “My heart and head have remained in the highlands and I only wish I might return to fetch them,”<sup>13</sup> she waxed. Highlandism would hide any unpleasantness there might be. Despite a looming famine in the country, the young aristocrat had come at a time of plenty in upper class Scottish kitchens: since the Glorious Twelfth grouse had been “pouring in from all sides.”<sup>14</sup> The Celtic paradise evidently had restorative powers. She was being “well fattened”<sup>15</sup> by Scottish air with never the “*slightest* feeling of fatigue or indisposition.”<sup>16</sup>

In an earlier century Samuel Johnson noted how Highland women must study to be “pleasing or useful.”<sup>17</sup> Staying in Fife with her brother, the MacGregor clan chief, the rather plain Miss MacGregor would have to settle for the latter. “[I] teach the three elder children French, & Emmy - musick & knitting,”<sup>18</sup> she reported to her mother. There were reels to master and there was the great outdoors to explore.<sup>19</sup> She was studying MacGregor history from *Douglas’s Baronage* and at night tackled racier things.<sup>20</sup> “I have finished Waverly & am now in the middle of Guy Mannering. I am very glad I was not allowed to read them until I could admire them.”<sup>21</sup> She was falling in love with Walter Scott. Highlandism was claiming her.

Despite the thick fog that enveloped the city, Miss MacGregor also fell for the “modern Athens”<sup>22</sup> that was Edinburgh. This might be the Lowlands, but here she could be close to the man who made Highland heroes: Walter Scott was now casting a lofty spell over the city’s

<sup>12</sup> Miss Murray MacGregor’s reminiscences. (1910, December 30). *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653 - 9<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1845.

<sup>15</sup> Appendix F: 10<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Francis MacGregor. See also Appendix D: PD60/653 - 16<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

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

<sup>17</sup> Johnson, S., & Boswell, J. (1785/1987). *A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and the journal of a tour to the Hebrides* (edited by P. Levi). London: Penguin, p. 108.

<sup>18</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653 - 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - “I *delight* in reels, particularly the reel of ‘Tulloch’.”; 14<sup>th</sup> July 1845 - she goes trout fishing.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1845.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1845.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1845 – “no words can describe my admiration of Edinburgh.” See also Edinburgh World Heritage. (n.d.). *Athens of the North*. Retrieved from <http://www.ewht.org.uk/learning/Athens>

streets in the form of a great Gothic monument.<sup>23</sup> “There is something in Scotland which is always pretty, mysterious and romantic,”<sup>24</sup> she wrote. There was also the more mercenary side of Highlandism. The capital’s shops were busy selling tartan, tweed and shepherds’ check fabrics.<sup>25</sup> At a plaid warehouse Miss MacGregor bought a length of Atholl tartan velvet for her mother and, for herself, a Clan Alpin satin bag.<sup>26</sup>

In northern Perthshire, meanwhile, a Highland ball beckoned and at the Tilt Gathering the pipes played “most lustily”<sup>27</sup> whilst her gown was gay with tartan ribbon and her plaid was pinned with Scots’ fir, the MacGregor clan plant. Attaching plants to clans was another side to Highlandism and it would prove lucrative. What may have begun as a way of identifying a clansman was becoming a marketing tool - and so it has continued. Today even Borderland families boast ‘clan plants’: for example, the Armstrongs flaunt the freedom-suggesting wild thyme whilst the Elliots claim prickly, but perfumed white hawthorn.<sup>28</sup>

“My *doubly* highland birth!... Your young lady turns out to be a *real Highlander*,”<sup>29</sup> Miss MacGregor told her mother in the south of England. The only disappointment was the church - the sermon “given in a ranting style”<sup>30</sup> which made it impossible to understand, or join in the prayers. As ever, Highlandism had its linguistic limits - and it was continuing to prove adept at hiding the more unpleasant sides of Scottish life. The young aristocrat would see nothing upsetting during her stay, despite the fact that parts of Scotland now stood on the edge of social disaster.<sup>31</sup> A year after her visit a potato blight would leave tens of thousands

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<sup>23</sup> The competition to design the monument was won by George Kemp, a joiner/artist, who drowned before it could be finished. It was built between 1840 and 1844 and stands almost 200 feet high - Edinburgh Architecture. (n.d.). *Scott Monument: Edinburgh memorial building*. Retrieved from <http://www.edinburgharchitecture.co.uk/scott-monument>. See also Youngson, A. J. (1966). *The making of classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 279.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653 - 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>25</sup> Flanders, J. (2006/2007). *Consuming passions: Leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper, p. 221. Judith Flanders says clan tartans were being sold at Kendal Milne in Manchester.

<sup>26</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653, *op cit.* Note: ‘Alpin’ is another name for MacGregor. The ‘Clan Gregor Society’ historian, Peter Lawrie, suggests it might come from ‘siol alpin’, a federation of clans in the 13th century.

<sup>27</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653, *op cit.* 9<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>28</sup> Way of Plean, G., & Squire, R. (eds.). (1994). *Scottish clan and family encyclopaedia*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 352 & 128. The ‘Scottish Tartans Authority’ suggests the MacDonalds tied heather to a broomstick before going into battle and that Lord Lovat gave his Fraser clansmen sprigs of yew to wear in their bonnets before the ’45 - Mann, T. (n.d.). *More thoughts on clan tartans*. Scottish Tartans Authority. Retrieved from <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/the-growth-of-tartan/the-origin-of-clan-tartans/thoughts-on-clan-tartans/>

<sup>29</sup> Appendix D: PD60/653 - 9<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> See Cowan, E. J., Finlay, R. J., & Paul, W. (2000). *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a nation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, pp. 91-92.

starving to death. Indeed, even some of the upper class might be feeling the pinch.<sup>32</sup> Whilst Miss MacGregor was living the aristocratic high life in Fife and Perthshire, her estranged and not quite so affluent sister, Jane, was in military lodgings near Glasgow where she was stocking up on potatoes and worrying about the price of bread.<sup>33</sup>

Yet stories of hardship did not seem to deter those who came in search of Highland adventure. As the 1846 famine struck in Scotland, Thomas Cook brought three hundred and fifty people north from Leicester to Glasgow. It was the first package tour to the land of Ossian, Burns and Scott and tartan trippers were greeted Highland-style - in the Lowlands - by a pipe band.<sup>34</sup> On her own first visit, Miss MacGregor had been something of a tourist herself, but she would go on to see Scotland as more than a place of colourful curiosities. Indeed, this woman would become more ‘Scotch’ than most. This daughter of the 19<sup>th</sup> chief of ‘Clan Gregor’ would make Perthshire her home for nearly seventy years, all the while researching and embellishing the Celtic story.

Highlandism would figure in her life: Scotland’s history seen through freedom-fighting eyes, William Wallace a hero, Charles Edward Stuart the king over the water - all this enthusiasm being stoked by Walter Scott’s “sympathetic mind [which] caught the fire of Highland adventure.”<sup>35</sup> Despite that, there would be limits to encouraging legend. When researching her own clan history Miss MacGregor would have to examine the view that “so much rubbish has been written and talked about Rob Roy that it is really necessary to be *accurate*, and we must be prepared to *upset* many of the ideas that are presently accepted as truths.”<sup>36</sup>

Yet Miss MacGregor could easily imbue her unruly forebears with virtues of “courage, endurance and fidelity.”<sup>37</sup> The desperate and often ugly ‘Clan Gregor’ might comfortably be described as a “lion-hearted race.”<sup>38</sup> Then, as Samuel Johnson famously said, “the Scots... are

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Appendix D: PD60/414 - 4<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - Jane Hamilton-Burgogne to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>34</sup> See Cook, T. (1846). *Handbook of a trip to Scotland*. Leicester. See also Thomas Cook. (2010). *Key dates*. Retrieved from <https://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-history/key-dates>

<sup>35</sup> See MacGregor, *op cit.* p. 291. In 1874 Miss MacGregor argued with Henry Ponsonby at Balmoral. He maintained Wallace was a “ruffian” and a “traitor.” She defended her hero - and Bonnie Prince Charlie, too. See Appendix B: VIC/ADD/A/36/428 - 8th June 1872, Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>36</sup> Appendix D: PD60/850 - 12<sup>th</sup> June 1890 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>37</sup> MacGregor, *History*, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors.”<sup>39</sup> This sentiment perhaps helps to explain how easy it was for Highlandism to flourish at home and for history to be tweaked. Miss MacGregor was an ardent Jacobite, yet Highlandism could allow her to remain devoted to her Saxe-Coburg queen: “...that Crown since Culloden has inherited the fortunes of the Sovereigns of Great Britain and Ireland, to whom our loyalty is now heartily yielded.”<sup>40</sup>

R. J. Morris notes the male-dominated culture of the Victorian era and suggests that women only emerged from anonymity “because they were determined to exploit to the full the limited niche which Scottish society allotted to them.”<sup>41</sup> Yet Jessica Gerard has another view. “The stereotype of idle, useless ladies is clearly inaccurate and invalid. Women of the landed classes led active, purposeful lives.”<sup>42</sup> Miss MacGregor, a doughty aristocrat, certainly fits that description. Her literary efforts might be nothing like that of Lady Scott who wrote *A Marriage in High Life* and papers on understanding the bible.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, although Miss MacGregor appears to have made some attempt at fiction in one unpublished story, *A Romance of the Highlands*, she would never match the famed Margaret Oliphant whose Scottish-based novels kept royal fingers turning pages.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, the Victorian view of Scotland might be a macho one, yet Maureen Martin points out how Oliphant saw the country “not as a rugged man, but as a brave, suffering woman... Oliphant considers the ‘marriage’ of England and Scotland... [she] aligns Scotland with the plight of a wife, whose rich, taunting in-laws only reluctantly accept her as family.”<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Johnson & Boswell, *Journey*, p. 119.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix F: 28<sup>th</sup> May 1909 - *The Clan MacGregor*: a letter from Miss MacGregor to the newspapers. MacGregor Papers show the cutting and date, but not the name of the paper. Note: Queen Victoria saw herself as the descendant of a Jacobite - see Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1883/2010). *More leaves from the journal of a life in the Highlands, from 1862 to 1882*. Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Reprints, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>41</sup> Fraser, W. H., & Morris, R. J. (eds.). (1990). *People and society in Scotland: Vol 2 - 1830-1914*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Gerard, J. (1994). *Country house life: Family and servants, 1815-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 140.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Scott, Caroline Lucy, Lady Scott (1784–1857), novelist.

<sup>44</sup> Appendix D: PD60/642 - Miss MacGregor - *A Romance of the Highlands*. See references in the queen’s diaries to Mrs Oliphant, Appendix C: Vol.56, p. 241 - 15<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - “some very good reviews of the dear Life in ‘Blackwood’s’, by Mrs Oliphant.”; Vol.57, p. 80 - 19<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - “Flora McD.” afterwards began reading to us ‘The days of my Life’ by Mrs Oliphant.” John Stock Clarke notes how Mrs Oliphant wrote hundreds of books and although not living in Scotland was “proud of her Scottishness” - Clarke, J. S. (1986). *Margaret Oliphant*. Victorian Fiction Research Guides 11, Department of English, University of Queensland, pp. 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, *Queen Victoria*, pp. 132-133, referring to Oliphant’s essays on Scotland in *Blackwoods*.

“A keen student of Celtic literature”<sup>46</sup> Miss MacGregor featured in periodicals alongside university professors and gave lectures to learned men. “[Her] name alone is sufficient to draw a large audience,”<sup>47</sup> one newspaper said of a forthcoming talk. The clan chief’s daughter was reported in the press - and not just as an aristocrat in court circulars and gossip columns.<sup>48</sup> She became the first Chieftainess of the ‘Gaelic Society of Perth’, producing papers “of literary merit, on subjects of Highland interest”<sup>49</sup> and holding Gaelic classes. She was also involved with the Highland ‘Mod’.<sup>50</sup> Miss MacGregor could thank her mother for her education. “Every hour of the day is now occupied with her studies,”<sup>51</sup> Lady Elizabeth told the family back in 1841 when the girl was eleven.

Part of Miss MacGregor’s mission was to sell a heroic Scotland to the world and in later life she would look for Highland signs in people and places. An Irish General had been at Osborne palace: “...his Celtic sympathies would delight you,”<sup>52</sup> the Duchess of Athole reported to her friend. On a visit to Hungary Miss MacGregor noted how the “the inhabitants of these vast hills are as enthusiastic in their love for them as we Highlanders are of our hills.”<sup>53</sup> Indeed, Miss MacGregor took her Highlandism right across Europe and beyond, her luggage marked with tartan ribbon.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Death of Miss Murray MacGregor, Perth. (1917, September 24). *The Scotsman*, p. 4. See also *The Celtic Annual: Yearbook of the Dundee Highland Society Year Book*, 1910-1911, pp. 21 & 23 where Miss MacGregor features in the same journal as Professor MacKinnon, the Celtic Chair of Edinburgh University.

<sup>47</sup> Lecture by Miss Murray MacGregor. (1899, December 4). *Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*. See also The Queen in the Highlands: A romantic scene. (1899, December 1). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Miss MacGregor appeared in the press many times: For lectures, see Lecture by Miss Murray MacGregor, *op cit.*; For her work with the ‘Perth Gaelic Society’, see Perth Gaelic Gathering. (1899, March 4). *Dundee Courier*, p. 5; For involvement in charities, see Perth Cathedral Improvements. (1899, April 28). *Dundee Courier*, p. 7, and Perth Annual Meeting of the Sick Poor Nursing Society. (1899, January 13). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3. For her Clan Gregor book, see History of the Clan Gregor. (1898, November 26). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 9. She was also mentioned in court circulars, e.g. Court Circular. (1866, June 23). *The Scotsman*, p. 2. See Court and fashion. (1868, October 31). *The Examiner*, p. 10, and The Court at Osborne (1868, February 22). *The Hampshire Advertiser*, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1548 - *Speech by Miss MacGregor*. See also MacKay, J. G. (2002). *Highlanders! Stand shoulder to shoulder: a history of the Gaelic society of Perth*. Perth: Gaelic Society of Perth, pp. 19 & 73.

<sup>50</sup> See Highland Mod at Perth. (1900, November 30). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6. See also Perth Gaelic Society in flourishing condition. (1912, March 2). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6. Miss MacGregor was the society’s representative to ‘An Comunn Gaidhealach’.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix D: PD60/189 - 17<sup>th</sup> December 1841 - Lady Elizabeth to John Atholl MacGregor.

<sup>52</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1659 - 30th July 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, *The Carpathians*, a lecture given by Miss MacGregor in 1905 to the Perthshire Society of Natural Science.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 7/456 - European Tour, 1869.

Her forte, though, was research and she was happiest in a library. When helping the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to write his history they both “live[d] in the Charter Room.”<sup>55</sup> As another family member noted: the weighty *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* would not have been completed without Miss MacGregor’s help.<sup>56</sup> Being brought up on the Continent meant she spoke several languages.<sup>57</sup> “I am much obliged to you for your translation of the French letters,”<sup>58</sup> the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl said gratefully. Being bi-lingual helped when it came to translating a French book about the Jacobite uprising.<sup>59</sup> She might call herself an “amateur dabbler”<sup>60</sup> in genealogies and literary antiquities, yet others thought she undersold herself. “If there is a mistake... Miss MacGregor is so clever she will soon detect it,”<sup>61</sup> the eminent Scottish antiquarian, Sir William Fraser, declared, as the woman worked her way through two royal pedigrees for him.

Her specialty was feeding the Victorian fashion for the Highlands. Her lectures “breathed the pure Highland atmosphere of heather and the romance of the past.”<sup>62</sup> On stage she was a “fluent and graceful speaker... her talks enlivened with frequent racy touches,”<sup>63</sup> which delighted an audience. Then, as Elizabeth Longford notes: the one place where a Victorian woman might “open her mouth without disgrace to ‘The Sex’ was the lecture platform.”<sup>64</sup> At one event in Dundee Miss MacGregor was “very heartily received... delivered an excellent address.”<sup>65</sup> At another she was loudly applauded as she admitted to being born abroad, but added that she would rather be “born abroad than in England.”<sup>66</sup> Being ‘Scotch’ really was a badge of honour.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 649 - 14<sup>th</sup> March 1888 - Miss Cameron Diary. Note: the 7<sup>th</sup> duke changed the spelling of his name to ‘Atholl’.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 487 - 24<sup>th</sup> September 1895 - Lady Evelyn Murray to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>57</sup> Appendix D: PD60/168 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1843 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor.

<sup>58</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1522 - 5<sup>th</sup> August 1908 - the Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor. See also Bundle 1528, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1842, Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Jane Burgogne - “Emmy is quite mistress of the French language.”

<sup>59</sup> De la Tremoille, L. (1904). *A Royalist Family, Irish and French, 1689–1789; and Prince Charles Edward* (trans. A. G. M. MacGregor). Edinburgh: Kessinger; Appendix D: PD60/800/801 - translating a book about the Jacobite uprising.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix F: 26<sup>th</sup> January 1888 - Miss MacGregor to Sir William Fraser.

<sup>61</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1520 - 8<sup>th</sup> March 1888, Sir William Fraser to Miss MacGregor; Appendix F: *ibid*. See also Appendix H: ODNB - Fraser, Sir William (1816–1898), genealogist and archivist.

<sup>62</sup> *The Celtic Annual*, *op cit.* p. 21.

<sup>63</sup> MacKay, *op cit.* p. 19.

<sup>64</sup> Longford, E. (1981). *Eminent Victorian women*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Highlands and Highlanders of old. (1904, January 29). *Dundee Courier*, p. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Miss Murray MacGregor’s reminiscences, *op cit.*

It is, however, Miss MacGregor's production of the art book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, that shouts Highlandism. As chapter five will show, this artistic and literary effort touched a Victorian tartan nerve. Her own two-volume work on her family, *The History of The Clan Gregor* is highly researched, but largely uncritical.<sup>67</sup> It, too, comes with a dose of Highlandism and is discussed more fully in chapter six. Yet these volumes were also well-received. "The most exacting member of the clan could not demand a more painstaking historian,"<sup>68</sup> one reviewer declared. The first book was finished as Miss MacGregor approached her three-score years and ten and another tome from this "enthusiastic clanswoman"<sup>69</sup> followed. Some might consider her words "ponderous and unmanageable,"<sup>70</sup> yet today's writers still use these works as a reference source, although academics regret the largely unchallenged use of detail from Douglas's *Baronage*.<sup>71</sup>

Andrew Nash describes how the ascent of Victoria "signalled the descent of Scottish culture... the Victorian period in Scottish literature has long been viewed with embarrassment, if not disdain."<sup>72</sup> Highlandism played a role in this and this thesis will look more fully at the growth of 'Kailyard' literature in chapter five. Yet if male novelists of the Victorian age were to be viewed with some pity, how much more difficult must it have been to prove yourself as a female writer or researcher? Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, published in the 1850s, was damned because "she did not aspire to profundity, or to the 'scientific accuracy of a professed antiquarian'."<sup>73</sup> The clan chief's daughter would have to be on the ball.

<sup>67</sup> MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898/1901). *History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections: Vol. 1 & 2*. Edinburgh: William Brown. Vol. 1 was published by William Brown, Edinburgh, in 1898 and Vol.2 would follow in 1901.

<sup>68</sup> Appendix F: Press Opinions of the History of The Clan Gregor, Vol.1, from *The Spectator*, from William Brown Prospectus, 1900.

<sup>69</sup> Appendix D: PD60/869 - Review in *Dundee Advertiser*, quoted in newspaper cuttings.

<sup>70</sup> Criticism of 'History of the Clan Gregor' (1899, August 12). *The Athenaeum*, p. 220.

<sup>71</sup> Murray, W. H. (1982/1983). *Rob Roy MacGregor: His life and times*. London: Canongate, and, Stevenson, D. (2004). *The hunt for Rob Roy: The man and the myths*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. Both quote from her work. Professor Richard McGregor, 2016 chairman of the 'Clan Gregor Society', calls it "an extensive research project, but one that certainly favours her side of the family." See also History of the Clan Gregor. (1898, November 26). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 9 - "the statements in Douglas's Baronage seem to be too readily accepted."

<sup>72</sup> Nash, A. (2012). Victorian Scottish literature. In G. Carruthers & L. McIlvanney (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Scottish literature* (pp. 145-158). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 145.

<sup>73</sup> Garnett, J. (2000). Religious and intellectual life. In H. C. G. Matthew (ed.), *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901* (pp. 195-228). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 225.

“Good Miss McGregor,”<sup>74</sup> as the queen came to call her, would have to prove her literary and research skills at the highest level.<sup>75</sup> Clare Jerrold might declare that Victoria had “no belief in the intellectual capacity of her sex.”<sup>76</sup> However, she trusted the subject of this chapter, giving her weighty projects to manage, such as researching royal family trees<sup>77</sup> - and expressing surprise when things did not go to plan: “...that is not like Miss McGregor.”<sup>78</sup> Yet, unlike others who served the queen in a literary capacity, the clan chief’s daughter received no great reward for her efforts. Arthur Helps, who edited the first royal journals, or *Leaves*, and Theodore Martin, who was Prince Albert’s biographer, were both knighted.<sup>79</sup> Miss MacGregor received a Diamond Jubilee Medal and a small pension for her work.<sup>80</sup>

Even today she remains unsung. Miss MacGregor warrants little or no mention in books on interesting Scottish women. She does not feature in *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*.<sup>81</sup> Nor is she mentioned in her own right in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. This thesis will show how she should be there and how, even as she was emerging as one of the proponents of ‘Balmorality’, she still managed to give Highlandism some sort of intellectual backbone.

Hugh MacDiarmid may say it is “almost impossible”<sup>82</sup> to draw up a long list of famous Scotswomen. Yet he admits that those Scotswomen that are there, have, in the main, been “shrewd, forceful characters.”<sup>83</sup> He is right in the case of Miss MacGregor. This thesis will now further detail the events that helped form her ‘Highland’ character. This blue-stocking Scotswoman might not be a party person - “not of a sociable disposition, not with all and

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<sup>74</sup> Appendix C: Vol.110, p. 190 - 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1900. Note: the queen spelled the name ‘McGregor’.

<sup>75</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 646 - 13<sup>th</sup> December 1883 - “Emily at home, writing for H.M.”; *ibid* - 15<sup>th</sup> November 1883 - “Emily finishes correction of H. M’s proofs and sends them off to Sir Theodore Martin. So far good!”

<sup>76</sup> Jerrold, C. (1916). *The widowhood of Queen Victoria*. London: Eveleigh Nash, p. 82.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1520 - 8<sup>th</sup> March 1888 - Sir William Fraser to Miss MacGregor

<sup>78</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 2 - 10<sup>th</sup> July 1883 - the Duchess of Athole, quoting the queen, to Miss MacGregor. Note: Victoria was a great reader. Thomas Carlyle was “much impressed by the terseness and sense of her remarks, which he maintained contrasted agreeably with the rambling inaccuracies” of most women - see *The private life of Queen Victoria: By one of Her Majesty’s servants*. (1901). London: C. Arthur Pearson, p. 122.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix C: Vol.61, p. 307: 15<sup>th</sup> October 1872 - “Sir Arthur Helps,”; Vol.72, p. 81: 20<sup>th</sup> March 1880 - “knighted Mr Martin.”

<sup>80</sup> Appendix D: PD60/671 - 8<sup>th</sup> August 1897, letter sending Miss MacGregor the Diamond Jubilee Medal; 13th August 1897, the palace telling Miss MacGregor about her pension.

<sup>81</sup> Ewan, E. L., Innes, S., Reynolds, S., & Pipes, R. (eds.). (2006). *The biographical dictionary of Scottish women: From earliest times to 2004*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>82</sup> MacDiarmid, H. (1936/1972). *Scottish eccentrics*. London: Routledge, p. 160.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

sundry”<sup>84</sup> - yet she was certainly no disapproving old maid. This was the person who, clad in plaid at a Highland ball, went at it like a “Trojan,”<sup>85</sup> dancing ‘The Flowers of Edinburgh’ with the queen’s servant, John Brown, on large legs that so “incommode<sup>d</sup>”<sup>86</sup> the monarch in the royal carriage.

Miss MacGregor was highly practical and she nursed both the Duke and Duchess of Athole in their dying days.<sup>87</sup> She also witnessed an early belt-and-braces eye operation, watching as the surgeon removed a cataract: “...taken out for all the world like a small button of gelatine.”<sup>88</sup> If there was a health crisis, like an anorexic daughter to take to Europe for treatment, this hands-on Scotswoman would deal with it.<sup>89</sup> President of the ‘Perth Sick Poor Nursing Association’, she should have been a nurse - and she certainly had the brains to be a doctor, although she would have been sixty by the time the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 allowed women to enter its medical faculties.<sup>90</sup>

She could also have been an administrator: a “femme capable,”<sup>91</sup> Miss MacGregor helped to run the Duchess of Athole’s household, sorting bills and keeping dairy accounts and curling club records. As it was, she involved herself in charity and community activities, taking “an active interest in all philanthropic work”<sup>92</sup> and giving “love and succour” to the “poor and distressed.”<sup>93</sup> A “friend and benefactor of so many Perthshire Soldiers,”<sup>94</sup> she would throw herself into assisting the army, as chapter six of this thesis will show.

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<sup>84</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 61, Bundle 9 - 25<sup>th</sup> November 1874, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>85</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/433 - 13<sup>th</sup> June 1872, and 753 - 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1874 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1516 - Miss MacGregor’s account of the duchess’s death. Miss MacGregor thought she knew better than the doctors: “a *stupid* old Practitioner” was her verdict on one country quack - see *ibid*, Bundle 1662 - 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1897, Miss MacGregor to Mrs Ogle.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1556 - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1888, Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, Bundles 63, 64, 166, 487, 1653 & 1663 about Lady Evelyn Murray’s illness.

<sup>90</sup> Fraser & Morris, *op cit.* p. 213 - women doctors in Glasgow were taken on by the Samaritan Hospital in 1892. Note: in later years Miss MacGregor was President of the ‘Perth Sick Nursing Society’, her efforts reported in the article, A deserving Perth Society. (1903, January 23). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6; Sick nursing in Perth: A valuable society. (1904, January 15). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3.

<sup>91</sup> The Dowager Duchess of Athole referred to Miss MacGregor as ‘La Femme capable’ - see Appendix A: Bundle 1659 - 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1887. Sight of brooch in MacGregor family artifacts. See also Perthshire curlers dine. (1911, March 25). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6 - which explains how she was retiring from the post she had held since 1853.

<sup>92</sup> Floral exhibition at Perth. (1902, June 11). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3

<sup>93</sup> The late Miss Murray MacGregor. (1917 October 3). *Perthshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> Magnificent gift by Mrs Tod Osborne, Soldiers home for Perth. (1902, December 6). *Perthshire Advertiser*, p.4.

This woman could have been an explorer. She and the duchess travelled extensively to Europe and the Holy Land:<sup>95</sup> as the duchess noted of their travels, “beer excellent, [Miss MacGregor] finds cheap hotel.”<sup>96</sup> This independence may have allowed her to embrace Highlandism. For Miss MacGregor’s passion was Scotland and she was happiest with pen in hand, writing about the country and its people.<sup>97</sup> It has been said before, but it such a female assertion in such a masculine world. As she told a room of Gaelic scholars: “I can have but one claim; viz, that I am heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander.”<sup>98</sup>

Miss MacGregor was fiercely patriotic and among the thousands of pages of clan research she amassed were the following lines. “If there is aught on earth dear to a Scotchman’s heart, it is the freedom, the unconquered freedom of his country and his nationality. Let others talk of citizenship, of merging all local prejudices into one British Partition. This is not in the nature of a Scotchman. Centuries of determined stand against an invading neighbour, blood of forefathers freely shed to maintain our independence, this is our inheritance.”<sup>99</sup> A mid-eighteenth century Jacobite could not have repeated such a statement in safety. Yet Highlandism had made it possible for this mid-nineteenth century one to do so.

Miss MacGregor could proudly inform Queen Victoria that her brother, Ernest MacGregor, had “all the loyalty of a Highlander and much of the chivalry and uprightness that belonged to a former age.”<sup>100</sup> The man had lived most of his life in Europe and India. When an aristocratic nephew married the daughter of a Northern Ireland earl, Miss MacGregor reminded herself that at least “she has Scotch blood, and I trust she will care for Scotland living amongst us.”<sup>101</sup> There was joy when a great-nephew was born north of the border and not in England. “I do hope with God’s blessing he will grow up a good man and also a true Highlander.”<sup>102</sup> Henry Ponsonby might tease her about the Celts being “a miserable little

<sup>95</sup> The ladies made several tours of Europe - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 7/456-458; e.g. *Visit to Spa in Belgium, the Engadine and other parts of Switzerland*, etc; In 1876 the two women visited Egypt, taking in the pyramids and the Dancing Dervishes (10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> March). They moved on to Palestine and Jerusalem, crossing the desert in a palanquin strung on mules (20<sup>th</sup> - 29<sup>th</sup> March).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, end of July/August, 1880.

<sup>97</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 1523, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1882, the Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - “I can think comfortably of the Duchess in the armchair by the fire and you at the desk with your pen in hand.”

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 1548, *Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks...* Speech by Miss MacGregor.

<sup>99</sup> Appendix D: PD60/662 - Miss MacGregor’s notes on Scottish clans.

<sup>100</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/C/62/53/75 - 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1868 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>101</sup> Appendix D: PD60/579 - 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1864, Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor. He married Lady Helen McDonnell, daughter of the Earl of Antrim.

<sup>102</sup> Appendix D: PD60/503 - 10<sup>th</sup> August 1873, Miss MacGregor to Lady Helen MacGregor.

black haired race,”<sup>103</sup> yet Miss MacGregor would defend them to the death. After all, Prince Charles Edward Stuart was the “finest and purest man in the world.”<sup>104</sup> This chapter will show how this very Scottish aristocrat contributed to the phenomenon that is Highlandism. Chapters five and six will demonstrate how she went further, to promote Gaelic culture.

If it was not Miss MacGregor’s “privilege”<sup>105</sup> to be born in Scotland, the “truest blood of the Highlands [still ran] in her veins from both sides.”<sup>106</sup> Indeed, her Celtic credentials were impeccable: her grandmother a Macleod of Bernera, her great-grandmother a Macdonald of the Isles.<sup>107</sup> As for the MacGregors - as chapter one of this thesis detailed, they were among the most famous of the clans: “...not one of the most numerous or most powerful, but remarkable as occupying a distinct place in the history of Scotland.”<sup>108</sup>

This work has described the rise of Miss MacGregor’s grandfather, Sir John MacGregor Murray. It has shown how her father, Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor, came to epitomise Highlandism: an empire builder and flamboyant clan chief, yet a promoter of Scottish history and the Gaelic tradition. Unfortunately, he had been bad with money: “...a poor husband of his... slender resources.”<sup>109</sup> In fact, Highlandism had all but ruined Sir Evan. Under its tartan spell he had managed to “muddle away by bad judgement almost everything, which he had not dissipated, to make a splendid splash for his clan during the great Highland revival celebrations which marked the visit of George IV to Edinburgh.”<sup>110</sup>

This chapter will now show how with “such a thoroughly Highland descent, Miss Murray MacGregor naturally inherited a warm attachment to her country, its people, and especially her clan.”<sup>111</sup> Miss MacGregor was Sir Evan’s tenth child and as she noted about the date of her birth: “I do not suppose much happened in 1829.”<sup>112</sup> In fact, it was quite an eventful year. In 1829 a parliamentary act gave freedom of religion to Catholics and the first Oxford-

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<sup>103</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/431 - 11<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872.

<sup>105</sup> Miss Murray McGregor’s reminiscences, *op cit.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Burke, J. B. (1914). *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British Empire* (106th ed.) London: Harrison, p. 1803.

<sup>108</sup> MacGregor, 1898, *History*, p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Gore, *Nelson’s Hardy*, p. 153.

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

<sup>111</sup> Miss A. G. Murray MacGregor, Dunkeld. (1894). *The Celtic Monthly*, 2, pp. 64-65.

<sup>112</sup> Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor memoir*.

Cambridge boat race was staged on the River Thames.<sup>113</sup> That year the Metropolitan Police was founded, its Scotland Yard headquarters being built on a site said to have belonged to Celtic kings.<sup>114</sup> North of the border, meanwhile, the grave robber, William Burke, was executed in Edinburgh in 1829, his death being watched by a crowd that allegedly included Sir Walter Scott.<sup>115</sup> 1829 was also the year that the composer, Felix Mendelssohn, met Walter Scott on his way to the Western Isles where a Hebridean symphony would feed on Highlandism.<sup>116</sup>

Mendelssohn was not the only one travelling, for the Victorian age was a time of great movement. From 1830 until the start of the First World War it is estimated that some two million people left Scotland.<sup>117</sup> M.W. Flinn points out that more than half the natural increase of the population of Scotland said farewell to the country of its birth.<sup>118</sup> A.N. Wilson notes it as an “era of prodigious energy, growth and expansion.”<sup>119</sup> Such rapid change could be terrifying. As this work has already shown, the way was open for Highlandism to provide some old-fashioned comfort and colour.

Miss MacGregor died in 1917.<sup>120</sup> Had she lived another year, as a woman over thirty, she, too, would have been enfranchised. Yet one wonders if she would have used her vote?<sup>121</sup> This thesis has noted how she moved in a masculine Highland world. Indeed, she might find herself the only female at Gaelic meetings.<sup>122</sup> True, Miss MacGregor was a liberal and a supporter of Gladstone, but whether these sympathies extended to female emancipation is unclear.<sup>123</sup> There were certainly those of her sex and class who hated the idea of women being allowed anywhere near the ballot-box. Trevor May describes how a private member’s

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<sup>113</sup> The Boat Races. (2017). *About the race: Origins*. Retrieved from <http://theboatraces.org/origins>

<sup>114</sup> Metropolitan Police. (2017). *Welcome to the Metropolitan Police heritage*. Retrieved from <https://www.metpolicehistory.co.uk>

<sup>115</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Burke, William (1792–1829), murderer.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Jacob Ludwig) Felix (1809–1847), composer.

<sup>117</sup> Fraser & Morris, *People and Society*. p. 15. Scotland’s data is summarised in Baines, D. (1986). *Migration in a mature economy: Emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>118</sup> Flinn quoted in Devine, T. M. (1992). The paradox of Scottish emigration. In T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish emigration and Scottish society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1990-1991* (pp. 1-15). Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Wilson, A. N. (2002/2003). *The Victorians*. London: Hutchinson, p. 15.

<sup>120</sup> Sight of gravestone at MacGregor family mausoleum at Balquhidder.

<sup>121</sup> Miss MacGregor died in 1917. Women over 30 got the vote in 1918. See May, T. (1987/1994). *An economic and social history of Britain, 1760-1970*. London: Longman, p. 327.

<sup>122</sup> The Late Miss Murray MacGregor, *Perthshire Advertiser*, *op cit*. Apart from a few women musicians, Miss MacGregor is the only woman visitor mentioned at a Gaelic meeting.

<sup>123</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Murray, (nee Home Drummond), Anne Duchess of Atholl (1814–1897), courtier.

bill to give women the vote was introduced almost every year from 1869, but with powerful opposition it always failed.<sup>124</sup>

Interestingly, the resistance was not always from the male side. Queen Victoria declared the suffragette movement “wicked”<sup>125</sup> whilst Lady Dorothy Nevill considered a woman to be quite influential enough: “she is the only being who elects without voting, governs without law, and decides without appeal.”<sup>126</sup>

Jessica Gerard suggests this reluctance to press for equality was because many upper class ladies were reasonably “contented with their lot”<sup>127</sup> and were already making important contributions to the lives of those around them. However, even those female aristocrats who managed to break out of their gilded cages could be unsympathetic to female suffrage. In the first part of the twentieth century Miss MacGregor’s distant cousin-by-marriage, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Atholl, became Scotland’s first woman MP, but ‘Red Kitty’, as she was known, was still opposed to women having the vote.<sup>128</sup>

Maybe the subject of this chapter might have had a broader outlook, but perhaps not. As far as we know, Miss MacGregor did not fight for women’s rights. After all she stemmed from old-style “distinguished Empire-building stock”<sup>129</sup> and the royal and aristocratic circles in which she moved would be deeply traditional. Like others of her age and class she was constrained by Victorian ties of discipline and duty. As with Highlandism, the emphasis would have been on a more ordered age with clear delineations of masters and servants.

Miss MacGregor might support the Duchess of Athole’s school for girls, yet there is no evidence that she encouraged moves to promote female education beyond her own local

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<sup>124</sup> May, *Social and economic history*, p. 276.

<sup>125</sup> The queen talks of “this mad, wicked folly of ‘Womens’ Rights’”, quoted in Schama, S. (2000/2004). *A history of Britain - volume 3: The fate of the empire, 1776-2000*. London: Bodley Head, p. 164.

<sup>126</sup> Nevill, D. F. (1912). *My own times*. (edited by R. H. Nevill). London: Methuen p. 129; Reynolds, K. D. (1998). *Aristocratic women and political society in Victorian Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Gerard, *op cit.* p. 140.

<sup>128</sup> Knox, W. J. (2006). *Lives of Scottish women: Women and Scottish society, 1800-1980*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 3 & 164. See also Breitenbach, E., & Gordon, E. (eds.). (1992). *Out of bounds: Women in Scottish society, 1800-1945*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 162-163. Kitty Atholl was Scotland’s first woman MP - see Appendix H: ODNB - Murray, Katharine Marjory Stewart (nee Katharine Marjory Ramsay) Duchess of Atholl (1874-1960), public servant and politician.

<sup>129</sup> Delia Millar’s description of Miss MacGregor in the introduction of MacLeay, K. (1869/70/1986). *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria*. (edited by D. Millar and A. M. MacGregor). London: Haggerston Press, p. 10. Miss MacGregor’s father and grandfather served in the army in India - see chapter one of this thesis. Her father became a governor in the West Indies.

sphere.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, despite her own literary achievements, as far as it is known, she had no contact with pioneering groups like Scotland's first 'Ladies' Educational Association', set up in Edinburgh in 1868.<sup>131</sup> Clever and well-read, Miss MacGregor still seemed to know her place. She only became a member of the 'Clan Gregor Society' she so promoted when it relaxed its rules on women in 1889.<sup>132</sup> "We have now got so radical," the all-male committee told her. "You have much to answer for."<sup>133</sup>

Then there is the question of marriage. Janet Dunbar quotes from an 1840 book on feminine perfection: "...a female's real existence only begins when she has a husband."<sup>134</sup> The alternative was grim: the single state "a fate to be avoided like the plague."<sup>135</sup> Pat Jalland sums it up. The Victorian spinster was a failure, "condemned to a lonely life of futility, ridicule or humiliation."<sup>136</sup> Jalland still notes how some spinsters became "independent pioneering women, challenging the foundations of the Victorian doctrine of separate spheres for men and women."<sup>137</sup> Yet Martha Vicinus reminds us that the cornerstone of Victorian society was always the family: "...the perfect lady's sole function was marriage and procreation."<sup>138</sup>

Queen Victoria might declare that "marriage is such a lottery... though it may be a very happy one - still the poor woman is bodily and morally the husband's slave,"<sup>139</sup> but what other choice was there? The job of a Victorian mother was to get her daughter married off. "Emmy will make an excellent wife,"<sup>140</sup> Lady Elizabeth declared of the young Miss MacGregor. The girl might stoop slightly and have "no pretension to beauty," but she was

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<sup>130</sup> Miss MacGregor was involved in the Dunkeld school for girls. She and the duchess sat for hours marking prize books. There are numerous references in the duchess's diaries to their work - see Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 644 - 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1874 - "Emily and I occupied about the school prizes all day.>"; Bundle 642, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1869 - "Emily and I went to the school."

<sup>131</sup> Shelia Hamilton's *The First Generation of University Women, 1869–1930*, cited Gordon, E. (1990). Women's spheres. In W. H. Fraser & R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and society in Scotland: Vole 2 - 1830-1914*, (pp. 206-235). Edinburgh: John Donald. p. 226.

<sup>132</sup> Appendix D: PD60/684 - 25<sup>th</sup> January 1889, Gregor MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Dunbar, J. (1953). *The early Victorian woman: Some aspects of her life, 1837-1857*. London: Harrap, p. 17.

<sup>135</sup> Hill, B. (2001). *Women alone: Spinsters in England, 1660-1850*. London: Yale University Press.

<sup>136</sup> Jalland, P. (1986/1988). *Women, marriage and politics, 1860-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 253.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* p. 289.

<sup>138</sup> Vicinus, M. (ed.). (1972). *Suffer and be still: Women in the Victorian age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. x.

<sup>139</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1964). *Dearest child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858-1861*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1860.

<sup>140</sup> Appendix D: PD60/168 - 9<sup>th</sup> July 1845, Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor.

“distinguée.”<sup>141</sup> Despite having lived abroad, she was definitely marriageable. “I think you will find her principles & ideas are all English... for I am sure no Englishman would like to have a wife with foreign manners and principles.”<sup>142</sup>

In the end Miss MacGregor *did* get an offer of marriage, but the romance was doomed. She would not be alone in her spinsterhood. F.M.L. Thompson notes how nearly twenty per cent of women in Victorian Scotland were single at the time.<sup>143</sup> Trevor May details how the number of unmarried females aged fifteen to forty-five in Britain rose from 2,765,000 in 1851 to 3,228,700 in 1871.<sup>144</sup> It would not matter. Miss MacGregor might be untidy in her dress - even the queen would order her to “make herself smart”<sup>145</sup> - but she would have the ear of the most powerful woman in the world. Ironically it was the ear of someone who declared the position of an unmarried female to be “a very false and bad one - and really untenable.”<sup>146</sup> However, this is not a thesis about gender.

Amelia Georgiana Murray MacGregor, always known as ‘Emily’, and then as ‘Miss MacGregor’ to family and friends, was born in Belgium where her father, Sir Evan, had decamped in the 1820s for “reasons of economy.”<sup>147</sup> Judith Flanders suggests the end of the French wars encouraged the better-off to travel to the continent.<sup>148</sup> However, a Scot with no money might also be tempted abroad. Miss MacGregor’s mother, Lady Elizabeth, was notoriously extravagant and in Brussels she could live grandly on less.<sup>149</sup> Taking loans was part and parcel of MacGregor family life with servants having to ask to be paid.<sup>150</sup> Yet Belgium was a place where an impecunious baronet and his wife could appear chiefly on a reduced budget. A house was rented and a carriage and footmen were hired to pass muster in

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, 20<sup>th</sup> January 1843. See also 10<sup>th</sup> August 1845.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 9<sup>th</sup> July 1845.

<sup>143</sup> Thompson, F. M. L. (1988). *The rise of respectable society: A social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. London: Fontana, p. 91.

<sup>144</sup> Trevor May talks of the “surplus women problem” in May, *Social and economic history*, p. 261. More boys died than girls, men were emigrating and postponing marriage and a wife was an expensive item. May quotes a letter to the Times: “...girls are now so expensively, so thoughtlessly brought up - are led to expect so lavish an outlay on the part of the husband, that, unless his means are unlimited, he must, to comply with the wishes of a modern wife, soon bring himself to beggary... respectability may be too dearly purchased.”

<sup>145</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/423 - 4<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>146</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1870.

<sup>147</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1520 - *Miss MacGregor Notes*. See also Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor memoirs*

<sup>148</sup> Flanders, *Consuming passions*, p. 234.

<sup>149</sup> Gore, *Nelson's Hardy*, p. 153. See also Appendix D: PD60/426 - 14<sup>th</sup> September 1841 - Lord Strathallan to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - “the expenses of Bruxelles [are] more moderate than those of Worthing.”

<sup>150</sup> Appendix D: PD60/446 - details of Lady Elizabeth’s finances.

the smart circles they moved in, for Lady Elizabeth was a distant cousin of the Prince of Orange.<sup>151</sup>

Miss MacGregor, a “most engaging and amusing little love,”<sup>152</sup> was baptised in the Brussels royal chapel<sup>153</sup> and although she would grow up with neither face nor fortune, her social connections were more promising.<sup>154</sup> Her grandfather was the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl and her godmother was the Countess of Strathallan.<sup>155</sup> Her godfather was the rather disappointing Bishop of Rochester: “...he never enquired into my Biblical Studies, or gave me a single thing.”<sup>156</sup> Early life was peripatetic as the family moved between the Continent and southern England.<sup>157</sup> It was 1830 and her father, Sir Evan MacGregor, was collecting titles.<sup>158</sup> There was the ‘Military Order of the Bath’ and the ‘Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order’, but there was still no paid job.<sup>159</sup>

With a family and a chiefly image to upkeep the Clan Gregor chief was sinking financially. Highlandism may have allowed aristocrats like him to escape into some kind of romantic past, yet being a Scottish laird, with all the tartan trappings, did not come cheap. With dwindling resources Sir Evan blamed his father-in-law, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl, for not looking after his interests whilst he was away in India.<sup>160</sup> He hoped for a British government position, but the replies were not encouraging. “There are so few posts and so many

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<sup>151</sup> Appendix D: PD60/836 - see invitations from European royalty and aristocrats. See also Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor Memoir* - the Prince of Orange “always acknowledged my mother as his cousin.”

<sup>152</sup> Appendix D: PD60/137 - 24<sup>th</sup> May 1831, Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor.

<sup>153</sup> Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor memoir*. See also Appendix F: Miss MacGregor birth certificate.

<sup>154</sup> The painting of Miss MacGregor as a baby among MacGregor family artifacts shows a plump, red-faced child. As the last of ten, with an almost bankrupt father, there was no question of her being an heiress.

<sup>155</sup> Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor memoir*.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Letters show the family lived a nomadic life. For example, see Appendix D: PD60/835: in 1826, Lady Elizabeth was in Brussels. By September 1827 she and Sir Evan were in France, leaving the younger children with a governess in England. In October 1830 Sir Evan was in London and Lady Elizabeth, in Ramsgate. At this stage the couple seem to be leading fairly separate lives. See PD60/831- 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1830 - “if you are on this side of the water,” Sir Evan tells his wife.

<sup>158</sup> David Cannadine notes a big increase in the number of titles in the early nineteenth century. Numbers of the Scottish Order of the Thistle went up by one third between 1821 and 1827. The Order of the Bath, formed in 1725 with only 36 knights, was extended to 250 people in 1815. Cannadine quotes from Sir I. de Bere, *The Queen's Orders of Chivalry* in Cannadine, D. (1994). *Aspects of aristocracy: Grandeur and decline in modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 29.

<sup>159</sup> Appendix D: PD60/842, titles shown on End of Slavery ‘Proclamation’.

<sup>160</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 394 - 15<sup>th</sup> September 1828, Sir Evan MacGregor to the Duke of Atholl.

applicants for military employ.”<sup>161</sup> He finally admitted defeat: “I shall have to go abroad alone - it is little consequence in what direction.”<sup>162</sup>

Tom Devine notes how the “limited prospects in the homeland for minor Scottish peers and gentry made them more eager than their counterparts in England to seek posts at the other side of the world.”<sup>163</sup> With an extravagant wife and a sizeable castle to upkeep, Highlandism was proving more of a curse than a blessing for the MacGregor chief. In 1831 he accepted the post of Governor General of Dominica and sailed for the West Indies with his eldest daughter.<sup>164</sup> Sir Evan was not alone in having to cross the Atlantic to keep his head above water. Another laird, David Stewart of Garth, would be forced to take a Governor’s job in St Lucia.<sup>165</sup> Unfortunately, neither man would be able to save his Scottish estate.

There in the West Indies, though, Sir Evan would at least find himself at home. In the second half of the eighteenth century it is estimated that between 12,000 and 20,000 Scots migrated to these islands.<sup>166</sup> They were following a pattern. Allan Macinnes notes how clansmen had been leaving the Highlands for America and the West Indies two decades before the ’45, “either being led from Argyll, the central Highlands and Sutherland by clan gentry seeking to re-establish a traditional lifestyle in Jamaica, Georgia, New York and the Carolinas, or as victims of land raids in the Hebrides designed to secure cheap labour for the colonial plantations.”<sup>167</sup> Sir Evan joined a community of other Scots and rose to the position of Governor of Barbados, but despite the inflated salary the job once brought - Tom Devine suggests that in the 1720s the island’s leader may have been paid ten thousand pounds a year<sup>168</sup> - the MacGregor chief was not so lavishly rewarded. Neither, it seems, did his famous

<sup>161</sup> Appendix D: PD60/830 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1826 - *Sir Evan Applications for a West Indian Government*, Downing Street to Sir Evan MacGregor - “I cannot venture to hold out an early prospect of being able to further your wishes.”

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1828 - Sir Evan MacGregor to the Duke of Atholl.

<sup>163</sup> Devine, T. M. (2003/2004). *Scotland’s empire: The origins of the global diaspora*. Allen Lane/Penguin, p. 238.

<sup>164</sup> Appendix D: PD60/160 - 17<sup>th</sup> August 1831 - Sir Evan MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - “the King has recently appointed me Governor of Dominica.” Tom Devine notes the importance of the West Indies to Britain. By 1815, the islands accounted for about 60 per cent of all transatlantic sugar consignments - see Devine, 2003, *op cit.* p. 221.

<sup>165</sup> Fry, M. (2005/2006). *Wild Scots: Four hundred years of Highland history*. London: John Murray, pp. 187-188.

<sup>166</sup> Analysed in Hamilton, D. (1999). *Patronage and profit: Scottish networks in the British West Indies, c. 1763-1807*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, pp. 35-38; also quoted in Devine, 2003/2004, *op cit.* p.231.

<sup>167</sup> Allan Macinnes as quoted Way of Plean & Squire, p. 20.

<sup>168</sup> Devine, *Empire*, p. 238. In MacGregor letters it is suggested that the Governor of Barbados received £4000 a year at the time whilst the Governor of Antigua earned £3000 - see Appendix D: PD60/860/2.

extravagance shrivel in the sun. There were six grey horses to upkeep and there were summer parties to throw.<sup>169</sup> There was also the castle in Scotland to fund. “It is a *hard* thing to flog from morning to night and to be so ill-paid,”<sup>170</sup> his wife moaned back in southern England.

In fact, it was Highlandism that had almost ruined her husband. Sir Evan had been determined to play the part of a dashing Highland laird and as John Gore describes in his book, *Nelson’s Hardy and His Wife*, this clan chief’s castle had become “a warehouse of new tartan tweed; an arsenal of small arms, dirks, skian-dhus, broadswords and pistols, studded with jewels; eagles’ feathers to stuff a great mattress and jewelled brooches to delight a sultan’s harem...”<sup>171</sup> Moreover, this thesis has already detailed how the MacGregors were not the only impoverished Scottish aristocrats of the time. Michael Fry describes how MacNeil of Barra was going bust and MacLeod of Harris would be forced to sell up whilst successive Lords MacDonald only managed to “keep their heads above the deep waters of their debts by selling off land.”<sup>172</sup>

Lady Elizabeth MacGregor resolved to spend less. “I am living quietly at Worthing and obliged to submit to many deprivations.”<sup>173</sup> This scrimping and saving still allowed the MacGregor children to travel in a green coach lined with red velvet with the family arms emblazoned on the door.<sup>174</sup> Scottish arms were significant. They underlined the importance of a laird’s family and it is Michael Bush who notes how the association between the nobility and armorial bearings was greater in Scotland at this time than it was in England. “This followed the 1672 act of parliament which revived and extended an earlier act of 1592 and declared coats of arms illegal unless approved by Lyon King of Arms.”<sup>175</sup> Lyon Court is the official heraldry office for Scotland. It dates back to the fourteenth century and the Lyons of the nineteenth century would have played their own part in promoting Highlandism. They

<sup>169</sup> Appendix D: PD60/860/3 - “that the Governor in Chief cannot afford to entertain strangers or the visiting authorities of his own country... without spending his own fortune and injuring his Family.” See Appendix D: PD60/855 - 25<sup>th</sup> September 1832 - “the salary of the Government of Dominica is really so trifling.” See also PD60/441, *The Barbadian*, about parties and horses.

<sup>170</sup> Appendix D: PD60/137 - 4<sup>th</sup> March 1836 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor. See PD60/137 - 16<sup>th</sup> November 1831 - Lady Elizabeth was trying to get her husband a better post. See also PD60/137/860 for lobbying letters.

<sup>171</sup> Gore, *Nelson’s Hardy*, p. 153.

<sup>172</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, pp. 211-213.

<sup>173</sup> Appendix D: PD60/137 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1832.

<sup>174</sup> Appendix F: *Miss MacGregor memoir*.

<sup>175</sup> Wagner, A. R. (1960). *English genealogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 108-110; Thompson, F. M. L. (1977). Britain. In D. Spring (ed.), *European landed elites in the nineteenth century*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 31-32; and Acts of Parliaments of Scotland quoted in Bush, M. L. (1983). *Noble privilege*. New York: Holmes & Meier, p. 129.

still do today. As well as dealing with coats of arms, the current Lord Lyon has a view on clans, crests and tartans. For example, the Lyon court website advises us that chiefs of clans can wear three eagle's feathers whilst someone with a coat of arms may sport just one.<sup>176</sup>

Miss MacGregor was twelve when her father died in Barbados.<sup>177</sup> Major General Sir Evan MacGregor was described as someone with a “singular capacity for administering colonial government.” He might have come down hard on rebellious slaves, but he was “a gentleman of polished and elegant manners.”<sup>178</sup> Predictably, this man of manners left debts, with Barbadian officials threatening to send his secretary to prison until the money was paid.<sup>179</sup> Back at home, the family castle, Lanrick, was thought to be safe from creditors, but a flaw was found in the entail and it was sold for sixty-five thousand pounds to a wealthy Hong Kong businessman.<sup>180</sup> Rumour had it that Mr. Jardine, a “leviathan man of Capital,”<sup>181</sup> had brought back half a million pounds from China to Scotland...

By the late 1830s the MacGregor family had lost almost everything, with a crooked land agent adding to financial woes.<sup>182</sup> Like other lairds, Sir Evan had been “fickle and profligate.”<sup>183</sup> The MacGregor clan chief had played the Highland card and lost - and he was not the only one to forfeit his castle. As Michael Fry says: “Chiefs now yielded not to one another, but to strangers.”<sup>184</sup> Between 1810 and 1860 “an estimated 60 per cent of west Highland estates above 5,000 acres changed hands from the debilitated hereditary elite to a new class of merchants, lawyers, bankers, financiers and southern landowners.”<sup>185</sup> Old land was being snapped up by new money. In 1845 a London distiller bought the Achranich

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<sup>176</sup> *The Court of the Lord Lyon: The official heraldry office for Scotland.* <https://www.lyon-court.com/lordlyon/221.185.htm>

<sup>177</sup> Burke, *Dictionary*, p. 1803. Sir Evan was 56.

<sup>178</sup> Appendix D: PD60/441 - *The Barbadian*, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1841.

<sup>179</sup> Appendix D: PD60//649 - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1841 - James MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor

<sup>180</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan MacGregor memoir*. See also Appendix D: PD60/137 - 6th April 1840 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - “I am very sorry to hear that poor Clan Gregor must be sold”; Appendix A: Bundle 427 - 8<sup>th</sup> April 1841 - about furniture being moved out.

<sup>181</sup> Appendix D: PD60/434 - 14th January 1841 - Lady Elizabeth letter.

<sup>182</sup> Appendix D: PD60/137 - 12<sup>th</sup> February 1834 - “I never believed that Mr Lining could have deceived...”

<sup>183</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 212.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, p. 219.

<sup>185</sup> Devine, T. M. (1989). *The emergence of the new elite in Scottish Highlands, 1790–1860*. In T. M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88* (pp. 108-142). Edinburgh: John Donald; See also Devine, T. M. (ed.) (1992). *Scottish emigration and Scottish society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1990-1991*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p. 86.

Estate.<sup>186</sup> As Karl Marx had predicted: "...capitalists, or their agents in law and finance... now took over in the Highlands."<sup>187</sup> Highlandism was starting to be cut-throat.

Lady Elizabeth MacGregor ploughed on in England. As the widow of a serving officer she applied to the War Office for a pension and was given a hundred and twenty pounds a year.<sup>188</sup> Now she took her daughter to London to be presented at court, for Scottish titles aside, aristocratic social life still centred very much on England. Miss MacGregor came out at a drawing room - interestingly along with the granddaughters of Sir Walter Scott<sup>189</sup> - but her mother's death put paid to any festivities.<sup>190</sup> Miss MacGregor went north with the body. The duke's daughter who had done her best to stay out of Scotland would end up interred in a remote glen.<sup>191</sup> The Highlands that the Scottish-born Lady Elizabeth had so assiduously avoided would eventually claim her.

Pat Jalland notes the increasing tendency among the upper classes to postpone marriage until a man could earn enough to support a family "at the appropriate social level."<sup>192</sup> Jalland also details how there was usually one spinster in each generation of larger Victorian families and that very few left any historical record of their lives.<sup>193</sup> There is plenty of detail on Miss MacGregor's life, including an insight into her brief love affair. The notes 'Aunt Amy's Romance' describe how she agreed to marry an old family friend, now an Indian officer, and made plans to sail east to join him.<sup>194</sup> Then her eldest brother, the now Sir John MacGregor of MacGregor and 20th chief of Clan Gregor, informed her that if she persisted in the match she would be cast from the family. It must have been an agonizing decision, but the young woman allegedly unpacked her bags and stayed: "...there speaks my elder brother and *my*

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<sup>186</sup> Philip Gaskell's *Morvern transformed: A Highland parish in the nineteenth century* cited in Horn, P. (1999). *Pleasures & pastimes in Victorian Britain*. Stroud: Sutton, p. 115.

<sup>187</sup> Karl Marx as quoted in Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 212.

<sup>188</sup> Appendix D: PD60/419 - 26<sup>th</sup> January 1842 - the War Office wrote to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to say that owing to her husband's distinguished service and injuries she could have a widow's pension.

<sup>189</sup> Her Majesty's drawing room. (1846, February 25). *The Standard*, p. 4.

<sup>190</sup> Burke, *Dictionary*, p. 1803. See also letter from John Atholl about Lady Elizabeth's death - Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 5 - 14<sup>th</sup> April 1846.

<sup>191</sup> Lady Elizabeth lived briefly at Lanrick Castle near Doune. See Appendix D: PD/843 - 1823 letters to Lanrick, but she was not overly fond of Scotland. See Appendix D: PD60/137 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1839 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - "Sir Evan proposed that I should go and reside in Scotland, but I told him it would *not* suit my state of health, as the climate is so cold." Also sight of Lady Elizabeth's headstone in the MacGregor family mausoleum at Balquhidder.

<sup>192</sup> Jalland, *Women*, p. 255.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS Bundle 1520 - *Aunt Amy's romance*; Appendix D: PD60/652 - 6<sup>th</sup> January 1848 - Evan MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

*chief.*”<sup>195</sup> Scots might be forging new ground across Empire, the Industrial Revolution was in full swing, yet Miss MacGregor was linking herself to an archaic system, prepared to sacrifice personal happiness in the name of duty.

She would join a growing club. The 1851 census for England and Wales reveals 1,407,225 spinsters aged between the ages of twenty and forty.<sup>196</sup> There is no suggestion that the situation was any better in Scotland. Indeed, when the queen’s mother, the Duchess of Kent, visited Blair Castle in 1850 they worried about a “scarcity of gentlemen”<sup>197</sup> to entertain her. Happily, on that occasion it did not prove a problem and with a selection of Atholl Highlander officers they ended up with three males to every female. Elsewhere, though, things were not as easy: a letter from Emily Stormont at Scone Palace in Perth described how there was “a scarcity of young men at the ball and lots of parties of people with 5 Ladies to one man!”<sup>198</sup>

Getting a daughter, or sister married off could be difficult, but sons might be equally hard to settle. Some decades later Miss MacGregor was musing on her Scottish great-nephew and nieces’ prospects. “The girls, if pretty, are likely to marry & if not - they might get a *bit croft* and *fend* somehow. Boys are more expensive to bring up & are apt to be ill pleased that they cannot be better off! Very fortunate, the womenfolk, more efficient.”<sup>199</sup> It is an interesting idea that Scottish women might be the strong ones. Could it suggest that, despite the macho Highland image alluded to at the start of this chapter, an upper class Highland man might come with more style than substance?

Pat Jalland talks of the problem of “redundant women”<sup>200</sup> in Victorian times. Now in that category herself, Miss MacGregor was looking after her brother’s children in a large house being built in Clan Gregor lands.<sup>201</sup> The castle at Lanrick might have gone, but a ‘chiefly’ home was still vital for appearances. Edinchip was an estate in the Balquhidder braes and Sir John MacGregor, the 20<sup>th</sup> Chief of Clan Gregor, had built a house there using money from his

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<sup>195</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1520, *op cit.*

<sup>196</sup> Jalland, *Women*, p. 254.

<sup>197</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne*.

<sup>198</sup> Appendix D: PD60/470 - 6<sup>th</sup> November 1858 - Emily Stormont to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>199</sup> Appendix D: PD60/504 - 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1875 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor.

<sup>200</sup> Jalland, *Women*, p. 254.

<sup>201</sup> Appendix D: PD60/655 - 24<sup>th</sup> November 1850 - Sir John MacGregor to Miss MacGregor. He suggests she might go south to help her sister with her children. See also Appendix F: *Sir Evan MacGregor memoir*.

mother-in-law. It was substantial as he hoped to play the part of Highland laird and, predictably, it was stuffed with the appropriate artefacts. Jacobite relics included a claymore used in the '45 and the dirk presented to an ancestor by Charles Edward Stuart. There was the long-barrelled gun fired by an outlawed MacGregor at a pursuing bloodhound and, Highlandism personified, there was the iconic portrait of the kilted Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor.<sup>202</sup>

Yet, despite aspiring to be another “Big Highland Cheese,”<sup>203</sup> Sir John would live a rather frugal Highland life. There might be aristocratic connections with access to shooting and invitations to country houses, yet one gets the feel of a simple existence at Balquhidder: of MacGregor children fishing in the burn, of bread and meat arriving on a cart from Callander whilst coals were brought by servants who walked with bare feet to save their boots. The family soon got to know the Gaelic-speaking crofters, among them Sandy MacDonald the weaver, John Fergusson the waller and Archy Campbell the gardener. There was the gentleman farmer, Stewart of Ardvorlich, and the old cattle judge, MacDonald of Monahal. There was also the minister, Alex MacGregor, who told stories of how the local braes could once field five hundred fighting men.<sup>204</sup>

At the nearby farm, meanwhile, Mrs McArthur offered oatcakes and milk so thick, it could hardly pour. It was true Highland hospitality from real Highland characters. This thesis has already shown how mixing with the locals was a familiarity more tolerated in northern Scotland than it was in England. It was certainly not something an earlier laird had encouraged in London. Two decades before, Sir Evan MacGregor had warned his wife how: “...on no account [should you] allow the children to dine with the servants at Blackheath or anywhere else.”<sup>205</sup> Here in the Highlands, though, the current clan chief and his family were almost going native, although, as always, there were limits. On Sundays the MacGregor family would wait for the Gaelic service to finish at the Balquhidder kirk before going in for their own more decorous English-speaking one.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Home of the Chief of MacGregor. (1913, January). *Scottish Field*.

<sup>203</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815 - Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth.

<sup>204</sup> Home of the Chief of MacGregor.

<sup>205</sup> Appendix D: PD60/843 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1823 - Sir Evan MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

<sup>206</sup> Appendix F: *Sir Evan MacGregor memoir*.

Highlandism still had its no-go areas and, again, Highlandism was not coming cheap. By now Sir John was also running out of money to maintain the smart house he had created for himself, so in 1851 Edinchip was rented out and he and his wife sailed for the West Indies.<sup>207</sup> Like his father, this clan chief had been forced to take a government post abroad - and his reluctance to go is well-recorded, for it is safe to say that being Governor of the tiny Leeward Islands was not a top posting. Sir John was heading to a “wretched decayed colony.”<sup>208</sup> He was there barely six weeks when he died of yellow fever.<sup>209</sup>

Back in Scotland Miss MacGregor had lost her guardian and at nearby Blair Castle the Duchess of Athole was looking for a companion.<sup>210</sup> This thesis has already shown how very ‘Scotch’ the duchess was. It has detailed the events that formed Miss MacGregor’s fiercely Highland character and it will now give another example of an event that involved the duchess, Miss MacGregor - and the queen.

In the autumn of 1859 Miss MacGregor had been living with the Atholes for eight years when a royal opening was mooted. The monarch planned to visit the Trossachs to inaugurate a new pumping station.<sup>211</sup> The Loch Katrine waterworks was one of the biggest civil engineering works of the age and Albert would no doubt be fascinated.<sup>212</sup> Stanley Weintraub notes how “science and technology were the province of the Prince.”<sup>213</sup> A network of aqueducts and tunnels stretching some thirty-four miles had been built. It was an ambitious project, a vision for the future, and something that was seemingly at odds with backwards-looking Highlandism.

The plan was to pump millions of gallons of loch water from the Trossachs into the city of Glasgow. As the industrial revolution roared on the population in the metropolis was rapidly

<sup>207</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 639 - 6<sup>th</sup> January 1851 - “Sir J.A. and Lady MacGregor go... their ultimate destination ‘the Virgin Islands’ in the West Indies!”

<sup>208</sup> Appendix F: 21<sup>st</sup> June 1851 - Miss MacGregor to Ernest MacGregor.

<sup>209</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 639 - 11<sup>th</sup> May 1851 - “Sir John Atholl MacGregor died this day on one of the Virgin Islands.” See also Burke, *op cit.* p. 1803. Sir John was 41.

<sup>210</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 462 - Miss Murray MacGregor was “the Duke’s first cousin who had resided with the family since the death of her brother Sir John in 1851.”

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.* p. 465 - “the Queen having consented to open the works at Loch Katrine.”

<sup>212</sup> Alan McCombes calls the project “the eighth wonder of the world” in McCombes, A. (2010, January 6). Loch Katrine: A triumph of community values over private greed. *Campsie SSP: East Dunbartonshire Branch of the Scottish Socialist Party*. Retrieved from <http://eastdunbartonshiressp.blogspot.co.za/2010/01/loch-katrine-triumph-of-community.html>

<sup>213</sup> Weintraub, S. (1997). *Albert: Uncrowned king*. London: John Murray, p. 215 - Albert “regularly demonstrated his interest in new industrial techniques.”

increasing and the few wells that provided water were proving pitifully inadequate.<sup>214</sup> Not that there was too much aristocratic sympathy with this working class plight. Alan McCombie notes the opposition of Scottish landowners to having ‘their’ rolling acres dug up and ‘their’ water syphoned off. The Duke of Montrose was among those who would be compensated for the inconvenience.<sup>215</sup>

As work on the pumping station got underway, three thousand men, many of them Irish navvies, were toiling in the hills with pick axes. A rough and ready Gaelic echoed around the glens - and it was probably not the sort of Highlandism Walter Scott had in mind when he immortalised this part of Scotland some decades before.<sup>216</sup> Scott’s writings had turned Loch Katrine into a romantic clan heartland. *The Lady of the Lake* was set there, as was the novel, *Rob Roy*, and these epics had made the area something of a tourist spot.<sup>217</sup> The place was becoming famous, but it was remote and the question was: when the pumping station was finished, how would people get there for a royal opening?

Water Commissioners announced that carriages would be available and roads made accessible on the inauguration day. A weightier problem was the royal salute, for artillery guns were too heavy to take across inhospitable terrain. It needed a touch of Highland magic and the Chief of the ‘Glasgow Celtic Society’, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole, stepped boldly in.<sup>218</sup> “I’ll find my way to Loch Katrine with my men *and* bring you guns for a Royal salute...”<sup>219</sup> The gauntlet was thrown down and the venture already had shades of a Walter Scott novel. As the duke and his kilted Atholl Highlanders prepared to rise to the challenge of taking the canon across the hills, the duchess and Miss MacGregor decided to tag along.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Keay, J., & Keay, J. (2000). *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland*. London: Harper Collins, p. 565. See also Cowan et al., *Scotland*, p. 86 - “the health benefits of pure water would be incalculable for Glasgow.” See also McCombes, *op cit.*

<sup>215</sup> McCombes, ‘Loch Katrine’.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> By 1822 Loch Katrine had become a “great resort” with visitors from Europe, America, the East and West Indies and China. See Spence, E. I. (1811). *Sketches of the present manners, customs, and scenery of Scotland: With incidental remarks on the Scottish character* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London: Hurst & Co., pp. 199-200. See also William Pearson’s *Papers, Letters & Journal of William Pearson* as cited in Grenier, K. H. (2005). *Tourism and identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 53.

<sup>218</sup> See Atholl, *Chronicles Vol. IV*, p. 465 - “from the nature of the ground the Royal Artillery would have difficulty in reaching the spot.” See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *The Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks by Queen Victoria*, by Miss MacGregor.

<sup>219</sup> Quote from The Queen at Loch Katrine. (1859, October 17). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 6. See also Atholl, *op cit. Vol. IV*, p. 465; Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437/3 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>220</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond. The ladies were at Blair with Mrs Sutton and said: “...why should not we go too?”

Katherine Haldane Grenier echoes the suggestion that the Victorian Highlands was a holiday place: “what happens there is only play.”<sup>221</sup> What took place at Loch Katrine was certainly theatrical and Walter Scott would undoubtedly have relished the drama involved. However, the novelist may have underestimated the resilience of those taking part in this particular Highland venture...

In October 1859 eighty-nine tartanned Atholl Highlanders and three women prepared to leave Dunkeld, with the canon, horseboxes, ponies, tents, baggage and food loaded onto a train. At Stirlingshire the heavy guns were coupled to horses and a piped march got underway. The duchess had not ridden properly for years and Miss MacGregor had only managed short rides, yet “to anyone with a Highland soul the scene was most inspiring.”<sup>222</sup> These words already suggest Highlandism - and the enthusiasm was catching. Locals now followed the small tartan army: women with children on their backs shouting “run, Charlie, run! Ye may never see the likes of this again!”<sup>223</sup> Eleven miles on the Athole party reached a farm where campfires were lit. Then the men prepared for a night under canvas whilst the ladies shared a bed normally used by servants in a farmhouse.<sup>224</sup> They were living as Highlanders had once lived. The bed coverings might be shabby, but what a story it would be to tell the queen, who had, herself, roughed it in Highland inns.

The next day there was no milk for breakfast as the cows had run off, yet spirits were high as the adventurers set off undeterred by atrocious weather.<sup>225</sup> The rain was now blinding and the Athole party passed “half tamed people”<sup>226</sup> given a holiday in honour of the day. The hardy Highlanders pushed on upwards, galvanised by the pipers playing pibrochs on the steepest braes. Campaign effort like this has inspired some of the great tunes. Hugh Cheape reminds us of the ‘Atholl Highlanders March to Loch Katrine’,<sup>227</sup> an uplifting sound that has been called the ‘King of Pipe Marches’. Again, the crown’s connection to Highland airs is noted.

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<sup>221</sup> Grenier, *Tourism*, p. 55.

<sup>222</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 465. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *The Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks*. See also Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duke of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>223</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid*, and Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548; Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 465.

<sup>225</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548.

<sup>226</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - among the pipers was John MacPherson who had been with the duke since His Grace was a youth.

<sup>227</sup> Cheape, H. (1999). *The book of the bagpipe*. Belfast: Appletree, p. 74.

By now the country was covered with heather and Miss MacGregor reinforced the daring nature of the expedition by recalling how “we saw no living creatures.”<sup>228</sup> The language used by the duchess to recount the tale also has hints of Highlandism about it. The precipices and bogs they passed “would have appalled all, save Highland hearts.”<sup>229</sup>

Over the years, writers like Coleridge and the Wordsworths had also visited Loch Katrine, again, happy to rough it Highland-style in a smoky bothy where hens roosted in the rafters.<sup>230</sup> Others, too, were making pilgrimages to the fictional place where Walter Scott’s Ellen Douglas lived, touristy hut walls heavy with antlers and clan weaponry.<sup>231</sup> Going native was part and parcel of the Highland adventure. Yet there was romance and reality. At one stage Miss MacGregor found herself stuck “up to her haunches”<sup>232</sup> on her horse in a swamp. The Atholl Highlanders lowered the mud-spattered canon down to the loch shore and pulled her out of the mire.<sup>233</sup>

As the duke’s men waited ankle-deep in mud it must have been quite a scene<sup>234</sup>: decorated boats and barges dancing on the loch, a Highland Guard of Honour posted at the jetty, a heather-covered way lined by ‘Glasgow Volunteers’ and members of the ‘Celtic Society’...<sup>235</sup> Richard Finlay talks of this being the first time that the newly-created rifle volunteers (part-time soldiers) were presented and of how their effort was boosted by Highlandism. “Volunteerism represented the qualities of liberal Scotland. Yet, the fusion of civic virtue with loyalty to the monarchy enabled that other mythic Scottish tradition, the unthinking loyalty of the Scottish soldier, to be given a more acceptable and modern twist. The military was no longer seen as the exclusive preserve of the aristocracy.”<sup>236</sup> He goes further. “The decoration of Scottish soldiers at Balmoral and the queen’s personal interest in ‘her’ Highland regiments further cemented the bond.... [now] the Scots [could] bring their

<sup>228</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548.

<sup>229</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>230</sup> Wordsworth, D. (1874/1973). *Recollections of a tour made in Scotland, A.D. 1803.* (edited by J. C. Shairp). New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, pp. 102-5; See also Grenier, *op cit.* p. 34.

<sup>231</sup> Bede, C. (1863). *Tour in tartan land.* London: Richard Bentley, pp. 226-227. See also Townshend’s *Descriptive Tour of Scotland* as cited in Grenier, *op cit.* p. 81.

<sup>232</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>233</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles, Vol. IV*, pp. 465-466.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *The Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks.* See also Appendix C: Vol.48, p. 21: 14<sup>th</sup> October 1859.

<sup>236</sup> Richard J. Finlay, quoting the *Glasgow Herald*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859, in Finlay, R. J. (2002) ‘Queen Victoria and the cult of the Scottish monarchy’ in E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 220.

own reinvented tradition of military prowess to bear in their own creation of a British identity.”<sup>237</sup>

Feeling highly Highland, but still safely British, the royal party was now spotted steaming down the loch in the tourist steamer, ‘Rob Roy’.<sup>238</sup> They had come from Callander where another feast of Highlandism had already greeted the queen: “...heather... shiels, dirks and philibegs.”<sup>239</sup> It was shaping up to be a real Walter Scott pageant and Victoria recorded how they passed his famous Ellen’s Isle with its silvery pebbles.<sup>240</sup> Again, though, Highlandism had its irritations. The rain was relentless and the opening ceremony speech was not fully understandable: “...very long and read in broad Scotch, & the prayers still longer.”<sup>241</sup> At last, though, the talking stopped and she could turn the small tap to open the sluice gates.

Rushing through a myriad of pipes was Glasgow’s first fresh water. A sleepy Highland countryside was doing its bit to help an industrial Lowland giant. Millions of gallons were pumping into the city, although, as M. A. Crowther notes: the River Clyde would remain the main sewer until 1894.<sup>242</sup> Miss MacGregor would later put a romantic spin on the cesspit that was Glasgow and the raw technicalities of the operation. “Men of science and practical skill devised a scheme to bring the sweet waters of Loch Katrine to refresh their weary citizens and remind them of the charms of one of the most beautiful of our Highland lochs.”<sup>243</sup> There is no mention of scurvy, or rickets, or any of the many diseases rife in the west coast community. The less fortunate folk of a manufacturing metropolis were about to be blessed by nature from a land of legend. They would have the “luxury of sharing the fresh springs of the Highlands.”<sup>244</sup> The project had taken almost a decade to complete and it had cost more than £700,000.<sup>245</sup> Yet even monstrous pieces of Victorian metal could seem softer in these grassy hills and glens.

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<sup>237</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’.

<sup>238</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 466.

<sup>239</sup> Glasgow Water Works: Inauguration by Her Majesty. (1859, October 15). *The Caledonian Mercury*, p. 2.

<sup>240</sup> Appendix C: Vol.48, pp. 20-21: 14<sup>th</sup> October 1859.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> Project detail from the Lord Provost of Glasgow’s Speech, quoted in Glasgow Water Works. See also Fraser & Morris, *People and society*, p. 285.

<sup>243</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>245</sup> Crawford, J., Ferguson, L., & Watson, K. (2010). *Victorian Scotland*. Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, p. 143.

Predictably the newspapers extolled the Highlandism surrounding the opening: a pier decked with Stuart and Drummond tartan, romantic lines by Walter Scott and rousing music - “the war pipes of the Highlanders.”<sup>246</sup> Yet the real story was very different. The public had been warned that Loch Katrine was remote with no railways and few roads - and many who flocked to the Trossachs to get a glimpse of their queen now found themselves trapped in the wilds.<sup>247</sup> There were claims of ladies and clergymen trudging for miles in the rain.

Newspaper editors reported extraordinary scenes at the small village of Stronachlachar where “bed-rooms, dining-room, parlours, passages, stairs, sheds, hay-lofts, and the inside of carriages and omnibuses were filled with weary people, thankful to throw their limbs to rest anywhere, and at any price, after the toil and drenching of the day.”<sup>248</sup>

Moreover, class, it seemed, was no guarantee of comfort, or safety. The Duke of Montrose was among those who reached Loch Lomond to board the steamer back to Balloch and faced a dangerous trip as the captain tried to keep his boat off the rocks. For His Grace and hundreds of others, it was “a day of magnificent misery relieved by a gleam of Royal sunshine.”<sup>249</sup> One man complained to the *Glasgow Herald* that he and his wife had suffered “most severely in purse, person and feelings.”<sup>250</sup> They had worn their best clothes, fallen into potholes full of water and were facing bills of thirty-one pounds for ruined coats, kid gloves, silk hats and dresses.<sup>251</sup> It was Highlandism at its worst.

Coming in from a different direction the Athole party and, in particular, the ladies, had really rather enjoyed it. “Those Glasgow people do things magnificently & no mistake!”<sup>252</sup> the duchess said admiringly as she worked out that lunch for the bigwigs had cost a thousand pounds. Yet not everyone ate so well. The police complained that all they got throughout that long, wet day was a cup of tea, a thin slice of bread and ham and some cold, tough beef.<sup>253</sup> Highlandism really did seem to favour the rich. In fact, for the Duke of Athole, the only really difficult bit of the operation was getting the canon six hundred feet back up the hillside,

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<sup>246</sup> Glasgow Water Works.

<sup>247</sup> Her Majesty’s visit to Loch Katrine. (1859, September 29). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 2 - “as many conveyances as possible will be mustered to carry the ladies, aged, and possibly the lazy over the hills” - some of the young and active should expect to walk. See also The Queen at Loch Katrine.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> Special damage sustained at Loch Katrine. (1859, October 18). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 3.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>253</sup> Treatment of the police at Loch Katrine. (1859, October 24). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 7.

but with twenty-five men to each gun and the pipes wailing, the manoeuvre was accomplished in half an hour.<sup>254</sup>

For the ducal party the Highland magic continued. Rising at four the ladies now travelled in a dogcart; triumphantly boarding a steamer they sailed down Loch Katrine, autumn trees reflecting in the water. They then marched the nine miles to Callander with the Queen's Guards and the band of the Sussex Militia, for English and Scottish armies were firmly united on Scottish soil for this one.<sup>255</sup> It was a Highland jamboree, with one aristocratic casualty: the duke's son developed rheumatism in his foot from standing in the loch and had to ride most of the way home.<sup>256</sup> Yet, as Miss MacGregor wistfully recalled: it was "a delightful experience and a brilliant ending to our short and memorable campaign."<sup>257</sup>

It was dirty and exhausting, but it was Scotland at its best. As the duchess told her mother: "There *never was* a more successful expedition!"<sup>258</sup> As for the Atholl Highlanders: "...not one man gave cause for reprimand... I sincerely believe that in *zeal, pluck* and *devotion*, they are 'second to none'."<sup>259</sup> These hardy mountain men were living up to their image and the queen was fascinated to hear the story. "[H.M.] was so sorry she could not see more of me when there & would liked to have ridden at the head of Her Highlanders over the Hills Herself, in the rain & the mud!"<sup>260</sup> Anne told her husband dramatically. Victoria may have been imaging herself in the role of a Highland Boadicea - and effort had its royal reward. "She seems *much* gratified that you took the men there,"<sup>261</sup> the duchess informed the duke.

However, Highlandism was about to be tested in royal and aristocratic circles. In December 1861, Prince Albert died. He had been a cheerleader for the Highlands, so after his death, the question was, would Victoria still continue to be fascinated by northern Scotland? Chapter five of this thesis tries to answer this query.

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<sup>254</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 466.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, and Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.* - see Duke of Athole's account.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>258</sup> Appendix D: SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 58, Bundle 27 - 16<sup>th</sup> November 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, the Duke of Athole died two years later and it is apt to mention his funeral, as Highlandism featured; a feudal plaied pageant; the coffin draped in tartan and bearing his sword, dirk and bonnet with three eagle's feathers,<sup>262</sup> servants and tenantry following the coffin... This was the burial of a "beloved chief and great friend rather than a person of high rank and possession."<sup>263</sup> One publication saluted the duke as the "chief of a gallant clan."<sup>264</sup> "The pipers moved one's very soul."<sup>265</sup> Miss MacGregor told the queen how he was borne off "to the wild strains" of 'Scots Wha Hae'.<sup>266</sup> Highlandism was continuing to unite class and country whilst ignoring deep divides in Scottish society. Yet, as with the funeral of Sir John MacGregor Murray, described in chapter one of this thesis, the eulogies were reassuring and extravagantly old-fashioned. "Well may the Clansmen lament their brave Chieftain!"<sup>267</sup>

After the burial the now dowager Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor left Blair Castle to live at the much smaller St Adamnam's house on the family's neighbouring Dunkeld estate. As Miss MacGregor said: it would be Anne's residence and "I am grateful to say, my home."<sup>268</sup> From here, the ladies would travel and spend time "bagging sketches."<sup>269</sup> Their lives would be further entwined with Queen Victoria's - and Highlandism would continue to provide romance and comfort. Two tartan-obsessed widows and a spinster would carry on with the job of promoting a plaied Scotland...

## Conclusion

This chapter has described how Miss MacGregor, the daughter of one of the Scottish clan chiefs described in chapter one, felt herself to be 'heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander.'<sup>270</sup> It is an interesting claim for a woman: from its beginnings, Highlandism was primarily a male construction. This doughty Victorian spinster had a romantic view of Highland men and would defer to them. Yet she would still make her mark in a macho world of pipers, gillies and soldiers. Miss MacGregor would also hold her own in the male domain

<sup>262</sup> Funeral of the Late Duke of Athole. (1864, January 25). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3.

<sup>263</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. from Masonic Book - *In Memorium of George, 6th Duke of Athole*.

<sup>264</sup> Funeral of the Late Duke of Athole, *op cit*.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 61, Bundle 11 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Frances Drummond.

<sup>266</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/8/98 - 26<sup>th</sup> January 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>267</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, *Dirge for the late Duke of Athole*.

<sup>268</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/8/99 - 8<sup>th</sup> February 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>269</sup> Appendix D: PD60/460 - 29<sup>th</sup> August 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor.

<sup>270</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *Opening of the Glasgow waterworks*.

of Scottish research and some of her academic efforts are touched on in this chapter, including her book on the history of 'Clan Gregor', her work with the 'Gaelic Society' and her production of the royal art book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*. The latter is a paean for Highlandism and is discussed more fully in chapter five of this thesis.

Miss Macgregor might claim to be a stickler for historical fact, but Highlandism could still colour her view of the past. It would affirm her idea of a romantic Scottish clan system and, as with Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Athole, there were contradictions. Miss MacGregor worshipped Walter Scott, but recognised the storytelling in his work. She was a confirmed Jacobite, but remained intensely loyal to her Hanoverian queen. Fiercely Highland, but from Empire-building stock, she would find a way of reconciling British Union with independent Scottish pride. However, again, this rosy image of the Highlands was an imaginary one and did not appear to acknowledge to any great extent the wider social misery in Scotland. Despite this, the clan chief's daughter would prove herself to be a tireless campaigner for charities closer to home.

This chapter also suggests that Miss MacGregor was starting to look beyond the tartan and bagpipe image - and that her keen mind was starting to give the phenomenon some sort of intellectual backbone. Chapter six will further confirm this, as it details her support for the Gaelic movement. Through her friendship with the Duchess of Athole, Miss MacGregor would find herself admitted into the 'learned' inner circle of churchmen and writers that Queen Victoria gathered around her. With her great knowledge of clan history and tradition she would become a Celtic expert and a royal favourite.<sup>271</sup> Close to the throne she could encourage Victoria's view of a comforting, loyal, tartanned Scotland.

This chapter has shed further light on the lives of Victorian Scottish aristocrats, giving more detail of how upper class Scots lived. It has also touched on the lengths that some went to in trying to save their estates, either by living on the continent, or finding employment further afield. Clan Gregor family fortunes were sinking and Miss MacGregor's father was discovering that being a kilt-wearing laird was no guarantee of greatness. Aristocrats like him had created an imagined past to find some sort of status and comfort. They had built grand

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<sup>271</sup> Royal Favourite: Lady who was honoured by Queen Victoria. (1917, September 24). *Daily Record*, p. 3.

Highland houses and surrounded themselves with chiefly trappings - and now the money was running out. For some, Highlandism was starting to be a burden.

This chapter has examined an event that showed what happened when backwards-looking Highlandism met Victorian industrial progress. The opening of the Loch Katrine Waterworks in the heart of Walter Scott country combined raw engineering with Highland fantasy and it served to prove that Highlandism generally did favour the rich.

Finally, this chapter has again shown how Highlandism featured at an aristocratic Scottish funeral. With the death of their husbands, tartan would continue to provide comfort for Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Athole - and the 'blood and bones' Highlander, Miss MacGregor, would continue to encourage this 'Scotch' passion.

## CHAPTER FIVE - HIGHLANDERS TOGETHER: THREE WOMEN REINVENT THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND

### Introduction

This chapter brings the three women together in the Victorian ‘Highland’ dream. Here we see Queen Victoria as patron, the Duchess of Athole as an enabler and Miss MacGregor as an intellect behind the promotion of Highlandism. Between them, these ladies produced one of the defining books on the phenomenon. *The Highlanders of Scotland* portrays kilted estate workers and servants in an imagined Scotland. It glorifies Scotland’s sons of the soil in a series of watercolours.

Using unpublished research this chapter shows how the country’s lairds rose, or fell, to the challenge of being perceived as ‘Highland’. Some were absentee landlords and unable to produce suitable ‘specimens’ to appear in the book. One chief worried about finding anybody handsome enough among his ranks. Another had to admit that none of his clansmen actually wore the kilt. It rather gives the lie to Highlandism. Then very few working class Scots could be as magnificently tartanned-out as the men in the queen’s art book.

With this book, the ladies could create a feudal portrait in a progressive age and this chapter further discusses how Highlandism meant re-writing history. When Victoria laid the first stone of a memorial to the notorious land-clearing Duchess of Sutherland, she declared that it was raised by clansmen to a woman “who was adored in *Sutherland*.<sup>1</sup> Then this was a Hanoverian-descended queen who considered herself to be a Jacobite...

Again, though, Highlandism was doing more than glossing over unpalatable facts. It was continuing to foster an interest in Gaelic and to promote the art of piping. Victoria’s personal piper published a collection of classical bagpipe music and the duchess would find pipers for the palace whilst members of the Atholl family continued to collect examples of Highland music and song. Like the need to record ancient documents, a royal and aristocratic emotional interest in the past was helping to foster an interest in Scottish culture.

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<sup>1</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1883/2010). *More leaves from the journal of a life in the Highlands*: Kessinger Reprints, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1872, *Visit to Dunrobin*.

This work also examines the queen's published journals, or *Leaves*, which were part-edited by Miss MacGregor. In these books *Ossian* was once again being declared the poetry of the Highlands whilst the bagpipes were being further lauded. These wistful works, an account of the 'simple' Highland life Victoria led, came at the right time. They would feed the need for nostalgia in a modernising age. Moreover, an unpretentious Highland existence might endear the world's most powerful woman to the public. Highlandism was creating a bridge between monarch and people. Ian Mitchell calls it "a fabrication,"<sup>2</sup> yet Highlandism was supporting charity, with sales of Victoria's *Leaves* providing funds to educate poor Deeside boys. The 'Balmoral Bursaries' are another point in royal favour.

*Leaves* would be unlikely forerunners of the derided 'Kailyard', or 'cabbage patch' fiction that gave Scottish literature such a sentimental feel towards the end of the nineteenth century. Academics see this period as a low point in Scottish writing, yet the Kailyard fitted well with Highlandism. Both are escapist and backwards looking and they fed each other. Both are accused of doing little to address social issues, or to enhance the idea of a progressive Scotland.

Ironically, though, it was industrial and military progress that boosted Highlandism in the mid-Victorian age. The rail network was expanding with growing numbers of tourists crossing the border in search of Highland magic. Empire continued its march with Highland regiments enthraling queen and country - and now a mix of artists, the press and 'battle' tourism was helping to sell the Highland idyll. Scotland was being marketed as a land of stags and scenes - and glens populated by loyal kilt-clad peasants. Yet, despite her declared readiness to mix with ordinary Highland folk, Victoria worried about progress and people spoiling her northern paradise.

This chapter gives a further flavour of Highland life, both at Balmoral and at the English palaces where Highlandism had come to be seen as 'healing'. Yet again, it reinforces the view that this Highland world was largely imaginary and did not represent the actualities of the time. The reality of mid-Victorian society was the aftermath of the Clearances, an industrial revolution and the dispossession of crofters. Closer to home, unrest on the Atholl

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<sup>2</sup> Mitchell, I. R. (2000). *On the trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*. Edinburgh: Luath, p. 83.

estate in northern Perthshire would give members of the aristocracy a reality check. However, this chapter again shows the genuine fondness the Duchess of Athole had for her people. It also puts Miss MacGregor's intense Highland sympathies into perspective as she continued to give Highlandism an intellectual backbone.

### **If Simcox of Cheapside goes to live at Dunkeld - does he thereby become a Highlander and can he wear the 'Simcox' tartan?<sup>3</sup>**

The question came in 1883 from the queen's private secretary, the now Sir Henry Ponsonby. It was addressed to the Duchess of Athole and it seems to sum up royal Highlandism in the later Victorian age. Sir Henry had been asked by the queen to discover who might be able to call himself a Highlander, and whether a Scotsman should wear a kilt at court. "I understand that the present regulation admits any Highlander to court in a kilt. But to my mind the difficulty arises as to who is a Highlander and what tartan and coat should he wear... Last week a gentleman living in Brompton - who has a small place in the Highlands announced he was coming in a kilt... But he wrote, 'as I am coming in a plain clothes kilt must I wear a sword?'... The fact is there are rules for all dress at Court except for Highlanders... [should] everyone calling himself a Highlander... come as he thinks best. If so it seems to me it will degenerate into a fancy dress."<sup>4</sup>

It was an interesting enquiry and the Duchess of Athole replied thus: Highland dress "must be 'full dress'... and this... certainly implies a *sword* & prohibits a 'plain clothes kilt'!... If I wrote to the Lord Chamberlain's office [saying] 'I am coming to the Drawing Room in a Linsey Woolsey dress, must I wear feathers?' the answer would probably be that I could not be received... everyone is surely expected to wear their best attire - a Highlander therefore should appear in his best array, and formerly that was always more or less *martial!* including arms for offence or defence... anyone aspiring to represent a Highlander should be obliged to do the same."<sup>5</sup> Sir Henry had suggested allowing only those belonging to famous clans to be allowed to attend court in tartan, but the duchess was more cautious: "...to restrict the permission to well known clans, however desirable in a historical point of view, would be apt

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix A: Athole MSS. Bundle 1650 - 1<sup>st</sup> June 1883 - Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* - 4th June 1883 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

to lead to perpetual disputes...”<sup>6</sup> Yet the right ‘Scotch’ look was crucial. When Victoria was planning her autumn trip to Balmoral in 1890 palace staff noted how “the Royalties have now put on their kilts and Scotch garments and we are now Highlanders again.”<sup>7</sup>

The Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor would continue to feed Victoria’s tartan obsession throughout her reign. Miss MacGregor, in particular, saw the monarch and the Highlands as inextricably linked and enthused over the connection. “Our Queen lives in our ‘Hieland hearts’, *which are true as steel!*”<sup>8</sup> is one stirring line from a lecture she gave in 1899 about Victoria’s time in Scotland. The word ‘steel’ was perhaps more apt than she imagined, for it was a mix of heavy metals that would further market the land of plaid.

The iron horse of progress would feed the fad for Highland nostalgia. Richard Finlay notes the railway as a necessary ingredient in promoting Victorian Highlandism.<sup>9</sup> Jack Simmons compares past and present: a horse-drawn coach might carry fifteen people whilst the train offered places for ten times that number.<sup>10</sup> Malcolm Gray speaks of sleepers allowing whole households to go north. “The trickle of adventurous bachelors [became] a flood of rich men... the dispatch of food boxes from London stores blunted the discomforts of going native in Highland glens.”<sup>11</sup> Highland fishing and shooting were now a must on an English gentleman’s sporting calendar.

Pulling up vast tracts of heather to make way for industrial track was not always approved of. The Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor had to reassure the monarch that the new West Highland Railway from Fort William to Glasgow did “not disfigure the country so much as might be expected, altho’ it goes all along the hillsides of Loch Lomond & Loch Long!”<sup>12</sup> The women threw in some Highland romance: “...we thought with feeling of how the sound

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

<sup>7</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36 - 26<sup>th</sup> August 1890 - Sir Henry Ponsonby to Lady Ponsonby; See also Kuhn, W. M. (2002/2003). *Henry & Mary Ponsonby*. London: Duckworth, p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> Lecture by Miss Murray MacGregor. (1899, December 4). *Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*.

<sup>9</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2002). Queen Victoria and the cult of the Scottish monarchy. In E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 214. Mark Bence-Jones & Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd also note the ‘discovery’ of the Highlands through the railways - Bence-Jones, M., & Montgomery-Massingberd, H. (1979). *The British aristocracy*. London: Constable, p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Simmons, J. (1894). Railways, hotels, and tourism in Great Britain, 1839–1914. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19(2), 201-222, p. 207.

<sup>11</sup> Gray, M. (1981) ‘The regions and their issues: Scotland’ in G. E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Victorian countryside*, Vol. 1 (pp. 81-93). London: Routledge, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1661 - 8<sup>th</sup> October 1894 - the Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

of ‘Lochaber no more’ was forbidden to reach Highland ears on the pipes, during the Penninsular Wars!”<sup>13</sup>

For the queen, the train was a mixed blessing. It allowed her to come north quickly and in some comfort. Yet as she made her way through Perthshire in 1866, she complained how “an unsightly and noisy railroad runs along this beautiful glen.”<sup>14</sup> Royal Highlandism did not admit of anything too progressive and Victoria was not alone. Murray Pittock suggests that ordinary tourists also wanted less of the modern. Their yearning was for “a form of privileged travelling into the past: in the 1830s, one guidebook opined that ‘that a 1693 description of the people of Orkney was probably still adequate.’ ”<sup>15</sup>

The irony is that the monarch may not have made the Highlands a permanent summer home without the railways. Her first uncomfortable trip by sea in 1842 suggested that.<sup>16</sup> By 1850, though, there were two rail routes between London and Aberdeen: “...the cult of royalty - and above all, of the Queen herself - [had] rendered Scotland popular.”<sup>17</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century travelling by rail from London to the centre of Scotland was cut from forty-three hours to seventeen.<sup>18</sup> People were streaming north and they were bringing their money with them<sup>19</sup> - and even if they didn’t come in person, English and Welsh funds could still help lairds to improve their Scottish estates. Hamish Fraser notes how it was Staffordshire iron income that allowed the Dukes of Sutherland to rebuild Dunrobin Castle whilst South Wales coal royalties enabled the Marquess of Bute to develop Falkland Palace, Dumfries House and Mount Stuart.<sup>20</sup>

By 1860 Thomas Cook had brought some 50,000 sightseers north.<sup>21</sup> Among those arriving were fishers and shooters and soon the *New Book of Sports* could grandly announce how: “...on one day you may be lounging along the hot pavements of Pall Mall... the very next

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, *More leaves*, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1866.

<sup>15</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1999). *Celtic identity and the British image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.63.

<sup>16</sup> Simmons, *Railways, hotels and tourism*, p. 211.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Cowan, E. J., Finlay, R. J., & Paul, W. (2000). *Scotland since 1688: Struggle for a nation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> Durie, A. (2003). *Scotland for the holidays: Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939*. Edinburgh: Tuckwell, Press.

<sup>20</sup> Fraser, W. H. (2001) ‘The Victorian achievement’ in G. Menzies (ed.), *In search of Scotland* (pp. 184-210). Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 188.

<sup>21</sup> Brendon, P. (1991/2003). *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism*. London: Secker & Warburg, p. 54.

afternoon you may be in the heart of the Highlands.”<sup>22</sup> By the 1880s getting to central Scotland from London took just eight hours, with walkers and climbers also heading north.<sup>23</sup> Yet Victoria worried about these incomers spoiling the place. In her mind, northern Scotland was to remain an untouched wilderness and certainly not become a space for the masses. Ronald Clark reminds us of how she opposed Lord Bryce’s 1892 ‘Access to Mountains Bill’, saying it would “completely ruin the Highlands, its privacy and its sport.”<sup>24</sup> The proposal never reached the statute book during her reign.<sup>25</sup>

Then, as Charles Withers points out, those who could not reach the Highlands could always have the Highlands brought to them. For this was the age of stylised art with Scotland’s mountains and moors being dramatically captured on canvas.<sup>26</sup> The English painter, Edwin Landseer, and the Bavarian-born, Carl Haag, both produced emotive Highland landscapes for the queen.<sup>27</sup> Trevor Pringle notes how Landseer’s work, in particular, portrayed “the value of the rural poor and the pull of the past,”<sup>28</sup> both themes that sit comfortably with Highlandism. Interestingly, the Glasgow-born Horatio McCulloch who is arguably the most famous *Scottish* Victorian landscape artist, does not appear in Delia Millar’s list of watercolour artists who painted the Highlands for the monarch.<sup>29</sup> McCulloch also presented the Highlands in a poetic way, but it may have been that he was too fiercely ‘Scotch’ for royal tastes. An artist with a political agenda might deter royal patronage.

John Morrison discusses Highlandism when he looks at identity and nationalism in Victorian Scottish art - and to his mind Highlandism may be a “construction,”<sup>30</sup> but it is not “a base deception practised upon an innocent Scottish populace.”<sup>31</sup> For Highlandism, he says, is, to

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<sup>22</sup> Carr, R. (1981). Country sports. In G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian countryside: Vol. 2* (pp. 475-487). London: Routledge; Horn, P. (1999). *Pleasures & pastimes in Victorian Britain*. Stroud: Sutton, p. 114.

<sup>23</sup> Cowan et al., *Scotland*, p. 79.

<sup>24</sup> Queen Victoria, quoted in Clark, R. W. (1981). *Balmoral: Queen Victoria’s highland home*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Withers, C. W. J. (1992) ‘The historical creation of the Scottish Highlands’ in I. Donnachie & C. Whatley (eds.), *The manufacture of Scottish history* (pp. 143–156). Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> Millar, D. (1985). *Queen Victoria’s life in the Scottish Highlands, depicted by her watercolour artists*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers. Among Sir Edwin Landseer’s Highland works was *Sunshine*, or *The Death of the Royal Stag*, p. 126. Carl Haag’s works included *Salmon Spearing in the River Dee*, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> Pringle, T. R. (1988). *Prophet of the Highlands: Sir Edwin Landseer and the Scottish Highland image*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Loughborough University of Technology.

<sup>29</sup> Millar, *Queen Victoria*.

<sup>30</sup> Morrison, J. (2003). *Painting the nation: Identity and nationalism in Scottish painting, 1800-1920*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 224.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

some extent, home-grown. Morrison goes further when talking about Scottish landscapes and portraits of the time and refers to the work of radical artists like Alexander Nasmyth and David Wilkie.<sup>32</sup> Their paintings do not “mask some authentic identity which lies awaiting discovery... instead they reflect the unique form of nationalism which evolved and flourished in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”<sup>33</sup> Highlandism might hide some harsh realities, but it could not silence a growing sense of self. This thesis will further discuss Highlandism and nationalism in chapter six.

However, it was not just artists who were busy feeding the Highland fashion. Mary Miers notes how the advent of photography was helping to make Scotland “all the rage.”<sup>34</sup> A Scot in exile could now gaze at a glossy black and white picture and recall poetic lines from home. “My heart’s in the Highlands, my heart is not here. My heart’s in the Highlands, a-chasing the deer.”<sup>35</sup> Of course, these hind and heather images and Landseer’s “plaied young ladies, demure on their ponies at the start of a day on the hill”<sup>36</sup> were only one side of the Victorian Highland depiction. Tom Devine notes the conflict in adopting romantic symbolism at a time when Scottish crofting society was being dispossessed.<sup>37</sup> T.R. Pringle also sees the whitewash and of how Landseer, in particular, managed to mask “fundamental changes in the structure of social and economic life over the period of 1820 - 1870.”<sup>38</sup> Yet if you could turn a blind eye to the distress, the Highlands must have looked so inviting.

Historical and ‘battle’ tourism was also doing its bit to grow Highlandism in the Victorian age. Katherine Haldane Grenier repeats the claim that Edwin Waugh “nearly burst with patriotic pride”<sup>39</sup> when he saw the “sacred”<sup>40</sup> ground of Bannockburn in 1863. Along with her Jacobite heroes, Scotland’s early freedom fighters were also being widely acclaimed.

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<sup>32</sup> Appendix E: ODNB - Nasmyth, Alexander (1758–1840), artist and engineer, and Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841), painter of genre, historical subjects and portraits.

<sup>33</sup> Morrison, *Painting the nation*, p. 224.

<sup>34</sup> *Country Life*, 7<sup>th</sup> March 2012 - *A Highland Paradise*, p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> *My Heart’s in the Highlands* - from Burns, R. (1986). *The complete works of Robert Burns* (edited by J. A. Mackay). Ayrshire: Alloway Publishing.

<sup>36</sup> Bence-Jones & Montgomery-Massingberd, *op cit.* p. 65.

<sup>37</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999/2000). *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000*. London: Allen Lane, p. 293.

<sup>38</sup> Pringle, T. R. (1988). The privation of history: Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth. In D. Cosgrave & S. Daniels (eds.), *The iconography of landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (pp. 142-161). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Grenier, K. H. (2005). *Tourism and identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 145.

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

William Wallace, in particular, was celebrated with public monuments<sup>41</sup> and, ironically, this “‘commoner’... betrayed by aristocratic duplicity”<sup>42</sup> had his share of upper class followers, not least Miss MacGregor and the Duchess of Athole.

At court the queen’s private secretary dismissed Wallace as a ruffian who betrayed his country, but Miss MacGregor insisted he was a freedom fighter.<sup>43</sup> Henry Ponsonby continued. “I told MacGregor the Kelts were a miserable little black-haired race”<sup>44</sup> and she was furious: “‘...certainly not, I am a Kelt!’”<sup>45</sup> The pair then “fell into violent debate,”<sup>46</sup> but when Ponsonby quoted writers critical of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Miss MacGregor lost her temper: “...all modern authors! I reply only on the authors of the day he lived in!”<sup>47</sup> Ponsonby relayed this to his wife. “[Miss MacGregor] sees new people and faces and hears new ideas, finds someone who does not think that Charles Edward was the finest & purest man in the world... She arrives at breakfast with a smile on her face expecting some chaffe, although she told Robertson there was one subject she begs he will never encourage and that was any criticism of the great Prince for which her forefathers had bled.”<sup>48</sup>

Jacobitism was now a badge of honour and Miss MacGregor was a paid-up member of the ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ fan club: “...his generous trust. His simple habits, so readily accustoming him to hardships & his misfortunes so nobly born.”<sup>49</sup> She was not alone in her hero worship. On a trip to Culloden the Duchess of Athole solemnly drank a toast “to the memory of our Prince”<sup>50</sup> and groaned loudly when they passed the stone where the Duke of Cumberland was said to have stood during the battle. In a diary dotted with historical dates, she struck out the words ‘Young Pretender’ and replaced them with the word ‘Prince’.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See Graeme Morton in Lynch, M. (ed.). (2011). *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 443. He details some of the Wallace monuments: Lanark in 1820, Ayr in 1837, Stirling in 1838 and 1846, Edinburgh in 1859, and Aberdeen in 1888. See also *National Wallace Monument*. <http://www.nationalwallacemonument.com>

<sup>42</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2011). Historians. In M. Lynch (ed.), *Oxford companion to Scottish history* (pp. 302-310). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 307.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/428 - 8<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby.

<sup>44</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/431 - 11<sup>th</sup> June 1872.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/428 - 8<sup>th</sup> June 1872.

<sup>48</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/430 - 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872.

<sup>49</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 1523 - October 1865 - *Miss MacGregor Diary*.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1520 - Trip to Lochiel, Ben Nevis and Culloden, c.1850.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 638 - 30<sup>th</sup> December 1848.

The queen, too, as Ivor Brown reminds us, never referred to Charles Edward Stuart as a ‘Young Pretender’.<sup>52</sup> Hers was another rosy Jacobite view. “How full of courage, & noble unselfish feelings he was, when in Scotland in ’45!”<sup>53</sup> Victoria was fascinated by the would-be king’s story and the possessions he left behind in the land he hoped to rule: “...a ring into which some of his fair hair had been put.”<sup>54</sup> The monarch even made a pilgrimage to where “poor Pce. Charlie”<sup>55</sup> landed in 1745. It was a bleak, windswept place, yet she could declare how she “had never seen a lovelier or more romantic spot.”<sup>56</sup> At Glenfinnan she recalled how the royal rebel found just a few peasants and thought he had been betrayed. “[He] sat down with his head in his hands. Suddenly he was aroused by the sounds of the Pipes around him & he saw the clans...”<sup>57</sup> Yet again, Highlandism had saved the day.

Such a spin on someone who tried to overthrow one of her ancestors is perhaps not too surprising. This thesis has already shown how for someone with firm views the British queen was full of contradictions. This was the woman who could wax lyrical about a Jacobite uprising, yet lectured her prime minister on insurrection. “Revolutions are always bad for the country & the cause of untold misery to the people.”<sup>58</sup> It must have come as a blow to hear that her Highland hero died a drunkard. Historians point to “the squalid aftermath” of Charles Edward Stuart’s career<sup>59</sup> and even Victoria would have to agree that it was a “miserable, disgraceful, drunken ending,”<sup>60</sup> but she could presumably console herself with the fact that it had been “such a promising beginning!”<sup>61</sup>

At heart, the monarch was, like that other proponent of Highlandism, Colonel David Stewart of Garth, a “Jacobite in theory.”<sup>62</sup> Robert Robson says Scots might find nothing odd about this because “the independent political life of the clans had been destroyed. Scottish nationalism consisted of an outpouring of emotions about the past rather than of political

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<sup>52</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, p. 68.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix C: Vol.67, p. 17: 12<sup>th</sup> January 1877.

<sup>54</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 15<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>55</sup> Appendix C: Vol.62, pp. 308-309: 15<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>58</sup> Appendix C: Vol.26, p.7: 6<sup>th</sup> August 1848.

<sup>59</sup> Keay, J., & Keay, J. (2000). *Collins encyclopaedia of Scotland*. London: Harper Collins, p. 899.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix C: Vol.67, p. 17: 12<sup>th</sup> January 1877.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> David Stewart of Garth to James Hogg, October 1817, as quoted in Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, p. 95.

aspirations for the future.”<sup>63</sup> Defeat fed Highlandism, yet Ivor Brown notes the irony of this royal obsession. The queen’s claim to have Jacobite blood in her veins came “despite the presence of the Duke of Cumberland in her family tree.”<sup>64</sup> Murray Pittock adds to the debate. Jacobitism was sanitised to make it acceptable. “Real Jacobite ideology still carried a hard-hitting political message which was uncomfortable. To make the Risings a fairy-tale of the children of the mist, a dream of Gaelic heroes, rather than the signs of a major European power struggle, was a priority for those who opposed that ideology.”<sup>65</sup>

Where Scotland was concerned, royalty was rewriting the past - and with some success. Dorothy Thompson calls Wales and Scotland “nations with strong indigenous cultural and linguistic individuality.”<sup>66</sup> Yet one of the reasons they were won over to British nationalism was through “the rather devious fictions of Welsh and Scottish ancestry among the royal antecedents.”<sup>67</sup> However, the monarch came to believe her Highland ancestry and as she stood at Glenfinnan, almost one hundred and thirty years after the final Jacobite uprising, the link to bygone days was irresistible. “*What a scene it must have been in 1745!* And here was *I*, the descendant of the Stuarts...”<sup>68</sup> After her death *The Quarterly Review* described how she could forgive this bothersome royal line all its faults.<sup>69</sup> Again, as Murray Pittock points out: “...a climate was created in which Stuart and Hanoverian loyalties could be made one.”<sup>70</sup>

Murray Pittock and Richard Finlay note how the British queen might not have realised it, but attaching herself to the Highland cause was tactical. Like her accounts of simple Highland travel, it gave her popularity at a time when she was not always loved. David Cannadine says that between the 1850s and 1870s the reclusive monarch was “constantly the object of criticism in newspaper editorials.”<sup>71</sup> Yet she somehow managed to rise above the censure. Richard Finlay explains more. “A key element in the reinvention of the Scottish monarchy was Victoria’s ability to reattach herself to the threads of Scottish history to create the

<sup>63</sup> Robson, R. (1967). *Ideas and institutions of Victorian Britain*. London: G. Bell & Sons, p. 147.

<sup>64</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 67. See also Victoria, *More leaves*, *op cit.* 12<sup>th</sup> September 1873 - “for Stuart blood is in my veins.”

<sup>65</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1991). *The invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish identity, 1638 to the present*. London: Routledge, p. 101.

<sup>66</sup> Thompson, D. (1990). *Queen Victoria: The woman, the monarch and the people*. London: Virago, p. 91.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Victoria, *More leaves*, 15th September 1873

<sup>69</sup> The character of Queen Victoria. (1901, April). *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 301-337.

<sup>70</sup> Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, p. 103.

<sup>71</sup> Cannadine, D. (1983). The context, performance and meaning of ritual: The British monarchy and the “Invention of tradition”, c1820-1977. In E. Hobsbaw & T. Ranger (eds.) *The invention of tradition* (pp. 101-164). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 111.

appearance of historical continuity.”<sup>72</sup> He gives examples: at Inverness she could declare that no sovereign had been there “since my poor ancestress Queen Mary.”<sup>73</sup> At Glencoe she reflected on the massacre: “...the horror of the thought that such a thing could have been conceived and committed on innocent sleeping people... Let me hope that William 111 knew nothing of it.”<sup>74</sup> The descendant of those who had crushed the ’45 rebels could now comfortably state that there was “such devoted loyalty to the family of my ancestors.”<sup>75</sup>

Victoria had adopted Scotland’s kings and queens as her own direct relatives. Then, as this thesis has shown, Highlandism means having an open mind to the telling of events. Alex Tyrrell calls Victoria’s behaviour “an appropriated version of Jacobitism”<sup>76</sup> and royal espousal of the Highland cause would get more bizarre. At a London ball to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Walter Scott the Prince of Wales took to the floor dressed as the Lord of the Isles, “his bonnet crowned with heather,”<sup>77</sup> whilst Prince Arthur appeared as a “gay and gallant Prince Charlie.”<sup>78</sup> As one journalist noted: “...what unutterable things would George 11 and ‘butcher’ Cumberland have [said] could they have seen a child of their race personating the ill-fated hero of the Jacobites!”<sup>79</sup> Yet it had become something of a fashion. Tom Devine notes that by the 1820s songs with Jacobite themes were “second only to love songs in number and quality in the popular Scottish canon.”<sup>80</sup>

Today Jacobitism can still be blamed for fueling the Highlandism that allegedly stifles Scotland culturally. Craig Beveridge and Ronnie Turnbull note E.P. Thompson’s view that it represents a “nostalgic and anachronistic”<sup>81</sup> movement. They also discuss the ‘Scotch Myths’ theory which suggests that Scots helped manufacture “clownish, contorted versions”<sup>82</sup> of themselves for money, to feel part of Empire and to forget the country’s social woes. “Bonnie Prince Charlie, tartan, kilts and bagpipes would come to inform a popular nostalgic cult... a

<sup>72</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 219.

<sup>73</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 16<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1873.

<sup>76</sup> Tyrrell, A. (2003). The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The royal visit to Scotland in 1842. *Scottish Historical Review*, 82(1), 47-73, p. 66.

<sup>77</sup> Report from the *Daily News*, quoted in Mackay, C. (1877/2008). *Forty years’ recollections of life, literature and public affairs: From 1830 to 1870*. London: Chapman & Hall, p. 198. The ball took place in 1871.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Devine, T. M. (1994). *Clanship to crofters’ war: The social transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 90.

<sup>81</sup> Thompson’s *Whigs and Hunters, the origin of the Black Act* quoted in Beveridge & Turnbull, *op cit.* p. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Beveridge & Turnbull, *op cit.* p. 58. The Grigors’ ‘Scotch Myths’ exhibition took place in 1981.

surrogate, fantasy identity inimical both to genuine nationalism and to the formation of a progressive social consciousness.”<sup>83</sup>

Tom Nairn’s view that a “pulverised”<sup>84</sup> Highland culture and “dead rebel cause”<sup>85</sup> was transformed into a “mythic” and “empty Highlandism... a distorted legend and symbolism which Scots idiotically took to be essential to their national identity”<sup>86</sup> is examined. Who would want to adopt the plaid of such a backward-looking movement?<sup>87</sup> It seemed that some did, including Queen Victoria. Again, though, Beveridge and Turnbull remind us that tartan was not an invention, “nor was its association... with Jacobitism manufactured.”<sup>88</sup> The ‘Scotch Myths’ theory is further discussed in chapter six.

“Left Windsor before 7 for Balmoral,” wrote the Duchess of Athole in May 1865 as she and the queen set off for Scotland. Windsor, the place where Albert had died, was now a “dreadful old prison.”<sup>89</sup> In contrast, Scotland continued to be a “beloved and blessed land: ‘...the birthplace of valour, the country of worth’.”<sup>90</sup> Highlandism was uplifting - and royalty needed a boost. Since the prince consort’s passing the monarch had become a near recluse.<sup>91</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl recalled how she shirked every possible function. “Knights collars & badges were sent to them and they were told to consider themselves knighted.”<sup>92</sup> The royal birthday came and went on Deeside. The Duchess of Athole noted how the anniversary was “kept in strict seclusion”<sup>93</sup> and was trying to distract her mistress with readings from Walter Scott.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, quoting from Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain*, p. 168.

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

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65.

<sup>89</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (2011). *Letters to Vicky: The correspondence between Queen Victoria and her daughter Victoria, Empress of Germany, 1858 – 1901*. (edited by A. Roberts). London: The Folio Society, 12<sup>th</sup> October 1869.

<sup>90</sup> Martin, T. (1901/2013). *Queen Victoria as I knew her*. London: William Blackwood, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1869.

<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Longford speaks of royal seclusion in Longford, E. (1964/2011). *Victoria*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, noting that while “widows had a right to hide themselves, queens had a duty to be looked at,” p. 344; Hibbert, C. (2000). *Queen Victoria: A personal history*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 307-313.

<sup>92</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 1522 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1911 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>93</sup> Appendix A: Bundle 641 - 24<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - “read aloud ‘The Bride of Lammermoor’.”

At Balmoral Victoria took air and exercise. For Highlandism was not just about magnificent mountains and colourful costumes.<sup>95</sup> From those very first royal visits to Scotland it was seen as healing. “All the men and women, as well as the children, look very healthy”<sup>96</sup> the queen noted approvingly in 1844. Indeed, the Highlands might even be able to offer some kind of magic cure. When the Crown Prince of Prussia was diagnosed with a growth in his throat, Victoria consulted the Duchess of Athole about sending him to Perthshire to convalesce.<sup>97</sup> Miss MacGregor drew up a list of hotels he might stay in, but the ladies were worried. “I should not like the Prince to be horribly cheated & imposed upon.”<sup>98</sup> It did not say much for the kindness of Highlanders.

Then the Crown Prince decided to go to Deeside instead, much to the duchess’s relief. As she said: “...it is dawning upon me [he] is dying of cancer! & then, of course, no air will do him any good and if he got worse in Perthshire, it would have been the bad air in Perthshire which did it... somehow we should have been to blame!”<sup>99</sup> As it happened, the prince *did* pick up slightly at Balmoral which confirmed the queen’s view of a healing Highlands. “To think that he should have recovered his dear health so much in England and still more in dear Scotland.”<sup>100</sup> Not everyone concurred with the idea of the Highlands as health-giver. When the Duchess of Athole’s servant visited Balmoral in 1887 she noted how the staff seemed to be a delicate breed. “They are not a very strong people. Consumption is very common and they are all related to each other.”<sup>101</sup>

This thesis has already shown how Victoria surrounded herself with sympathetic Scottish faces - in England, as well as Scotland. The loyal team included ladies-in-waiting, mistresses of the robes, doctors and, of course, the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor. In early 1867 Victoria told her diary at Osborne: “Took leave after breakfast with great regret, of the

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1865.

<sup>96</sup> Victoria, *Leaves*, *op cit.* 11<sup>th</sup> September 1844. Note: Mary Ponsonby was among those who found it healthy at Balmoral: “...the lightness of the air is such as to make one sleep and eat like a grenadier... I don’t wonder the Queen thinks she is oppressed anywhere else” - from Mary Ponsonby to her sister, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1870, in Ponsonby, M. (1927). *A memoir, some letters and a journal*. London, John Murray, pp. 65-66.

<sup>97</sup> See Packard, J. M. (1998). *Victoria’s daughters*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin, pp. 242-250, for details of Fritz’s cancer. Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1659 - 1<sup>st</sup> August 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>98</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1659 - 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1887.

<sup>100</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1976). *Beloved and darling child: Last letters between Queen Victoria and her eldest daughter, 1886-1901*. (edited by A. Ramm). London: Evans, 29<sup>th</sup> August 1887.

<sup>101</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 649 - 16<sup>th</sup> September 1887 - *Miss Cameron Diary*.

dear Dss of Atholl and Miss McGregor, whom we shall miss very much.”<sup>102</sup> The relationship between the women had been cemented by two visits Victoria made to the duchess’s Dunkeld home and it is worth detailing one, as it contains serious shades of Highlandism.

In the autumn of 1865 Victoria and her entourage travelled south from Balmoral in the mist and rain.<sup>103</sup> The duchess and Miss MacGregor were waiting to greet them at a Perthshire farmhouse where the ducks and geese had been washed in readiness for an important visitor.<sup>104</sup> As the royal carriage came into view Miss MacGregor’s heart was racing. “It was *The Queen, Our Queen! Queen of the Hieland Hearts, bonny Queen Ladye!*”<sup>105</sup> Her words play on James Hogg’s ‘Cam ye by Athol’, which lauds the ‘King o’ the Highland hearts, bonnie Prince Charlie’. Again, Jacobitism raises its hopeful head when attached to the British crown.

Caroline Bingham calls this ode an example of an “extravagantly romantic neo-Jacobite style”<sup>106</sup> and it is one that played its part in the ‘discovery’ of the Highlands. In 1817 James Hogg, a shepherd and poet, was commissioned by the ‘Highland Society of London’ to collect Jacobite songs.<sup>107</sup> Once again, like Walter Scott, it would be a Borderer who would have the task of championing the Highland idyll and, like Queen Victoria, Hogg confessed to being “a bit of a Jacobite in my heart,” before adding: “[I am] blessing myself that, in those days, I did not exist, or I should certainly have been hanged.”<sup>108</sup>

Hogg unearthed a wealth of poetic material, yet he had to be diplomatic. Lines like “while thus I view fair Britain’s isle, And see my sovereign in exile, A tyrant sitting on his throne, How can I but our fate bemoan?” might not sit well with the existing ruler.<sup>109</sup> William Donaldson reminds us that the ‘tyrants’ who drove out the Stuarts were the “immediate forebears of the current dynasty.”<sup>110</sup> Donaldson further suggests that Hogg had to do what

<sup>102</sup> Appendix C: Vol.56, p. 20: 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1867. Note: Victoria spelled Miss MacGregor’s name ‘McGregor’.

<sup>103</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 9<sup>th</sup> October 1865.

<sup>104</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523 - October 1865, *Miss MacGregor Diary* - “their clean white frocks.”

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Bingham, C. (1991/1995). *Beyond the Highland line: Highland history and culture*. London: Constable, p.179.

<sup>107</sup> David Stewart of Garth to James Hogg, October 1817, as quoted in Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, pp. 94-95.

<sup>108</sup> Hogg, J. (1888/1986). *A tour of the Highlands in 1803: A series of letters*. London: James Thin, p. 43.

<sup>109</sup> “Be Valiant Still” - song XLVII, from Hogg, J. (1819/2003). *Jacobite relics of Scotland: Being the songs, airs and legends of the adherents to the House of Stuart*. Paisley: Alex Gardner, p. 89.

<sup>110</sup> Donaldson, *Jacobite song*, p. 97.

Scott had done - and what the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor were now doing - to “divert a separate and fundamentally incompatible tradition of hereditary loyalty into support for the Hanoverians and the aristocratic principle in government.”<sup>111</sup> Highlandism was making that job easier, for it had already neutralised the Jacobite movement and reconciled ‘Scotch’ rebellion with the crown.

At the Perthshire farmhouse the royal party set off on ponies. The rugged John Brown led Victoria’s horse whilst Morgan, a “tall, dark Balmoral Highlander,”<sup>112</sup> escorted Princess Helena. There would be no weedy southern servants, or simpering lackeys, on this hearty Highland trip. Even the dour weather could be made romantic. As they climbed a sheep-track a thick mist hid the view, yet the landscape still had charm “for minds attuned to the Highlands.”<sup>113</sup> These are Miss MacGregor’s words, as are the following: “...the leaden clouds... harmonised well with the grey rocks, the now bare twigs of heather clothed the ground with a pleasant sober brown, and the mist, *here* partially drawn up to reveal some more distant keep, or there hanging moodily over an apparently unfathomable hollow, magnified the foremost figures winding round the steep ascent and lent a mysterious halo to the whole.”<sup>114</sup> Despite the bleakness of the day, the Highlands were still offering romance, nay, even a heavenly feel.

At the duchess’s land, meanwhile, were more examples of ‘real’ Highland men: among them the head forester. John McGregor was a noted piper and someone whose “erect bearing & manly appearance, the Queen was pleased to observe, recognising in him, the independent pride of a Highlander of his race.”<sup>115</sup> Then there was his helper, little Gregor McGregor, “a very promising specimen of the Clan, aged 16, and already considered a Keeper.”<sup>116</sup> Highlandism features in all these words. Yet Highlandism would have its limits. A storm threatened, a branch knocked off a servant’s cap and when John Brown went to look for it he noticed that the track was full of holes.<sup>117</sup> Miss MacGregor now produced the understatement of the day: “...a somewhat unpleasant predicament had occurred.”<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523 - October 1865, *Miss MacGregor diary*.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 9<sup>th</sup> October 1865.

<sup>118</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523, *op cit.*

Victoria recalled how the clan chief's daughter "came to us in great distress saying she did not know what to do, for that the coachman, blinded by the driving rain, had mistaken the road and that we were in a track for carting wood."<sup>119</sup> As Miss MacGregor herself said: "Here in the thicket of a vast wood, the Queen of Great Britain was detained under a pouring rain."<sup>120</sup> The clan chief's daughter was mortified. "Was *this* the result of such carefully laid plans, such anxious preparations! – to go and mislead our beloved Sovereign in a Wood and keep Her waiting in the rain. How very different all would have been had the poor Duke been alive, with his genius for organisation, and oh! how people would scoff and say Women were indeed little fit to manage things!"<sup>121</sup> It was Highlandism at its worst, mercifully, with silly women, not masterful Highland men, to blame for it. The queen remained calm, but the nightmare continued. Miss MacGregor fell knee-deep into a pothole of water.<sup>122</sup> Then a parasol got crushed under the carriage wheels.<sup>123</sup> To crown it all, John Brown's knees were badly cut by the sharp edge of his soaked kilt.<sup>124</sup>

The queen's relief comes through in her journal as they reached Dunkeld and the duchess's "nice, snug, little cottage."<sup>125</sup> Struggling out of wet clothes they dined: "...everything so nice and quiet. The Duchess and Miss MacGregor carving,"<sup>126</sup> Victoria said as they relived the day's 'adventures', or, as Miss MacGregor called it, the "*misadventure*" that "formed the theme for a very lively discourse."<sup>127</sup> What had been a frightening experience in wild weather was now a daring tale. Highlandism had offered a taste of danger with a happy ending. It was another testimony to royal and aristocratic endurance, yet it would surely have horrified those in charge of the queen's security in London.

Peter Womack suggests that the Highlands exuded "the radiance of a disappearing authenticity"<sup>128</sup> and the royal stay contained some magical moments. There were rides to the

<sup>119</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, *More leaves*, *op cit.* 9<sup>th</sup> October 1865.

<sup>120</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523 - October 1865, *Miss MacGregor Diary*.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Victoria, *More leaves*, *op cit.* 11th October 1865. Two days afterwards, Brown's legs were so inflamed he could hardly move.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 9th October 1865.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523, *op cit.*

<sup>128</sup> Womack, P. (1989). *Improvement and romance: Constructing the myth of the Highlands*. London: Macmillan, p. 80; See also Devine, 1999, *Scottish nation*, p. 244.

local loch and there was tea at the ‘Hermitage’, an eighteenth century folly on the falls of the River Bran. The duchess’s piper and footman waited on at dinner, suitably dressed: “...two nice good-looking Highlanders in the Athole tartan.”<sup>129</sup> The monarch tried the “celebrated ‘haggis’ ”<sup>130</sup> and liked it. She also enjoyed the breakfast: “...such splendid cream and butter! The Duchess has a very good cook, a Scotchwoman... Albert... always said things tasted better in smaller houses.”<sup>131</sup> These were the ‘simple’ things Highland life offered. For Highlandism could dine on modest fare, especially if you were rich enough to otherwise eat like a queen.

However, Highlandism was fed not just by food and as Victoria took her leave of the ladies on a Perthshire hill, Miss MacGregor reflected romantically on the royal visit. “Who knows what strange tragedies may have been enacted on that very hill, how our ancestors may have fought & bled & died there, our Prince too may have wandered there, his only wealth those true Highland hearts which were his unto his death. *Another association* will now be linked with that hill... In after years it will be told how Scotland’s widowed Queen with her dutiful & loving Daughter crossed the hill attended only by three Scotch ladies, a Highland Laird and a trusty band of Highlanders.”<sup>132</sup> Her language links the very British Victorian age to a highly Highland Jacobite one. Talk of loyalty, escapades and a tragic would-be king reflect the Highlandism of the expedition. The great British queen’s loyal ladies are all ‘Scotch’. The ‘Highland Laird’ was the aristocratic landowner on the neighbouring estate. What is filthy lucre compared to the wealth of ‘true Highland hearts’? Indeed, Miss MacGregor’s lines could be straight out of a Walter Scott movie.

It is left to historians like Tom Devine to again remind us how this was “an essentially imaginary world into which the harsh realities of life for the Gaels in the age of the Clearances rarely entered.”<sup>133</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century Scotland was powering the industrial revolution.<sup>134</sup> Yet progress came at a price, with low wages and poor working

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<sup>129</sup> Victoria, *More leaves*, *op cit.* 12th October 1865.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1523 *op cit.*

<sup>133</sup> Devine, 1999/2000, *Scottish nation*, p. 244.

<sup>134</sup> T.C. Smout talks of the rise of the heavy industries after 1830 in Smout, T. C. (1989). *A history of the Scottish people, 1560-1830*. London: Collins. See also Devine, 1999, *Scottish nation*, pp. 249-272. See also Richard J. Finlay in M. Lynch (ed.), *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 200.

conditions. In 1867 seventy per cent of Scots earned less than fifty pounds a year.<sup>135</sup> In Glasgow a third of all families lived in one room. Fewer than 5,000 individuals earned over a quarter of the national income.<sup>136</sup> The queen's Scotland of the 1860s and the duchess and Miss MacGregor's, too, was surely a "Scotland of [their] imagination... and not the reality of urbanised industrial Scotland."<sup>137</sup> However, on these anonymous trips, away from fawning courtiers, the monarch could believe herself to be a woman of the people. There were no reality checks in deepest Dunkeld. Here she could forget pressing matters like "that stupid Reform agitation",<sup>138</sup> - and her own grief.

Christopher Hibbert calls the years between 1861 and 1869 'The Recluse' ones, and devotes several pages to royal isolation.<sup>139</sup> Dorothy Thompson points out that such a retirement on the part of a widow "was the expected reaction of a woman of her time."<sup>140</sup> This widow had national duties to attend to, but being surrounded by crowds overwhelmed her and in early 1866 she had to endure what she described as "an execution."<sup>141</sup> For the first time since Albert's death the queen had to open parliament and she could not bear it: "...the spectacle of a poor, broken-hearted widow, nervous and shrinking, dragged in deep mourning..."<sup>142</sup> Mercifully, the Duchess of Athole was in waiting at the time and when Victoria returned from Westminster to Buckingham Palace she fell into her comforting Scottish arms.<sup>143</sup>

David Cannadine reminds us that between Albert's death and 1886 the queen opened parliament just six times<sup>144</sup> and now she turned to the Highlands to give her protection from the "many, nasty faces"<sup>145</sup> she saw whilst in England. Seemingly unable to handle southern ceremonies she could always find the strength to brave the Braemar Gathering. After telling her ministers how "she wishes to do what she can, to appear in public,"<sup>146</sup> the queen headed for the anonymity of the Duchess of Athole's Perthshire home. It was a relief to be in the land

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 393.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>137</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1985). *Queen Victoria in her letters and journals: A selection*. (edited by C. Hibbert). New York: Viking - 5<sup>th</sup> February 1867.

<sup>139</sup> Hibbert, C. *Queen Victoria*, pp. 307-313.

<sup>140</sup> Thompson, D. (1993). *Outsiders: Class, gender and nation*. London: Verso, p. 178.

<sup>141</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit*. 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1866, Queen Victoria to Lord Russell

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>143</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. KMA 105 - 6<sup>th</sup> February 1866 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>144</sup> Cannadine, *Monarchy*, p. 118.

<sup>145</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit*. 5<sup>th</sup> February 1867, Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1866, Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.

that time seemed to have forgotten; to be in a place where “people speak Gaelic and there are a few who do not speak a word of English;”<sup>147</sup> to be settled in the duchess’s ‘cottage’ was heaven: “I am where I was before... snug, peaceful, and comfortable...”<sup>148</sup> Highlandism meant escapism, in more ways than one.

This time the three women travelled to mighty Taymouth Castle, home of the Earls of Breadalbane and again, there was drama: a difficult journey across peat bog, the weather so wet the fire would not light and an unnerving ride through a darkening Pass of Killiekrankie. However, the monarch, famously feeble in England, was happily hardy in the Highlands: “...a very interesting day. We must have gone seventy-four miles.”<sup>149</sup> The trip had taken eleven hours, yet she still had enough energy to join a servant’s dance the following day.<sup>150</sup> Mountain exploration and contact with the Highland working class had made the most powerful woman in the world feel like a true daughter of the soil. It was the healing side of Highlandism and Victoria left the Dunkeld house, a place “where all breathes peace and harmony,”<sup>151</sup> with real regret.<sup>152</sup> The “dear kind Duchess and amiable Miss MacGregor”<sup>153</sup> had again come up trumps.

It is interesting to see how being ‘Highland’ was becoming something to boast about in mid-Victorian times, for a century earlier Thomas Pennant had the people of northern Scotland summed up rather differently: “their drink, whisky... the men... idle and lazy, except when employed in the chance of any thing that looks like amusement.”<sup>154</sup> Yet by the nineteenth century, having a Scottish connection might now be the highest compliment. “You know what a good Highlander she is, and how well she gets on with all the people,”<sup>155</sup> Miss MacGregor’s nephew, Sir Malcolm MacGregor, said proudly of his new wife. Lady Helen McDonnell was the daughter of an Ulster earl. Not every Scot shared the same enthusiasm

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<sup>147</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 1st October 1866.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 3rd October 1866.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* 4<sup>th</sup> October 1866.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* 6<sup>th</sup> October 1866.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Pennant, T. (1774). *A tour in Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides*. Chester: John Monk, p. 117; Clyde, R. D. (1995). *From rebel to hero: The image of the Highlander, 1745-1830*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, p. 109.

<sup>155</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Box 60, Bundle 15 - 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - Sir Malcolm MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

for these northern lands, however. William Ferguson notes how the writer, Thomas Carlyle, had “nothing to say”<sup>156</sup> of the Highland, or Gaelic tradition, that was good.

Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich call Victoria “a model for middle-class women”<sup>157</sup> and by the mid-Victorian age an increase in the number of tartans would make the cloth more accessible to middle class households. Around 1860 new dyes were introduced which allowed manufacturers to produce ‘modern’ patterns with vivid green, blue, red and yellow shades.<sup>158</sup> However, sporting something colourfully ‘Scotch’ was one thing - finding your own ‘Scotch’ musician was quite another. On Christmas day in 1865 the Duchess of Athole was hard at work: “...wrote to Princess Helena about a Piper for the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia.”<sup>159</sup> She and Miss MacGregor were testing local pipers. One, Colin Cameron, was “the very soul of Pipe Playing, aged 22.”<sup>160</sup> More was to come: “...from the Queen about a Piper for Prince Alfred.”<sup>161</sup> Correspondence was fast and furious. Then, at last: “...wrote to Eneas Rose... to engage *Wm MacDonald* from Badenoch as Piper to the Prince of Wales.”<sup>162</sup>

Early in her reign Victoria told her mother that “I mean to have a Piper, who can if you like it, pipe every night,”<sup>163</sup> and in 1843 Angus MacKay became the first personal piper to the Sovereign. Yet this was no trophy musician, simply churning out popular tunes at Deeside balls. MacKay was a noted composer and published a collection of piobaireachd, (the classical music of the Highland bagpipe) as well as a volume of reels and strathspeys.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Ferguson, W. (1998). *The identity of the Scottish nation: An historic quest*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 314.

<sup>157</sup> Homans, M., & Munich, A. (eds.). (1997). *Remaking Queen Victoria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

<sup>158</sup> Iain Zaczek details the tartans in the mid-Victorian era, Zaczek, I. (2005). *The history of tartan: The evocative story of the famous cloth of Scotland, and of the myths, legends and stirring history that are woven through it*. London: Southwark, 88-91; whilst Alastair Campbell of Airds notes how after Wilsons of Bannockburn began weaving new patterns, the number grew from a ‘trickle to a flood’ - Way of Plean, G., & Squire, R. (eds.). (1994). *Scottish clan and family encyclopaedia*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 38-42. See also House of Tartans - <http://www.house-of-tartan.scotland.net>

<sup>159</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 642 - 25<sup>th</sup> December 1865.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, 21<sup>st</sup> March 1866.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1866.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 11<sup>th</sup> May 1866.

<sup>163</sup> Royal Central. (2014, October 26). *Official royal posts: The Queen's piper*. Retrieved from <http://royalcentral.co.uk/blogs/official-royal-posts-the-queens-piper-38689x>, and, Queen Victoria's first piper honoured. (2010, November 30). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-11864504>

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*.

Victoria was piping-mad. She would give her son-in-law, the Grand Duke of Hesse, a set of bagpipes at Christmas.<sup>165</sup> When the Duchess of Athole's piper, George MacPherson, dropped down dead in the garden, she sent a royal telegram of condolence.<sup>166</sup> Getting anyone to replace the man would be hard. "I have no notion of anyone to fill poor George's shoes,"<sup>167</sup> the duchess's son, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl, admitted. "It is very difficult now a day to get country lads to enter service. They all want to be gamekeepers or clerks..."<sup>168</sup> Having a personal piper may have become a royal and upper class status symbol, yet it seems that the lower orders might be hoping for more modern, perhaps better-paid jobs.

The Duchess of Athole was also a lover of the bagpipes and a piper played each morning under her Dunkeld window, for the family had long been patrons of the Scottish musical tradition.<sup>169</sup> The "great fiddler and tunesmith Neil Gow"<sup>170</sup> was among their protégés whilst Lady Dorothea Stewart Murray, the Duchess of Athole's granddaughter, would be an avid collector of Highland music and song. As Sheila Douglas says of this female aristocrat: "It is hard to think of another Scot who amassed such an eclectic treasury of our musical heritage."<sup>171</sup> This conserving of scores and songs is another upside of Highlandism. As with the support for Gaelic and the need to record ancient documents, an aristocratic emotional interest in the past was continuing to foster an interest in Scottish musical culture.

Not every piper was so royally and aristocratically championed, though, and some culture would inevitably slip through the musical net. Ian Grimble claims that neither the MacCrimmons, nor the MacMhuirichs, specialists in piping and Gaelic, were "favoured... by [the queen's] notice, or by that of her successors."<sup>172</sup> Nor was that just royal oversight.

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<sup>165</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1975). *Advice to a grand-daughter: Letters from Queen Victoria to Princess Victoria of Hesse*. (edited by R. Hough). London: Heinemann p. 42, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1883 - the princess's father, the Grand Duke, was given a set of bagpipes by the queen as a Christmas present. See also Appendix C: Vol.56, p. 292: 9<sup>th</sup> November 1867 - "Bertie's piper played after dinner, walking twice round the table." Vol.59, p. 151: 9<sup>th</sup> July 1870 - "11 pipers of the 42<sup>nd</sup> played during luncheon." Vol.60, p. 158: 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1871 - "our three pipers" played at Buckingham Palace.

<sup>166</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1664 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1893, telegram from Queen Victoria.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, Bundle 466 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1893, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>169</sup> Death of the Dowager-Duchess of Athole. (1897, May 19). *Dundee Courier*, p. 4.

<sup>170</sup> Douglas, S. (1999). *The Athol Collection catalogue: 300 years of Scottish music and poetry*. Perth: Perth and Kinross Libraries, p. 5.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>172</sup> Grimble, I. (1980). *Clans and chiefs: Celtic tribalism in Scotland*. London: Blond & Briggs, p. 227. See also MacLeod, J. (1993). *No great mischief if you fall: The Highland experience*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, p. 49, where it is claimed that Lachlan MacMhuirich of South Uist, still alive in the 1790s, saw ancient family manuscripts being cut up to use for sewing patterns.

Grimble says that nineteenth century Celtic enthusiasts in general were far too busy “tartan-hunting to save the MacMhuirich Gaelic manuscript collection before it was cut up for tailor’s strips.”<sup>173</sup>

As Victoria told her family: “...there is nothing like the Highlanders, no nothing.”<sup>174</sup> This chapter will now describe a perfect example of Victorian Highlandism. It was a project to show “the finest race in the world”<sup>175</sup> in all its tartan glory and it was driven by the queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor. This thesis has already described how Victoria might rule an empire, yet she felt at home with ordinary clansmen. “The Dcs of Athole has been telling me so much about them & their devotion to the Duke & her... there is (as she says) a devotion unto death in them, a high, proud spirit - with gt. self respect - gentlemanlike, chivalrous feelings - & an amount of love for their Chief & their master and Mistress ... You feel they are friends & not servants & they look upon you as their friend,”<sup>176</sup> she said. She and the duchess had been discussing how these paragons of virtue might be recognised. The answer was to immortalise them in a book.

Delia Millar writes an account of the project in her reprint of the art book, *The Highlanders of Scotland* and this chapter will use some of her notes, as well as unpublished letters in MacGregor and Atholl archives, to describe what happened. Hugh Trevor-Roper notes at least three works on clan tartans being published in 1850,<sup>177</sup> but this royal tome would concentrate on the lowly-born Highland warrior. It would include the pipers, shepherds and gillies the queen so admired and they would be dressed in tartan. Naturally, the monarch’s personal servant, John Brown, would star - and the challenge there was to discover how his family ended up in Aberdeenshire. As Victoria was reluctantly told: “Brown is *not* a Highland Name.”<sup>178</sup>

It may not have been. Yet an interesting theory suggests that as Jacobite uprisings made it dangerous to use a rebel name, “a prudent man might prefer after hiding, to reappear with

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<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Victoria, *More leaves, op cit.* 29<sup>th</sup> September 1863.

<sup>175</sup> Appendix B: RA/ADD/U/32 - 26<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess; MacLeay, K. (1869/70/1986). *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria*. (edited by D. Millar and A. M. MacGregor). London: Haggerston Press, p. 17.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.* p.10

<sup>177</sup> Trevor-Roper, H. (2009). *The invention of Scotland: Myth and history*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p.39.

<sup>178</sup> MacLeay, 1869/1986, p. 11.

[something] undistinguished and so unlikely to arouse suspicion.”<sup>179</sup> Outlawed MacGregors are said to have adopted names like ‘Black’ and ‘White’ and another of the blander names used by those wishing to be invisible could well have been ‘Brown’ - which makes the writer, Ivor Brown, consider his own background.<sup>180</sup> “I do not know to what extent this is true, but it is a significant fact that the Browns and Blacks scarcely appear at all in the population rolls of Upper Deeside at the end of the seventeenth century.”<sup>181</sup> In the event, a decent ‘Highland’ history would be created for John Brown and they would further elevate the lowborn royal favourite by finding a distant Fifeshire baronet to link the name to.<sup>182</sup>

Importantly, it would be a thoroughly ‘Scotch’ artist who would execute the paintings for the new art book. Kenneth MacLeay was born in Oban. He was a member of the Royal Scottish Academy and was known as a “Highlander of the Highlands.”<sup>183</sup> Miss MacGregor noted his appointment and declared how “the Queen’s wish to do honour to Highlanders is a strong bond of grateful devotion to Her.”<sup>184</sup> The clan chief’s daughter was already cementing the link between rugged mountain men and British royalty and drew up a list of clans, including the Farquharsons, Forbes and “the truest Highlanders of any, namely ‘the MacGregors.’ ”<sup>185</sup> The clan chief’s daughter was thinking of a title for the book: “ ‘The Men of the Highlands?’ ... ‘Illustrations of Highlanders?’ ... The word Clan comes from a Gaelic word signifying *children*.”<sup>186</sup>

Eventually *The Highlanders of Scotland* was decided on and she and the Duchess of Athole travelled to Edinburgh to discuss money with the artist.<sup>187</sup> They found Kenneth MacLeay

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<sup>179</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 140.

<sup>180</sup> Detail from the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ - <http://www.clangregor.com>

<sup>181</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 140.

<sup>182</sup> See Miss MacGregor’s Preface & Notices in MacLeay, K. (1869/70/1986). *The Highlanders of Scotland: The complete watercolours commissioned by Queen Victoria*. (edited by D. Millar and A. M. MacGregor). London: Haggerston Press, p. 22 - “the Aberdeenshire Browns claim descent from Sir John Brown, of Fordel, in Fifeshire.”

<sup>183</sup> Millar, *Queen Victoria*. tells us McLeay was born in Oban in 1802 and died in 1878. On pp. 111-112 she details how MacLeay made his reputation as a miniature painter, “but fell on hard times with the advent of photography.” The description of MacLeay as a “Highlander of the Highlands” comes from Noel-Paton’s *Tales of a Grand daughter* and is quoted in MacLeay, 1869/70/1986, p. 9. MacLeay had already painted a posthumous portrait of the Prince Consort as a Highland chief, p. 10.

<sup>184</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1866 - Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Delia Millar notes how Victoria “disliked paying more for her pictures than was absolutely necessary, although an artist’s bill was invariably settled at once; she had a horror of running up such debts as her uncle,

quibbling over prices and bristling at taking orders from women. Indeed, a royal exhibition in 2013 showed how this rather difficult Scotsman could even ignore the queen, once painting one of her sons and refusing to make changes to the finished work.<sup>188</sup> Moreover, if MacLeay would not be told what to do, neither would Scotland's clan chiefs. Getting a dozen tight-fisted lairds to find suitable clansmen, deck them in tartan and send them to Edinburgh to be captured on canvas would not be easy. Miss MacGregor, though, was made of stern stuff. Letters went out to estates with instructions to find Highlanders with bearing. Details of "specimens"<sup>189</sup> should be returned to her and the duchess.<sup>190</sup> The word is interesting. Today 'specimens' suggests something clinical, even non-human. In Victorian times it appears to have been employed more generally to mean 'example'.

Now the clan chief's daughter found herself with an added duty.<sup>191</sup> Someone had to write the words to accompany the pictures and as Victoria's Balmoral commissioner, Dr Robertson, had said: "...in the hands of Miss MacGregor, herself a Highlander in blood and feeling, the work will be well executed."<sup>192</sup> A jubilant Miss MacGregor was given control of the project and she now wrote a stiff letter to the artist. "You seem to be under some misapprehension as to what has been entrusted to you..."<sup>193</sup> Kenneth MacLeay had been finding his own men to paint and the clan chief's daughter rapped his knuckles. "The Queen considers Mr. MacLeay engaged to paint the likenesses, but it is Her Majesty's especial wish that the Duchess and [I] should arrange the subjects."<sup>194</sup> Predictably, he ignored her and the women had to ask for royal help: "...the waste of time and complicated difficulties are very annoying."<sup>195</sup> The

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George IV, had done" - from Millar, *Queen Victoria's Life in the Scottish Highlands, depicted by her watercolour artist*, p. 10.

<sup>188</sup> We are not amused: Royal exhibition reveals artist who dared to disobey Queen Victoria. (2012, February 26). *The Telegraph*.

<sup>189</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 17<sup>th</sup> March 1867 - Sir Robert Menzies to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - "as regards the specimens..."; 6<sup>th</sup> September 1867, the Duke of Argyll to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - "we have caught our specimen Campbell..."; 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1868, Mr Mackintosh of Daviot to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - "it's very gratifying... to hear that HM the Queen is pleased with the specimens of the Clan Mackintosh."

<sup>190</sup> Delia Millar calls Miss MacGregor an "indomitable lady" - see Millar, *The Highlanders of Scotland, op cit.* p. 112.

<sup>191</sup> MacLeay, p.11. Millar says it was first suggested that James Grant, the historian of the Highland regiments, and author of *The Tartans of the Clans of Scotland* should help with the text of the Highlanders: "...in the end, it all seems to have been written by Miss MacGregor."

<sup>192</sup> Appendix B: RA/ADD/Q 1/76 - 16<sup>th</sup> January 1867 - Dr Robertson to Queen Victoria.

<sup>193</sup> Appendix D: PD60/666 - 4<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - Miss MacGregor to Kenneth MacLeay.

<sup>194</sup> The Duchess of Roxburgh had written on the queen's behalf to tell Miss MacGregor that she and the duchess were to choose men - see Appendix D: PD60/668, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1867; PD60/666, 4<sup>th</sup> August 1867, Miss MacGregor repeats the instructions to Kenneth McLeay.

<sup>195</sup> Appendix D: PD60/668 - 6<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

“obstinate and troublesome man”<sup>196</sup> was eventually put in his place by a male courtier and his next communication was weighed down with resentment. “I perceive that her Majesty has transferred the selection of the men to her Grace the Duchess Dowager of Athole and yourself, upon which of course I am precluded from making any comment.”<sup>197</sup>

So what of the lairds tasked with finding ‘specimens’ to appear in the queen’s book? This thesis has already noted how by the end of the eighteenth century, three-fifths of Scotland’s clan chiefs had either left the Highlands, or were absentee landlords.<sup>198</sup> According to the Victorian writer and nationalist, James Grant, they had become nothing more than “holiday Celtic chiefs.”<sup>199</sup> Grant himself was the son of a Scottish laird and he spoke with some knowledge and much feeling: these chiefs, “more sure and deadly than the butcheries of Cumberland... have destroyed the clans forever.”<sup>200</sup> His words may have been a little unfair on some escapees, yet it does appear that some Scottish aristocrats now had little attachment to, or contact with, their country.

From England, MacDougall of Dungellie wrote to say he would be honoured to have one of his men featuring in the queen’s book, but having been in the Indian army, “my acquaintance therefore with the people in the clan... is very limited. Emigration to the Colonies & elsewhere has much diminished the number of people of the name.”<sup>201</sup> Another chief, the MacLachlan, was in Bournemouth where he had been living for some years on account of his wife’s health. Yet, even if he had been in Scotland, he feared that “there may be a difficulty in finding a MacLachlan in these prosaic days whose history is interesting & worthy of notice.”<sup>202</sup> Miss MacGregor’s nephew, the 21<sup>st</sup> chief of Clan Gregor, was also absent from his Balquhidder estate, a lack of money having forced a reluctant Sir Malcolm MacGregor back to sea to make a living.<sup>203</sup> It rather gave the lie to Highlandism.

<sup>196</sup> Appendix D: PD60/668 - 7<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - Col. Biddulph to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>197</sup> Appendix D: PD60/666 - 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>198</sup> MacLeod, J. (1996/1997). *Highlanders: A history of the Gaels*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 185.

<sup>199</sup> James Grant, 1852, quoted in Robson, *op cit.* p. 158. Grant’s father was head of the Grants of Corrimony in Glen Urquhart which was sold in 1830.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1868 - Captain MacDougall of Dungellie to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>202</sup> Appendix A: Box 75, Bundle 21 - 28<sup>th</sup> December 1868 - the MacLachlan to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>203</sup> Appendix A: Box 60, Bundle 15 - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - Sir Malcolm MacGregor to Miss MacGregor about him sailing from Portsmouth.

The Gordon laird, meanwhile, was on his way to India, so his mother, Lady Huntley, wrote on his behalf to explain how “the estate of Aboyne is so little Highland, so few men who wear the kilt that I am afraid no such person may be found.”<sup>204</sup> Nor could Haddo House, another of the Gordon estates, supply anyone dignified, yet lowly. “I only know of three; one a paralytic imbecile, another a little man with a wooden leg and the third a mason... with a face so very red that I should be sorry to see it immortalised as the representation of the Gordon countenance. It is a pity that a gentleman will not do...”<sup>205</sup> However, a gentleman would not do. For this project demanded a noble savage - and a kilted one at that.

Yet even for those chiefs who *were* still in the Highlands, the job of finding this quintessential ‘Scotsman’ was still proving exacting. From mighty Taymount Castle came the excuse that “owing to the depopulation of the Highlands some years ago [Lord Breadalbane] fancies it will not be very easy to obtain a really perfect Highlander & also a Campbell, most of them having been banished from the county before Lord Breadalbane succeeded to the Earldom.”<sup>206</sup> One wonders who banished them. Indeed, the mighty Campbell clan appeared not to have a handsome Highlander among them. From Inveraray Castle the Duke of Argyll wrote: “I clearly understand that I am to look for an Adonis... an ugly man won’t do.... [but] I feel the clan is rather low just now, in point of looks.”<sup>207</sup> One clansman, ‘Big Colin M’, was rejected for being fat and red-faced, “like a Prize animal.”<sup>208</sup> This was the reality on some Highland estates: workers classed as cattle.

By now, though, clan rivalry was coming into play. At the Seafield estate in the Cairngorms the factor managed to produce “eight as fine Highlanders as I ever saw to choose from... we picked upon a magnificent old man, John Grant, 6 foot 4 inches high.”<sup>209</sup> Not to be outdone, the Duke of Argyll declared that “we have caught our specimen Campbell and I am humbly of opinion that he will do vy well - if indeed he does not beat easily all the Murrays to be

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<sup>204</sup> Appendix D: PD60/657 - 7<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Lady Huntley to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1867, Lord Breadalbane to the Dowager Duchess of Athole. Note: It is said that Breadalbane could once ride a hundred miles across family land that stretched from Perthshire to the Atlantic.

<sup>207</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 13<sup>th</sup> August 1867, the Duke of Argyll to the Dowager Duchess of Athole. This was a wealthy landowning family. The third Duke of Argyll was the “most influential man in Scotland” - from Way of Plean & Squire, *op cit.* pp. 91-92.

<sup>208</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 31<sup>st</sup> August 1867.

<sup>209</sup> Appendix D: PD60/666 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

found in Athole.”<sup>210</sup> Campbell triumph was short-lived. A tenant who worked in the herring fishery was chosen, but he, too, was no oil painting.<sup>211</sup> Scotland’s lairds were discussing their workers like possessions. It said not a lot for the state of clanship in the late 1860s.

The project staggered on for two years, with Kenneth MacLeay out on the road painting men from Rannoch to the Western Isles.<sup>212</sup> The queen wanted to see caber-tossing and hammer-throwing and complained about a sameness in poses.<sup>213</sup> Some subjects were more interesting than others. Lachlan McPherson, a 58-year-old former Scottish athletic champion, was painted carrying the ‘Bratach Uain’, the clan banner carried by the family in the ’45. It was “riddled with shot and falling to pieces with age”<sup>214</sup> and perfect to bring a Jacobite touch to the painting. Other ‘specimens’ were perhaps less suited to being captured on canvas. A MacNaghton man was described as being “characteristic, but too fat for a Highlander.”<sup>215</sup> To disguise his imperfections, MacLeay planned to paint him sitting down.

Highland images were key in this project and Miss MacGregor sent a list of clan badges to incorporate into the paintings. “Buchan is the Birch, Cameron the Oak, MacGregor the Pine...”<sup>216</sup> The clan chief’s daughter was on a roll, posting out questionnaires to glean information on the men being portrayed. Furiously writing, she still found time to tout for subscribers.<sup>217</sup> Despite royal backing, there was a worrying lack of interest in the book.<sup>218</sup> Crucially, though, Victoria was happy: “...she quite approves of what you propose,”<sup>219</sup> a lady-in-waiting reported from Balmoral.

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<sup>210</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Box 75, Bundle 20 - 6<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - the Duke of Argyll to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, 31<sup>st</sup> August 1867. See also MacLeay, *op cit.* - colour plate no. 9 - “Colin Campbell, Argyllman & an unknown Breadalbane man.” Neither has fine features.

<sup>212</sup> See Appendix D: PD60/666 - 29<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss Macgregor. He is in Aberfeldy where the Breadalbane sittings are finished, and the next day he will go to Rannoch for the Robertson, then to Roseneath for the Duke of Argyll’s man; 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1868 - MacLeay is off to Perthshire for sittings; 30<sup>th</sup> June 1868 - the artist is at Kintail before going to Skye and Harris.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1867 - Miss MacGregor to Kenneth MacLeay.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, 21/22nd November 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, 21st May 1868.

<sup>216</sup> Appendix D: PD60/660 - list of clan plants and motifs.

<sup>217</sup> Appendix D: PD60/659 - 9<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - Mr Ross writes from Balmoral on behalf of the queen to thank Miss MacGregor for her efforts to find subscribers for the new book. He also tells it was a “very poor Braemar Gathering,” and if they cannot do better the next year they had “better give it up.”

<sup>218</sup> Appendix D: PD60/670 - 30<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - Mr Mitchell, the queen’s printer, would also express his concern to Miss MacGregor about the book’s progress, and the small number of subscribers.

<sup>219</sup> Appendix D: PD60/668 - date unclear - possibly October 1867, Lady Jane Ely to Miss MacGregor.

Yet Highlandism was proving exacting. The artist was working under pressure after the death of his wife<sup>220</sup> and in London the queen's printer went down with an attack of neuralgia.<sup>221</sup> At Balmoral Dr Robertson was having an "anxious and wearisome"<sup>222</sup> time with *his* dying wife. Then the sitters, too, had *their* woes. Fat Donald Gordon could barely squeeze into the jacket he was meant to wear for the painting – which may have been an excuse, as with two thousand sheep wintering in Aberdeenshire, he could not really spare the time to get down to MacLeay's Edinburgh studio.<sup>223</sup> Other men expected Miss MacGregor, rather than their clan chief, to pay their travelling expenses.<sup>224</sup> One person appears to have lost his job as he stayed beyond his master's leave in the Scottish capital.<sup>225</sup> There was worse. Robert MacNab and Donald MacNaghton who were both painted together met a sorry end. MacNaghton, a former shepherd and weaver with ten children, died in 1869 whilst MacNab, a Callander builder with three daughters, would attempt suicide.<sup>226</sup>

At Osborne the Duchess of Athole continued to fuel Highland interest by reading Walter Scott's *Guy Mannerin*g to the queen whilst Miss MacGregor dined with Victoria seven days out of ten.<sup>227</sup> In the spring of 1868, the court moved north to Balmoral.<sup>228</sup> When summer came it decamped south for the Buckingham Palace garden party. The palace was heaving, yet that night it was just the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor who sat with the monarch and reassured her.<sup>229</sup> A Highland passion had brought them together, albeit from different places. Anne was on the royal payroll and was Victoria's friend. Miss MacGregor was a lady's companion and dowdy spinster. The fact that the queen liked her company

<sup>220</sup> Appendix D: PD60/666 - 11<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

<sup>221</sup> Appendix D: PD60/668 - 15<sup>th</sup> October 1867 - Mr Mitchell tells Miss MacGregor he hopes he will be well enough to make the journey to Edinburgh.

<sup>222</sup> Appendix D: PD60/669 - 25<sup>th</sup> February 1867 - Dr Robertson to Miss MacGregor. His wife died in May 1868 - see Lindsay, P. R. (1902). *Recollections of a royal parish*. London: John Murray, p. 65, from Queen Victoria to Dr Robertson, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1868 - "the Queen has just learnt with deep concern of the sad termination of his beloved wife's long and distressing illness."

<sup>223</sup> Appendix D: PD60/662, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - Andrew Robertson to Miss MacGregor - "such a broad fat fellow." See also 25<sup>th</sup> February 1868 for the sheep.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid*, 27th September 1867 - John Robertson to Miss MacGregor - the bill was £3 and 10 shillings.

<sup>225</sup> Appendix D: PD60/665, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1867, G. Condie to Miss MacGregor - the man was John Stewart

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, 31<sup>st</sup> March 1869 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - "it has shocked me no end to hear of the end of poor MacNaghton and the sad attempt of suicide of Robert Macnab." Note: the two men are pictured on plate no. 26 in MacLeay, *op cit*. Robert MacNab detail from Miss MacGregor's notes, p. 53.

<sup>227</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 642 - January and February 1868.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid*, 20th May 1868 - "Emily MacGregor and I drove and rode with the Queen & Princess Beatrice up Glen Gelder & had tea in the Corrie Bruie... Emily and I dined with the Queen"; 29<sup>th</sup> May 1868 - "drove out with Emily & Her Majesty to have tea & sketch"; 1<sup>st</sup> June - "ladies dined with the Queen." Note: the duchess called Miss MacGregor 'Emily'.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1868. See also Appendix A: Box 75, Bundle 2 - 8<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole quoting the queen, to Miss MacGregor - "if you could *both* come back with me from Scotland in June, & be present at *that* breakfast..."

shows she was either useful, or easy to be with - or perhaps a bit of both. Like John Brown, the clan chief's daughter was filling a very Scottish role.

Scottish reality brought the ladies back down to earth. In Dunkeld protestors were refusing to pay the 7th Duke of Atholl's bridge tolls and those who had attempted to kick down the tollgate - a "motley crew of Radicals"<sup>230</sup> - were being tried for affray. Such was the fear of insurrection at this gateway to the Highlands that sixty special constables were sworn in to keep the peace and soldiers from the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders were stationed in the town.<sup>231</sup> More pressing, though, was *The Highlanders* art book. Having first been seen as an inconvenience, starring in the queen's glossy production was now perceived as a great honour.

The Chisholms and Camerons quickly found men for Kenneth MacLeay to paint, as did the Colquhouns. The Frasers of Beauly also produced someone acceptable: "...six foot two; his family more than 200 years on the property."<sup>232</sup> From Edinburgh, McNeil of Barra reported plenty of handsome, well-built males on Colonsay - "good enough specimens of the species you desiderate"<sup>233</sup> - but an unfortunate lack of tartan in which to dress them: "...[it] has of late been to a great extent superseded by home made cloth chiefly grey or brown mixtures... the kilt except among youths has also very generally given way to trowsers as more suitable for boating."<sup>234</sup> The irony there is that whilst plaid-struck Lowlanders and Englishmen were adopting the kilt, Highlanders might actually be abandoning it.

From Mull, meanwhile, Sir Charles Maclean sent details of Lachlan Maclean, a farmer whose family had been on the estate for three hundred years. "When the Chief of the Clan, Sir John Maclean, fell at Killiecrankie, three of Lachlan's immediate ancestors hoisted the Maclean banner to conceal his death [and] rushed to the thickest of the battle and fought most valiantly."<sup>235</sup> This was a man with honourable forebears, a perfect Highlander. Another "most

<sup>230</sup> Atholl, J. J. H. H. S.-M. (1908). *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families: In five volumes*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, Vol.IV, p. 481 - "the public alleged the Duke's powers to levy pontage had expired. Much ill-feeling arose." See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 60, Bundle 18 - 19<sup>th</sup> September 1868 - the Earl of Mansfield to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>231</sup> Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol.IV, pp. 481-482.

<sup>232</sup> Appendix D: PD60/657 - 13<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Fraser of Beaufort Castle to Miss MacGregor

<sup>233</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS Box 75, Bundle 20 - 2nd/10th August 1868 - McNeil of Barra to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS Box 75, Bundle 21 - 26<sup>th</sup> October 1868 - Sir Charles MacLean to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

“excellent specimen” was a Munro and this “genuine old Highlander,”<sup>236</sup> a former soldier, came with an impeccable reference from the local minister. He was “a quiet, obliging neighbour, a dutiful parent and respected by all who know him.”<sup>237</sup> It would not do to offer the queen a dubious Highland character.

Not every family was doing so well. The Grahams explained how they felt themselves to be an “entirely Lowland”<sup>238</sup> clan and were desperately searching for someone who might wear a kilt. “I feel you must select a gd. model from your own county and put him in a dress of Graham Tartan,”<sup>239</sup> the Duke of Montrose admitted sheepishly from London. Yet one clan was literally begging to be featured, tartan and all. The Gunns could “trace... as far back as a thousand years ago... my object is to see if the Clan Gunn can still be included in Her Majesty’s Book,”<sup>240</sup> pleaded Captain Gunn. In the end they could not. Kenneth MacLeay was putting the finishing touches to the watercolours. He declared the Camerons to be “worthy specimens”<sup>241</sup> whilst the Chisholm was “one of the finest men” he had painted: “...6 foot 3 with a very high-class head.”<sup>242</sup>

Thirty-one lithographed prints coloured by hand went on show at the Royal Library in Bond Street. “Not a few of the subjects are distinguished by unusual manly beauty, and a frank, dignified, martial bearing,”<sup>243</sup> waxed the *Art Journal*. The Queen’s book was previewed in the press, although just how good palace marketing was, was debatable. To date the list of subscribers numbered barely sixty and included the Prince of Wales, the Emperor of the French, the King of the Belgians, the King and Queen of Prussia, the Khedive of Egypt and the Maharajah Duleep Singh. Aristocratic favours were being called in. Loyal Scots who were encouraged to express an interest included the Earl of Fife, the Home Drummonds, the Drummond Morays and the Duchesses of Athole and Roxburghe.<sup>244</sup> Among those curious,

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<sup>236</sup> *Ibid*, 13<sup>th</sup> January 1869 - Captain Munro of Fowlis, enclosure to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>238</sup> Appendix D: PD60/657 - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - the Duke of Montrose to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>240</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 21 - 5th January 1869 - Captain Gunn to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>241</sup> Appendix D: PD60/665 - 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1869 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>243</sup> The Highlanders of Scotland. (1869, April). *Art Journal*, 31, pp. 97-99.

<sup>244</sup> Appendix D: PD60/672

but not quite signed up, was Dr Alexander Hunter of the Madras School of Art, the Duke of Sutherland and Benjamin Disraeli.<sup>245</sup> A copy of the new art book was sent up to Balmoral.<sup>246</sup>

*The Highlanders of Scotland* shows men resplendent in tartan. These “charming heroes”<sup>247</sup> sport carefully combed sporrans and beards; their weapons, whether sword, fishing rod, or set of pipes, are grasped in honest hands. As MacLeay himself noted of the MacLachlan in his yellow and blue tartan: “...he is a very handsome gentleman like young man, tho’ a peasant.”<sup>248</sup> The Colquhoun, meanwhile, with silver handled sword and studded Highland targe, is described as a “fine martial-looking Highlander.”<sup>249</sup>

Colour bounces from the pages these working class subjects grace - and not just from the multi-coloured cloth adorning their muscled frames, but from the glow of having spent a lifetime in bracing Highland air. The queen’s brief had been to “select the finest men”<sup>250</sup> and these were certainly “excellent specimens,” males of “all powerful bone and muscle.”<sup>251</sup> They would confirm Victoria’s idea of the worth of Highland lower orders - and conform with a growing Victorian interest in the idea of race and social Darwinism.<sup>252</sup> Some nations would be deemed lesser ones and it was a Scot who set off to convert the African ‘heathens’. In 1855 David Livingstone named a waterfall on the Zambezi River after Queen Victoria.<sup>253</sup>

In royal eyes Highlanders were certainly not considered ‘lesser’ people, yet the queen’s art book is incongruous. Among those captured on canvas are lowly keepers and shepherds - men who would probably never have owned a smart kilt, let alone a pair of silver-buckled shoes. There is more. As Grant Jarvie notes: “...accessories that would have struck the old Highlanders as amazing” have been incorporated into the outfits.<sup>254</sup> Duncan MacGregor was

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<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 22 - 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1869 - John Mitchell to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>247</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/63 - 5<sup>th</sup> April 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>248</sup> Appendix D: PD60/665 - 31<sup>st</sup> March 1869 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> Appendix D: PD60/668 - 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>251</sup> Appendix D: PD60/666 - 25<sup>th</sup> February 1868; 6<sup>th</sup> December 1867.

<sup>252</sup> See Evans, R. (2011, April 11). *The Victorians: Empire and race*. Gresham College. Retrieved from <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-victorians-empire-and-race> - accessed 2015

<sup>253</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Livingstone, David (1813–1873), explorer and missionary

<sup>254</sup> Jarvie, G. (1989). *Culture, social development and the Scottish Highland gatherings*. In D. McCrone, S. Kendrick & P. Straw (eds.), *The making of Scotland: Nation, culture & social change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 200.

a ploughman who became a ground officer.<sup>255</sup> He lived in a croft, but is pictured in richly-coloured plaid and kilt whilst his magnificent badger-hair sporran is adorned with a chiefly crest.<sup>256</sup> Heraldically, he should not be wearing the emblem, but he has obviously been dressed up for the occasion.<sup>257</sup>

Other subjects also sport items that have no doubt been lent by their lords and masters.<sup>258</sup> John Chisholm, another ploughman, is shown in full Highland uniform, complete with dirk and fancy skean-dhu.<sup>259</sup> Donald MacBeath herded cattle before becoming a sharpshooter in the Crimean War. The man had a chest full of medals, but was “very gentle in private life.”<sup>260</sup> In short, he was the perfect Scot to include in the queen’s book. Another subject is described as “rather elderly but a good specimen.”<sup>261</sup> Character and bearing are key in this production, with candidates preferably over six feet tall.<sup>262</sup> Even the Duchess of Athole’s hairy and often barefoot gillie, the man who carried the spade to dig out otters on hunts, has scrubbed up well for this performance. Willie Duff poses with gold key and chain and is described formally as ‘William’ Duff.<sup>263</sup> “Beardie Willie,”<sup>264</sup> as he was known locally, could pass muster at the Perth Ball. Then he was Highlandism personified: a son of the soil, a singer of Gaelic songs and six feet seven in height. It would be a snide remark in a London magazine that would later burst the Highland bubble. Willie was “far fonder of whisky than books.”<sup>265</sup>

At the end of the day, though, the artist - and Miss MacGregor - had followed their royal brief. They had captured Victoria’s idea of the ‘Noble Savage’. However, it is Miss MacGregor’s introduction to the work with its references to ties of blood and clanship that shouts Highlandism. As she declared: “Now that the ‘Land of the Heather’ is familiar to all, when Britain is proud of her Highland Regiments - when so many of her Southern sons migrate annually to seek health and recreation in the north, some record of the People of the Highlands, as they *now* are, may... prove useful to the future historian... May the many

<sup>255</sup> Miss MacGregor, quoted in MacLeay, *op cit.* pp. 42-43.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.* plate no. 21.

<sup>257</sup> Quote from Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor, the 2016 chief of Clan Gregor.

<sup>258</sup> MacLeay, *Highlanders* - plate no. 17 - John Grant and John Fraser.

<sup>259</sup> MacLeay, *Highlanders* - plate no. 11 - John Chisholm.

<sup>260</sup> Appendix D: PD60/688 - Miss MacGregor’s notes. See also MacLeay, *Highlanders* - plate no. 10.

<sup>261</sup> Appendix D: PD60/688 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> MacLeay, *Highlanders* - plate no. 10 - Willie Duff. See also Appendix D: PD60/668 - Miss MacGregor’s descriptions of his career.

<sup>264</sup> Description of Willie in Atholl Estates. (1990). *A century in Atholl*. Blair Atholl: Atholl Estates.

<sup>265</sup> The Athole gathering. (1871, October). *Belgravia: A London Magazine*, pp. 432-437.

noble qualities and simple virtues thus inherited with the kindly feeling still subsisting between Chief and Clansman and the mutual trust uniting all Highlanders in brotherhood, long survive, whatever changes time may bring!”<sup>266</sup>

“The People of the Highlands, as they *now...*” In her words a tartanned north of Scotland sits happily in a united Britain. Highland regiments are making the UK proud whilst Englishmen cross the border in search of health and relaxation. Miss MacGregor talks of chiefs and clans as if a feudal age existed in a mid-Victorian one. Again, the reality was very different. Forced clearance might mostly have ended around 1860, yet continuing emigration was doing little for the idea of clanship.<sup>267</sup> Malcolm Gray notes that whilst Scots were no longer being compulsorily removed, crofters were still suffering. “Nearly all the arable land, as well as the rough pasture of the interior was taken for sheep.”<sup>268</sup> Indeed, Victoria’s own diaries give some idea of the misery around her in the 1860s, as chapter two of this thesis has showed.

The truth was that few Scots could be as magnificently tartanned-out as the men in the queen’s art book, for this was an imaginary Highland world that the monarch and her ladies had produced. Yet, predictably, the work was well-received. The *Art Journal* declared it to be “valuable to all classes of all countries”<sup>269</sup> whilst the *Aberdeen Journal* announced that “no work could have been more faithfully or successfully performed.... each chief naturally sent the best specimen of his clan.”<sup>270</sup> People could now believe in a plaided Scotland. Chiefs were reinstated in the Scottish pecking order. The reinvention of the Highlands was almost complete - and all with royal approval.

There is, however, no denying the artistic and literary labours of those involved in the project. Whilst researching those being painted Miss MacGregor unearthed a mass of historical detail about clans. Indeed, the queen’s printer praised her “unceasing labours... a Publisher of high position has said he knows of no work of greater interest, or that has been more ably executed.”<sup>271</sup> Yet the clan chief’s daughter needed a more authoritative vindication

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<sup>266</sup> MacLeay, *Highlanders*. Preface & Notices.

<sup>267</sup> Devine, 1994, *Clanship to crofters’ war*, p. 199 - “by the later 1850s mass eviction had virtually come to an end,” but landlords controlled sub-letting.

<sup>268</sup> Gray, *Regions*, p. 88.

<sup>269</sup> The Scottish Highlanders. (1870, April). *Art Journal*, 33, p. 116.

<sup>270</sup> Mr Kenneth MacLeay’s ‘Highlanders of Scotland’. (1868, November 4). *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, p. 3

<sup>271</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 22 - 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1869 - John Mitchell to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

of her efforts and contacted the Scottish historian, W.F Skene:<sup>272</sup> "...as a Highland woman myself and very much interested in the subject, I have endeavored to compile the little histories impartially, following [your] most valuable and interesting History.... It would, of course, be of the greatest advantage... to be favourably reviewed in Scotland, especially if there was an inkling of it being approved by so great an authority."<sup>273</sup> We do not have the reply.

A new edition of the art book was published in 1872, with another coming out in 1874.<sup>274</sup> Victoria wanted to include a servant called Peter Farquharson in the latest edition and asked Miss MacGregor to compile a short history of him.<sup>275</sup> There was talk of another production, this time showing the royal family in Highland dress.<sup>276</sup> Mercifully nothing came of it, for they were all exhausted.<sup>277</sup> When Kenneth MacLeay died in 1875 his daughter received a pension for his service to Scottish art. Miss MacGregor, meanwhile, was given a copy of *The Highlanders*, bound inside with MacGregor tartan.<sup>278</sup> As the queen told her: "...your accounts were so charmingly written & it is a most useful book of reference."<sup>279</sup>

In between all of this, another literary event to fuel the fires of Highlandism was gripping the palace. *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* was a record of Victoria and Albert's time at Balmoral. The book had already been in private circulation and by 1869-70 it was to be published for the masses - putting royal life north of the border on a global stage. This was a place where no one stood on ceremony.<sup>280</sup> The Prince Consort was known as 'Albert', the Princess Royal was called 'Vicky' and readers devoured the stories of their stays in village inns and their chats with the locals.<sup>281</sup> In these diaries, details of battles sat

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<sup>272</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Skene, William Forbes (1809–1892), historian and Celtic scholar.

<sup>273</sup> Appendix D: PD60/662 - 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Mr Skene's secretary, Miss Jardine. See Appendix H: ODNB - Skene, William Forbes, *op cit.* who co-founded the Iona Club.

<sup>274</sup> MacLeay, *op cit.* p. 14.

<sup>275</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/10/87 - 18<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>276</sup> MacLeay, *op cit.* p. 14. See also Appendix D: PD60/662 - 29<sup>th</sup> March 1869.

<sup>277</sup> At the end of 1969, Miss MacGregor was very ill. See Appendix A: Atholl MSS, Bundle 643 - 4<sup>th</sup> January 1870 - the queen sent word that the duchess's waiting would be deferred because of it; 29<sup>th</sup> January 1970 - "[Emily] confined to her own room for the last four months."

<sup>278</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/67, 29th November 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>279</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. KMA 105 - 15<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Queen Victoria to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>280</sup> Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* was published in 1868 by Smith, Elder and Co, London. See, for example, *Ascent of Ben-Na-Bhourd*, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1868/1973, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1850.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid*, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - *First Impressions of Balmoral* - "a little dressing-room which is Albert's"; 11<sup>th</sup> October 1852 - *Building the Cairn on Craig Gowan* - "Albert and Vicky, with the others, built a little cairn to mark the spot"; 8 - 9<sup>th</sup> October 1861 - *Third Great Expedition - to Glen Fishie, Dalwhinnie, and Blair Athole*.

alongside domestic events.<sup>282</sup> Poor Vicky cried when she sat on a wasp's nest.<sup>283</sup> The queen's pony was so fat it panted up the hills.<sup>284</sup> Highlandism was getting royalty out of its gilded halls and into the community. It was giving an unapproachable family something of a common touch.

*Leaves* was edited by the Clerk of the Privy Council, Arthur Helps, who subjected it to "a very severe scrutiny of style and grammar."<sup>285</sup> For her part, Miss MacGregor was checking Gaelic names. "I enclose you a list... that I want you to glance at and to tell me if they are rightly spelled,"<sup>286</sup> Helps' daughter, Alice, advised her. "The Queen... does not wish to go by any of the received authentication; but by the proper Gaelic spelling of the names as she is accustomed to hear them about her in Scotland, but she thought it probable that some mistakes might yet have crept in and wished to abide by *your* decision for the proper Gaelic spelling."<sup>287</sup> Victoria was worried that some words might have been anglicised: "...nearly 300 different names are mentioned in the course of the volume, so it is easy to fall into mistakes."<sup>288</sup> Heaven forbid that anything English should creep in...

However, it was no mistake to publish these royal memories.<sup>289</sup> As Dr Robertson told Miss MacGregor: "...the people of this country are perfectly crazy about it."<sup>290</sup> *Leaves* had come at the right time. Michael Paterson points out how the royal family's private life had been a subject for "scurrilous mockery... with disrespectful and often vicious" reports.<sup>291</sup> Now Highlandism could give the monarch the chance to present herself as "a model of respectability,"<sup>292</sup> even if some courtiers were horrified at royal personal detail being out in

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<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, 10<sup>th</sup> September 1855 - *News of the fall of Sevastopol* - reports of the Crimean victory are celebrated alongside piping, lighting a bonfire and drinking whisky.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, 11<sup>th</sup> October 1852 - *Building the Cairn on Craig Gowan* - "poor Vicky, unfortunately, seated herself on a wasp's nest, and was much stung."

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid*, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1859 - *Ascent of Morven*.

<sup>285</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 2011, *op cit*. 21<sup>st</sup> December 1867, p.261. See also Appendix H: ODNB - Helps, Sir Arthur (1813–1875), public servant and author.

<sup>286</sup> Appendix D: PD60/669 - 21<sup>st</sup> May 1867 - Alice Helps to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>289</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1985, *op cit*. 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - "18,000 copies were sold in a week."

<sup>290</sup> Appendix D: PD60/662, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - Andrew Robertson to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>291</sup> Paterson, M. (2008). *Life in Victorian Britain: A social history of Queen Victoria's reign*. London: Constable & Robinson, p. 14.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*.

the public arena. One courtier, Lady Augusta Stanley, warned it would “do great harm to our dear One”<sup>293</sup> whilst the Prince of Wales dismissed the whole thing as “twaddle.”<sup>294</sup>

The years would be no kinder to the royal writer. Victoria’s attempts at Highland prose are seen by some as a forerunner to what became sneeringly known as ‘Kailyard’ literature. Indeed, Ivor Brown talks of Balmoral being dubbed “Kailyard Castle,” although he maintains that the term is unwarranted. “It was applied, quite unfairly, to anybody who did not belong to the Midden and Misery School of Scottish Writers who were determined that henceforward there should be no more Kailyards and only Muckyards.”<sup>295</sup> Yet if the queen previewed that much-derided literary style, she did not actually invent it.

In 1894 the novelist, Ian Maclaren, produced a book about rural Scottish life. *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* echoed lines from Robert Burns and used the term ‘Kailyard’, or ‘cabbage-patch’.<sup>296</sup> Other authors, including J.M. Barrie and S.R. Crockett, were also penning similarly gushing stories, their efforts now considered to be a low period in Scottish writing.<sup>297</sup> Graeme Morton calls the literary years between 1880 and 1914 “weak and immature.”<sup>298</sup> Tom Nairn damns them as “sub-cultural scotchery,”<sup>299</sup> giving romantic notions of an idealised Scotland, whilst Tom Devine goes further: “...bad art, cultural degeneracy and sloppy sentimentality,”<sup>300</sup> although he does admit that Kailyard authors were only a niche market. If modern-day critics have not been kind to Kailyard authors, these works also had their naysayers at the time. The Duchess of Athole was said to be among those not taken with the style. “Her trenchant criticism of the books of the Kailyard school showed that while perhaps appreciating more than most their aim of presenting a faithful picture of the national characteristics... she could lay an unerring finger on every weak spot.”<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> *Later Letters of Lady Augusta Stanley* as quoted in Longford, *op cit.* p. 408. See also St Aubyn, G. (1991). *Queen Victoria: A portrait*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, p. 365.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, pp. 27 & 30.

<sup>296</sup> Maclaren, I. (1894). *Beside the bonnie brier bush*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. See Appendix H: ODNB - Watson, John (*pseud* Ian Maclaren, 1850–1907), Presbyterian minister and author.

<sup>297</sup> See Appendix H: ODNB - Barrie, Sir James Matthew (1860–1937), playwright and novelist; Crockett, Samuel Rutherford (1859–1914), Free Church of Scotland minister and novelist.

<sup>298</sup> Graeme Morton quoted in Lynch, M. (ed.). (2011). *Oxford companion to Scottish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 443.

<sup>299</sup> Tom Nairn quoted in McCrone, D., Morris, A., & Kiely, R. (1995/1999). *Scotland - the brand: The making of Scottish heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 62.

<sup>300</sup> Devine, 1999/2000, *Scottish nation*, p. 297.

<sup>301</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1515 - *The Late Dowager-Duchess of Athole*, by Annie S. Swan.

As Richard Finlay argues: “Tartanry, Highlandism and the rural representation of Scotland in the Kailyard novels, were all indicative of the manufacture of a Scottish identity which had little to do with the reality of a rapidly urbanising and industrialising society, but everything to do with the appropriation of symbolic representations of Scotland which were located in a mythical past.”<sup>302</sup> *Scotland - the Brand* examines the argument that “this ‘cabbage-patch’ tradition affected and infected Scottish literary and cultural life in such a way as to blight Scottish consciousness with narrow minded parochialism.”<sup>303</sup> Colin McArthur also links tartanry and the Kailyard: “[the] ensemble permits and foregrounds only certain types of flora, fauna and humankind, the privileged icons being thistles, heather, stags, highland cattle, Scotch terriers, tartaned figures (often with military connotations) and a handful of historical figures of whom Burns and Scott are pre-eminent.”<sup>304</sup> These images are tied to Highlandism, although Ian Brown says they are distinct ideas.<sup>305</sup> In short, Highlandism encouraged the growth of Kailyard literature which, in turn, fed the Highland idyll.

In their defence, these books may simply have offered an outlet to those wishing to escape the harshness of industrial Victorian life. It might not have been great literature, but people read it - and may have enjoyed it. Moreover, sentimental tosh or not, Victoria’s Highland *Leaves* were putting Scotland on a world stage. Giles St Aubyn says it seemed as if “the public’s appetite for the most trivial details of her life was as voracious in Pondicherry as Seattle.”<sup>306</sup> The first volume of royal journals sold twenty thousand copies in a fortnight with new editions following.<sup>307</sup> Adrienne Munich notes how palace patronage of northern Scotland “stimulated an enduring market where everyone could play at being a wee bit Scottish.”<sup>308</sup>

<sup>302</sup> Richard Finlay as quoted in Munro, M. (2010/2012). Tartan comics and comic tartanry. In I. Brown (ed.), *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth* (pp. 180-194). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 185.

<sup>303</sup> McCrone & Morris, *Scotland - the brand*, p. 61.

<sup>304</sup> Colin McArthur as quoted in Brown, I. (2010/2012). *Tartan, tartanry and hybridity*, In I. Brown (ed.), *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth* (pp. 1-12). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 9.

<sup>305</sup> Brown, *Tartan, tartanry and hybridity*, *op cit.* p. 9.

<sup>306</sup> Giles St Aubyn notes how the book was popular in the US. When the Prince of Wales returned from India in 1876, he gave his mother a copy translated into Hindustani - St Aubyn, *op cit.* p. 365.

<sup>307</sup> David Duff describes how the first *Leaves* sold 20,000 copies immediately. It was “out and away the best seller of the year” - Duff, D. (1968). *Victoria in the Highlands: The personal journal of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*. London: Frederick Muller, p. 13. Prime Minister Disraeli was among those fawning: “...there is a freshness and fragrance about the book like the heather amid which it was written.” As he told the monarch: “We authors, Ma’am...” *ibid*, p. 14.

<sup>308</sup> Munich, A. (1996). *Queen Victoria’s secrets*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 46.

Victoria was now definitely the “Queen of the Highlands”<sup>309</sup> - and if she was an early pioneer of Kailyard literature she would be blissfully unaware of it. What’s more, the enthusiasm from the hoi-polloi must have convinced the monarch that she was right to publish. “From all and every side, high and low, the feeling is the same the letters flow in, saying how much more than ever I shall be loved, now that I am known and understood, and clamouring for the cheap edition for the poor...”<sup>310</sup> She wanted her books to be read by the people, her “truest friends”<sup>311</sup> and the price must be low enough “so that *everyone* can buy it.”<sup>312</sup>

Highlandism had put the queen in touch with her subjects. The book’s editor, Arthur Helps, suggested that *Leaves* might create a “new bond of union”<sup>313</sup> between her and the masses and simple things could link them. Victoria was told it would boost support for the throne and set an example to the higher classes.<sup>314</sup> Highlandism was bolstering the Crown and if a few courtiers hated seeing their mistress ‘debase’ herself in print, there were always loyal Scottish aristocrats to turn to for reassurance. “I am sure [Miss] MacGregor with her great personal knowledge and her great love and admiration for the Highland character would be of great assistance to Your Majesty in a book which cannot fail to be deeply interesting and instructive to Your Majesty’s subjects,”<sup>315</sup> said the Drummonds of Megginch in Perthshire.

*Leaves* would get further gravitas. Miss MacGregor and the duchess were liaising with the ‘Highland Society’ about translating the book into Gaelic.<sup>316</sup> Then the monarch published a second journal in 1883 and *More Leaves* would further laud the Highlands. Now truly Scottish ‘traditions’ were being venerated: the pipes “the instrument best adapted for summoning the clans from the far-off glens to rally round the standard of their chiefs,”<sup>317</sup> the pibroch a tune to welcome the all-powerful chief and to “wail out a lament for him as he is borne by his people to the old burial-place in the glen... it excites the Highlander to tears, as no other music can do... there are expressions of vehement passion and of grief - ‘the joy of

<sup>309</sup> Queen Victoria. (1868, February 17). *The Daily Telegraph*.

<sup>310</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

<sup>311</sup> Homans, M. (1998). *Royal representatives: Queen Victoria and British culture, 1837-1876*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 149.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1971, *op cit.* 11<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1868.

<sup>315</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/Z/211/21 - 31<sup>st</sup> July 1883 - Frances Drummond to Queen Victoria.

<sup>316</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 643 - 31<sup>st</sup> March 1870 - “[Angus MacPherson] sends a message about the frontispiece for the Gaelic copy of the Queen’s book.”; 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1870 - “write long letter to the Queen about Leaves from the Journal printing for the Blind & Gaelic translation.”

<sup>317</sup> Victoria, *More leaves*, *op cit.* March 1873 - Dr MacLeod’s introduction to a book of pipe music.

grief,’ as Ossian terms it... The characteristic poetry of the *Highlands* is Ossian...”<sup>318</sup> In royal Victorian circles *Ossian* had been put back on its pedestal.

Miss MacGregor was still advising on Gaelic spellings in this second book. Yet despite Victoria’s confidence in her literary judgement, the clan chief’s daughter’s editing was not always approved of. “[The queen] cannot understand the idea that the mention of drinking the health of the royal family on their homecoming should be almost entirely omitted to please the Total Abstinence movement! There is not a wedding or a christening or a coming of age anywhere in the United Kingdom where healths are not proposed, and naturally drunk,”<sup>319</sup> a palace aide complained. Meanwhile, the Duchess of Athole confirmed the queen’s position as Highland laird when she wrote enthusiastically on receiving her copy of *More Leaves*. “Since the days of ‘Prince Charlie’ I am sure that there has never been such love & appreciation between Highlanders & their Royal Chief!”<sup>320</sup>

If Victoria had continued in her literary efforts - and she was a prolific writer - is it possible she might have rivalled her favourite author in sales? Walter Scott’s works were still flying off the shelves, “[investing] the Scottish past with a magical appeal and [satisfying] the powerful emotional needs for nostalgia in a society experiencing unprecedented changes.”<sup>321</sup> It is left to Matthew Dennison to point out that whilst *Leaves* sold more copies than works by Wilkie Collins and Robert Browning, there were still those who were highly critical of this tartanned Scottish life. Dennison says *Leaves* ”offered the nation a poor return on the annual Civil List payments of £385,000.”<sup>322</sup> Ian Mitchell, meanwhile, simply dismisses “this Highlands of theirs.”<sup>323</sup> It was “a fabrication, a virtual reality where the residual population dressed up and played games for their masters, and the actuality for the rest was poverty and emigration.”<sup>324</sup>

Then who would want to hear about misery in a royal book? There was enough of that in Victorian Scotland. Ian Brown echoes the view that “tartanry went hand in hand with the

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<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/Y/165/84 - 4<sup>th</sup> October 1883 - Lady Jane Ely to Sir Theodore Martin.

<sup>320</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1647 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1884 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

<sup>321</sup> Devine, 1999/2000, *Scottish nation*, p. 292.

<sup>322</sup> Dennison, M. (2013). *Queen Victoria: A life of contradictions*. Glasgow: William Collins, pp. 118-119.

<sup>323</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 83.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

pan-European response to industrialisation and Improvement, the fad for Kitsch, sentimental response to deeply painful experience, that provided Scotland with the Kailyard.”<sup>325</sup> The country was becoming an industrial powerhouse, yet works like *Leaves* and *The Highlanders* were clinging to an ordered past - as was Victoria. Fifteen years after the publication of her first journals she reported sadly how Willie Blair, the fiddler who once played at their Balmoral balls, had died aged 90: “...every, every *link* with the *past* is being swept away!”<sup>326</sup>

As the monarch continued where Walter Scott left off in creating a Highland fantasy, an emerging Victorian press was also widely promoting Highlandism. Richard Finlay notes how “a limited print media and poor internal communications”<sup>327</sup> meant that few witnessed George IV’s over-the-top tartan trip to Edinburgh in 1822. Yet by the 1850s the newspaper business was booming. Print taxes had been abolished during the Crimean war to let people follow the news. Papers like the *Daily Telegraph* could reduce prices and helped by new printing presses, circulation increased.<sup>328</sup> Judith Flanders describes how dailies and weeklies were springing up. “The Isle of Wight... had ten... the London suburb of Croydon had nine..”<sup>329</sup> Then there were the magazines: among them, *Family Friend*, *Home Circle* and the *Lady’s Magazine* whilst Tom Devine notes the influence of *The People’s Journal* in late Victorian times and the increasing interest in Scottish folklore.<sup>330</sup>

Richard Finlay describes how the press revelled in Victoria’s endorsement of simple Scottish customs.<sup>331</sup> For Highlandism’s tartan-gloved fingers had now gripped middle and lower-class readers: that is, if they were literate... In the early Victorian age the journalist, Charles Mackay, noted how only one in fifteen of Scotland’s fifteen thousand prisoners could read and write well whilst only one in sixty knew anything more than reading and writing.<sup>332</sup> Yet did anyone care? “Why bother the poor? Leave them alone,”<sup>333</sup> Lord Melbourne once airily advised a young Victoria when asked about education. He was quoting Walter Scott. However, the poor seemed to become more important to the queen after Albert’s death. Frank

<sup>325</sup> Brown, *From tartan to tartanry*, *op cit.* p. 8.

<sup>326</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1975 - 14<sup>th</sup> November 1884.

<sup>327</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 214.

<sup>328</sup> Flanders, J. (2006/2007). *Consuming passions: Leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper, p.147.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 148-151.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, p. 159. *The People’s Journal* was selling 130,000 copies a week by 1875 - Devine, 1999, *op cit.* p. 292.

<sup>331</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 216.

<sup>332</sup> Mackay, *Forty years*, p. 350.

<sup>333</sup> Lord Melbourne, quoted in Cecil, D. (1986). *Melbourne*. London: Constable, pp. 404-405.

Prochaska notes how she “assuaged her grief with hospital and prison visits.”<sup>334</sup> Victoria oversaw the building of new estate houses at Balmoral and she now had plans for the proceeds from the sale of her *Leaves*.<sup>335</sup> Highlandism was about to benefit some of the noble savages it had created.

The ‘Balmoral Bursaries’ was a scheme to send poor boys to Aberdeen University. Frank Prochaska calls it an “education trust in memory of Prince Albert” and “the first time... that the royalties of royalty were used for charitable purposes.”<sup>336</sup> The sum of two and a half thousand pounds was set aside for the project which would be overseen by a group of worthies including the queen’s commissioner, Dr Robertson, the writer, Sir Theodore Martin, the Reverend Dr Malcolm Taylor and the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor.<sup>337</sup> These ladies greatly influenced the plan. The monarch saw teaching as linked to religion, yet the duchess cautioned against choosing boys for their beliefs: “...if it is seen that Catholics are being excluded it might cause bad feeling.”<sup>338</sup>

Miss MacGregor was liaising with the University of Aberdeen and schools around Crathie about the Balmoral Bursaries.<sup>339</sup> They were worried about legalities. “[We] have carefully studied the bursary scheme drawn up by Mr. Martin and think it excellent,”<sup>340</sup> the duchess told the queen. “Sir Thomas Biddulph’s wish to show it to an English lawyer can do no harm, but the deed must be strictly correct in Scotch law.”<sup>341</sup> The press heard of the plan and declared how “the Scotch are a race which sets a peculiar value on knowledge.”<sup>342</sup> Royal Highlandism was helping a few boys on their way in life and one of the first to benefit was a Crathie youth: John Hunter became parish schoolmaster at Botrighnie and President of the ‘Banffshire Teachers’ Association’, thanks to a Balmoral Bursary.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Prochaska, F. (1995). *Royal bounty: The making of a welfare monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 102.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.* See also Ponsonby, A. (1933). *Queen Victoria*. London: Duckworth, p. 135.

<sup>336</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/Q/8/3; Prochaska, *Royal Bounty*, p. 103.

<sup>337</sup> The Queen’s gift of Balmoral bursaries. (1869, May 18). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 4 - each year three or more boys would get £5 a year for up to four years, and on leaving, could receive £25 “towards [an] outfit, or advancement in life.” See Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7 - 9<sup>th</sup> March 1869 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole said: “...in previously reading over Dr Taylor’s letters, [Miss MacGregor’s] observations on what he wrote were nearly the same as Your Majesty’s, especially regarding your object of benefitting the people of Crathie, and not merely the cause of education in general.”

<sup>338</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7 - 9<sup>th</sup> March 1869.

<sup>339</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7 - 26<sup>th</sup> March 1869 - the Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.* 16<sup>th</sup> March 1869.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>342</sup> The grateful generosity of Her Majesty. (1868, May 22). *London Evening Standard*, p. 4.

<sup>343</sup> Death of John R. Hunter. (1895, September 24). *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, p. 6.

In general, education was considered a good idea north of the border. As the Reverend Dr Taylor declared: “Few things have tended more to foster a laudable ambition and feelings of self-respect among the poorest classes in Scotland than the elevation of men from the humblest rank to positions of public usefulness and trust... it would tell upon the whole country.”<sup>344</sup> It would indeed, especially as Scotland seemed to be leading the way in learning. I.G.C. Hutchison notes how there were proportionally six times more university students in Scotland in 1865 than there were in England.<sup>345</sup> According to Colin Matthew, the country had one university place for every one thousand of the population, compared to one in five thousand eight hundred south of the border.<sup>346</sup> It was a source of great pride. In 1868 *Fraser’s Magazine* told its readers to “go into any Scottish family... a shepherd’s or a gardener’s, or a village shoe-maker’s, and the chances are that some member of the family has had a university education.”<sup>347</sup>

This emphasis on achievement should not be ignored in the Highland fairy-tale fog that enveloped the country in the Victorian age. I.G.C. Hutchison reminds us of the great minds putting Scotland on the map at this time. James Clerk-Maxwell’s work in physics would be of international importance, as was Lord Kelvin’s, whilst in medicine Joseph Lister and Sir William Simpson were sensationaly breaking new ground.<sup>348</sup> Hutchison points to the pioneering social science work of W. Robertson Smith and Patrick Geddes and hails the achievements of the philosopher, Thomas Carlyle. Despite tartan and the Kailyard, “fruitful areas of intellectual creativity, and some central concerns of the Enlightenment era persisted.”<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> *Ibid* - the Rev Dr Malcolm Taylor, quoted by the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

<sup>345</sup> Hutchinson, I. G. C. (2005) ‘Workshop of Empire: The nineteenth century’ in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A history* (pp. 176-200). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 233.

<sup>346</sup> Matthew, H. C. G. (ed.). (2000). *The nineteenth century: The British Isles, 1815-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 35.

<sup>347</sup> Hoppen, K. T. (1998/2003). *The mid-Victorian generation, 1846-1886*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.538.

<sup>348</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Maxwell, James Clerk (1831-1879), physicist; Thomson, William, Baron Kelvin (1824-1907), mathematician and physicist; Lister, Joseph, Baron Lister (1827-1912), surgeon and founder of a system of antiseptic surgery; Simpson, Sir William, John Ritchie (1855-1931), physician and specialist in tropical medicine; Smith, William Robertson (1846-1894), theologian and Semitic scholar; Geddes, Sir Patrick (1854-1932), social evolutionist and city planner; Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881), author, biographer and historian.

<sup>349</sup> Hutchison, *Workshop of empire*, pp. 236-237.

Yet, far from science and philosophy, royal Highlandism was still being carefully nurtured - and from Dunkeld Miss MacGregor fed Victoria the 'Scotch' news she longed to hear. An Aberdeen jeweller had acquired a large pearl found in a local river and the clan chief's daughter forwarded it to the palace along with local gossip: "...the Osborne violets have thrived here beautifully this spring."<sup>350</sup> The stories were carefully chosen because not everything was quite so rosy in northern Perthshire where the Duchess of Athole's fishing rods had been stolen.<sup>351</sup> Miss MacGregor concentrated on imparting comforting Highland detail. The monarch wanted her opinion on a book by a Deeside writer and she agreed that the poems by the 'Balnacrost Bard' were worth reading. "It is interesting that they are by a native and untutored poet so close to Balmoral."<sup>352</sup> Again, we have the idea of the northern Scot as a Noble Savage.

Now the Highlands were about to be bound by marriage to the queen and at Osborne Miss MacGregor was tasked with chaperoning Princess Louise and her new fiancé.<sup>353</sup> Lord Lorne was heir to the Duke of Argyll and when Henry Ponsonby congratulated Victoria on the 'English' choice, she is said to have corrected him. "You speak of him as a young Englishman, but he is *not*, he is a Scotsman and a Highlander."<sup>354</sup> The monarch was delighted to be getting a 'Scotch' son-in-law<sup>355</sup> and Miss MacGregor was also pleased: "...there is something very manly about him and he looks so true and good."<sup>356</sup> Yet with rumours of homosexuality, Lorne would allegedly prove a disappointment as a husband.<sup>357</sup> It was presumably not the sort of Highlandism the ladies had imagined.

Exactly the sort of Highlandism the queen expected greeted her when she paid a visit to the Invertrossachs in 1869. For this was 'Rob Roy' country and Victoria hoped for some Walter Scott adventure. The trip was partly organised by Miss MacGregor and her nephew, the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/77 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1870 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>351</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 643 - 16<sup>th</sup> July 1870.

<sup>352</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/77 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1870 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>353</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 643 - 13<sup>th</sup> October 1870 - "from the Queen announcing Princess Louise's marriage engagement to Lord Lorne!"

<sup>354</sup> Tranter, N. (1987/1991). *The story of Scotland*. Glasgow: Neil Wilson, p. 248.

<sup>355</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 61, Bundle 9 - 26<sup>th</sup> October 1870 - Princess Louise to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>356</sup> Appendix D: PD60/624 - 11<sup>th</sup> January 1871 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor.

<sup>357</sup> Packard, *Victoria's daughters*, pp. 206-207. Packard says "neither Lorne's close friendship with his uncle, nor a marriage in which the physical relations with his wife had according to some sources ended soon after the honeymoon, necessarily indicate that Lorne was a homosexual. But they suggest it."

chief of Clan Gregor.<sup>358</sup> “I cannot explain who your proposed tenant is to be... but you will probably be able to make a good guess,”<sup>359</sup> they told the owner of a house overlooking Loch Vennachar. It belonged to Lady Helen MacNaghton and Victoria was delighted with the accommodation, especially as it came for free: “...it would have been so difficult *ever* to arrive at the *rent*.<sup>360</sup>

Here in the wilds of west Perthshire the monarch was in her element. “Hardly a creature did we meet,”<sup>361</sup> she told her diary. “We passed merely a very few pretty gentlemen’s places, or very poor cottages with simple women and barefooted long-haired lassies and children, quiet and unassuming old men and laborers. This solitude, the romance and wild loveliness of everything here, the absence of hotels and beggars, the independent simple people, who all speak Gaelic here, all make beloved *Scotland* the proudest, finest country in the world.”<sup>362</sup> An “absence of hotels and beggars.” They are odd words. Hotels were relatively new places and would jar in this outdated world. The people the monarch met were poor, yet they were the dignified poor. These lowly creatures spoke a dying language that rendered them quaint and unthreatening. Importantly each was in his or her Highland place: the rich woman in her castle, the gentleman in his house, the peasant in his hovel, yet both living comfortably side-by-side.

Highlandism was full of contrasts. It was uplifting and grounding. It could be challenging, yet comforting - and, as this thesis has shown, it could mean rewriting history. When the monarch laid the first stone of a memorial at Dunrobin Castle in 1872 she declared that the monument was “raised by the clansmen and servants to the memory of my dear Duchess of Sutherland, who was adored in *Sutherland*.<sup>363</sup> The truth was that since the Clearances the mere name had been loathed in the vicinity. Indeed, when the laird of Sutherland had tried to recruit people to fight in the Crimea war two decades earlier, it is reported that not one soldier was raised. As local men were alleged to have said: “You robbed us of our country and gave it to the sheep. Therefore... let sheep defend you!<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Appendix D: PD60/607 - 5<sup>th</sup> June 1869 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Lady Helen MacNaghton.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid*, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1869 - Lady Helen MacGregor to Lady Emily MacNaghton.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid*, 14th July 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Helen MacGregor, and 28<sup>th</sup> May 1869, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Lady Helen MacGregor.

<sup>361</sup> Victoria, *More leaves*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1869.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1872 - *Visit to Dunrobin*.

<sup>364</sup> Donald Ross in Prebble, J. (1963/1969). *The Highland clearances*. London: Secker & Warburg, p. 301.

The duchess and Miss MacGregor continued to fuel royal Highlandism by sending comforting ‘Scotch’ news down to England. Anne’s 60<sup>th</sup> birthday was celebrated in Perthshire with a picnic in a glen: “...sketched & talked & thought & were very happy!”<sup>365</sup> Miss MacGregor told the queen how they lunched “under the shade of a rock and thought of YM as we enjoyed the scene... this afternoon we are going to see the sheep clipping at St Colmes.”<sup>366</sup> Another letter marvelled at the sheep shearing: “...we regretted that Landseer had not immortalised such a scene.”<sup>367</sup> A clan chief spread a rumour that Edinburgh University was planning a Gaelic chair. The ladies wrote excitedly to the palace.<sup>368</sup> The Highland theme continued. In 1874 the duchess was celebrating St Andrew’s Day at Windsor. “All we Scotch are to be furnished with thistles to wear before dinner. I asked if it might prick our chins.”<sup>369</sup>

The queen’s love affair with tartan remained undiminished and in 1881 she was reviewing the troops in Edinburgh: “40,000 men numbers in kilts & such fine men.”<sup>370</sup> Some months later she must have been aghast to discover it was a Scotsman who fired a gun at her at Windsor station.<sup>371</sup> Meanwhile, the Duchess of Athole had been watching the Scots Guards at a ‘Trooping of the Colours’ at Windsor: “...the *height* & physique of the men & the admiration of everyone & the precision with which all their movements were performed!”<sup>372</sup> The British army was continuing to feed Highlandism; breathtaking displays again proving that “monarch and militarism had become intertwined in the public imagination.”<sup>373</sup> The Highland phenomenon was still adding colour, nay, even romance, to the theatre of war.

Murray Pittock describes how Jacobitism, too, would continue to promote Highlandism. A thousand artefacts were on show when Victoria visited the ‘Exhibition of the Royal House of

<sup>365</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 644 - 17<sup>th</sup> June 1874.

<sup>366</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/10/87 - 18<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria.

<sup>367</sup> Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/S/10/88 - 19<sup>th</sup> June 1874.

<sup>368</sup> Appendix D: PD60/644 - 8<sup>th</sup> April 1871 - “from Cluny Macpherson enclosing notice of proposed *Gaelic Chair* in the University of Edinburgh - for transmission to the Queen.”. Grant and Cheape note how a Chair of Celtic Studies was formed in Edinburgh in 1882 - Grant, I. F. & Cheape, H. (1997). *Periods in Highland history*. London: Shepheard-Walwyn, p. 277.

<sup>369</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 61, Bundle 9 - 30<sup>th</sup> November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>370</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1975, *op cit.* 27<sup>th</sup> August 1881.

<sup>371</sup> Hibbert, *Victoria*, p. 420.

<sup>372</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 396 - 30<sup>th</sup> May 1895 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl.

<sup>373</sup> Finlay, ‘Queen Victoria and the cult’, p. 220.

Stuart' in London in 1888. Among them was a painting of Flora Macdonald, "a genuine Scotch Highland maiden with the freshness in her face of the heather and the sea,"<sup>374</sup> and a picture of the 'Young Pretender', "who, as 'bonnie Prince Charlie' kindled into life the chivalrous sentiment of romantic Scotland."<sup>375</sup>

Exhibition air was heavy with Highlandism at the end of the Victorian age. Murray Pittock notes a neo-Jacobite movement emerging, attracting artists and writers.<sup>376</sup> The pro-Jacobite and nationalist *Fiery Cross* journal was published and among its aims was "the elimination of St George and the Dragon from British coinage"<sup>377</sup> and the restoration of the Stuart dynasty and the clan system. This sort of Highlandism was presumably a step too far for royal tastes. The Duchess of Athole also died in 1897.<sup>378</sup> In 1901 Victoria died.<sup>379</sup> Was Highlandism to wane with the loss of its most famous supporter?

## Conclusion

This chapter has described how the queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor came together to promote Highlandism in the Victorian age. It has given further detail of royal and aristocratic life in the Highlands and has shown Queen Victoria as a patron, the Duchess of Athole as an enabler and Miss MacGregor as an intellect behind the promotion of the Highland phenomenon. In the monarch's mind Scotland was now known for healing air and honest faces and the men with these sincere visages would be immortalised in a royal art book.

*The Highlanders of Scotland* is a paean for Highlandism. Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Athole conceived the idea whilst Miss MacGregor saw the project through. The work features paintings of tartanned Highland servants. Using unpublished research this chapter has detailed how Scotland's lairds fell short on producing 'perfect' Highlanders. Some were absentee landlords with no contact to their people whilst another chief had to admit that none of his clansmen actually wore a kilt. However, 'suitable' men were eventually found and

<sup>374</sup> The Stuart exhibition. (1888, December 29). *London Daily News*, p. 3.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>376</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, p. 73.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.* p. 74; A faddist's magazine (1901, January 19). *Dundee Evening Post*, p. 4.

<sup>378</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1662 - 22nd May 1897, Miss MacGregor to Mrs Ogle. See also Appendix B: RA/VIC/MAIN/C/76/87 - 25<sup>th</sup> May 1897 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria about the duchess's funeral - "the wild strains of the piper borne on the air, the lovely hills... the loved burden covered with an Atholl tartan plaid."

<sup>379</sup> Appendix C: Victoria died on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1901 at Osborne, aged 81.

these ‘noble savages’ were painted in their masters’ richly-woven plaids and silver-buckled shoes. The result shows an imagined age of kilted lower orders. These are people who are proud to be ‘Scotch’, yet happy to serve within the British state. Social problems are ignored in this tartan utopia, for this was a Scotland the queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor wanted to believe in - and hoped to hang onto.

This chapter has also seen how the queen’s Highland journals, edited in part by Miss MacGregor, continued to ignore Scotland’s woes. *Leaves* concentrated on the romantic image of the ‘poor, but proud’, and the landscape. These books lauded Highland ‘tradition’ and declared *Ossian* the poetry of the hills. They were continuing to feed the need for rural nostalgia in an increasingly urban age and would prove unlikely forerunners of what came to be known as ‘Kailyard’ literature. Highlandism would encourage this backwards-looking style, and, in turn, the Kailyard fed the Highland fashion. Ironically, whilst the queen’s diaries might pedal the past they connected Victoria to the present by giving her a common touch at a time when she was not always popular. Highlandism was building bridges between high and low and it would prove philanthropic. Proceeds from sales of the royal book were used to educate some of the ‘noble savages’ the Highland phenomenon had created.

Jacobitism was still helping to boost Highlandism in the Victorian age, but this was being firmly balanced by Union loyalties. Admiration of ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ was fine, as long as it stayed in the realms of legend. The queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor all had Jacobites leanings and between them they created a romantic ‘chiefs and clans’ picture of the north of Scotland. For Highlandism meant re-writing history, with the monarch proudly claiming a link to those rebels who had sought to unseat her forebears. Again, this type of nationalism was acceptable as it was rooted in a distant cause. Of course, there would always be those ‘radicals’ who went too far and hoped to divide Scotland and England, but, in the main, Jacobitism had come to be viewed as unthreatening.

Yet this chapter has again shown how there was more than “tartan hunting”<sup>380</sup> going on in the Victorian age. The queen, the duchess and Miss MacGregor shared a love of piping and this emotional interest in the past was having a beneficial effect on Scottish musical culture. Victoria’s personal piper published books on piobaireachd whilst members of the Atholl

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<sup>380</sup> Grimble, *Clans and chiefs*, p. 227.

family who had long promoted the art of Highland fiddle music would continue to encourage piping and preserve examples of Scottish song and verse.

Again, through her Highland presence, Victoria was making Scots feel a part of Britain and the Empire - with marketing spin-offs for tourism and business. Through her love of tartan, bagpipes and Highland regiments, the queen was sending out the message that Scotland was open for business. The irony was that the queen did not warm to tourists. She worried about rail tracks ruining scenery and disliking the idea of climbers and walkers having access to the hills and glens. A further irony was that progress boosted backwards-looking Highlandism in the Victorian age. Living and seeing the life of a 'laird' became easier with the expansion of the railways.

Visual images and the written word were key in promoting Highlandism, with artists, photographers and the press helping to sell the 'Scotch' idyll. The country was being depicted as a land of majestic stags and royal views. Newspapers trumpeted it as a place populated by kilt-clad peasants which, once again, gave the lie to reality. Victorian Scotland meant the aftermath of the Clearances, an industrial revolution and the break-up of crofting society. There was even unrest in unlikely places as a riot broke out on the feudal Atholl estate.

The following royal quote seems to sum up royal Highlandism: "...the romance and wild loveliness of everything here, the absence of hotels and beggars, the independent simple people, who all speak Gaelic here, all make beloved *Scotland* the proudest, finest country in the world."<sup>381</sup> Yet, for all its whitewash, royal and aristocratic tartanry was serving a purpose. It was providing a sop to the industrial changes sweeping Scotland and, as the next chapter will show, Highlandism would comfort those forced to leave hearth and home...

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<sup>381</sup> Victoria, *More leaves* - 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1869.

## CHAPTER SIX - HIGHLANDISM REIGNS: FOR GOOD, OR BAD?

### Introduction

This chapter deals with the aftermath of Victorian Highlandism and examines where it went following the death of Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Athole. Miss MacGregor lived on until 1917 and she continued to drive the Highland theme by promoting the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ and helping to restore the grave of ‘Rob Roy’ MacGregor, a character increasingly enveloped by “legends and tartan flummery.”<sup>1</sup> She would further feed the phenomenon by lecturing on Queen Victoria’s Highland travels and recruiting kilted soldiers for the Boer War.

At the same time, Miss MacGregor would try to continue to give Highlandism an intellectual backbone. Her *History of the Clan Gregor* contains research that is used by modern-day academics. She was also key in helping to compile the history of the Dukes of Atholl, the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*. Her main academic achievement, though, was in the field of Gaelic. A “capital Gaelic scholar,”<sup>2</sup> Miss MacGregor is said to have been the first woman to lecture on the subject. Gaelic was on the up. Highlandism was giving it a push and, in return, Gaelic could give Highlandism gravitas. Yet tartan and bagpipes would never be far from the picture at Gaelic gatherings.

Highlandism waned in the early-twentieth century, but it re-emerged in the second half of the twentieth century and this chapter examines the rise of overseas’ clan societies. For those living abroad tartan has proved a “shortcut to the Highlands”<sup>3</sup> - with Highlandism helping it on its way. Clans have been invented and Borderland families like the Armstrongs now boast plaids and clan societies. Highlandism has created a profound interest in Scotland. The last fifty years or so have been a heyday for chiefs, clans and heritage tourism, in what is seen as a global search for roots.

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<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, D. (2004). *The hunt for Rob Roy: The man and the myths*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, preface xi. See also Way of Plean, G., & Squire, R. (eds.). (1994). *Scottish clan and family encyclopedia*. London: Harper Collins, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Murray MacGregor passes away: A notable lady of the Victorian period, her life and work. (1917, September 26). *Perthshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Calder, J. (2005/2010). *Scots in the USA*. New York: Luath, p. 203.

Does it matter if people wish to don the plaid, hark back to a feudal age and show allegiance to a ‘chief’? Some think so. In the 1970s Tom Nairn damned Highlandism as the cult of the “tartan monster.”<sup>4</sup> A decade later ‘Scotch Myths’ theorists bemoaned the fact that Scots embraced a “dream history”<sup>5</sup> for their nation, instead of a serious, realistic one. Yet this work suggests that some of the disapproval of Highlandism has, in part, been down to intellectual snobbery and that the value of tartan - and the role of royalty and the upper class in shaping a ‘Highland’ Scotland - has been underestimated. Emotional support for Scotland brings benefits, with people willing to invest in Scotland’s historic sites. Highlandism is a money-maker and it is Coinneach Maclean who raises the question of whether ignoring it would be tantamount to “tourist suicide.”<sup>6</sup> With claims that ancestral tourism has the potential to quadruple the number of visitors coming to Scotland over the next few years, does Scotland really want to kill the goose that lays the tartan eggs?<sup>7</sup>

The spin-offs are numerous. Royal Deeside continues to attract tartan trippers whilst clan gatherings help fill hotels and restaurants in rural areas. Blockbusting *Outlander* TV films boost tartan sales and bring in curious tourists.<sup>8</sup> Even English ‘Highland’ events like the London ‘Royal Caledonian Ball’ are still doing their kilted bit by raising funds for Scottish charities. Then there is the arguably anachronistic Scottish hunting estate - created in part by Highlandism and seen as having contributed to an imbalance in land ownership. Yet field sports can inject millions of pounds into the economy.<sup>9</sup>

This chapter accepts that Highlandism is an invented tradition. It acknowledges the fact that a plaided phenomenon has spawned an industry of tartan tat. It agrees that there are certainly those “Clan McCrazies”<sup>10</sup> on the Highland circuit. It admits that the clan network is a mainly ‘white’ affair. Yet this work also suggests that the “haggis” is starting to sit more comfortably

<sup>4</sup> Nairn, T. (2003). *The break-up of Britain: Crisis and neo-nationalism* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Champaign: Common Ground, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Beveridge, C., & Turnbull, R. (1997). *Scotland after enlightenment: Image and tradition in modern Scottish culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Maclean, C. (2014). *The tourist gaze on Gaelic Scotland*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.

<sup>7</sup> Donnelly, B. (2013, July 31). Ancestral tourism may bring £2.4bn to Scotland. *The Herald*. Retrieved from <https://www.pressreader.com/uk/the-herald/20130731/281814281486836>

<sup>8</sup> Ferguson, B. (2015, January 30). Outlander gives Scottish film industry £40m boost. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/film/outlander-gives-scottish-film-industry-40m-boost-1-3673337>; Gabaldon, D. (2014, September 5). Outlander inspires trips to Scotland. *Visit Scotland: Alba*. Retrieved from <http://mediacentre.visitscotland.org/pressreleases/outlander-inspires-trips-to-scotland-1050535>

<sup>9</sup> Scottish Gamekeepers Association. (2016). *Economic benefits*. Retrieved from <http://www.scottishgamekeepers.co.uk/gamekeeping-facts/economic-benefits.html>

<sup>10</sup> Ivor Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 18.

with the “culture.”<sup>11</sup> Scots are growing in political confidence and there is an increasing acceptance of tartan - and in some unlikely places. In certain quarters it has become a form of political identity, especially for young nationalists.

The role of women in promoting Highlandism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is noted in this chapter. Highlandism may be a masculine construct, yet an increasing number of females now drive the Highland phenomenon. If a queen, a duchess and a clan chief’s daughter were Victorian pioneers in the move to present a romantically plaided Scotland to the world, twenty-first century clanswomen have picked up the tartan baton and are running with it. Moreover, their efforts are not all based around bagpipes, although these symbols remain a major part of the ‘Highland’ allure. This chapter examines the increasing popularity of the pipes and further suggests that Highlandism has helped this particular musical tradition to flourish.

This chapter concludes by suggesting that Highlandism has given Scotland a set of symbols that other nations would kill for. Indeed, without this phenomenon, might Scotland have gone on to become ever more English? Tartan and bagpipes have provided the country with a unique character and it is one that is admired and emulated the world over. This chapter poses the controversial question: should Scots not in some way be grateful to Highlandism?

**“The cult of the kilt and the clan in modern times has been described as nothing more than a commercial racket. Yet a Council of Scottish Chiefs continues to convene undaunted: clan societies flourish all over the world, impervious to such scoldings. The survival of a Scottish tribal spirit remains a fact, and it has extended from the ancient tribal lands to embrace the whole country”<sup>12</sup>**

Ronald Clark tells us how “the traditions which had been formed and nurtured by Victoria’s Balmoral lasted long after the muffled drum-beats of her funeral procession had died away in London and Windsor.”<sup>13</sup> Robert Robson reminds us that if the land of “Wallace and Bruce

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<sup>11</sup> Harvie, C. (2000, April 17). Give them culture, not haggis. *New Statesman*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>12</sup> Grindle, I. (1980). *Clans and chiefs: Celtic tribalism in Scotland*. London: Blond & Briggs, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Clark, R. W. (1981). *Balmoral: Queen Victoria’s highland home*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 121.

and Scott and Burns was to survive, it must be actively preserved.”<sup>14</sup> Burns’ clubs and Caledonian and St Andrew’s groups were springing up in Scotland by the late-Victorian age - as were Gaelic ones.<sup>15</sup> John MacKay reports the 1881 census as showing 14,505 people using Gaelic in Perthshire whilst the ‘Gaelic Society of Perth’ was revived in 1880 with an emphasis on teaching and research and on drawing attention to the plight of crofters.<sup>16</sup>

An ancient language was promising to be more instructive and inclusive than early Highlandism ever was. Among the Perth Gaelic group’s one hundred founder-members were teachers, railway workers, innkeepers, a plumber - and even fifteen women.<sup>17</sup> The Edinburgh professor of classics, John Stuart Blackie, was installed as first chief. Yet despite that weighty connection, a no-small-dose of Highlandism accompanied the society’s rebirth. The gathering in Perth City Hall was marked by “Gaelic and Tartan”<sup>18</sup> with stags’ heads adorning walls and stewards clad in Stuart plaid. Members arrived in Highland costume, dignitaries being piped to the platform to the martial Highland tune ‘The Campbells are Coming’. As one newspaper noted: “The interior surroundings were essentially Celtic. Brightly coloured tartans of various clans draped the pillars and balcony.”<sup>19</sup> Before the evening was out the spirit of Walter Scott was evoked, with violins playing overtures from *Rob Roy* and *Guy Mannering*. Gaelic might be a worthy subject, but even it could fall victim to Highland romance.<sup>20</sup>

Was this interest in an ancient language being fed by a tartan craze? Or could a Gaelic revival be an attempt to find something more meaningfully Scottish than a collection of kilts and cabers? If it was the latter, why did these clubs clothe themselves in the so-called ‘Garb of Old Gaul’ with pipers and plaids as vital extras? K. Theodore Hoppen claims it was the very weakness of Gaelic that “allowed romantic imaginations to create an entirely spurious image of the Highlands and then to superimpose that image upon the idea of Scotland as a whole.”<sup>21</sup> He continues: “For centuries the great majority of the people outside the Highlands and

<sup>14</sup> Robson, R. (1967). *Ideas and institutions of Victorian Britain*. London: G. Bell & Sons, p. 149.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 148. Robson says most Caledonian and Burns clubs date from the mid-nineteenth century, as do the great Highland festivals.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1548 - *Speech by Miss MacGregor to the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh*. See also MacKay, J. G. (2002). *Highlanders! Stand shoulder to shoulder: a history of the Gaelic society of Perth*. Perth: Gaelic Society of Perth, pp. 2, 19 & 73.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 76-79 & 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5 - report from the *Perth Constitutional*.

<sup>19</sup> Perth Gaelic Gathering. (1899, March 4). *Dundee Courier*, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, and MacKay, *Highlanders*, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Hoppen, K. T. (1998/2003). *The mid-Victorian generation, 1846-1886*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.540.

Islands had, of course, spoken not Gaelic but Scots... but Scots with its apparently rough and demotic character and unromantic Lowland emplacements, proved ill-suited to the needs of those who wanted to fashion grand myths about the Caledonian past.”<sup>22</sup> A lilting Gaelic was far more suited to Highlandism than a guttural Scots ever was. Yet by 1891 there were just two hundred and fifty thousand Gaelic speakers in a country of four million.<sup>23</sup>

Three decades before, John Stuart Blackie had warned that “the moment the Gaelic language dies, the Highland people die with it”<sup>24</sup> - and at one stage his words seemed doomed to fulfillment. In 1872 an Education Act declared English to be the main language of teaching in Scottish schools with one contributor to the *Edinburgh Journal* opining that Gaelic was “a *nuisance* which everyone should aid in removing with all reasonable speed.”<sup>25</sup> It was good riddance to bad language. Speaking English would help Scotsmen get better jobs. Even today there are those who argue it is a waste of time teaching Gaelic in schools.<sup>26</sup>

Yet Gaelic *did* survive in the late Victorian age. Murray Pittock notes the “Celtic revivalism”<sup>27</sup> that gained ground towards the end of the nineteenth century, both in Britain and abroad. The ancient tongue was seeing a renaissance - and among those on the stage at these Perthshire Gaelic evenings was Miss MacGregor. The clan chief’s daughter was now a Gaelic teacher and was proving “no idle looker-on”<sup>28</sup> in the linguistic revival. “An enthusiastic lover of the Highlands,” she was described as “one of the chief promoters of the Gaelic revival and all things Highland.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Robbins, K. (1988). *Nineteenth-century Britain: Integration and diversity*. Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 38-41; Kellas, J. G. (1980). *Modern Scotland*. London: Allen & Unwin, p. 7; Withers, C. W. J. (1988). *Gaelic Scotland: The transformation of a culture region*. London: Routledge, p. 333.

<sup>24</sup> J. S. Blackie, quoted in Wallace, S. (2006). *John Stuart Blackie: Scottish scholar and patriot*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>25</sup> Fry, M. (2005/2006). *Wild Scots: Four hundred years of Highland history*. London: John Murray, p. 234. See also Cranntara. (2006). *Preserving the culture, history, heritage & future of Scotland: The Gaelic language*. Retrieved from <https://cranntara.scot/gaelic.htm>. *The Edinburgh Journal*, 1877, quoted in Keith Robbins, *op cit.* pp. 41-42. See also Withers, C. W. J. (1984). *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981: The geographical history of a language*. Edinburgh: John Donald, pp. 87 & 98-99.

<sup>26</sup> Munro, A. (2013, September 25). Teaching Gaelic in schools ‘a waste of resources’. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/news/education/teaching-gaelic-in-schools-a-waste-of-resources-1-3109004>

<sup>27</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1999). *Celtic identity and the British image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.72.

<sup>28</sup> *The Celtic Annual: Yearbook of the Dundee Highland Society Year Book*, 1910-1911, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. 1548 - *Speech by Miss MacGregor*; MacKay, *Highlanders*, pp. 19 & 73. See also, An enthusiastic lover of the Highlands. (1910, December 29). *Dundee Courier*, p. 7.

As the twentieth century dawned the woman was clad in MacGregor red and green tartan and living in Perth, from where she continued her clan and charity work. As one journal noted: “It would not be possible in limited space to enter on the multitude of interests with which her busy life is filled... the citizens of Perth are proud of her and her work amongst them, for she is in the truest sense a worker, and lives to spend herself for others.”<sup>30</sup> One group receiving special attention was the ‘Perth Sick Poor Nursing Society’, but her main mission was to promote Gaelic.<sup>31</sup> “To see her dressed in her tartan, listening to the skirl of the pipes, or the beautiful melody of some Gaelic song, is to know and recognize the true Celt,”<sup>32</sup> the ‘Dundee Highland Society’ waxed.

Miss MacGregor had helped to promote Highlandism - and now Highlandism was boosting her own tartan image. Despite her fierce manner and frumpy appearance, she had become a poster girl for the Highlands and colleagues noted how she “hailed with delight, and almost as the realisation of a dream, the revival of interest in Gaelic.”<sup>33</sup> If Lowlanders were mocked for learning the language Miss MacGregor reminded people that many of those living in Glasgow and Edinburgh stemmed from the Western Isles.<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, Gaelic might be bringing the country together. William Donaldson notes how, for the first time, “Highlanders and Lowlanders were prepared to regard themselves as part of a single national consciousness with a collective public symbolism. This was marked in the Lowlands by new interest in the Gaelic ethos and new openness to the possibility of forging a homogeneous culture drawing from both strands of Scottish tradition.”<sup>35</sup> John MacKay may call the nineteenth century a disaster for northern Scots - “the collapse of the Highland economy, the Highland Clearances and famine”<sup>36</sup> - yet some cultural good was emerging. “As people struggled with change, they yearned to preserve their native language, culture and common fellowship, and formed local Highland and Gaelic Societies.”<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, John

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Perth Annual Meeting of the Sick Poor Nursing Society. (1899, January 13). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *The Celtic Annual*, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks*, speech by Miss MacGregor.

<sup>35</sup> Donaldson, W. (1988). *The Jacobite song: Political myth and national identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, p. 90.

<sup>36</sup> MacKay, *Highlanders*, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

Murdoch, an activist for crofting reform and editor of *The Highlander* newspaper, took to wearing a kilt to try to reclaim *his* culture. Presumably *he* did not see tartan as false.<sup>38</sup>

The ‘Gaelic Society of Perth’ came with the rousing motto: ‘Clann nan Gaidhael an Guaillibh a Cheile’, or ‘Highlander! Stand Shoulder to Shoulder’ - and, once again, its events were reported with Highlandism and Walter Scott firmly in mind. On one occasion “the sight of numerous braw Highlanders in full Celtic costume, not to mention the big, handsome-looking daughters of the ‘mountain and flood’, all combined to give [Lowland Perth] a Highland and picturesque aspect.”<sup>39</sup> The newspaper report continued: “...from every part of the Highlands they came, big ‘swank’ men in their kilts, old couples to whom English seemed almost a foreign language.”<sup>40</sup>

Gaelic was on a roll, with Highlandism giving it a push. In return, a link to Gaelic could give Highlandism gravitas. The ‘Gaelic Society of Inverness’ was formed in 1871 for the purpose of “cultivating the language, poetry and music of the Scottish Highlands and generally furthering the interests of the Gaelic-speaking people.”<sup>41</sup> Gaelic speakers were increasingly living in Lowland towns and cities and they were being encouraged to wear Highland dress. The ‘Comunn an Fheilidh’, or ‘Kilt Society’, was founded around 1902, playing, as Hugh Cheape says, its own part in “confirming a created history of tartan.”<sup>42</sup>

In 1904 Miss MacGregor was appointed the first Chieftainess of the ‘Gaelic Society of Perth’, a position she would hold until her death in 2017.<sup>43</sup> The clan chief’s daughter would sit on the executive of ‘An Comunn Gaidhealach’, or ‘Highland Association’, whose aim was to promote Gaelic literature and music.<sup>44</sup> The woman was now championing Highland Gatherings and the emerging Gaelic festival, the ‘Mod’. She was also trying to trace ancient Highland artefacts and produced to great applause what was thought to be the first banner of

<sup>38</sup> See the kilted figure of John Murdoch in Murdoch, J. (1986). *For the people’s cause: From the writings of John Murdoch, Highland and Irish land reformer.* (edited by J. Hunter). Edinburgh: HMSO, p. 4 & pp. 26-35.

<sup>39</sup> Highland mod at Perth. (1900, November 30). *Dundee Courier/Evening Telegraph*, p. 6

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

<sup>41</sup> Gaelic Society of Inverness. (2015). *A brief history of the society.* Retrieved from <http://www.gsi.org.uk/history/>

<sup>42</sup> Cheape, H. (1995). *Tartan: The Highland habit.* Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, pp. 69-70.

<sup>43</sup> MacKay, *Highlanders*, p. 73.

<sup>44</sup> *The Celtic Annual, op cit.* p. 21. Note: ‘An Comunn Gaidhealach’ was founded in 1891 in Oban - see [www.acgmod.org](http://www.acgmod.org) - in 1907 Miss MacGregor was chosen as representative to the group, which placed her on the executive. See also Thomson, D. C. (1993). *Gaelic literature.* In P. H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A concise cultural history* (pp. 127-141). London: Mainstream, p. 139.

the original ‘Highland Society of Perth’.<sup>45</sup> Her mission to promoting Scottish culture included encouraging *other* aristocrats to record Highland tradition - and one person she influenced was the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl’s daughter. Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray became a noted folktale collector, gathering together examples of Perthshire Gaelic rhyme and song.<sup>46</sup> This thesis has already mentioned her sister, Lady Dorothea, who was a serious collector of Scottish fiddle and pipe tunes. Again, this is another upside of Highlandism.<sup>47</sup>

Miss MacGregor was also helping the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl<sup>48</sup> with his own Highland history. Atholl was an amateur historian and Gaelic speaker and the first volume of his *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* was published in 1896. These weighty books are a record of the family’s past and it is interesting to see how Highlandism only fully rears its head by Volume 1V: that is, by the late-eighteenth century. The paintings in the first three volumes show family members wearing rather English-looking clothes. Yet, from 1780 and the nineteenth century onwards, the 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> dukes are all shown in Highland dress. During this later period there is also a number of references to kilts and Highland games - and this is in line with the development of Highlandism.<sup>49</sup>

The 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl, in particular, considered himself to be a champion of a tartanned Highlands. Indeed, one newspaper noted the Highlandism clinging to his estate. “Blair-Atholl is still one of the few great Highland houses of Scotland where the ‘Garb of old Gaul’ is still the recognised and prescribed dress of every one, great and small.”<sup>50</sup> Yet, despite the duke’s attachment to heathery hills and glens - and to his own Atholl tartan - it seems that English

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<sup>45</sup> Highland mod at Perth, *op cit.*; MacKay, *Highlanders* reports how the banner she produced to great applause was silk and painted on both sides with bands of Stewart tartan and the motto, ‘Clann nan Gaidheal an Guaillibh a Cheile’, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup> Murray, E. S. (2009) *Tales from Highland Perthshire* (edited and translated by S. Robertson and T. Dilworth). Glasgow, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.

<sup>47</sup> Ewan, E. L., Innes, S., Reynolds, S., & Pipes, R. (eds.). (2006). *The biographical dictionary of Scottish women: From earliest times to 2004*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 344 - Lady Evelyn Stewart-Murray (1868–1940), Gaelic folktale collector; p. 343 - Lady Dorothea Stewart-Murray (1866–1937), music collector. See also Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundles 63 & 65 for letters between Miss MacGregor and Lady Evelyn.

<sup>48</sup> Note: the 7<sup>th</sup> duke reverted to the usual spelling of ‘Atholl’.

<sup>49</sup> See Atholl, J. J. H. H. S.-M. (1908). *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families: In five volumes*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, e.g. the king’s visit of 1822 - “Philebeg and belted plaid of Atholl Tartan,” p. 332; Charles Murray to his mother from Albania - “I wish I could have a highland dress sent out, merely to show how like it is to the Albanian costume,” p. 356.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 14<sup>th</sup> August 1901 - *Constitutional, The Duke of Atholl*, cutting sent from the Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor in letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> August 1901.

titles were still very enticing. By 1911 Miss MacGregor was doing research to try to back up His Grace's claim to the Earldom of Oxford.<sup>51</sup>

Miss MacGregor was also continuing to mirror the 'Scotch' fashion of the age. "Her enthusiasm for things Celtic is as great as her knowledge of them is wide and varied,"<sup>52</sup> one magazine gushed about the now elderly spinster. As the 'Dundee Highland Society' declared: "[Miss MacGregor] is a strong propagandist of Gaelic, and loses no opportunity of fostering the love of it in those sons of the mountains whose days are spent in Sassenach surroundings."<sup>53</sup> The woman was now giving "papers of literary merit, on subjects of Highland interest."<sup>54</sup> John MacKay claims she was the first female speaker to do so.<sup>55</sup>

Of course, her words continued to polish the Highland halo. One of her lectures, of "a most interesting and instructive character,"<sup>56</sup> wistfully recalled Queen Victoria's travels in northern Scotland. Another of her talks related how the monarch graciously met the locals: "...the scene... so full of the romance of the past."<sup>57</sup> A further address, entitled *A Highland Romance*, detailed Jacobite uprisings and a "gallant and brave young Prince."<sup>58</sup> It was a starry-eyed view of a turbulent and fiercely-ordered time. It was also very 'Scotch'. Highlanders were described as "true Celts"<sup>59</sup> and words like "beastie", "lassie" and "bawbee"<sup>60</sup> peppered her scripts. An evening spent in Miss MacGregor's company would not be dull. Her lectures were said to be "enlivened with frequent racy touches which delighted her audiences."<sup>61</sup>

This "well-known lady"<sup>62</sup> was also promoting Scottish armies, for they were continuing to add to the Highlandism equation. Murray Pittock talks of the "Primitivist message of nostalgic Celticism [that] always had an imperial subtext: that the bravery of the 'wild Highlander'... could now be formed and tamed into a formidable fighting machine in the

<sup>51</sup> Duke of Atholl's claim to the Earldom of Oxford. (1911, September 22). *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> *The Celtic Annual*, p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> MacKay, *Highlanders*, p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Perth, a Highland romance. (1902, December 19). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6; Appendix D: PD60/637 - Miss MacGregor's talk, *The Queen in the Highlands*.

<sup>57</sup> Perth, a Highland Romance.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> MacKay, *Highlanders*, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Perth, a Highland Romance.

cause of Empire.”<sup>63</sup> By the turn of the century Empire was busy with the Boer war and Miss MacGregor was helping to recruit men for the ‘Scottish Horse’, a regiment raised by the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl’s son, Lord Tullibardine.<sup>64</sup> She was throwing her all into the exercise and expected a similar enthusiasm from those around her. As one newspaper noted: “To her for a young man to hang back was anathema.”<sup>65</sup>

Tullibardine, or Bardie, as he was known, was in South Africa, from where he wired his father to ask for 500 Black Cock’s tails for regimental caps and to report that more soldiers were needed on the ground. The duke contacted Miss MacGregor who was vetting candidates at her house in Perth. Highlandism dictated that men ought to look the part, but age was another matter. One potential recruit would not be twenty for a fortnight. “Tell him to say he is 20,”<sup>66</sup> the duke ordered. This way of enlisting was rather gentler than it had been a century before when press-gangs were reportedly sent to Glen Tilt to find soldiers for the American war. Leah Leneman reminds us that feudal loyalty in the late eighteenth century was not always forthcoming. In better-off areas like Blair Atholl “[many] had learned to despise a soldier’s pay and hate a life of servitude.”<sup>67</sup>

A hundred years on, though, and there seemed to be a renewed sense of duty. Men were coming forward and were desperately required, but there were still lines to be drawn when choosing. “About Martin I must consider. I rather fancy he is given to drink.”<sup>68</sup> Miss MacGregor would be cheered when she presented war charms and would find herself being described as a “leading spirit”<sup>69</sup> in the local ‘Soldiers’ Friend’ movement. Now, though, with the African conflict in full swing, the clan chief’s daughter needed all the volunteers she could get, Highland or otherwise. “I am sorry you have to descend to Irishmen but I am sure

<sup>63</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> Miss MacGregor “adopted” the Black Watch and was busy fundraising and visiting their Perth barracks. *The Scotsman*, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1917, describes how Bardie had been asked by Lord Kitchener to recruit a regiment of mounted infantry.

<sup>65</sup> Miss Murray MacGregor passes away, *op cit.*

<sup>66</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 14<sup>th</sup> February 1901 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>67</sup> Leneman, L. (1986). *Living in Atholl: A social history of the estates, 1685-1785*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 140. See Somers, R. (1848/1977). *Letters from the Highlands on the famine of 1846*. Inverness: Melvyns Bookshop, p. 23 - “press gangs were sent up the glen.” See also Devine, T. M. (2003/2004). *Scotland’s empire: The origins of the global diaspora*. London: Allen Lane, p. 316 - “the army became an escape route.”

<sup>68</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 26<sup>th</sup> February 1901 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>69</sup> Volunteers. (1902, August 4). *Dundee Courier*, p. 6; Veteran Perth soldier honoured for public services. (1908, December 17). *Dundee Courier*, p. 3; See also Miss MacGregor and war charms. (1917, September 26). *The Scotsman* - the paper noted how Miss MacGregor’s house in Perth became “the channel through which membership aspirants from the Atholl district made their way to the front.”

they talk broad Scots as they were born in Perth & have never seen ould Oirland!”<sup>70</sup> the Duke of Atholl said resignedly from his club in London. Once again, Irishmen were being meanly compared to Highlanders. Yet it could have been worse: “...not above six or eight of our 224 [volunteers] are English.”<sup>71</sup>

By early 1901 five officers and 328 men, one of them “a very nice looking lad... so clean & smart & sober... which most of the rest were not,”<sup>72</sup> had sailed for the Cape. So much for looking the perfect ‘Highland’ part. Yet even a motley Highland crew could still be lauded, for this sort of volunteering was continuing the link between Empire and Scotland. It was the same one that had given Queen Victoria such a connection to her troops over the years. As Miss MacGregor declared: “The queen herself, the descendant of warriors, sympathises with her soldiers throughout the Empire.”<sup>73</sup> Highlandism was continuing to make Scots feel part of Empire and the great British military machine.

When the Duchess of Athole died the newspapers reported how Miss MacGregor who “always had a leaning towards literature... finds relief in her great sorrow and loneliness in the compilation of a volume dealing with the history of her clan.”<sup>74</sup> Today some of the Highlandism the doughty clan chief’s daughter so enthusiastically promoted lives on in her books, *History of the Clan Gregor*.<sup>75</sup> These two volumes, undertaken with the backing of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’, are seriously detailed. They take up where the Reverend William MacGregor Stirling left off in 1833. As chapter one of this thesis showed, he was commissioned by Miss MacGregor’s father to compile a ‘Chartulary’, or history, of the MacGregor clan.<sup>76</sup> His early studies, plus the work of Donald Gregory and the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* and *The Book of Taymouth*, served as the basis for Miss MacGregor’s own extensive research in the 1890s.

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<sup>70</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 20<sup>th</sup> February 1901 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* c. 25<sup>th</sup> February & c. 10<sup>th</sup> March 1901.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 20<sup>th</sup> February & 16<sup>th</sup> March 1901.

<sup>73</sup> Appendix D: PD60/637 - Miss MacGregor lecture, *The Queen in the Highlands*.

<sup>74</sup> General news: Miss Murray MacGregor. (1897, June 30). *Aberdeen Journal*, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> MacGregor, A. G. M. (1898/1901). *History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections: Vol. I & II*. Edinburgh: William Brown. Volume One, published in 1898, was “compiled at the request of the Clan Gregor Society by one of its Vice-Presidents,” whilst Volume Two came out in 1901. Described as “handsome crown quarto Volumes, cloth gilt... 21s per volume. The Edition limited to 300 copies for sale” - see Appendix D: PD60/645 - *Prospectus of Volume II*.

<sup>76</sup> See chapter one of this thesis.

It was quite an undertaking. Circulars went out in Perthshire asking for MacGregor detail;<sup>77</sup> historians and locals were questioned; families in Glenstrey, Glengyle, Rannoch, Glengary and further afield were pumped for information and, high and low, they sent their stories, among them Joseph MacGregor, a slater from Kirkmichael.<sup>78</sup> At times it was frustrating. “If every MacGregor wrote down or told what they know of their own Fathers and Grandfathers & from which side of the country they come, it wd. lead to a good deal of information,”<sup>79</sup> Miss MacGregor complained. Research was further complicated by the fact that documents were often non-existent as the MacGregors were a ‘landless’ clan for so many years. Showing the Highlands in a dramatic light was important and whilst historical fact would be carefully considered, “tradition and romance would be gladly accepted.”<sup>80</sup> Highlandism would feature, yet there had to be limits to storytelling. Miss MacGregor and a fellow researcher agreed how “some myths [about Rob Roy] really must be challenged.”<sup>81</sup>

Professor Richard McGregor, the 2016 Chairman of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’, calls Miss MacGregor’s books in part “a romantic promotion of her family,”<sup>82</sup> although he does agree that she was a “fastidious collector of key documents relating to the clan.”<sup>83</sup> Peter Lawrie, the 2016 historian of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’, goes further to suggest that the volumes contain bias. “Undoubtedly, [Miss MacGregor’s] *History* was primarily intended to prove the seniority of her family. The arguments are very partial and some decidedly thin logic has been asserted as obvious truth. On the other side, the claims of other lineages are presented with disparaging comments.”<sup>84</sup> Lawrie reminds us that Miss MacGregor was not actually a trained historian, although this thesis has shown how she did have the confidence of Sir William Fraser, a Victorian expert in Scottish history.

At the time of their publication a Scottish newspaper also worried about a lack of academic rigour. The *Glasgow Herald* admitted that the histories had solid merit with interesting material, but suggested they were “marred by a lack of critical spirit.”<sup>85</sup> This “great and

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<sup>77</sup> Appendix D: PD60/850, 8<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> March 1890, Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor. See also PD60/695 for details of local research.

<sup>78</sup> Appendix D: PD60/683 - 2<sup>nd</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> April 1890.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix D: PD60/460 - 8<sup>th</sup> March 1870 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor.

<sup>80</sup> Appendix F: *Scheme for the Publication of Histories of the Clan Gregor*.

<sup>81</sup> Appendix D: PD60/850 - 12<sup>th</sup> June 1890 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>82</sup> Professor Richard McGregor, 2016 Chairman, ‘Clan Gregor Society’.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> See <http://www.clangregor.com> - Introduction to The History of the Clan Gregor.

<sup>85</sup> History of the Clan Gregor. (1898, November 26). *Glasgow Herald*, p. 9.

apparently exhaustive mass of most valuable and interesting material”<sup>86</sup> appeared to have taken too much of *Douglas’s Baronage* at face value. Again, Richard McGregor says Miss MacGregor may simply have been following the fashion of the age: nineteenth century clan history does not generally come with a commentary.

Another journal of the time was more brutal in its assessment of her labours: “...endless repetition, perpetual harping backwards and forwards, a confusion that makes the book ponderous and unmanageable,” *The Athenaeum* declared.<sup>87</sup> Yet the *Glasgow Daily Mail* was kinder, noting how “as a repository of authentic records of the history of the clan it will prove invaluable.”<sup>88</sup> The *Spectator* magazine, meanwhile, went further. “The most exacting member of the clan could not demand a more painstaking historian than Miss MacGregor. Her book, when finished, will be one of the largest, most painstaking, and most interesting works of the kind ever published.”<sup>89</sup> The *Dundee Advertiser* pointed out that as the volumes involved so many pedigrees, “it is wonderful that so few slips have been made.”<sup>90</sup>

As for those who bought the volumes, one customer considered them to be works of “rare interest... which we greatly prize in our house.”<sup>91</sup> One copy went to Tasmania<sup>92</sup> and they seemed to go down well with Scots in America where it was decided that the research reflected “much credit upon its author, who can only be a lady of high talent, of means, and of leisure.”<sup>93</sup> Then, as the Gregg family of New York told the clan chief’s daughter: “...everything Scottish attracts considerable attention among the reading classes.”<sup>94</sup>

A third volume was meant to bring Clan Gregor’s history up to the end of the nineteenth century. It did not materialise, for Miss MacGregor had now turned her attention to things Jacobite. The book, *A Royalist Family: Irish and French 1689 – 1789; and Prince Charles Edward*, was written by the descendant of an Irish family who settled in France. It told the story of the Duc de la Tremoille’s forebears, men who had shown “ardent loyalty to the

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Criticism of ‘History of the Clan Gregor’ (1899, August 12). *The Athenaeum*, p. 220.

<sup>88</sup> Appendix D: PD60/645 - *Prospectus*, Vol.11, quoting the *Glasgow Daily Mail*.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* quoting the *Spectator*.

<sup>90</sup> Appendix D: PD60/689/1 - *Dundee Advertiser*.

<sup>91</sup> Appendix D: PD60/646 - 2nd August, 1900 - Alexander Skene to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>92</sup> Appendix D: PD60/649/15.

<sup>93</sup> Magruder, E. W. (ed). (1912). *Year book of American Clan Gregor Society, Containing the proceedings at the gatherings of 1909 and 1910*. Nabu Press, p. 57.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix D: PD60/679 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1897 - Mr Gregg to Miss MacGregor.

exiled Royal House of Stewart,”<sup>95</sup> and charted the fortunes of a family member who crossed the sea with ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ during the ’45. The account was originally written in French and in 1904 Miss MacGregor provided the English translation, adding some helpful Highland notes of her own. It is another example of Jacobitism raising its wistful head at the start of the twentieth century.

By this time Highlandism was literally being waved about in Perthshire. During the First World War Miss MacGregor, a “fervent Highlander,”<sup>96</sup> wrote to the newspapers about a number of ‘Tartan Flag Days’ being held to raise money for British troops. These may, or may not, have been supported by Scotland’s clan chiefs and it is interesting to look at the clan societies operating in the country at this time. R. R. Munro lists the early groups: the ‘Buchanan Society’, inaugurated in 1725, ‘Clan Chattan’ in 1727, the ‘Graham Charitable Society’ in 1759, and ‘McKay’s Society’ in 1806.<sup>97</sup> The ‘Clan Gregor Society’ was the next to appear in 1822. Yet despite the Highland hysteria of the mid-nineteenth century, according to Munro’s list, the next fifty years saw no more clan societies being formed.

Indeed, notwithstanding the queen’s presence on Deeside in the mid-Victorian age and her enthusiastic endorsement of tartan, it was not until the 1890s that more clan groups began to come onto the scene. Sixteen would appear during this decade, a period that also saw an increasing interest in Gaelic. They included the Lamont, Maclean and Colquhoun associations.<sup>98</sup> Tartan links were being forged at home and abroad, but some names were finding it difficult to claim notions of clanship. A war of words erupted in the press over plans to form a Campbell society.<sup>99</sup> Allegations of double-dealing and links to the English could not easily be forgotten. The correspondence became “teethy,”<sup>100</sup> with words like “treacherous” and “mean and greedy race”<sup>101</sup> being bandied about.

After lying dormant for many years after its birth in 1822 the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ was resuscitated in 1886 and, as usual, Highlandism played a hand in the opening events: tables

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<sup>95</sup> De la Tremoille, L. (1904). *A Royalist Family, Irish and French, 1689–1789; and Prince Charles Edward* (trans. A. G. M. MacGregor). Edinburgh: Kessinger. See Miss MacGregor’s introduction.

<sup>96</sup> Tartan Flag Days [letter from Miss Murray MacGregor]. (1915, September 29). *Perthshire Advertiser*, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> Munro, R. W. (1977). *Highland clans and tartans*. London: Octopus, p. 116.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Appendix D: PD60/693 - cuttings from *Glasgow Herald*, 27<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> November 1890.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* See also 7<sup>th</sup> July 1891 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

covered with plaid, haggis on the menu, but, interestingly, Highland dress in short supply. In fact, one newspaper noted that whilst “the ladies were more loyal to the clan traditions, and nearly all affected [it],”<sup>102</sup> tartan was worn by fewer than half a dozen of the men. If women might be starting to take the plaided lead, at least there were still those male, kilted bagpipers around to give “Highland character”<sup>103</sup> to the event.

Clan Gregor Society’s aim had always been to help young MacGregors with “indication of talent and genius”<sup>104</sup> gain a profession, or join the army, or navy. Now social gatherings seemed to be of interest and a trip to MacGregor clan lands was planned. Again, there were few kilts in evidence at this event, but there was plenty of plaid and tartan ribbon and lashings of Scotch fir, the MacGregor clan plant. It must have been an incongruous sight: pipes wailing and large black umbrellas held aloft as these Victorian ‘Children of the Mist’ descended on a rainy Loch Katrine.<sup>105</sup>

One member declared how he hoped the MacGregor chief would “knit us all together as far as may be.”<sup>106</sup> The jaunt had generated a sense of belonging and stirred feudal feeling. It was Highlandism at its height, with Miss MacGregor reflecting how: “I feel it is a pious duty to the Living and to the Dead. To my clan [and my chief] & to my ancestors... I have never met *one* MacGregor without warming towards that one, with the love of clanship, & to be with about 60 all as enthusiastic as myself was a great happiness.”<sup>107</sup> As the nineteenth century came to an end, Highlandism was bringing people together.

As literary editor of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ Miss MacGregor now found herself being described as “the principal in knowledge of, and *chief* in interest in and attachment to the Society and clan.”<sup>108</sup> As such, she turned her attention to another project: that of refurbishing Rob Roy MacGregor’s grave in the Balquhidder kirkyard in west Perthshire. It was time to pay homage to a Highland hero. “It seems strange, that for more than a century and a half [it]

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<sup>102</sup> Appendix D: PD60/794/19 - cutting from the *Scotsman*, 1997 - *Clan Gregor Society*.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Appendix D: PD60/671 - 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909 - John MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - *Rules and Regulations of Clan Gregor Society*.

<sup>105</sup> Appendix D: PD60/693 - *A MacGregors’ Gathering*, and *The Clan Gregor Gathering*, reported in the newspapers.

<sup>106</sup> Appendix D: PD60/624 - 7<sup>th</sup> September 1876 - C.M. MacGregor to Lady Helen MacGregor.

<sup>107</sup> Appendix D: PD60/649 - 28<sup>th</sup> & 29th July 1888 - Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1889 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor.

should have been allowed to remain undistinguished from the neighbouring mounds.”<sup>109</sup> Interestingly the funds for the restoration came not from Scotland, but from London, with a wealthy ship owner offering to pay the repair costs - and yet again, Highlandism would rewrite history. At the 1890 unveiling ceremony the rough and ready Rob was being almost deified, with words like “benevolent, humane... kind and generous”<sup>110</sup> featuring in speeches. The bothersome Scottish outlaw was being nicely repatriated. Then Highlandism needs its legends...

Miss MacGregor died in 1917. She was eighty-eight and was buried alongside MacGregor chiefs in the Balquhidder glen.<sup>111</sup> The spirited Scotswoman had made her mark and the death of this “remarkable lady,”<sup>112</sup> a “Notable Lady of the Victorian Period... a capital Gaelic scholar,” was reported in the papers. Miss MacGregor had led a “life of usefulness.”<sup>113</sup> She had been a “doyen of clan life and literature.”<sup>114</sup> She was Highlandism personified - and Highlandism was there at the end: “...as she desired [the coffin] swathed in a plaid of MacGregor and in another of Murray tartan, and had laid upon it a branch of pine tree and a spray of Juniper, the emblems of the clans MacGregor and Murray.”<sup>115</sup> This person of “high intellectual resources”<sup>116</sup> could now be described as a “Chieftainess among her own people... Scotland she loved with an intense and tender partiality and pride.”<sup>117</sup>

Nearly a hundred years after her passing, MacGregor clansmen still make a pilgrimage to the place where this ‘chieftainess’ lies. Her resting place in the red-sandstone family mausoleum is, after all, en-route to where another, infinitely more famous MacGregor, is buried.<sup>118</sup> These tartanned visitors come to Balquhidder to pay their respects to the legendary Rob Roy. They stem from all over the world and they arrive in ‘Highland’ style. George Scott Moncrieff had

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<sup>109</sup> Appendix D: PD60/641 - 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1888 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor, quoting a letter to the newspapers about Rob Roy’s grave - “the neglected condition... brought the blush to my face.” See also Appendix F: 8<sup>th</sup> August 189 - booklet about the opening ceremony - *The Rob Roy Memorial, Inaugural Ceremony at Balquhidder*.

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

<sup>111</sup> Sight of Miss MacGregor’s grave at Balquhidder Mausoleum.

<sup>112</sup> Over the Teacups. (1903, March 14). *Dundee Evening Post*, p. 8.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* Miss Murray MacGregor passes away.

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

<sup>115</sup> The late Miss Murray MacGregor. (1917 October 3). *Perthshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - MacGregor [later Campbell] Robert (bap. 1671, d. 1734), outlaw and folk hero

bemoaned the fact that Victoria's legacy had led to “tartans [being] misconceived and worn”<sup>119</sup> all over Scotland and England - and in parts of Germany - and he was right.

When the annual ‘Clan Gregor Society’ gathering takes place in Scotland in mid-summer, Teutonics have been among the overseas’ contingent making the journey. For the last few years some twenty or so Germans - few of whom has a drop of MacGregor blood in him, or her - have attended gatherings in full Highland uniform. One even has the MacGregor crest tattooed on his chest.<sup>120</sup> As they pass through that Perthshire glen and stop at the MacGregor mausoleum, one wonders what the Scottish clan chief’s daughter interred inside makes of this foreign tartan army peering through the railings.

For, like the Americans, the Europeans have jumped on the Highland bandwagon. David Hesse notes that kilts and cabers are fun and calls these European Highland Games “Scottish *masquerades*, and openly declared so.”<sup>121</sup> These continental “masquerades”<sup>122</sup> are a quest for roots. They are Scotland offering countries like Germany a colourful and martial past that they no longer have - or, post-war, are not allowed to have. “They feel that their own customs, songs, games, and tribes were lost to the forces of modernization - but that some of it survived in the Scottish periphery. They employ Scotland as a site of memory, as *ersatz* history.”<sup>123</sup> Celeste Ray adds to the debate. “The result is a bouquet unrecognisable as ‘Scottish’ to Highlanders, Lowlanders, or Dorics of the early 1700s, yet it is the filter through which they are recalled by their descendants around the globe.”<sup>124</sup> Highlandism invented a past for Scotland and it is now making it possible for other countries to join a great tartan present.

It has been an interesting journey. In 1909 the ‘American Clan Gregor Society’ was formed in Virginia, with members being warned they would have to do things the ‘Scottish’ way. “A clan cannot be manufactured, and... if they are to form a society in America, it should be called a ‘society’ and have a President and not lead to confusion with ‘Chiefs’,”<sup>125</sup> the

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<sup>119</sup> Thomson, D. C. (ed.) (1932). *Scotland in quest of her youth*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, p. 75.

<sup>120</sup> Personal acquaintance and from being at the gathering.

<sup>121</sup> Hesse, D. J. (2011). ‘Warrior dreams: Playing Scotsmen in mainland Europe, 1945-2010’. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, see abstract.

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

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Ray, C. (2001). *Highland heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. xiii.

<sup>125</sup> Appendix D: PD60/671, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909, quoting the 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief of Clan Gregor.

MacGregor chief of the day is reported as saying. A century on and *his* direct descendant has decided that a clan clearly *can* be manufactured, as can a tartan, but he poses the question: are they authentic? Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor is 24<sup>th</sup> chief of Clan Gregor - and, incidentally, Miss MacGregor's great great great nephew - and he cites Borderland names like the Armstrongs and Elliots, former Scottish *families*, who now call themselves *clans*, with the appropriate plaids and plants to boot.

This growth of clan societies, with members willing to pay allegiance to a 'chief', harks back to bygone times. It is a feudal longing in a modern age. It is a yearning for some supposedly comforting and ordered past. Moreover, if an industrial revolution fuelled Highlandism in the Victorian age, it is a technological one that is keeping the phenomenon alive today. The chief of Clan Gregor, Malcolm MacGregor, describes how the internet has propelled the cult of chiefs and clans "into a different orbit."<sup>126</sup> Historical information, accurate or not, is available at the touch of a computer button. Links across continents can be cemented within seconds. Anyone with the hint of a Scottish name is able to find himself a family to belong to - or better still, a clan...

If choosing to live in such an outmoded age is distasteful to some, parts of this vast tartan network are perhaps to be applauded. Malcolm MacGregor is also the 2016 Convenor of the 'Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs' and he explains how his group has moved from being a laird's coffee club to an organisation hoping to further clan history and encourage tartan tourism. This self-styled "definitive and authoritative body on the Scottish Clan System"<sup>127</sup> claims to be actively promoting the country, at home and abroad. It is working with 'Visit Scotland' and the Scottish government to boost heritage tourism and is in constant contact with American/Scottish clan societies and groups. Mind, there are other issues to cope with, apart from historical queries and advice on wearing a kilt. MacGregor recently found himself being sounded out about whether a clan board game might sell on the tartan circuit.

Again, MacGregor suggests that it is Highlandism that continues to give Scotland its magnetic brand and that it is those outside the country who are now driving the tartan

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<sup>126</sup> Communication with Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor, 24<sup>th</sup> clan chief of 'Clan Gregor' and 2016 Convenor of the 'Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs'. He points to the number of clan websites and the ease with which chiefs can now be contacted.

<sup>127</sup> *The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs says it is an authoritative body on the Scottish Clan System.* <http://www.clanchiefs.org.uk> See also detail from the SCSC Convenor, Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor.

fashion. “Take New York’s Tartan Day: a sea of kilts marching down Sixth Avenue. Take the Highland Society of London: note, the Scottish one has folded. Take London’s Highland Balls: tickets to the Royal Caledonian costing up to two hundred pounds and always a sell-out. Contrast that with the Perth Ball in Scotland which from time to time has struggled to survive.”<sup>128</sup> MacGregor goes further. “A Highland Games in Scotland may attract two thousand people. In America they can get twenty thousand. Yes, it is the stuff of kilts and cabers, but it is the Scotland those not living in Scotland want it to be.”<sup>129</sup>

There is certainly no shortage of people with Scottish ancestry across the Atlantic and further afield. Between 1825 and 1914 some 1.84 million Scots left their country for non-European lands. Around forty-four per cent went to America, twenty-eight per cent to Canada whilst twenty-five per cent travelled to Australia and New Zealand.<sup>130</sup> It is their descendants, the group we now call the ‘ancestral Diaspora’, who are helping to promote today’s Highlandism.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, as Tom Devine reminds us: we cannot blame these twenty-first century Highland devotees, because, ultimately, the phenomenon is home grown. “When the emigrants of Victorian times left Scotland, many took with them these new mythical symbols of tartans, kilts, pipes and drums...”<sup>132</sup>

It is said that the Scots are a sentimental lot away from their country. David Armitage notes their ability to blend in wherever they are in the world whilst “maintaining sympathetic connections with Scotland itself.”<sup>133</sup> In these new lands Scots integrated, but they wanted to keep an identity - and tartan was a way to do it. Jenni Calder describes how a Philadelphia cloth merchant was advertising “best Scotch plaids”<sup>134</sup> as early as 1765. This multi-coloured cloth would prove a “shortcut to the Highlands,”<sup>135</sup> even though Ben Nevis might be thousands of miles away. Tom Devine details how between 1850 and World War One

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<sup>128</sup> Communication with Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor.

<sup>129</sup> MacGregor refers to the ‘Grandfather Mountain Highland Games’ in North Carolina which can attract such numbers at its four-day July gathering.

<sup>130</sup> Harper’s *Adventurers and Exiles, The Great Scottish Exodus* as quoted in Morton, G. (2010). Identity out of place. In T. Griffiths & G. Morton. (eds.). *A history of everyday life in Scotland, 1800-1900* (pp. 256-287). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 257.

<sup>131</sup> COSCA, the American-based ‘Council of Scottish Clans and Associations’ (<https://www.cosca.scot/>), estimates that the north American Diaspora represents 60 per cent of the global Scottish ancestral Diaspora.

<sup>132</sup> Devine, T. M. (2011). *To the ends of the earth: Scotland’s global diaspora, 1750-2010*. London: Allen Lane, p. 281.

<sup>133</sup> Armitage, D. (2005). The Scottish diaspora. In J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A history* (pp. 272-303). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 272.

<sup>134</sup> Calder, *Notes from the republic*, p. 203.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

Scottish immigrants founded more than 1,200 local societies in the USA.<sup>136</sup> Celeste Ray describes Highlandism as taking a hold in the Deep South with Americans naming their pets, homes and children after characters and places in Walter Scott novels. “In Mississippi, the plantations and mansions of Waverley, Melrose, Montrose, Dunvegan, Monmouth and Dunleith acquired their names from [his] admirers.”<sup>137</sup>

Adopting a Scottish theme was not just escapist. It was a way for America’s southern states to differentiate themselves from the north. Jenni Calder notes how a defeated south “derived comfort from such links with a nation which had heroically resisted its more powerful neighbour... to be Scottish was a source of pride and could fuel defiance.”<sup>138</sup> Yet there was more: there was a yearning to belong to something romantic. Celeste Ray reminds us how, even today, the impact of Scott and Highlandism in that part of the world “remains strong in current heritage lore.”<sup>139</sup>

Hungry for history overseas’ Scots seemed to go Highland-mad and ‘Scotch’ symbols were adding colour. Caledonian clubs staged tartan dinners. By 1900 there were more than a hundred Burns clubs in America with the accompanying haggis and plaids.<sup>140</sup> Some groups began with philanthropic aims: the ‘Scots Thistle Society of Philadelphia’ was founded in 1799 to help fellow countrymen who arrived “on an unknown shore, destitute of friends”;<sup>141</sup> the ‘St Andrew’s Society of New York’ started in 1756 to provide charitable relief and academic sponsorship;<sup>142</sup> in 1878 the ‘Benevolent Order of Scottish Clans’ was founded in Missouri.<sup>143</sup> As this thesis has shown, clan societies were coming onto the scene in America<sup>144</sup> and a burgeoning Scottish press, including the *Scottish-American Journal* and the *Scotsman*, would boost the ‘Scotch-mania’.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Devine, *Ends of the earth*, p. 275.

<sup>137</sup> Ray, C. (2003). *Southern heritage on display: Public ritual and ethnic diversity within southern regionalism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 259-260.

<sup>138</sup> Calder, *Notes from the republic*.

<sup>139</sup> Ray, *Southern heritage*, pp. 259-260.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.* p. 275.

<sup>141</sup> Quoted in Calder, *Notes from the republic*, p. 193.

<sup>142</sup> Morrison, D. B. (ed.). (1956). *200th anniversary 1756-1956 Saint Andrew’s Society of the State of New York*. New York, NY: St Andrew’s Society New York History Committee; See also Saint Andrew’s Society of the State of New York - <http://standrewsny.org/>

<sup>143</sup> *Scottish Tartans Museum*. <http://www.scottishtartans.org/> See also Wilkinson, T. (2015). *Bagpipes, tartan & insurance: Scottish-American fraternalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. Retrieved from [http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/masonicmuseum/fraternalism/scottish\\_american\\_fraternalism.htm](http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/masonicmuseum/fraternalism/scottish_american_fraternalism.htm)

<sup>144</sup> American Clan Gregor Society, founded in 1909. <http://acgsus.org/>

<sup>145</sup> Rowland Tappan Berthoff’s *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790–1950* quoted in Devine, *End of the Earth*, p. 275.

The New World would not always be so Highland-obsessed. Tom Devine notes how Celtic interest waned after the First World War and Grant Jarvie agrees. “The romantic images produced by Walter Scott and other writers... the emergence of the sporting landlord phenomenon... [The] processes of ‘Balmoralization’ and popularization of the Scottish Highland Gatherings”<sup>146</sup> lasted until about 1920. It is ironic that this was the date that the famous chocolate-box Highland scene so loved by Queen Victoria, Landseer’s *The Boat*, which is referred to in chapter one of this thesis, was allegedly destroyed by the British royal family.<sup>147</sup>

In fact, it was not until the 1950s when the chief of Clan MacLeod, interestingly, a woman, crossed the Atlantic and urged the Diaspora to ‘Come back to Scotland’ that American curiosity in clans began to mushroom.<sup>148</sup> For the second half of the twentieth century has been a heyday for clans. A ‘golden age’ of flying allowed people to cross the Atlantic in search of roots and genealogy is now one of the world’s fastest growing hobbies.<sup>149</sup> Folk are finding Celtic friends and families with whom to celebrate a swashbuckling history. When American tourists in the Scottish Borderlands were interviewed about their reiving ancestors, they knew one thing: “You don’t want to be descended from anyone boring.”<sup>150</sup>

For Highlandism has allowed people to claim a racy past in an age controlled by political correctness. It lets them feel free as they tramp the heathery hills. Highlandism has also ironed out some awkward historical wrinkles. Celeste Ray says that despite the “unsavory activities”<sup>151</sup> of past lairds, historical romance now “exonerates the clan chiefs as paternal and benevolent... most celebrations of identity or ‘the past’ raise a sparkling clean mirror in which to see ourselves flawlessly reflected.”<sup>152</sup> She is right about veneration coming with

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<sup>146</sup> Jarvie, G. (1989). *Culture, social development and the Scottish Highland gatherings*. In D. McCrone, S. Kendrick & P. Straw (eds.), *The making of Scotland: Nation, culture & social change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 199.

<sup>147</sup> See chapter two of this thesis.

<sup>148</sup> Devine, *Ends of the earth*, p. 283.

<sup>149</sup> See Brownlee, J. (2013, May 12). What was it really like to fly during the golden age of travel. *FastCo.Design*. Retrieved from <https://www.fastcodesign.com/3022215/terminal-velocity/what-it-was-really-like-to-fly-during-the-golden-age-of-travel>

<sup>150</sup> TV interview for ITV Border, conducted in 2001.

<sup>151</sup> Ray *Southern heritage*, p. 270.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

time. Today's clan chiefs can find themselves being treated like minor royalty at overseas' gatherings.<sup>153</sup>

However, Highlandism cannot afford to be complacent. The US-based 'Council of Scottish Clans and Associations', or COSCA, was founded in 1976 to support Scottish clan organisations and to preserve Scottish heritage and in 2009 it reported some 170 Scottish clan and family societies operating in America. Yet that number has since fallen with a warning that groups are under pressure. "Several have lost up to 25 percent of their members in the last few years... Scottish games and festivals are closing doors... Leadership and active clan membership is aging... Scottish Clan and family Societies are struggling to keep up with challenges brought about by new technology."<sup>154</sup> Whatever the future for these clan organisations, it is Scotland's traditional symbols and a twenty-first century Highlandism that keeps them going.

The 'St Andrew's Society of New York' may put a laudable emphasis on Gaelic culture. It might offer scholarships and sponsor Scottish music and poetry. Yet its website still offers the more frivolous temptations: a "real" Scots' night with "whisky tasting, kilt making presentation and bagpipe displays... Highland dress preferred."<sup>155</sup> Another American group holding a Highland ball in Arizona urges Scots to come dressed in kilts, or other "historic garb... and don't forget the white cockade."<sup>156</sup> In the twenty-first century Jacobitism still raises its romantic head. Moreover, whilst COSCA put out a praiseworthy call to protect the Culloden battle site from a nearby housing development, in the same breath it talked of the "pipe bands, dance groups, St Andrews Societies, athletic and military societies... that complete the diverse and colorful picture of Scottish heritage in America."<sup>157</sup>

As the editors of *The Manufacture of Scottish History* say: "...damn the facts, what seems to matter... are the myths about clans, heather and bonnets."<sup>158</sup> David McCrone calls it 'tartanry': "...a set of garish symbols appropriated by lowland Scotland at a safe distance

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<sup>153</sup> Witnessed at USA gatherings.

<sup>154</sup> Personal papers from COSCA - Proposal for *The Scottish American and Clan Family Centre*.

<sup>155</sup> *Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York*. <http://standrewsny.org/>

<sup>156</sup> We Make History. (2013). 'We Make History' proudly presents the 2013 Highland Ball, August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013, Mesa, Arizona. Retrieved from <http://www.hIGHLANDBALL.COM>

<sup>157</sup> Personal papers from COSCA - Proposal for *The Scottish American and Clan Family Center*.

<sup>158</sup> Donnachie, I., & Whatley, C. (1992). *The manufacture of Scottish history*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 14.

from 1745, and turned into a music-hall joke.”<sup>159</sup> Some fifty years ago Tom Nairn went further to damn it as the “great tartan monster... a popular sub-romanticism, and not the vital national culture whose absence is so often lamented after Scott.”<sup>160</sup>

Meanwhile, Craig Murray, Britain’s former ambassador to Uzbekistan, asks if it isn’t all a bit of a joke. “Why is a middle-aged man wearing a garment that you see very seldom worn in Edinburgh, Glasgow or even Inverness? When I was a child, the only daytime TV that seemed to exist was The White Heather Club. Andy Stewart sang songs about kilt-wearing... most famously, ‘Donald, Where’s Yer Troosers’. It was knowing kitsch. I have close friends who are leaders of today’s Scottish traditional music scene. They, like many of Scotland’s key cultural figures, would not be seen dead in a kilt.”<sup>161</sup>

Murray himself, though, would. “Whatever Victorian gentrification and mythmaking may have since accrued, for me the kilt is an expression of desire for personal and national freedom.”<sup>162</sup> Indeed, this tartan ‘skirt’ can serve to make a man look manlier. Murray points out how George Lazenby’s James Bond only had to don a kilt to seduce a bevy of lovelies whilst in Uzbekistan, “the dictator’s ruthless daughter Gulnara... went all coquettish and positively hung on my every word when I handed her a drink while wearing my kilt. It was not my speeches on human rights that had that effect.”<sup>163</sup> The former ambassador is well aware of the power of this Highland symbol and considers anti-tartan snobbery to be misplaced. “They are in danger of throwing the baby out with the bathwater.”<sup>164</sup>

A kilt may be one thing: a whole Highland industry is quite another. Andrew Marr complains how “the debris from this tartan cult still clutters almost every corner shop and half the public houses in the land.”<sup>165</sup> Sixty years ago, even that royal supporter, Ivor Brown, was moved to condemn the “hideous, tartan-covered ‘gifties’, and gee-gaws”<sup>166</sup> emanating from Scotland. Brown went further: “Few will dispute that a piper in a bedraggled kilt attempting a pibroch

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<sup>159</sup> McCrone, D. (1992). *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation*. London: Routledge, p.180.

<sup>160</sup> Nairn, *Break-up*, p. 104.

<sup>161</sup> Murray, C. (2011, April 9). Craig Murray: A secret history of the kilt. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/craig-murray-a-secret-history-of-the-kilt-2265753.html>

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> Marr, A. (1992/2013). *The battle for Scotland*. London: Penguin, p. 27.

<sup>166</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, p. 17.

outside a London ‘pub’ is a miserable spectacle. Of the same, sad kind is the Grand Highland Panorama seen in a music-hall or during a pantomime with its displays of such ‘weaves’ as never were on moor or glen.”<sup>167</sup>

The tartan-tat is inescapable. ‘Ingles Buchan’, a firm with a Borders mill and a factory in Glasgow, reports a rise in sales of tartan scarves - and it is mainly due to the popularity of the ‘Outlander’ books and television series.<sup>168</sup> Yet Scotland is marketing high-end plaided goods, too. The Selkirk-based ‘Lochcarron’ company works with upmarket design houses<sup>169</sup> - it is not just tartan. In 2015 Chanel-owned ‘Barrie Knitwear’ in Hawick announced plans to expand the workforce after a rise in demand for Scottish cashmere.<sup>170</sup> Yet it is a competitive industry and other Scottish textile firms are going to the wall. Early in 2016 it was announced that ‘Hawick Knitwear’ would close<sup>171</sup> whilst tartan-producers ‘Robert Noble of Peebles’ went into receivership in late 2015.<sup>172</sup>

Charles Withers points out how “for the Highlands it is not a question of ‘false perceptions’ in opposition to a ‘real’ history... [because] many of the generally understood images of the Highlands were held to be ‘real’ by people at the time.”<sup>173</sup> Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley review his essay in *The Manufacture of Scottish History* and suggest that “however fictional much of the Highland legend is, it forms an important part of Scottish national identity.”<sup>174</sup> *Scotland - the Brand*, meanwhile, offers the view that the country may suffer from *too much* Highland heritage, invented or not: “...tartan, Glencoe, Bonnie Prince Charlie

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<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> Cameron, G. (2015, August 17). Ingles Buchan expects Outlander merchandise boost. *The Herald*. Retrieved from

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/business/13600619.Ingles\\_Buchan\\_expects\\_Outlander\\_merchandise\\_boost](http://www.heraldscotland.com/business/13600619.Ingles_Buchan_expects_Outlander_merchandise_boost)

<sup>169</sup> Cameron, G. (2015, April 15). Lochcarron of Scotland buys new machinery after securing £300,000 funding. *The Herald*. Retrieved from

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/business/13210200.Lochcarron\\_of\\_Scotland\\_buys\\_new\\_machinery\\_after\\_securing\\_300\\_000\\_funding](http://www.heraldscotland.com/business/13210200.Lochcarron_of_Scotland_buys_new_machinery_after_securing_300_000_funding)

<sup>170</sup> Chanel to expand workforce at Hawick’s Barrie Knitwear. (2015, February 20). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-31549072>

<sup>171</sup> Hawick Knitwear enters administration. (2016, January 7). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-3525081>

<sup>172</sup> Job losses as Robert Noble mill in Peebles to close. (2015, July 14). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-3351995>

<sup>173</sup> Withers, C. W. J. (1992). *The historical creation of the Scottish Highlands*. In I. Donnachie & C. Whatley (eds.), *The manufacture of Scottish history* (pp. 143-156). Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 155.

<sup>174</sup> Donnachie & Whatley, *Manufacture*, p. 14.

and Culloden, Bannockburn, Burns, Mary Queen of Scots, whisky, Edinburgh castle and much more.”<sup>175</sup>

Tartan tentacles stretch far and wide. Yet Highlandism and military Highlandism, in particular, has helped spawn a worldwide tradition of piping. Indeed, Hugh Cheape argues that the bagpipe’s survival owes much to soldiering. “Under a new patronage of the officer-class of the British army and of contemporary improving clubs and societies, competition became the life-blood of the art.”<sup>176</sup> This thesis has already suggested that the popularity of the pipes is one upside of Highlandism. Hugh Cheape reminds us that it was the aristocratic ‘Highland Society of London’ that started a piping competition at the Cattle Tryst at Falkirk in 1781 - and that such competitions continue to this day.<sup>177</sup>

Chapter one saw a late-eighteenth century MacGregor chief encouraging piping from far-off India and it is now apt to consider the current annual ‘World Pipe Band Championships’. In 2013 this Glasgow event saw more than 8,000 pipers and drummers from unlikely places like Mexico, Zimbabwe and Brazil.<sup>178</sup> As *The Scotsman* newspaper reported: “It may be one of the most tired stereotypes from the great Scottish shortbread tin of tartan clichés - that of a marching man playing the bagpipes. Multiply it some 8,000 times over, however, and ‘The Worlds’ transcends cliché.”<sup>179</sup> The irony is that whilst Scottish bagpipes become universal marching buddies, back at home they are filling the army with foreign recruits. In 2012 one in ten soldiers in the ‘Royal Regiment of Scotland’ was likely to be from Fiji.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, if the kilted rookie did, by chance, happen to be a Scotsman, he may well have been the army’s ‘wee Jock’ - and not the six-foot Highlander so lauded in Queen Victoria’s art book.

Financial institutions, whiskies, rugby-clubs... they all lay claim to tartan. At one Scottish event in Australia a woman was wearing an interesting one. It was the tartan of the Royal College of Midwives: “...the blue stripe for the uniform, the black and white signifying the

<sup>175</sup> McCrone, D., Morris, A., & Kiely, R. (1995/1999). *Scotland – the brand: The making of Scottish heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 5.

<sup>176</sup> Cheape, H. (1999). *The book of the bagpipe*. Belfast: Appletree, pp. 73-74.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, p. 74.

<sup>178</sup> World Pipe Band Championships. (2017). *About the Worlds*. Retrieved from <http://www.theworlds.co.uk/Pages/home.aspx>

<sup>179</sup> Gilchrist, J. (2013, August 19). Review: World Pipe Band Championships, Glasgow Green. *The Scotsman*.

<sup>180</sup> Stewart, S. (2011, March 6). Recruitment crisis means one in 10 soldiers in Scots regiments are foreign-born. *Daily Record*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/recruitment-crisis-means-one-in-10-1096793>

night and day we work...”<sup>181</sup> Yes, today anyone and everyone can have a tartan - and some even boast pipers.<sup>182</sup> When Pipe Major Jimmy Banks left the ‘Scots Guards’ in the 1980s he found a job playing the pipes at Flemings merchant bank in London.<sup>183</sup> Then there is the legendary Bill Millin whose face was splashed across the newspapers when he died in 2010. Bill was Lord Lovat’s piper, going ashore with the troops on D-Day and playing ‘Hielan’ Laddie’ as the bullets strafed that war-torn Normandy beach.<sup>184</sup> Because of his pipes and his kilt, Bill is arguably more famous than Lord Lovat ever was.

Highlandism made Bill a legend, but the tartan that accompanied his rise to fame irritates some. Hugh MacDiarmid damned “the cult of the kilt” as “buffoonery,”<sup>185</sup> yet there were inconsistencies in his anger. The ‘Lallans’ enthusiast was born ‘Christopher Murray Grieve’ - and not in the Highlands, but in the Borderland town of Langholm<sup>186</sup> - and it is Andrew Marr who reminds us how he rushed to take a “cod-Gaelic” name and wore a kilt, “tricking himself out in trumpery associated originally with Sir Walter Scott, who was among the Scotsmen MacDiarmid most hated and railed against.”<sup>187</sup>

Then those who mock the kilt and caber vogue should consider the fact that Highlandism remains a highly profitable venture for Scotland. ‘Visit Scotland’ suggests there are some fifty million people in the world with Scottish roots and that ten million of those are interested in finding out about their ancestry and in possibly coming to Scotland.<sup>188</sup> Indeed, ancestral tourism is thought to be set to soar, with groups like ‘Visit Scotland’ and ‘Scottish Enterprise’ suggesting that interest could rise from 800,000 visitors to a staggering 4.3

<sup>181</sup> Conversation with lady at a ‘Scotbanner’ newspaper reception in 2016 in Sydney. See also Scotweb. (2017). *Midwives tartan*. Retrieved from <https://www.scotweb.co.uk/tartan/Midwives/59102>

<sup>182</sup> Scottish Tartans Authority’ website (<http://www.tartansauthority.com>) - Bank of Scotland tartan (registered 1995, ITI 2462); Chartered Institute of Bankers (registered pre-2004, ITI 6180), Glenmorangie (registered 1999, ITI 5981); Bennachie (registered 1999, ITI 4228); Hawick Rugby Cub (registered 2000, ITI 5834); London Scottish Rugby Cub (registered 1998, ITI 2360); See also *Scottish Register of Tartans*. <https://www.tartanregister.gov.uk/index>

<sup>183</sup> Slavin, J. (2013, March). A career in piping: Jimmy Banks. *Piping Today*, 32-35. Retrieved from [http://elearning.thepipingcentre.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/PT41\\_JimmyBanks.pdf](http://elearning.thepipingcentre.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/PT41_JimmyBanks.pdf)

<sup>184</sup> Davison, P. (2010, August 22). Obituary - Piper Bill Millin: The ‘Mad piper’ who piped the allied troops ashore on D-Day. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/piper-bill-millin-the-mad-piper-who-piped-the-allied-troops-ashore-on-d-day-2059271.html>

<sup>185</sup> Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 185.

<sup>186</sup> Appendix H: ODNB - Grieve Christopher Murray [pseud. Hugh MacDiarmid] (1892–1978), poet, writer and cultural activist.

<sup>187</sup> Marr, *The battle for Scotland*, p. 30

<sup>188</sup> VisitScotland. (2017). *Ancestral tourism*. Retrieved from [http://www.visitscotland.org/what\\_we\\_do/partnership\\_initiatives/tourism\\_initiatives/ancestral\\_tourism.aspx](http://www.visitscotland.org/what_we_do/partnership_initiatives/tourism_initiatives/ancestral_tourism.aspx) - research and statistics. See also Ancestral Tourism - VisitScotland.org <http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/TIS%2011%20ancestral%20tourism.pdf>

million a year over the next half-decade. “Scotland has high brand recognition across the world and a unique cultural identity and tradition.”<sup>189</sup>

These tourists are made curious by blockbusting ‘tartan’ entertainment like the *Outlander* films which contribute millions of pounds to the Scottish film industry and have resulted in a reported thirty per cent increase in the number of visitors.<sup>190</sup> It is Charles Withers who notes a “persistent representation of images of Highlandness in denoting a sort of primitive wildness (in adverts for the film, *Highlander*, for example), or in depicting Highlanders as kilted warriors to try to sell other essentially Highland and Scottish products like whisky.”<sup>191</sup> He is right. Whisky is given clan names. It is adorned with clan badges and tartans - and it sells.<sup>192</sup>

Highlandism is paying its way in other ways. The land reform campaigner, Andy Wightman, may rightly argue that the Scottish hunting estate, created in part by Queen Victoria’s endorsement of the Highlands, is an anachronism. He can point to a survey of 218 sporting estates which shows that in 2002 two-thirds of them belonged to absentee owners.<sup>193</sup> He might be backed up by Scottish government figures that suggest that just 432 people control half of Scotland’s privately-owned land.<sup>194</sup> All this may be seen as unfair. Yet the ‘Scottish Gamekeepers Association’ reminds us of how country sports can inject some £350 million a year into the economy and that sporting shooting sustains some 11,000 jobs, many in rural communities.<sup>195</sup> Other data suggests that figure might not be as high. In 2016 the Scottish government suggested it was £155 million<sup>196</sup> - but it is still a sizeable amount of money.

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<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> Ferguson, ‘Outlander’; Gabaldon, @Outlander’; O’Neill, C. (2015, May 28). 10 Scottish castles that inspired Outlander. *Evening Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/13309043.10\\_Scottish\\_castles\\_that\\_inspired\\_Outlander/](http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/13309043.10_Scottish_castles_that_inspired_Outlander/) see also Outlander gives Scottish film industry £40m boost - The ... [www.scotsman.com/.../outlander-gives-scottish-film-industry-40m-boost...](http://www.scotsman.com/.../outlander-gives-scottish-film-industry-40m-boost...) 30 Jan 2015

<sup>191</sup> Withers, ‘Historical Construction’, p. 156.

<sup>192</sup> Scotland.org. (2017). *Scottish exports*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotland.org/live-and-work-in-scotland/scottish-exports - 40 bottles of whisky exported every second>

<sup>193</sup> Wightman, A. (2010/2013). *The poor had no lawyers: Who owns Scotland (and how they got it)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, pp. 227-228.

<sup>194</sup> Cook, J. (2015, June 23). Land reform: The battle to decide who owns Scotland. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-33225369>

<sup>195</sup> Scottish Gamekeepers Association. (2016). *Economic benefits*. Retrieved from <http://www.scottishgamekeepers.co.uk/gamekeeping-facts/economic-benefits.html>

<sup>196</sup> Country sports worth £155 million a year to Scotland’s rural economy. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-36989425>

Meanwhile, if England is blamed for helping to create Highlandism, it is worth remembering that she, too, is doing her bit to fund Scotland. When kilted ex-pats get together to dance reels at the annual Royal Caledonian Ball in London, pound notes come skipping north. This event is considered to be the world's oldest charity ball, and since it began - started in the 1840s by the "truly Scotch"<sup>197</sup> Duchess of Athole and her husband - it is estimated that the Caledonian Ball has donated some three million pounds to Scottish charities.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, it is not just *Highland* groups benefitting from this southern tartan funding. In 2016 the 'Royal Caledonian Highland Charities Trust' donated £45,000 to thirteen good causes, including youth projects in Lowland Glasgow.<sup>199</sup>

Then there is the 'Highland Society of London' which was formed in 1778 as an upmarket tartan club. It still exists - and its cultural aims may be considered worthy by some: awarding medals for the best players of Piobaireachd; giving awards for Gaelic singing and Highland dancing. Its website says it has instituted an essay prize with the University of the Highlands and Islands and that it gives money to a number of charities and groups that promote and support Highland tradition and culture.<sup>200</sup>

Highlandism is helping at a more local level in the twenty-first century as small clan events inject much-needed cash into rural communities. In 2012 the 'Clan MacLean Society' brought 700 people to Duart castle on Mull.<sup>201</sup> A 2014 'Clan Gregor Society' gathering saw 200 clansmen and women staying in the Stirling area. Three-quarters of them were from overseas.<sup>202</sup> That same year, a MacThomas get-together in Pitlochry attracted some 80 people to northern Perthshire.<sup>203</sup> Even a Borderland assembly of a hundred tartan-trewed Elliots can put thousands of pounds into the remote Liddesdale economy.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1971). *Your dear letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London: Evans - 18<sup>th</sup> May 1865.

<sup>198</sup> The Royal Caledonian Charities Trust. (2017). *Home*. Retrieved from <http://www.royalcaledonianball.com/history>

<sup>199</sup> The Royal Caledonian Charities Trust. (2016). *Charities supported in 2016*. Retrieved from <http://www.royalcaledonianball.com/charities-supported-2016>

<sup>200</sup> The Highland Society of London - history - retrieved from <http://www.highlandsocietyoflondon.org/history.ph>

<sup>201</sup> Clan Maclean Association. (2010). *Century gathering 2012: An invitation to a significant centenary*. Retrieved from <http://www.maclean.org/maclean-associations/cmas/clan-maclean-mull-2012.php>

<sup>202</sup> Detail from the 'Introduction to history of the Clan Gregor. (1898). *The Clan Gregor Society*. Retrieved from <http://www.clangregor.com/about-us/history/introduction-to-the-history-of-the-clan-gregor>

<sup>203</sup> Communication from the 'Clan MacThomas' chief, Andrew MacThomas.

<sup>204</sup> Figures from Margaret Elliott of Redheugh, chief of 'Clan Elliot' (personal communication).

Indeed, figures from the Scottish government show that clan gatherings brought £390,000 to the Scottish economy in 2015.<sup>205</sup> The ‘Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs’ claims this sum only reflects the money brought in by half a dozen or so events - and that the *real* total generated by tartan tourism is far higher. Whatever, at many of these get-togethers the respective chiefs are present and correct - and flying the flag for Scotland. As the 2016 Convenor of the ‘Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs’ says: “If clan tourism wasn’t worth anything, we wouldn’t be involved in the Clan Forum, sponsored by the Scottish Government and Visit Scotland. We wouldn’t be called before the Economic and Tourism committee...”<sup>206</sup>

According to the ‘Scottish Highland Games Association’, there are dozens of Highland gatherings in Scotland,<sup>207</sup> but in America and Canada this area of heritage tourism is much bigger business. The ‘Official Gateway to Scotland’ website details how the USA’s first Highland Games took place in 1836 and it lists more than sixty games being held in America in 2017.<sup>208</sup> Another website details more than 100 Scottish and Celtic festivals and Highland Games in 2015.<sup>209</sup> A third lists dozens of them in Canada.<sup>210</sup> These events may well be “staged authenticity,”<sup>211</sup> but as Deepak Chhabra suggests: “...this does not make them inauthentic.”<sup>212</sup> As Charles Withers notes: the descendants of Scots are playing out what they *think* is their history, “perpetuat[ing] in their gatherings what they believe to be their own past.”<sup>213</sup> In so doing, are they causing any harm? In terms of recognition and goodwill to Scotland, it can be argued that they are doing some no small good.

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<sup>205</sup> ‘Clan’ tourism generated £390,000 for Scotland in 2015. (2016, March 13). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-35795287>

<sup>206</sup> Sir Malcolm MacGregor from the ‘SCSC’ (communication).

<sup>207</sup> Scottish Highland Games Association. (2015). *Scottish Highland Games*. Retrieved from <http://www.shga.co.uk/visitors.php>

<sup>208</sup> Scotland.org. (2013). *USA & Canada highland games*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotland.org/features/usa-canada-highland-games>

<sup>209</sup> *Scottish festivals and Highland games by date* ([http://www.angelfire.com/folk/irishcelts/scottish\\_highland\\_festivals\\_by\\_date.html](http://www.angelfire.com/folk/irishcelts/scottish_highland_festivals_by_date.html))

<sup>210</sup> Clan Scott Society. (2006). *Scottish events in North America*. <http://www.clanscottsociety.org/linked/ScottishEventsNA.html>

<sup>211</sup> Scotland.org, See also Chhabra, D. (2001). *Heritage tourism: An analysis of perceived authenticity and economic impact of the Scottish Highland Games in North Carolina*. Unpublished PhD thesis, North Carolina State University.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Jarvie, *Highland games*, and Withers, ‘Construction of the Highlands’, p. 156.

As early as 1996 sixty-six million Americans took a domestic trip within the USA that included heritage and cultural events.<sup>214</sup> Some of that lucrative market focuses on Highlandism. It is a triumph of hope and a yearning to belong. As Ian Maitland Hume explains in his thesis on Scottish/American identity: “Tartan and the kilt encapsulate many facets of a heritage which people aspire to access; they may also represent a part-mythical family origin for those seeking roots... the number of Americans who choose to adopt a Scottish element as part of their identity can be attributed in substantial part to the power these symbols possess.”<sup>215</sup> These emblems have opened up a mighty market for Scotland and it is Coinneach Maclean who raises the question of whether abandoning Highlandism would be tantamount to “tourist suicide.”<sup>216</sup>

There are, of course, always those who try to use powerful symbols for bad. Murray Pittock reminds us of how the Ku-Klux-Klan has tried to jump on the Highland bandwagon. “The longstanding adoption of the ‘crostarie’ or fiery cross from Highland warfare is well known, and indeed the Klan has tried to recruit in Scotland in modern times.”<sup>217</sup> Not everyone agrees: James Cobb repeats John Coski’s view that for many years members of the Ku-Klux-Klan “generally preferred to wrap themselves in stars and stripes.”<sup>218</sup> Yet Pittock continues: “...this obsession with ancestry as the mark of authenticity is the dark side of ethnic tourism.”<sup>219</sup>

Did some of the clan societies that originated in the Deep South have a darker purpose? A group with an emphasis on a pure bloodline would inevitably lead to exclusion. My own experiences at American Highland games suggest they *are* a predominantly white affair. Admittedly, Confederate flags are less frequently seen nowadays, yet those that are flown seem to hint at a longing for an America pre-civil war, with all the connotations that involves. There even has been a suggestion that the Confederate flag with its diagonal blue cross is based on the Saltire, but John Coski argues that it is a heraldic representation and not a

<sup>214</sup> Chhabra, *Heritage tourism*, p. 4.

<sup>215</sup> Maitland Hume, I. (2001). *The contemporary role of the kilt and tartan in the construction and expression of Scottish American identity*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

<sup>216</sup> Maclean, C. (2014). *The tourist gaze on Gaelic Scotland*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow

<sup>217</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, p. 5.

<sup>218</sup> See Coski, J. M. (2005). *The Confederate battle flag: America’s most embattled emblem*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; see Cobb, J. C. (2006). The Confederate Battle Flag: America’s most embattled emblem [book review]. *The Journal of American History*, 92(4), 1509-1510; see also Cook, R. (2006). The Confederate Battle Flag: America’s most embattled emblem [book review]. *The Journal of Southern History*, 72(3), pp. 671-672.

<sup>219</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, p. 5.

Scottish one.<sup>220</sup> In Scotland, too, membership of clan societies remains stubbornly white, although both the MacGregor and Armstrong clan societies can count, or have counted, ethnic members among their groups, particularly from the West Indies where Scots played a big part during the days of the Empire.<sup>221</sup>

Then there are the ‘tacky’ sides to Highlandism: not least the ‘See You Jimmy hats’ sold in souvenir shops and those websites offering customers the chance to become instant Scottish ‘lairds’. For a few dollars a wannabee in Hongkong, or New York, can become the ‘laird’ of a Highland site, although he or she is usually buying just a foot or so of land.<sup>222</sup> The person tasked with overseeing Scotland’s heraldry matters, the Lord Lyon King of Arms, is watching these developments closely. Dr. Joseph Morrow reminds people how “ownership of a souvenir plot of land is not sufficient to bring a person otherwise ineligible within the jurisdiction of the Lord Lyon for the purpose of seeking a Grant of Arms.”<sup>223</sup>

On a more positive note: becoming attached to Scotland’s symbols can encourage overseas’ investment in Scotland’s historic places. After a fire at Inveraray Castle in 1975 the £850,000 needed to restore the Campbell stronghold was mostly raised from abroad.<sup>224</sup> Again, it was American money that led to the foundation of the ‘Clan Donald Lands Trust’ at Armadale Castle on Skye,<sup>225</sup> a venture that created one of the great clan research centres. The Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR) shows the ‘Clan Donald Lands Trust’ with an income of £1,534,220 in 2014.<sup>226</sup>

Again, it is mostly U.S. dollars that are funding current investigations into ancient MacGregor tombstones at Dalmally in Argyll.<sup>227</sup> Members of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ are behind this project and, according to OSCR, this group’s worth in 2014 was £136,679. Then

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<sup>220</sup> Geoghegan, T. (2013, August 30). Why do people still fly the Confederate flag? *BBC News Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-23705803>; See also Coski, *op cit*.

<sup>221</sup> Detail from personal communication with both the ‘Clan Gregor Society’, and the ‘Clan Armstrong Trust’.

<sup>222</sup> Highland Titles. (2017). *Choose one or more plots of Scottish land*. Retrieved from <https://www.highlandtitles.com/buy-a-plot/>

<sup>223</sup> The Court of the Lord Lyon: The official heraldry office for Scotland. (<https://www.lyon-court.com/lordlyon/221.185.html>)

<sup>224</sup> The Duke of Argyll [obituary]. (2001, April 23). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1317009/The-Duke-of-Argyll.html>

<sup>225</sup> The legacy of Ellice Macdonald. (n.d.). *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*. Retrieved from

<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/en/colaiste/eachdraidh-na-colaiste/dileab-ellice-domhnallaich-cbe/>

<sup>226</sup> OSCR (Scottish Charity Regulator) letter in reply to request about clan society funding (personal communication).

<sup>227</sup> Introduction to the history of the Clan Gregor Society - see website.

there are the Borderland Armstrongs - technically more of a family than a clan - but as this thesis has shown, Highlandism seems to have promoted them in the great scheme of things. Based in Langholm the 'Clan Armstrong Trust' is funded, in part, by its American cousin, the 'Armstrong Clan Society'. With overseas' help the Trust has built up what is claimed to be the largest Armstrong archive in the world. It has catalogued Armstrong graves across the south of Scotland and carried out exacting research on Northern Ireland Armstrongs.<sup>228</sup> Its 2014 income, according to OSCR, may only have been £3,098,<sup>229</sup> but it is still bringing overseas' tourists to south-west Scotland.

Like other volunteer organisations, some of these groups may struggle to survive. However, it seems it was not always so. Alistair Moffat notes that by 1900 there were so many clan societies in Scotland that one Glasgow newspaper felt the need to complain about folk "swaggering in tartan, painfully acquiring the pronunciation of their respective battle-cries, and searching for chiefs."<sup>230</sup> Alistair Moffat calls this an unfair observation - and he has a point.<sup>231</sup> There are certainly, as Ivor Brown suggests, plenty of "Clan McCrazies"<sup>232</sup> on the Highland circuit. Yet genuine clan societies can do some no small cultural good for Scotland. According to the 'Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs', there were some 52 clan restoration projects underway in Scotland in 2012.<sup>233</sup> These may have been schemes that government-funded Scottish heritage groups might not have had the resources or time to deal with.

Moreover, even if clans do not actually restore crumbling castles, or catalogue clan histories, they can still foster a sense of belonging. It is Celeste Ray who points out how Highlandism brings people together - and for the Americans, in particular, this tartan club has become not just a show of Scottishness and identity, "but also a symbol of their bonds established with new 'kinfolk'.<sup>234</sup> David Hesse quotes the chief of 'Clan Mackenzie' who sees his job as offering a welcome. John Mackenzie says "clans are places to be social, to meet other people in an increasingly amorphous and isolated world... I think Clanship is a unifying force, and that cannot be but good in a world of shifting values."<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Detail from the 'Clan Armstrong Trust' (personal communication). Note: their museum closed in 2015 for renovation.

<sup>229</sup> OSCR (Scottish Charity Regulator) detail for 2014 (personal communication).

<sup>230</sup> Moffat, A. (2010). *The Highland clans*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 130.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> Brown, I. J. C. (1955). *Balmoral: The history of a home*. London: Collins, p. 18.

<sup>233</sup> Detail from the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs - <http://www.clanchiefs.org.uk>

<sup>234</sup> Ray, *Highland heritage*, p. 38.

<sup>235</sup> John Mackenzie as cited in Hesse, 'Warrior Dreams'.

One of the opinions voiced in a 2012 debate on the BBC history website went thus: “We are one of the most easily marketable brands in the world, why on earth would we want to rid ourselves of our cultural logos. Can’t see Coke changing their brand any time soon, so why should we?”<sup>236</sup> The motion was that “Walter Scott’s re-branding of all Scots as tartan-wearing Highlanders has been a hindrance to Scotland’s cultural development,”<sup>237</sup> and a third of respondents agreed, with comments like: “It’s merely a Brigadoon Type history adventure,” and “the tartan’s fine for weddings, masonic palavas and bairns. Historically, nithing mair than a bunch o con merchants,” and “I feel the attachment to false history... it is a hindrance to all Scots discovering some far richer heritage.”<sup>238</sup>

Yet others taking part in the debate offered the view that tartan had added theatre to a nation that had already proved itself in fields of medicine, law, poetry, philosophy, art and engineering. In fact, fifty-two per cent very strongly or strongly disagreed with the “hindrance to Scotland’s cultural development”<sup>239</sup> argument. Among them was Jim, an overseas’ Scot from Thailand who insisted that “symbols are a strong source of identity and tartan is a symbol of the people who once lived here.”<sup>240</sup> Such a statement is proof of the power of Highlandism - and also further evidence that the Scots are, indeed, a sentimental race away from their nation.

Yet the view that tartanry has been an impediment to Scottish social and political change has been a firmly held one over the years and in 1981 a ‘Scotch Myths’ exhibition highlighted this. Some years later Craig Beveridge and Ronnie Turnbull discussed the implications of their theory and the charge that Highlandism has preventing Scots from seeing themselves and their history in a clear light. They referred to Lindsay Paterson who offered the view that tartanry is “the only mass, conscious symbol available to a people in search of its enduring sense of being a nation...”<sup>241</sup> Tartanry was a barrier to Scottish development because its function has been “to mystify... provide comfort and escape and false reasons for pride and

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<sup>236</sup> Scottish identity. (2012). *BBC: Scotland’s history - Debates*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/debates/identity/#>

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>241</sup> Paterson, L. (1981). Scotch myths. *Bulletin of Scottish Politics*, 1(2), 67-71. See also Beveridge, C., & Turnbull, R. (1989). *The eclipse of Scottish culture: Inferiorism and the intellectuals*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p.13.

satisfaction.”<sup>242</sup> The political theorist, Tom Nairn, would have agreed with that statement, for it was he who lambasted the tartan monster’s “prodigious array of *Kitsch* symbols, slogans, ornaments, banners, war-cries, knick-knacks, music-hall heroes, icons, conventional sayings and sentiments... which have for so long resolutely defended the name of ‘Scotland’ to the rest of the world.”<sup>243</sup>

Some decades later and tartanry remains controversial in some quarters. Christopher Harvie argues that people should be given “culture, not haggis”<sup>244</sup> - and he has a point. Harvie hopes to sell “the democratic intellect rather than *Braveheart* or *Mickey Mouse*,”<sup>245</sup> and he bemoans the fact that Scottish tourism has become “mired in a tartan, bagpipes and haggis miasma.”<sup>246</sup> Yet Carol Craig takes a softer line. “Like it or not, tartan is a very sophisticated branding and marketing tool for Scotland.”<sup>247</sup> Craig goes further to suggest that some academics may have exaggerated the negative influence of tartan. “I grew up in a working-class household in the west of Scotland in the 1950s and 60s - we watched ‘The White Heather Club’ and ‘Doctor Finlay’s Casebook’, and read ‘The Sunday Post’... We took tartan gifts down to England if we went to visit relatives... We all knew this was not a complete well-rounded picture of ‘real Scotland’.”<sup>248</sup>

Some intellectuals might have decried tartanry, yet they assume that people have swallowed it hook, line and sinker. Let us go back to Beveridge and Turnbull’s discussion of the ‘Scotch Myths’ theory which suggests that Scots embraced a “dream history”<sup>249</sup> for their nation, instead of a serious, realistic one. Thirty years ago this “liberal-marxist consensus of ideas”<sup>250</sup> dominated the way that certain academics approached history. Only the brave might challenge these worthy concepts with their focus on struggle, industrialisation and class conflict. Scottish grittiness means historical research has tended to favour the male working class, the Clearances, the shipyards and the mines. I have struggled to find research on upper class Victorian and Edwardian Scottish life, especially when it comes to women.

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<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>243</sup> Nairn, *Break-up*, p. 150.

<sup>244</sup> Harvie, ‘Give them Culture’.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> Craig, C. (2003). *The Scots’ crisis of confidence*. Edinburgh: Big Thinking, p. 27.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> Beveridge & Turnbull, *Scotland After enlightenment*, p. 58.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59.

Moreover, as chapters one and two have showed, tartan is not inauthentic - and as Beveridge and Turnbull note: the argument that it “expresses a series of undesirable emotions and attitudes - from militarism and xenophobia to a maudlin patriotic sentiment”<sup>251</sup> has never actually been tested. Highlandism may have been viewed as impeding cultural growth. John Morrison can discuss a nationalism that was bound to the British Union.<sup>252</sup> Yet, as Murray Pittock says: “...we all have our myths and it turned out that ‘Scotch myths’ are no worse than anyone else’s.”<sup>253</sup>

The irony is that tartan, once the preserve of royalty and aristocracy, is now a great leveller. There are those who argue that a kilted man at a wedding is far harder to place socially than someone dressed in a suit. Admittedly, there are those chiefs who wear a separate tartan from their clansmen - for example, Godfrey Macdonald sports a ‘Lord of Isles’ cloth, as his position as head of Clan Donald entitles him to do - yet others, including the MacGregor, the MacThomas and Madam Elliott, share their family tartan with their clansmen and women. It is a way of uniting those of the name. Tartan bonds - but it has also separated. As Mary Miers says: “...no other country has a sartorial image more democratic and universal, yet the story of Scotland’s national dress is controversial and divisive.”<sup>254</sup>

Caroline McCracken-Flesher raises the interesting idea that Walter Scott’s re-working of Scotland may not be “a curse but an opportunity”<sup>255</sup> and Scott’s portrayal of the Highlands has certainly opened up interesting marketing possibilities. Take a flamboyant chieftain like Ranald Macdonald, the Younger of Clanranald, who has transported the Highlands down to London’s Belgravia in the shape of ‘Boisdale’, an upmarket Scottish restaurant.<sup>256</sup> Yes, he is making money out of his ‘Scotch’ credentials and, yes, his life is most certainly in England. Yet his heart is in Scotland and when required, he crosses the border, kilt swinging and whisky-bearer in tow.<sup>257</sup> It is most definitely theatrical. It comes with a large dollop of

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<sup>251</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65.

<sup>252</sup> Morrison, J. (2005). Highlandism and Scottish identity. In J. Morrison & F. Cullen (eds.), *A shared legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish art and visual culture* (pp. 97-111). Aldershot: Ashgate.

<sup>253</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (2008/2013). *The road to independence? Scotland in the balance*. London: Reaktion Books, p. 150.

<sup>254</sup> Miers, M. (2014, August 8). The history of tartan. *Country Life*. Retrieved from <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/history-tartan-60043#sPdqjWH04eh5CZpM.99>

<sup>255</sup> McCracken-Flesher, C. (2005). *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the story of tomorrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 187.

<sup>256</sup> Boisdale of Belgravia. (2015, January 25). *Burns night*. Retrieved from <http://www.boisdale.co.uk/belgravia/events/view/906>

<sup>257</sup> Personal sight of Macdonald in Scotland.

showmanship. Then I.F. Grant and Hugh Cheape remind us of the “prestige element”<sup>258</sup> ascribed to the rank of clan chief. Films like *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* have much to answer for and Macdonald can boost tourism through his support for the Arisaig Games.<sup>259</sup>

This ‘chiefly’ backing of local gatherings is matched by royal interest in a rather more famous event. In 2013 a newspaper picture showed Britain’s Queen Elizabeth at the Braemar Highland Games - dressed, not in tartan, incidentally, but in a very English pink suit - and grinning broadly at the “Highland Hijinks”<sup>260</sup> before her. Like Queen Victoria, where she goes, others follow. Moreover, her sometimes derided Deeside home is still doing its touristy bit to help Scotland. A newspaper article described how “even the radical activist Andy Wightman... concedes, there would be an enormous hole in the Deeside economy”<sup>261</sup> were Balmoral not there. The same piece by Adam Nicolson claimed the castle brought forty million pounds a year to the area in 2001.<sup>262</sup> According to a 2014 royal website Balmoral employed 50 full-time people and up to 100 part-timers when the queen arrives.<sup>263</sup> Admittedly, it is not a figure likely to make a great impact on the Scottish jobless total, but it must be a welcome number in a rural community. Furthermore, when you learn that 4,000 people work in the tourism industry on royal Deeside and the surrounding area, it begins to make even more sense.<sup>264</sup>

One of Balmoral’s aims today is to “protect the environment while contributing to the local economy.”<sup>265</sup> Mike Cantlay, a former chairman of ‘Visit Scotland’, includes the place in his list of favourites. “Everything is rustic, the air is thick and pure.”<sup>266</sup> Not everyone agrees, of course. Ian Mitchell complains that more than a century after her death Victoria’s legacy dominates Deeside: “...the emblems and icons of monarchy are everywhere.”<sup>267</sup> Despite it

<sup>258</sup> Grant, I. F. & Cheape, H. (1997). *Periods in Highland history*. London: Shepheard-Walwyn, p. 275.

<sup>259</sup> Clan Ranald Gathering: History of Clan Ranald. (2017). *Arisaig Highland games*. Retrieved from <http://www.arisaighighlandgames.co.uk/history-of-the-clan.html> ; First minister visits Arisaig Games. (2011, August). *West Word: Community Paper for Mallaig, Morar, Arisaig, Lochailort, Glenfinnan, Glenugie, Knoydart and the Small Isles*. Retrieved from <http://www.road-to-the-isles.org.uk/westword/august2011.html>

<sup>260</sup> *The Sunday Times*, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2013 - Queen at Braemar games.

<sup>261</sup> Nicolson, A. (2001, December 31). Balmoral dilemma. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/4793875/Balmoral-dilemma.html>

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> Balmoral: Scottish Home to the Royal Family. (2017). *Welcome to Balmoral*. Retrieved from <http://www.balmoralcastle.com/>

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> Cantlay, M. (2014, March 28). Scotland’s top five destinations. *Livemint*. Retrieved from <http://www.livemint.com/Leisure/PMX2BP3fNYvE4d2dlvxndL/Scotlands-top-five-destinations.html>

<sup>267</sup> Mitchell, I. R. (2000). *On the trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*. Edinburgh: Luath, p. 127.

being the ‘Royal Highlands’, he maintains that by the time of her death there was not much ‘Highland’ about it: crofters mostly gone, “Gaelic... virtually extinct.”<sup>268</sup> Mitchell’s words are nearer to the truth than he thinks. In 2013 a Balmoral website gave visitors the chance to read about the castle in more than 60 languages. Alas, Scottish Gaelic was not among them.<sup>269</sup> Then, as Coinneach Maclean reminds us that for many, Gaelic is just “a box to be checked.”<sup>270</sup>

In days gone by the only time you came across a Highlander was if you passed him in the heather. Now he can be seen at every lighted candle, dressed in what a Highlander is meant to wear - because Highlandism has allowed everyone, everywhere, to feel a wee bit ‘Scotch’. Of course, the truth is that for most of Scotland, it was never thus. As Sir John Graham Dalzell remarked in 1849: “...forty years ago no reputable gentleman would have appeared in a kilt in the streets of Edinburgh.”<sup>271</sup> In his book, *On the Trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*, Ian Mitchell uses a picture of the queen’s personal servant, John Brown, resplendent in kilt and sporran and dripping with silver. He is making a point. “They did not, and never had, dressed like this, this was the High Victorian image of a loyal Highland peasant.”<sup>272</sup>

This chapter has shown how sporting a kilt is now open to all and sundry, although there are *some* regulations in this colourful Celtic club. Hugh Cheape reminds us that those who wish to use tartan with heraldry should consult the Lord Lyon. Cheape also recognises the element of Highlandism in it all. “Such rules have maintained the standards created in the nineteenth century and imbued tartan with a special quality derived from history but not organically part of it.”<sup>273</sup> However, at the end of the day, tartan can straddle different classes and ethnic groups. Sirdar Iqbal Singh from Lesmahagow registered a cloth that can be worn by any Asian with Scottish connections. As he said: “I’m in Scotland, so why not have my own tartan?”<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> *Ibid*, p. 128.

<sup>269</sup> Merritt, M. (2013, March 31). Balmoral website blind to Scottish Gaelic. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/balmoral-website-blind-to-scottish-gaelic-1-2868717>

<sup>270</sup> Taken from summary of a talk given by Coinneach Maclean: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies. (2013, March 19). *The tourist gaze on Gaelic Scotland*. University of Glasgow. Retrieved from <http://cscs.academicblogs.co.uk/the-tourist-gaze-on-gaelic-scotland>

<sup>271</sup> Grant & Cheape, *Periods in Highland history*, p. 265.

<sup>272</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 128.

<sup>273</sup> Cheape, *Tartan*, p. 70.

<sup>274</sup> Scottish Register of Tartans. (2017). *Tartan details: Singh*. Retrieved from <https://www.tartanregister.gov.uk/tartanDetails?ref=3800> - “the Singh tartan can be worn by any Asian with

Mr. Singh is not alone. Even the SAS, the military group founded in the early 1940s by a Scotsman, now has its own tartan.<sup>275</sup> British soldiers, it seems, are still being encouraged to feel like Highland warriors and historians have noted the warlike element to modern clan gatherings. One of the aims of the ‘Greenville Highland Games’ in South Carolina is to “salute and honor our veterans, active duty military.”<sup>276</sup> The emphasis continues to be a martial one: Braveheart lookalikes, military pipe bands, they can all be seen at Highland Games.<sup>277</sup> Interestingly, though, whilst dirks may be the order of the day, the ‘British’ element is being increasingly downplayed. Ian Mitchell may call Highland get-togethers “a place of pilgrimage for monarchist devotees,”<sup>278</sup> but that is increasingly not so. From personal experience you are more likely to see Scots - and American-Scots, in particular - singing ‘O Flower of Scotland’ than mouthing ‘God Save the Queen’.

Highlandism reigns - and the men who helped shape this phenomenon are still making headlines. Sir Walter Scott’s Borderland home, Abbotsford, has just had a major makeover with millions being spent on a new visitor centre to cater for a growing number of tartan tourists.<sup>279</sup> In 2013 James Macpherson’s Highland home, ‘Balavil’, came up for sale near Kingussie.<sup>280</sup> ‘Ossian’s House’, built in 1790, was being sold complete with plaid and stags-heads, a lasting monument to Highlandism.<sup>281</sup> Moreover, Scotland is now apparently one Gaelic nation. The Borderland’s Lockerbie railway station calls itself ‘Locarbaidh’, with Lowland Edinburgh’s Haymarket described as ‘Margadh an Fheoir’.

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Scottish connections”; See also Scottish Tartans Authority website (<http://www.tartansauthority.com>). Singh Corporate (registered 1999, ITI 2600).

<sup>275</sup> SAS Regiment. (2012). *The history of the SAS regiment*. Retrieved from <http://www.sasregiment.org.uk/history-of-the-sas-regiment.html> - David Stirling started the SAS during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. See also *The Scotsman*, 2013 August 25, SAS add a tartan to their arsenal - <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/sas-add-a-tartan-to-their-arsenal-1-3061965>

<sup>276</sup> South Carolina Office of Tourism. (2016). *Greater Greenville Scottish games and Highland festival*. Retrieved from <http://discoversouthcarolina.com/products/26588>; Our upstate SC: (2017). *Gallabraise-Greenville Scottish Games*. Retrieved from <http://www.ourupstatesc.info/in-the-news.php>

<sup>277</sup> Personal experience at Highland Games like Grandfather Mountain, Stone Mountain, etc...

<sup>278</sup> Mitchell, *On the trail*, p. 80.

<sup>279</sup> Miller, P. (2010, July 27). Sir Walter Scott’s house set for £10m tourism makeover. *The Herald*. Retrieved from <https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-25413863.html>. See also *Abbotsford: The home of Sir Walter Scott* - <http://www.scottabbotsford.com/>

<sup>280</sup> Are you interested in being the real Monarch of the Glen? Highland estate made famous in the TV series goes on the market for the first time in 200 years for £7million. (2013, August, 12). *Daily Mail Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2390235/Highland-estate-famous-Monarch-Glen-goes-market-7m.html>

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid*, also sight of house and talking to owner. See also *Balavil House, Balavil, Kingussie, Inverness-shire* - [http://www.balavil-estate.com/balavil\\_house.htm](http://www.balavil-estate.com/balavil_house.htm)

Some eighty years ago George Scott Moncrieff talked of a Scotland “repopularised by Scott, adopted as a plaything by a foreign queen”<sup>282</sup> being left as “an abortive carcass rotting somewhere in the north of England.”<sup>283</sup> With a Scottish parliament and extensive devolved powers, that idea no longer rings true. Moreover, even the monstrous tartan might be seen in a new light. Murray Pittock considers the naysayers of the 1980s. “Tartanry was to be as inferior, false and misleading as Jacobitism once had been, and the supreme irony of those decades was that just as academics and cultural commentators lamented the meretriciousness of tartan and shortbread images of their country, the kilt and all its associated furniture of stereotype were being increasingly adopted by young people as a mark of a vibrant, modern Scotland.”<sup>284</sup> The kilt is on the up - and more devolution, nay, even possible independence, could further highlight its role in a modern Scotland.

It is a far cry from the distaste of the 1970s and 80s when Tom Nairn talked of most intellectuals - and chief among them the nationalists - as “flinch[ing] away” from the “tartan monster.”<sup>285</sup> Today the nationalists who put the emphasis on the ‘citizen’ rather than the symbols appear to be embracing the tartan monster. That sad plaid once so reviled by left-wing Scots is being openly used - and not just as a cultural, but as a political symbol: just witness the sea of kilts on show during the 2014 independence vote whilst in 2015 the SNP launched its campaign poster for the Westminster elections with a picture of tartanned seats in London’s House of Commons.<sup>286</sup>

Highlandism is still being used as a sign of difference and defiance, but it may be on the way to being reclaimed by the people. How telling is it that the SNP’s campaign support group is called ‘The 45’, a move that reflects not just the size of the ‘yes’ vote, but harks back to the last Jacobite uprising? Whisper it, but after decades of denial, is Highlandism in danger of becoming the nationalist’s friend? It must be hard to reconcile, with all the connotations of British Empire, British army and aristocracy. Yet as the ‘Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs’ admits, the SNP government has done more to recognise the value of chiefs and clans in

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<sup>282</sup> Thomson, 1932, *Scotland in her quest*, p. 83.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>284</sup> Pittock, *The road to independence?* op cit. p. 150.

<sup>285</sup> Nairn, *Break-up*, p. 153.

<sup>286</sup> See campaign literature and *The Sunday Times*, 4<sup>th</sup> January 2015 - “Sturgeon: turn UK election tartan.”

promoting tartan tourism than any Scottish Labour or Conservative administration ever did.<sup>287</sup>

Michael Fry notes how “the rise of nationalism [has] prompted Scots to look, and not just be, Scottish”<sup>288</sup> - and the SNP’s former First Minister is aware of the power of the plaid. In 2013 Alex Salmond was quoted on the BBC website as saying: “Tartan’s importance to Scotland cannot be overestimated... it is deeply embedded in Scottish culture and is an internationally recognised symbol of Scotland.”<sup>289</sup> A year later, he was in New York, wearing tartan trews. Not everyone is so astute. One Scottish government representative attending a US meeting of American Scots was eagerly awaited by a group of kilted businessmen. Their faces fell when their visitor arrived in a plain suit and indicated how “we don’t care much for tartan in Scotland.”<sup>290</sup> In 2015 the First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, appeared on an American chat show dressed in a pink power suit.<sup>291</sup> She, too, missed a trick. They liked her, but how much more would they have loved her, had she turned up in tartan?

There is the dilemma - and here is the interesting question: without Highlandism might Scotland have gone on to become ever more English over the years? Chapter one has shown how the fear of being considered ‘North British’ was a very real one in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. K. Theodore Hoppen reminds us how Walter Scott encouraged his countrymen to see themselves “as individuals whose reason might be on the side of the Union, but whose emotions were not.”<sup>292</sup> The theatre and romance of the Highland ‘story’ has helped Scots to maintain an identity, albeit a manufactured one - and, at the end of the day, Scots *are* sentimental folk which leads Tom Nairn to conclude that tartanry will not wither away: “...if only because it possesses the force of its own vulgarity - immune from doubt and higher culture.”<sup>293</sup>

He is right, but for more positive reasons than that. It is Magnus Linklater who reminds us that Scotland’s “character, history, emblems and identity have been more widely recognised

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<sup>287</sup> Quote from Sir Malcolm MacGregor.

<sup>288</sup> Michael Fry, *Wild Scots*, p. 186.

<sup>289</sup> Ryder Cup tartan unveiled at Lochcarron in Selkirk. (2013, July 1). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-23127730>

<sup>290</sup> Private conversation with individual who was at the meeting.

<sup>291</sup> Nicola Sturgeon guests on America’s Daily Show. (2015, June 9). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-33059510>

<sup>292</sup> Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian*, p. 541.

<sup>293</sup> Nairn, *Break-up*, p. 153.

and appreciated than those of almost every other small nation on earth.”<sup>294</sup> It may be that acceptance of an invented culture is easier than a fight, but a mix of tartan and bagpipes has helped to achieve that recognition. Angus Calder suggests that Scots have been led to believe that “kitsch is the true heritage”<sup>295</sup> and that people feel it is “a creature we have to live with since we now possess no alternative national symbolism.”<sup>296</sup> So could Scotland find ‘worthier’ symbols?

During the 2014 Year of Homecoming, ‘Visit Scotland’ was busy selling the delights of clans, cabers and bagpipes whilst urging visitors to come and ‘Live Like a Chief for the Day.’<sup>297</sup> Yet some TV adverts focused on the Edinburgh Fringe, the Wickerman music festival and the Borderland Common Ridings. Only a few seconds depicted tartan, with just the briefest shot of caber tossing and piping. Another Homecoming TV advert featured golf, whisky, fishing, swimming and a nature reserve. Again, just a few seconds showed anyone in a kilt. The message seemed to be: we are about more than tartan. Indeed, one of the ‘Brilliant Moments’ adverts told us we would see ‘real’ Scots, including a paramedic, wildlife ranger, chef, swimmer, golfer and whisky ambassador.<sup>298</sup> There was not a clan chief, or a kilted caber-tosser among them.

Trying to wipe the plaid from home screens is one thing. Attempting to do it abroad is quite another. America’s ‘Tartan Week’ began as ‘National Tartan Day’ and, despite its cheerleader feel, it has serious undertones. The event was ratified by the Senate, Resolution 155 recognising the “monumental achievements and invaluable contributions made by Scottish Americans that have led to America’s pre-eminence in the fields of science, technology, medicine, government, politics, economics, architecture, literature, media, and visual and performing arts.”<sup>299</sup> Tartan Week celebrates Scotland, with Murray Pittock reminding us how it is no coincidence that the main day, April 6<sup>th</sup>, is the same date as the

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<sup>294</sup> Linklater, M. (2013, December 25). What does it mean to feel Scottish? *Scottish Review*.

<sup>295</sup> Calder, A. (1994). *Revolving culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*. London: I. B. Tauris, p. 114.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> VisitScotland. (2014). *Homecoming Scotland 2014*. Plus personal sight of adverts. Retrieved from [http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Homingcoming\\_Review\\_Final.pdf](http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Homingcoming_Review_Final.pdf)

<sup>298</sup> VisitScotland. (2013, November 20). *Live for the moment* [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://mediacentre.visitscotland.org/pressreleases/live-for-the-moment-1033135>, and VisitScotland. (2015).

*Brilliant moments are closer than you think*. Plus, personal sight of adverts. Retrieved from [http://www.visitscotland.org/what\\_we\\_do/marketing/campaigns/previous\\_campaigns/brilliant\\_moments.aspx](http://www.visitscotland.org/what_we_do/marketing/campaigns/previous_campaigns/brilliant_moments.aspx)

<sup>299</sup> American Scottish Foundation. (2012). *Tartan Day observance* [blog]. Retrieved from [http://www.americanscottishfoundation.com/tartanday/tartan\\_news\\_OLD.html](http://www.americanscottishfoundation.com/tartanday/tartan_news_OLD.html)

Declaration of Arbroath: “...one of the earliest statements of anti-colonial nationalism in the world.”<sup>300</sup>

Advertisers can only dream of the publicity brought by this wall-to-wall tartan fest. Again, though, the Scottish government appears to be uncomfortable with the image. It wanted the event to be re-named ‘Scotland Week’, but the US resisted. “The Americans like Tartan Week because it’s distinctive... The term ‘Scotland Week’ is like calling it France Week or China Week...”<sup>301</sup> Those across the pond realise what people should perhaps know here at home: that Scotland’s national symbols are ignored at our peril. It may be irritating to be portrayed thus, but it is David McCrone who points out that whilst media representations of Scotland are “often simplistic and distorted, the search for a pure, national culture as an alternative is doomed to fail in a complex, modern, multinational world.”<sup>302</sup>

Of course there are the embarrassments. Allan Massie’s *101 Great Scots* include the “kilted clown,”<sup>303</sup> Sir Harry Lauder. This tartanned music hall performer’s songs included the song, *Stop Yer Ticklin’ Jock*. Lauder was someone who represented a Scotland that “those who call themselves Scottish patriots could have done without.”<sup>304</sup> Yet Massie argues he has a place in the hall of fame because he was a household favourite, particularly with ‘Sunday Post’ readers. Tom Nairn despised both entertainer and paper, by the way, and Massie damns the snobbishness. “That is merely an expression of dislike of the Scotland in which most of his compatriots live. It is... as silly as saying there’s no place for sentiment.”<sup>305</sup>

What Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor would have made of Lauder is debatable. Yet they would perhaps have been interested to see how members of their sex have continued to promote Scotland - and Highlandism. Jane Brown from Dumfries was 2014 President of the ‘Robert Burns World Federation’.<sup>306</sup> Camilla Hellman is the 2017

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<sup>300</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, *op cit.* p. 87.

<sup>301</sup> Dr. Geoffrey Scott Carroll, quoted in Cowing, E. (2013, March 3). US Tartan Week taken over by American Alliance. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/us-tartan-week-taken-over-by-american-alliance-1-2818989>

<sup>302</sup> McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, *op cit.* p. 13.

<sup>303</sup> Massie, A. (1987). *101 great Scots*. London: Chambers, pp. 238-239.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>306</sup> Robert Burns World Federation. (2017). *Past presidents*. Retrieved from <http://www.rbwf.org.uk/past-presidents/>

Executive Director of the ‘American Scottish Foundation’.<sup>307</sup> The 2014 ‘American Clan Gregor Society’ chieftain was Lois Ann Garlitz from Utah whilst Sue McIntosh was 2014 President of the ‘Council of Scottish Clans and Associations’.<sup>308</sup> Importantly, eight of the current 130 members of the ‘Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs’ are women, including Margaret Elliott of Redheugh, Anne MacKinnon of MacKinnon and Lady Saltoun who leads the Frasers.<sup>309</sup> Ladies might not have traditionally marched or led pipe bands, but they have come a long way from being “pot-stirring camp followers.”<sup>310</sup> These days there are even women pipers around - and interestingly, the world’s first female pipe band appeared in 1930 - not in Scotland, interestingly, but in Essex.<sup>311</sup> How is that for a case of Highlandism?

There are always the dilemmas. Murray Pittock suggests that the Jacobite cult remains “both irritating kitsch and a language of identity”<sup>312</sup> for today’s Scots. The implication is that this movement leads us back to the past, yet “blocks us off from it,”<sup>313</sup> distorting patriotism and culture. This thesis leaves the last word to the Diaspora. The ‘Council of Scottish Clans and Associations’, or COSCA, may run clan ‘boot camps’, but it also offers workshops on Scottish history - and at one gathering in North Carolina in 2015 the academic line-up was impressive. Addressing the American audience were Scotland’s Lord Lyon, Dr Joseph Morrow, and an American Gaelic expert, Dr Michael Newton, whilst Professor Donna Heddle of the University of the Highlands and Islands lectured on Viking history.

Education is one of COSCA’s aims. Yet it is under no illusions about what American Scots really want to see. “Without Scottish Clans & Families and our oft criticised tartan, bagpipes, musty castles, clan battles and inspiring heroes the national Scottish brand becomes somewhat indistinguishable from countless other nations that offer great golf, natural

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<sup>307</sup> American-Scottish Foundation. (2017). *Magazine: About us*. Retrieved from [http://americanscottishfoundation.com/magazine/?page\\_id=2](http://americanscottishfoundation.com/magazine/?page_id=2)

<sup>308</sup> American Clan Gregor Society. (2016). *Society governance*. Retrieved from <http://acgsus.org/clan-council/> and Council of Scottish Clans and Associations. (2014). *President’s message: Gathering 2014 announcement*. Retrieved from <http://archive.constantcontact.com/fs130/1106025977727/archive/1111260992859.htm>

<sup>309</sup> The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs. (2017). *Chief or representative*. Retrieved from <http://www.clanchiefs.org.uk/chief/>

<sup>310</sup> Ray, *Southern heritage*, p. 269.

<sup>311</sup> The Dagenham Girl Pipers turn 80 this year. (2010, April 22). *Barking and Dagenham Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.barkinganddagenhampost.co.uk/news/heritage/the\\_dagenham\\_girl\\_pipers\\_turn\\_80\\_this\\_year\\_1\\_573389](http://www.barkinganddagenhampost.co.uk/news/heritage/the_dagenham_girl_pipers_turn_80_this_year_1_573389)

<sup>312</sup> Pittock, M. G. H, (2002) ‘The Jacobite cult’ in E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 191-208). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 208.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

scenery, good native cuisine and liquor and a growing high-tech industry - not to mention better airfares.”<sup>314</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Miss MacGregor continued to promote Highlandism in the early twentieth century. As literary editor of the ‘Clan Gregor Society’ she published a history of Clan Gregor. She helped to produce a history of the Atholl family and translated a French book on the ’45 uprising. Miss MacGregor also masterminded the restoration of ‘Rob Roy’s grave, a man being increasingly venerated by Highlandism. She would bolster the Highland craze through her support for monarchy and Empire, giving stirring lectures about Victoria’s Highland travels and recruiting Highlanders to fight in the Boer War.

However, Miss MacGregor was still giving Highlandism an intellectual backbone - and her main contribution was her championing of Gaelic. One of the leading lights in the language’s revival in the late Victorian age and early-twentieth century, she is said to have been the first female to lecture on the subject. Gaelic was on a roll, with Highlandism giving it a push. In return, Gaelic could give Highlandism gravitas. Yet even this ancient tongue could not escape being wrapped in plaid, with tartan and bagpipes and the spirit of Walter Scott increasingly present at Gaelic gatherings.

This chapter has shown how Highlandism waned after the First World War, but flourished again in the second half of the twentieth century. Clan societies were growing in number, as were overseas’ clan groups and Highland Games. Clans and tartans were being manufactured and they continue to be so today. Indeed, thanks to air travel and the internet, the cult of clanship has taken off in the modern age. Whereas Highlandism was an antidote to Victorian industrial change, these days its popularity is due, in part, to a need to belong in a time of great global change. Just as progress encouraged Highlandism in the Victorian age, it is modernisation that still allows this backwards-looking concept to thrive. Clans are big business. For better or worse, Scotland’s lairds are back in fashion. The ‘Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs’ cites its job as promoting tourism and furthering historical knowledge and some of its “Big Highland Cheeses”<sup>315</sup> are now singing for their suppers.

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<sup>314</sup> Personal papers from COSCA - Proposal for *The Scottish American and Clan Family Center*.

<sup>315</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815 - Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth.

Today there are other benefits from an invented tartan trend. The ‘Highland Society of London’, formed in 1778 as an upmarket plaied club, still exists - and its cultural aims may be considered worthy by some: awarding medals for the best players of Piobaireachd and giving prizes for Gaelic singing and Highland Dancing prizes.

Highlandism has led to a fascination for bagpipes which has led to this musical tradition being adopted across the globe. A quest for roots and a sense of belonging, together with an interest in genealogy, has boosted trade and tourism. An emotional interest in Scotland means that historical sites can be supported by overseas’ money whilst far-flung rural communities may benefit from international clan tourism. This work has noted how it is the Scottish Diaspora, far more than Scots at home, who appreciate the economic and emotional value of tartan - and that it is these people who are helping to keep the plaied phenomenon alive.

This chapter has again touched on the Scottish hunting estate, created in part by Highlandism, and blamed for an imbalance in land ownership today. Despite the perceived unfairness of the situation, Scottish field sports groups claim that shooting and fishing continue to boost the Scottish economy whilst ‘Visit Scotland’ also recognises their worth. Meanwhile, Highland romance continues to give a shot in the arm to Scottish tourism with cult *Outlander* books and a television series fueling Highland interest. Indeed, Scottish ancestral tourism is thought to be set to mushroom, with ‘heritage’ interest expected to rise.

Of course, Highlandism continues to have its embarrassing and uncomfortable sides. A backwards-looking, plaid-wrapped movement was never going to inspire great critical thinking in some quarters. Moreover, Highlandism has certainly mired Scotland in ‘tartan-tat’. Laird’s ‘titles’ can be purchased for a few pounds and “Clan McCrazies”<sup>316</sup> can be found on the Highland circuit. On a more serious note, academics have noted how Scottish clan gatherings and societies are mainly white affairs which has interested far-right groups like the Ku-Klux-Klan.<sup>317</sup>

As to the claim that Highlandism has harmed Scotland politically: again, that charge may once have had some credence, but a great political movement has just arisen in the country

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<sup>316</sup> Brown, *Balmoral*, p. 18.

<sup>317</sup> Pittock, *Celtic identity*, p. 5.

and it is being fed, in part, by Highlandism. Tartan and Jacobite nostalgia can now fuel a sense of Scottish self. Furthermore, this multi-coloured cloth, once the preserve of the great and the good, can be claimed by anyone and everyone. Finally, despite the military, royal and aristocratic origins scorned by some, this chapter has shown how Highlandism has played its part in the “survival of a Scottish tribal spirit.”<sup>318</sup> It may be a manufactured tradition, but it is one that has given Scots a unique identity in the world.

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<sup>318</sup> Grimble, *Clans and chiefs*, p. 14.

## CHAPTER SEVEN - HIGHLANDISM: ITS VALUE TO SCOTLAND AND HOW A QUEEN AND TWO ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN PROMOTED THE PHENOMENON IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

### Conclusion

This thesis has examined the Scottish phenomenon known as 'Highlandism' and suggested that it has been too easily derided and that its benefits have been undervalued. This late-eighteenth and nineteenth century movement has been scorned partly because it is a product of the British Empire, the British army, royalty and the aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> The rich and powerful gave Scotland an invented 'Highland' tradition, but this work has shown how their promotion of Highlandism is perhaps more complex than has been thought. What began as a display of Highland military might and a fashionable craze for the upper class has brought financial and cultural benefits. The plaided trend has helped preserve historic sites. It has supported trade and tourism and encouraged Scottish music and song and the Gaelic language.

Yet Highlandism certainly gave Scotland an imaginary past. It allowed Scots to claim a vibrant history, one that would be mired in multi-coloured cloth. Quirky and colourful, Highlandism gave Scots a romantic identity - and this new-found character was encouraged by Britain as it was something that did not threaten Union or Empire. Indeed, wider British establishment concerns would promote Highlandism, for it could sanitise the Jacobite rebel and neutralise the Highland warrior. Yet Britain and Empire cannot be totally blamed for the whitewash, as Highlandism is, to some extent, home-grown.<sup>2</sup>

Highlandism took hold for several reasons: among them the urge to preserve a Scottish identity in an age of ever-closer union with England. Scots wanted to feel different from their southern neighbours. They were also looking for escape from an industrial revolution and Highlandism, a backwards-looking concept, could offer wistful glimpses of a more ordered

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<sup>1</sup> Devine as cited in Peterkin, T. (2003, October 13). Scotland 'a product of British Empire'. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4190304/Scotland-a-product-of-British-Empire.html>

<sup>2</sup> Morrison, J. (2012). 'The whole is quite consonant with the truth': Queen Victoria and the myth of the Highlands. In *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (pp. 1-6). London: Royal Collections Trust. Retrieved from [https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20\(Morrison\)\\_1.pdf](https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/VA%20Art%20and%20Love%20(Morrison)_1.pdf)

past. Furthermore, the colour of Highlandism might soften the brutalities of the battlefield. The theatre of war could now include a heroic, kilted regiment among its cast.

Idealism was key in Highlandism and the Romantic Movement would feed the Highland fad, with *Ossian* poetry about an ancient Celtic warrior and swashbuckling Walter Scott novels helping to boost the image of a land of stags and scenes, hill and heather. An emotional interest in ‘safe’ Jacobitism would further glorify the Highland story, as Highlandism allowed Scots to marry fierce Jacobite pride with a deep loyalty to the British Crown. Neither would language escape being pinned to plaid. Backwards-looking Highlandism encouraged a Gaelic revival. In return, Gaelic would find itself becoming tinged with tartan.

This thesis has noted how a ‘tartan and shortbread’ culture has skewed the way that Scotland has been viewed over the years. It has concurred with the view that the country’s culture and politics may have evolved in a very different way had this plaid and piping image not been there. It cannot disagree with the argument that Highlandism has helped cause a land ownership imbalance in Scotland. Yet it has also suggested that the distaste felt by some about Highlandism is, in part, due to intellectual conceit and ingrained ideas about the upper class. There has been comparatively little research on aristocratic Scottish life and this work has shown another, perhaps more benevolent, side to one Victorian landowning picture. This is not to say that there were not unsavoury and lairds around in the nineteenth century...

‘Tartanry’ has clearly had a monetary value in terms of trade and tourism. A plaided label on a bottle of whisky or a box of biscuits gives instant recognition and appeal. Furthermore, ‘tartanry’ has added to the attraction of the search for Celtic roots. Some fifty million people around the world now claim Scottish descent and ancestral tourism looks like playing a major role in growing the Scottish economy. It is estimated that 4.3 million people will visit the country in search of their past over the next few years - and it is this mix of tartan and bagpipes, chiefs and clans that is helping to bring them in.<sup>3</sup>

Yet ‘tartanry’ has not just boosted business. It has had cultural spin-offs, too. Highlandism has fostered a sense of kinship across the world which has led to overseas’ groups investing emotionally and financially in Scotland’s historical sites. Highland romance has encouraged a

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<sup>3</sup> Figures from ‘VisitScotland. (2017). *Ancestral tourism*. Retrieved from [http://www.visitscotland.org/what\\_we\\_do/partnership\\_initiatives/tourism\\_initiatives/ancestral\\_tourism.aspx](http://www.visitscotland.org/what_we_do/partnership_initiatives/tourism_initiatives/ancestral_tourism.aspx)

global tradition of piping and furthered an interest in the Gaelic language. Indeed, ‘The Highland Society of Edinburgh’, formed in the eighteenth century by members of the aristocracy, is referred to as the first “Gaelic Academy”<sup>4</sup> for which Gaelic study remains indebted. Highlandism has also helped the preservation of ancient manuscripts over the years.

Highlandism was certainly not relevant to most of the population in the early days of its development - and this work agrees that the ‘Highland myth’ had “little basis”<sup>5</sup> in the reality of Scottish lives two centuries ago. Yet yet this thesis has still shown that Highlandism had - and still has - value. Even in the Georgian and Victorian ages there was more than “tartan-hunting”<sup>6</sup> going on in Scotland and this work has examined the role of two lairds in the development of the ‘Highland’ phenomenon.

The heirs to the MacGregor chiefship fled Scotland after the ’45. They had lost everything, but some decades on these men would find themselves being venerated by a romantic interest in the Highland story. Sir John MacGregor Murray and his son, Sir Evan MacGregor of MacGregor, were Empire builders who returned from India to be lauded as big “Highland Cheese[s].”<sup>7</sup> Highlandism was helping to restore the name of this once-proscribed race. It could make upper class tartanned Scots who were down on their luck feel important again. They might inhabit an imagined feudal world - and do so in safety, for Highlandism was allowing lairds to reconcile ‘Scotch’ pride with a loyalty to British king and country. The irony is that these chiefs were trying to turn back the clock at a time when the old order was being swept away, for the Highland craze went hand-in-hand with poverty, clearance and emigration.

However, if Sir John and Sir Evan “colluded in the commercial process”<sup>8</sup> of clanship, this work has shown how they also contributed to the preservation of Scottish culture. Sir John was a firm supporter of piping and Highland song tradition. He was a fervent champion of Gaelic, a man said to have put “the riches of India into Gaelic scholarship.”<sup>9</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>4</sup> McNeil, K. (2007). *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, M. M. (2009). *The mighty Scot: Nation, gender, and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity*. New York: University of New York, Suny Press, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Grimble, I. (1980). *Clans and chiefs: Celtic tribalism in Scotland*. London: Blond & Briggs. p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix E: SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815 - Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth.

<sup>8</sup> Cheape, H. (1995). *Tartan: The Highland habit*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Black as quoted in McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, p. 17.

whilst his son, the flamboyantly kilted Sir Evan MacGregor may have encouraged tartanned Highland Games and founded a feudal-based clan society, he, too, promoted Gaelic and set about recording family history. This detailing of the past is another upside of Highlandism. An interest in by-gone times and a fear of a loss of identity would encourage Scotland's families to research their roots.<sup>10</sup>

Early Highlandism was a male-driven phenomenon, but this thesis has concentrated on the contribution of three nineteenth century women to the craze. Queen Victoria had an immense effect on the 'tartanisation' of Scotland - and both good and bad have come from her Highland obsession. The downside is that she viewed Scotland as a place of tamed Jacobites loyal to crown and country whilst her Deeside castle would become a byword for 'Balmorality'.<sup>11</sup> The monarch promoted Scotland as a place of sporting pleasure which had a colonising effect and led to an imbalance in land ownership. She encouraged emigration and was seemingly oblivious to the misery in industrial cities. Moreover, whilst viewing the Highlands as healing, Victoria seemed reluctant to open up the hills and glens to the masses. She imagined herself to be living in a feudal past, for this was a world that time forgot: "...the absence of hotels and beggars, the independent simple people, who all speak Gaelic here, all make beloved *Scotland* the proudest, finest country in the world."<sup>12</sup> This line from her diary seems to sum up royal Highlandism: quixotic, loyal, quaint and unthreatening...

However, this thesis has shown how even a blinkered regal Highland view brought benefits to Scotland. Victoria's presence boosted tourism, giving even bleak places a touch of glamour and fostering a sense of civic pride in Scotland's towns and cities.<sup>13</sup> The queen encouraged a tartan industry - and whilst she fuelled the fashion for 'tartan-tat', she did not invent it. The monarch and her husband were said to be good landlords on Deeside. Albert improved living conditions on the estate. He promoted Gaelic and Victoria supported Highland Games. Crucially, the queen's contact with the lower orders was a break-through in royal life. It might just be the favoured few receiving warm words and petticoats, yet these small gestures gave the most powerful woman in the world a hint of a common touch.

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<sup>10</sup> Finlay, R. J. (2002). 'Queen Victoria and the cult of the Scottish monarchy' in E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past* (pp. 209-224). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Scott-Moncrieff, G. (1932). Balmorality. In D. C. Thomson (ed.), *Scotland in quest of her youth* (pp. 69-86). London: Oliver & Boyd, p. 86.

<sup>12</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1883/2010). *More leaves from the journal of a life in the Highlands, from 1862 to 1882*. Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Reprints - 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1869.

<sup>13</sup> Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the cult', p. 216.

Victoria's diaries, or *Leaves*, would also feed the romance of Highlandism. These published books detailed royalty enjoying simple Highland pleasures. They declared *Ossian* to be the poetry of the hills and were forerunners of the much-derided 'Kailyard' literature that appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Kailyard would have something in common with the tartan trend. Like Highlandism it looked wistfully back. Yet *Leaves* served a political and social purpose, too. They gave a sometimes unpopular queen a link to her subjects. Highlandism was building bridges between high and low - and it was proving philanthropic. Proceeds from royal book sales would be used to educate poor Deeside boys.

Highlandism would make the monarch a "Royal [clan] Chief,"<sup>14</sup> someone who could wear four feathers in her bonnet. It would also allow her to marry Jacobite and British sympathies during the Victorian age - and it would be the same with the "truly Scotch"<sup>15</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Athole. Anne Athole was married to a Highland duke and at their home in northern Perthshire the "garb of old Gaul"<sup>16</sup> was sported by high and low, although this thesis has noted how the kilt only seems to have appeared for this aristocratic family during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is line with the development of Highlandism.

Moreover, although Gaelic and Highland music were a part of life at Blair Castle, the duchess still played her part in affirming a romantic 'Walter Scott' Scotland. Anne Athole encouraged foreign titled heads who came to Scotland in search of tartan thrills. She wore plaided dresses, inaugurated London's kilted 'Caledonian Ball', advised on the correct way to wear a kilt at court, read Walter Scott stories to the queen, and auditioned personal pipers for princes. For his part, her husband, the duke, revived the family's kilted private army, for Scotland's Fencible Regiments played their own part in the Highlandism equation. So did the British army, with Highland regiments increasingly being seen as daring and glamorous.

Highlandism was influencing house building in Scotland during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - and it was having a say in who might get jobs at these increasingly castellated homes. Frontline staff now had to look the 'Scotch' part in kilt and bonnet.

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<sup>14</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1647 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1884 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria.

<sup>15</sup> Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. (1998). *Your Dear Letter: Private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871*. (edited by R. Fulford). London, Evans, 18th May 1865.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1521 - 14<sup>th</sup> August 1901 - *Constitutional, The Duke of Atholl*.

Indeed, Highlandism was turning the wild Scot into the prodigal son, for having a ‘Scotch’ connection was becoming something to boast about. Yet, as always, there was a less colourful side to the Highland ‘idyll’. If poverty and displacement were problems in Victorian Scotland, so, too, was alcoholism - and this work has shown how drink was linked to manliness which, in turn, was linked to Highlandism. Yet male indiscretions might be overlooked as the Highlander could not be allowed to fall from his lofty pedestal...

John Morrison reminds us of the “myth of egalitarianism”<sup>17</sup> created on Scottish estates by Highlandism. The 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Athole might own vast swathes of land, yet there was a definite informality between master and servant on their estate where the different classes *did* mix more than they did south of the border. Life was still feudal, but the duke and duchess’s tenure in northern Perthshire appears to have been a reasonably benign one and this work has shown how there was more to this aristocratic story than clearance and exploitation. Anne Athole looked after sick and elderly tenants. She educated local girls and was kind to those who did their job and knew their place. This was a woman who danced with servants. She rolled up her sleeves to ‘muck-in’ with the staff, although there were always limits to camaraderie.

She and the duke supported Highland games and whilst critics see this patronage as a form of social control, one argument is that an upper class backing may have helped such events to prosper. Moreover, this work has shown that although shooting on Atholl land was commercialised during the mid-nineteenth century, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Athole do not appear to have been as guilty of land clearance as some of their Atholl ancestors were. Indeed, a royal and aristocratic sporting interest led to rural employment in Scotland in the Victorian age, although a powerful gamekeeper could undermine crofting tenants.<sup>18</sup> This was a time that increasingly saw men working in offices and Highlandism was offering healthy exercise on the hills. It was sorting out the men from the boys. Yet as fields and woods were claimed for sport, this thesis has seen how there was less land for people to live on.

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<sup>17</sup> Morrison, J. (2003). *Painting the nation: Identity and nationalism in Scottish painting, 1800-1920*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Horn, P. (1999). *Pleasures & pastimes in Victorian Britain*. Stroud: Sutton, p. 99. See also Morrison, J. (2012). ‘The whole is quite consonant with the truth’: Queen Victoria and the myth of the Highlands. In *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love* (pp. 1-6). London: Royal Collections Trust.

This work has also looked at the Duchess of Athole's companion, Miss MacGregor. Hers is a little-known name, yet this clan chief's daughter would make her mark in both high and highbrow circles. With early Highlandism primarily a male-driven concept, this doughty woman's claim to be "heart and soul, blood and bones a Highlander"<sup>19</sup> is an interesting one. Miss MacGregor fanned the tartan flames: a plaid-clad spinster she encouraged romantic ideas of chiefs and clans; a devotee of Walter Scott, she became a recruiter of kilted Highland soldiers for a British war. Miss MacGregor fed the Jacobite fashion of the age and she produced one of the defining books on Highlandism.

The art book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, was commissioned by Queen Victoria and it featured watercolours of tartanned workers and servants. Yet getting Scotland's lairds to find these Highland heroes was not easy: by the mid-Victorian age many clan chiefs had either left the Highlands, or were absentee landlords.<sup>20</sup> It rather gave the lie to Highlandism. One laird, MacDougall of Dungellie, was in India and was forced to admit that his acquaintance to his people was "very limited."<sup>21</sup> Another had to confess that none of his clansmen actually wore a kilt. However, two dozen working class 'specimens' were eventually chosen to be painted - and they appeared in their masters' fine-spun tartan clothes. The resulting work is a paean for the Highlander and a marrying of Scottish pride with British values. It shows a Scotland that was highly different to England, but it is still one that poses no threat to Union or Empire. The reality of the time, of course, was very different. Then this work has shown how Highlandism could rewrite history.

Yet, despite her own 'tartanned' Highland view, Miss MacGregor would go on to give Highlandism some sort of intellectual backbone. A gifted amateur historian, her book, the *History of Clan Gregor*, is a creditable piece of research, if somewhat influenced by Walter Scott and biased towards her own family. Importantly, Miss MacGregor was a dedicated Gaelic scholar and as first Chieftainess of the 'Gaelic Society of Perth' she would devote later life to promoting the language. Highlandism was giving Gaelic a push and, in return, Gaelic could offer Highlandism some gravitas. Yet this work has seen how even an ancient language could not escape being 'tartanised', with plaid and bagpipes never far from the picture at Victorian and early Edwardian Gaelic gatherings.

<sup>19</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Bundle 1548 - *Speech by Miss MacGregor*.

<sup>20</sup> Macleod, J. (1996/1997). *Highlanders: A history of the Gaels*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 185.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix A: Atholl MSS. Box 75, Bundle 20 - 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1868 - MacDougall of Dungellie to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

This thesis has detailed several events that encompassed Highlandism: among them the 1822 visit to Edinburgh by a kilted George IV. According to Murray Pittock, the artificiality of this tartan episode allowed the Scottish capital to become a place where “Stuart and Hanoverian loyalties could be made one.”<sup>22</sup> Tartan further played its part at the 1839 Eglinton tournament in Ayrshire where a noble lord and his private kilt-clad army thrilled the crowd. There was the Highlandism attached to Queen Victoria’s ‘great expeditions’ in the hills and glens where the monarch could believe herself a daughter of the soil - and a Jacobite one, at that. Then Highlandism met industrial progress at the queen’s inauguration of the Loch Katrine waterworks in 1859, a day that proved how the plaided phenomenon favoured the rich. Highlandism was theatrical, but it was expensive and with a castle and a ‘chiefly’ reputation to maintain, some lairds would be forced to take jobs overseas to survive.

Highlandism was invading all aspects of life by the Victorian age and even Scotland’s Bard, a poet admired by Queen Victoria, was now being wrapped in plaid. Academics have commented on how Robert Burns’ standing was partly created by ‘Highland’ objects and commemorations - associations that the radical writer may well have hated.<sup>23</sup> The development of the railway further encouraged the Highland phenomenon, with faster trains giving sightseers access to Scottish hills and glens. A thriving Victorian press would further drive the tartan theme whilst reinforcing the message about British unity: “the fair Sovereign... [has] done so much to remove the antipathies of Highlandmen to the House of Hanover, if any exist, and to substitute them for boundless love,”<sup>24</sup> one newspaper waxed. Clan societies were springing up towards the end of the Victorian age, their members searching for chiefs to lead them. Painters and photographers increasingly showed Scotland as a land of stags and scenes. Yet again, this was only one side of the picture, as romantic symbolism could hide a multitude of social ills.

Finally, this work has looked at modern-day Highlandism. There are millions of people around the world with Scottish roots and this interest in the ‘mother country’ is fuelled, in a large part, by images of plaid and bagpipes. Scots abroad have traditionally found comfort in

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<sup>22</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1991). *The invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish identity, 1638 to the present*. London: Routledge, p. 103.

<sup>23</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. & Whatley, C. A. (2014). Poems and festivals, art and artefact and the commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844–c.1896. *Scottish Historical Review*, 93(1), 56-79, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> The Queen in the Highlands. (1847, August 27). *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser*, p. 3.

these tartan trappings and ‘customs’ - and it is those in North America and Australia who mainly keep the Highland phenomenon alive. The Scottish Diaspora mushroomed in the second part of the twentieth century, as did clan membership, and the Highland allure remains strong today. Even someone with not a trace of Scottish blood can now find a clan to belong to - and a chief to follow. Such is the power of Highlandism...

Ironically, just as it did in the Victorian age with the development of the railways, it is now progress that makes it easier to sell this backwards-looking concept. The internet allows people to spread the ‘clan’ message at the touch of a computer button. Clan forums put folk in instant contact with Celtic family and friends. Tartan is all the rage, with all manner of groups boasting a personal cloth - from sports clubs to banks. Meanwhile, fashion designers are going mad for plaid. Importantly, if the kilt was once the preserve of the great, the good and the military, in the twenty-first century anyone and everyone can wear one. The “tartan monster”<sup>25</sup> has become something that different classes and races can all lay claim to, although this work has also noted the “darker side of ethnic tourism”<sup>26</sup> and the mainly ‘white’ following to be found at clan gatherings.

It may be frustrating for some: Borderland and Lowland families being re-named ‘clans’ and all of Scotland seemingly ‘Gaelic’... Yet today’s clan chief has the chance to prove himself as more than just a big Highland cheese. He - or she - can fly the flag for Scotland. They can promote Scottish history and tourism whilst presiding at clan events that bring thousands of pounds to rural economies. What is more: an emotional overseas’ interest in Scotland’s past can generate funding for Scotland’s ancient sites. This work has noted how visitors tend come to Scotland for its temporal location, not its geographical one.

Thanks to Highlandism, ancestral tourism is a growing sector whilst a blockbusting ‘tartan’ television series like *Outlander* helps to boost foreign interest. On a smaller scale, that bastion of Highlandism, Balmoral Castle, continues to employ people in a rural area and to attract paying visitors to Royal Deeside. More controversially, whilst the phenomenon has created a seemingly unhealthy imbalance in land ownership, Scottish field sports still claim to bring millions of pounds to local economies.

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<sup>25</sup> Nairn, T. (2003). *The break-up of Britain: Crisis and neo-nationalism* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Champaign: Common Ground, p. 150.

<sup>26</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (1999). *Celtic identity and the British image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.5.

Importantly, Highlandism is no longer a male-dominated movement. Women are heading up clan groups, particularly in America. They are flying the flag for Highlandism in the twenty-first century and whilst Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor encouraged the image of a Jacobite, kilted Scotland, today's Celtic enthusiasts may try to look beyond the inevitable pipes and plaids. At one recent American clan gathering in North Carolina the highlights included lectures on Gaelic, heraldry and Scottish Viking history.

Historians are right to distrust those legends formed on "clans, heather and bonnets,"<sup>27</sup> but it is Beveridge and Turnbull who examined the idea that Highlandism was given a bad name by the "liberal-marxists"<sup>28</sup> of the late twentieth century and that this theory has never actually been tested. Of course, the tartan trappings can be annoying - and they are never far from the picture, but perhaps the real worth of this Georgian and Victorian phenomenon can be seen more clearly now, in the twenty-first century, for Highlandism has left Scotland with some iconic symbols. These plaid and bagpipe labels may exasperate, yet they give the country a unique identity. In fact, without these distinctive emblems this work has suggested that Scotland might look rather more 'English' than she does today.

This thesis suggests that the "haggis" may be starting to sit more comfortably alongside the "culture."<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, if Highlandism is accused of hindering Scottish political movements, tartan may well be back in favour in some circles. A 2014 election poster for the SNP showed a British House of Commons, its stark leather seats covered in a pleasing plaid. Murray Pittock says that "...tartanry was to be as inferior, false and misleading as Jacobitism once had been," yet the kilt is being "increasingly adopted by young people as a mark of a vibrant, modern Scotland."<sup>30</sup> Plaid may no longer be 'bad' and this thesis suggests that Highlandism has provided more than a tartan face. As Caroline McCracken-Flesher notes: Walter Scott's reworking of Scotland may well turn out to be less of a "curse" and more of an "opportunity"<sup>31</sup>...

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<sup>27</sup> Donnachie, I., & Whatley, C. (1992). *The manufacture of Scottish history*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Beveridge, C., & Turnbull, R. (1997). *Scotland after enlightenment: Image and tradition in modern Scottish culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> Harvie, C. (2000, April 17). Give them culture, not haggis. *New Statesman*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>30</sup> Pittock, M. G. H. (2008/2013). *The road to independence? Scotland in the balance*. London: Reaktion Books, p. 150.

<sup>31</sup> McCracken-Flesher, C. (2005). *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the story of tomorrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 187.

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**Pitlochry**  
**Perthshire**  
**PH18 5TL**  
**(Atholl MSS.)**

**See appendix A for detailed break down**

**Royal Archives**  
**Windsor Castle**  
**Windsor, Windsor and Maidenhead**  
**SL4 1NJ**  
**RA/VIC/MAIN and RA/VIC/ADD**

**See appendix B for detailed break down**

**Stirling Council Archives,**  
**5 Borrowmeadow Road,**  
**Stirling,**  
**FK7 7UW**

**See appendix D for a detailed break down**

MacGregor Family Papers

**Bannatyne House,**  
**Newtyle**  
**PH12 8TR**

**See appendix E for detailed break down**

National Archives of Scotland, Scottish Records Office

**H.M. General Register House,**  
**2, Princes Street**  
**Edinburgh**  
**EH1 3YY**  
**(SRO)**

**See appendix F for detailed breakdown**

### b) Internet Archives

## Queen Victoria's journals online

Seven decades of royal history: *Queen Victoria's Journals* is the product of a unique partnership between ProQuest, the Royal Archives and the Bodleian Libraries. It reproduces as high-resolution, colour images every page of the surviving volumes of Queen Victoria's journals, from her first diary entry in 1832 to shortly before her death in 1901, along with separate photographs of the many illustrations and inserts within the pages.

<http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org>

see appendix C for details.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A – Atholl Papers

#### Atholl Estate Papers

#### Blair Castle Archives

Blair Atholl

Pitlochry

Perthshire

PH18 5TL

(Atholl MSS.)

#### Atholl MSS. KMA 105

24<sup>th</sup> March 1858, Lord Tullibardine to Miss MacGregor - about Gaelic.

6<sup>th</sup> February 1866, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about the opening of parliament.

25<sup>th</sup> May 1868, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about the cold at Balmoral.

1<sup>st</sup> March 1870, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about receiving a dog from the queen.

15<sup>th</sup> June 1874, Queen Victoria to Miss MacGregor about how well-written *The Highlanders of Scotland* is.

25<sup>th</sup> May 1888, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about the cold at Balmoral.

#### Atholl MSS. Bundles 63/64/66

Details of Lady Evelyn's illness

#### Atholl MSS. Bundle 396-438 and 466-487

396 - 13<sup>th</sup> April 1895, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl - about reading *The Scotsman*.

396 - May 1895, the Dowager Duchess of Athole to the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl - about her admiration for Highland regiments.

403 - *Weights*.

410 - the Prince of Wales' visit to Blair Castle in 1872.

429 - 19<sup>th</sup> April 1897, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole about the tailor being drunk. See also 20<sup>th</sup> April - the doctor has died of drink.

438 - 1<sup>st</sup> June 1870, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about government plans to tax guns.

#### Atholl MSS. Bundle 466-487

466 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1893, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - no-one wants to be a piper.

487 - 24<sup>th</sup> September 1895, Lady Evelyn Murray to Miss MacGregor about help with *Chronicles*. Also details of Lady Evelyn's illness.

#### Atholl MSS. 7

Atholl MSS. 7/465 - detail of St Adamnam's House, Dunkeld.

Atholl MSS. 7/469 - *Record of Competitors in the Duke of Atholl's Gaelic competition*.

Atholl MSS. 7/456-458 - Tours of Europe.

Atholl MSS. 7/523 - *Atholl Weights Book*

Atholl MSS. Bundle 583, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1897, Miss MacGregor to Mrs Ogle - detail of Duchess of Athole's death and funeral.

Atholl MSS - *Dunkeld Curling Club Records*.

Atholl MSS - *Masonic Book - In memorium of George, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole*.

Atholl MSS - *The Carpathians*, a lecture by Miss MacGregor in 1905 to the Perthshire Society of Natural Science

### **The Duchess/Dowager Duchess of Athole Diaries, 1840-1897**

#### **Atholl MSS. Bundles 638 to 648:**

##### **Bundle 638, 1847-1850:**

3rd March 1847 - "walked up the river to join the Duke fishing."

from March to June 1847, the duke fished on the Tay. In July - "all move up to Blair."

24<sup>th</sup> December 1847 - "Duke out fox hunting."

9<sup>th</sup> January 1848 - the duchess "very ill all day."

10<sup>th</sup> November 1848 - "commenced Vanity Fair."

30<sup>th</sup> December 1848 - duchess's diary shows "Prince Charles Edward Stuart."

24<sup>th</sup> May 1849 - "the Duke out rook shooting."

6<sup>th</sup> June 1849 - "the Duke starts at half past one for otter hunting."

7<sup>th</sup> June 1849 - "the boat is capsized... but [is] righted."

13th June 1849 - "the Duke... out sailing."

4<sup>th</sup> February 1850 - duchess "reading and writing as usual."

11<sup>th</sup> March 1850 - "violent sick headache, bolt to bed!"

March to May 1850, Tay fishing at Dunkeld, the household moves to Blair in early August.

19<sup>th</sup> August 1850, Bardie learning Gaelic.

12<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - "all up the glen... 17 deer killed."

##### **Bundle 639 1851-1854:**

21<sup>st</sup> May 1851 - duke's valet marries in big house dining room.

28<sup>th</sup> May 1851 - the duchess, "walked out with my dogs."

6<sup>th</sup> January 1851 - "Sir J.A. and Lady MacGregor go... their ultimate destination the Virgin Islands in the West Indies!"

11<sup>th</sup> May 1851 - "Sir John Atholl died this day on one of the Virgin Islands."

31<sup>st</sup> May 1851 - "three days of most successful otter hunting."

22<sup>nd</sup> March 1852 - "went to the Queen at Buckingham Palace by command."

1853 - see back pages for taxes on servants, dogs and gamekeepers.

15<sup>th</sup> February 1853, duchess attends curling match, 12 hours by the ice.

26<sup>th</sup> February 1853 - "41<sup>st</sup> day of curling... Emily and I looking on all day."

20<sup>th</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1854 - the duchess's 'waiting' starts - "go to lunch at the Palace & wait for orders. Household dinner at the palace. Ball at night."

23<sup>rd</sup> August 1854 - "Emily energetic with the deer hounds."

##### **Bundle 640 1855-1859:**

6<sup>th</sup> April 1855 - duchess takes the Sacrament with the Queen and looks at pictures of Kings of Scotland.

23<sup>rd</sup> May 1855 - "started at 6.15 to pay the Duke's Bills."

6<sup>th</sup> August 1855 - naked man seen swimming in loch.

4<sup>th</sup> April 1856 - "His Grace boiling and potting Beef for the Hounds.

16<sup>th</sup> August 1856 - "after lunch the whole household turned out to make hay in the Hercules field."

20<sup>th</sup> August 1856 - "Emily & I assisted by Christie and Duncan arrange the lumber garret."

30<sup>th</sup> September 1856 - "expedition to Ben-y-ghloe - unsuccessful. Towed up by James Drummond with the wind in my teeth."

24<sup>th</sup> October 1856 - servants who help with hay making get carriage ride treats.

14<sup>th</sup> January 1857 - squirrel for dinner.

19<sup>th</sup> January 1857 - "boiling day at Kennel - 3 horses cut up & cooked."

27<sup>th</sup> January 1857 - "dance in the Servants' Hall at 10."

February 1857 - "porridge making and washing by machinery at kennels."

28<sup>th</sup> February 1857 - "very busy in Castle, unpacked 'images!'"

28<sup>th</sup> March 1857 - "His Grace accepts office of Director of the Railway from Stanley to Birnham."

27<sup>th</sup> July 1857 - "my 'Nettle' had five puppies this morning."

30<sup>th</sup> July 1857 - strawberry feast for local estate children and child dies of scarlet fever.

5<sup>th</sup> November 1857 - "dressed in our tartan dresses and cleaned out the museum."

20<sup>th</sup> January 1858 - invite to royal wedding.

10<sup>th</sup> February 1858 - two geese and a gander arrive at Blair Castle.

13<sup>th</sup> February 1858 - Highland dances on Dunkeld green.

17<sup>th</sup> February 1858 - new steam boiler at Blair and new grate for pantry.

21<sup>st</sup> February 1858 - "Old Fleming the woodman died suddenly."

22<sup>nd</sup> April 1858 - "George & Emily at old Papers."

23<sup>rd</sup> April 1858 - "George & Emily at old Charters till lunch."

24<sup>th</sup> July 1858 - ladies put deer heads up at castle.

11<sup>th</sup> November 1858 - "Peter MacGregor leaves the Family after 45 years' service."

1<sup>st</sup> January 1859 - duchess dancing in the New Year with the coachman.

17<sup>th</sup> March 1859 - "dairy conversation from morning to night!"

18<sup>th</sup> April 1859 - "HG starts for Ayrshire in search of a bull and a dairymaid."

28<sup>th</sup> May 1859 - "great dinner at the palace."

19<sup>th</sup> July 1859 - duchess walks to byres: "slept over straw cutter!"

20<sup>th</sup> July 1859 - duke conducting milk experiment in the bedroom.

12<sup>th</sup> August 1859 - duchess and Miss MacGregor join servants' hay picnic.

13<sup>th</sup> November 1859 - "disagreeable" English fogs.

14<sup>th</sup> November 1859 - "thick yellow fog-candles at 2.30."

21<sup>st</sup> November 1859 - "the Princess Royal's birthday."

#### **Bundle 641 1860-1864:**

18<sup>th</sup> January 1860 - arranging stags' antlers at Blair.

13<sup>th</sup> March 1860 - Blair piper apologises for being drunk.

18<sup>th</sup> March 1860 - "to church with Emily."

16<sup>th</sup> April 1860 - "cow discourse" from morning to night.

11<sup>th</sup> October 1860 - "drove in a hurricane of wind and snow!"

14<sup>th</sup> August 1861 - "pouring rain, but very pleasant

7<sup>th</sup> August 1862, duchess ordering ankle elastic for the duke.

11th October 1862 - "at home struggling with accounts!"

25<sup>th</sup> March 1863 - the duke starts for Edinburgh on masonic business.

6<sup>th</sup> September 1863 - Miss MacGregor to Gaelic church service.

4<sup>th</sup> January 1864 - nurse sees Robert McNaughton's little boy who dies at night.

28<sup>th</sup> March 1864 - injured dog sent to Edinburgh for treatment.

24<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - queen's birthday and reading Walter Scott.

**Bundle 642 1865-1869:**

24<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - "the Queen's birthday... received the 'Order of Victoria and Albert' from the Queen."

26<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - "first birth of Duchess Ladybird's calf."

4<sup>th</sup> July 1865 - "out to the dairy with Emily and to give Jessie her marriage dress."

1<sup>st</sup> August 1865 - Ayrshire cows get prizes at Inverness show.

24<sup>th</sup> September 1865 - "the *Rinderpest* proclaimed in the hills... 2 more cattle killed & burned."

25<sup>th</sup> December 1865 - royal pipers discussed.

26<sup>th</sup> January 1866 - duchess at court and reading books on breeds of cows.

January and February 1868 - duchess reading Scott to the queen whilst Miss MacGregor dines regularly with the monarch.

18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> March 1866 - pipers discussed.

11<sup>th</sup> May 1866 - pipers discussed.

20th May 1868 - "Emily MacGregor and I drove and rode with the Queen & Princess Beatrice up Glen Gelder & had tea in the Corrie Bruie... Emily and I dined with the Queen."

29<sup>th</sup> May 1868 - "drove out with Emily & Her Majesty to have tea & sketch."

1<sup>st</sup> June 1868 - "ladies dined with the Queen."

9<sup>th</sup> April 1869 - "Emily and I went to the school."

**Bundle 643 1870-1873:**

4<sup>th</sup> January 1870 - Miss MacGregor is very ill.

31<sup>st</sup> March 1870 - Angus MacPherson] sends the duchess a message about the frontispiece for the Gaelic copy of the Queen's book.

16<sup>th</sup> July 1870 - the duchess's fishing rods stolen.

19<sup>th</sup> July 1870 - seeing "old friends" at the sheep shearing.

13<sup>th</sup> October 1870 - "from the Queen announcing Princess Louise's marriage engagement to Lord Lorne!"

2<sup>nd</sup> November 1870 - "write long letter to the Queen about Leaves from the Journal, printing for the Blind & Gaelic translation."

**Bundle 644 1874-1876:**

17<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Miss MacGregor and duchess picnic together.

11<sup>th</sup> July 1874 - gardener's pansies admired.

3<sup>rd</sup> August 1874 - "Emily and I occupied about the school prizes all day."

10th February 1875 - curling at Logierait.

3<sup>rd</sup> March 1875 - "Ist sad tidings of the morning! dear little Willie Turner's death during the night of croup!"

5<sup>th</sup> August 1876 - "occupied with school prizes all day."

8<sup>th</sup> August 1876 - "play of school, prize giving."

**Bundle 645 1877-1881:**

4<sup>th</sup> February 1877 - "fed the beasties and visited the people."

27<sup>th</sup> February 1877 - "went to see Mrs Carrington and her husband's body."

15<sup>th</sup> June 1877 - drunken servants.

11<sup>th</sup> March 1878 - Miss MacGregor dines with the queen, the Dean of Windsor and Theodore Martin.

12/13<sup>th</sup> June 1879 - the duchess calls to see a grieving mother and to view her son's body.  
8th July 1879 - duchess's gillie retires with pension, house and cow.  
4<sup>th</sup> December 1880 - a dog is "wearing awa..."

**Bundle 646 1882-1885:**

13<sup>th</sup> February 1882 - butcher's child has whooping cough.  
21<sup>st</sup> February 1883 - to cottages to see sick people  
13<sup>th</sup> December 1883 - "Emily at home, writing for H.M."  
15<sup>th</sup> November 1883 - "Emily *finishes* correction of H.M.'s proofs and sends them off to Sir Theodore Martin."  
5<sup>th</sup> January 1885 - the duchess has whisky and shortbread at tenants' houses.

**Bundle 649 1882-1888:**

*Miss Cameron Diary*, 1882 – 1893

5<sup>th</sup> January 1882 - maid dances with local laird.  
17<sup>th</sup> October 1886 - maid asks permission to keep clock in room.  
16<sup>th</sup> September 1887 - Balmoral staff are not that healthy.  
28<sup>th</sup> October 1887 - maid dances with local laird.  
14<sup>th</sup> March 1888 - Miss Cameron's diary.

Bundles 657-1, 657-2, 7/456 and 7/457, European Tours - *Visit to Spa in Belgium, the Engadine and other parts of Switzerland*, etc... See also Atholl MSS. 657 - *The East* and 658 - *Saltzkammergut*.

Atholl MSS. 893 - *Visit to Inver*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1861.  
Bundle 1282 - *Opening of the Duchess's School, Dunkeld*.  
Bundle 1282 - *Closing of the Duchess's School*, 2nd March 1898.  
Bundle 1514 - *Memoirs of Anne, Duchess of Athole*, by Miss MacGregor (n.d.).  
Bundle 1515 - *The Late Dowager-Duchess of Athole*, by Annie S. Swan.  
Bundle 1516 - from *Anne, Duchess-Dowager of Athole* (From Service in Little Dunkeld Parish Church).  
Bundle 1516 - 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athole's memorial dinner.  
Bundle 1516 - Miss MacGregor's account of the duchess's death.  
Bundle 1518, 6<sup>th</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> August 1861 - Miss MacGregor Diary, 1861.  
Bundle 1519, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - the Duchess of Athole to Mrs Home Drummond about the Duke of Athole: "neither was a KT made in his kilt!"  
Bundle 1519 - copied from the *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Gazette*, October 1841: detail of Sir Evan MacGregor's military career.  
Bundle 1520 - Miss MacGregor notes on the Atholl Gathering.  
Bundle 1520 - *Aunt Amy's Romance*.  
Bundle 1520 - Miss MacGregor lecture on morality to poor women.  
Bundle 1520 - Miss MacGregor notes about the Atholl Gathering.  
Bundle 1520 - Trip to Lochiel, Ben Nevis and Culloden, 4<sup>th</sup> September c.1850.  
Bundle 1520 - 8<sup>th</sup> March 1888, Sir William Fraser to Miss MacGregor - about the 'Coburg Genealogy'.  
Bundle 1521 - *Constitutional, The Duke of Atholl*, 14<sup>th</sup> August 1901 - description of Blair Castle and how all wear kilts.  
Bundle 1521 - 2nd January 1901 - the 7th Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about Charles Christie.  
Bundle 1521 - 14<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> February 1901, 10<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> March, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about finding Highland soldiers for the Boer War.

Bundle 1522 - 5<sup>th</sup> August 1908 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about translating French letters.

Bundle 1522 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1911 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about knighthoods.

Bundle 1523 - October 1865 - *Miss MacGregor Diary* - about domestic matters and Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

Bundle 1523 - 13<sup>th</sup> October 1882 - the Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about her writing by the fire besides the Duchess of Athole.

Bundle 1528 - 11<sup>th</sup> December 1841 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Jane Burgogne - about Miss MacGregor's studies.

Bundle 1528 - 30<sup>th</sup> March 1842 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Jane Burgogne - "Emmy is quite mistress of the French language."

Bundle 1535 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl obituary and his knowledge of Gaelic.

Bundle 1548 - *Opening of the Glasgow Waterworks*

Bundle 1548 - 1909 - *Speech by Miss MacGregor to the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh.*

Bundle 1556 - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1888 - Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about a cataract operation she has witnessed.

Bundle 1644 - 24<sup>th</sup> December (envelope dated 29<sup>th</sup> December) 1888 - Sir Henry Ponsonby, reporting the queen's views to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about Balmoral not being a "shooting box" in the Highlands.

Bundle 1647 - 13<sup>th</sup> February 1884 - Duchess of Athole praising Victoria's *More Leaves*.

Bundle 1647 - Dec. 1888 - Balmoral: "no description to be published without submitting."

Bundle 1650 - 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> June 1883 - Sir Henry Ponsonby and the Dowager Duchess of Athole corresponding - about kilts at court.

Bundle 1653 - letters about Lady Evelyn's illness.

Bundle 1656 - 6<sup>th</sup> September 1881 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about borrowing her piper for a dinner.

Bundle 1659 - 28<sup>th</sup> July 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about Indians at court.

Bundle 1659 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1887 - an Irish General's Celtic sympathies at court.

Bundle 1659 - 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> August 1887 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about accommodation in Scotland for the Queen's ailing son-in-law.

Bundle 1660 - 5<sup>th</sup> July 1887 - Janet Gillespie quoting a donor, to Miss MacGregor - about the Queen's Jubilee offering.

Bundle 1661 - 8<sup>th</sup> October 1894 - Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria - about Highland rail tracks not disfiguring the countryside too greatly.

Bundle 1661 - 10<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> October 1895 - Dowager Duchess of Athole - about royal dogs.

Bundle 1662 - 22nd May 1897 - Miss MacGregor to Mrs Ogle - about Dowager Duchess of Athole's death.

Bundle 1662 - 26<sup>th</sup> May 1897 - *Northern Chronicle*. Note: local unrest continued into the 7<sup>th</sup> duke's tenure.

Bundles 1663 and 1665 - letters between Miss MacGregor and Lady Evelyn Murray and others - about the girl's care.

Bundle 1664 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1893 - Victoria's telegram about duchess's dead piper.

Bundle 1665 - 6<sup>th</sup> September 1881 - 7<sup>th</sup> duke of Atholl to 6<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Athole, about borrowing a piper.

### **Atholl MSS. Box 58**

Bundle 3 - 14<sup>th</sup> December 1842 - Lord Glenlyon to Lady Glenlyon - about her good handling of estate matters.

Bundle 11 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1846 - Lord Glenlyon to Lady Glenlyon - about London showgirls.

Bundle 9 - 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1846 - Lady Glenlyon to Lord Glenlyon - about his appointment at court and the salary it brings.

Bundle 13 - 8<sup>th</sup> July 1847 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole - about Russian visit to Blair and wearing the kilt to impress him.

Bundle 17 - 14<sup>th</sup> January 1850 - the Duke to the Duchess of Athole - "my dearest pet."

Bundle 20 - 16<sup>th</sup> September, and 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1853 - Lord Tullibardine to the Duchess of Athole - about Eton.

Bundle 22 - 7<sup>th</sup> November 1855 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about employing a tall butler.

Bundle 25 - 20<sup>th</sup> July 1857 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about Blair domestic life and a new grate for the pantry.

Bundle 25 - 17<sup>th</sup> November 1857 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about employing tall servants.

Bundle 25 - 10<sup>th</sup> December 1857 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole - about dismissing pregnant housemaid.

Bundle 27 - 16<sup>th</sup> May 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about employing an English servant

Bundle 27 - 16<sup>th</sup> November 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about Loch Katrine trip, the queen riding at the head of her Highlanders.

Bundle 29 - 17<sup>th</sup> November 1860 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole - about drunk men on train.

Bundle 29, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1860 - the Duke of Athole to Duchess of Athole - about Empress of the French visit to Blair Castle.

### **Atholl MSS. Box 60**

Bundle 13 - 16th April 1865 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about Gaelic and kilts at a Highland funeral.

Bundle 13 - 29th October 1865 - 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about a new footman being given a kilt and bonnet.

Bundle 14 - 5<sup>th</sup> March 1866 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about guns being fired for births of children.

Bundle 14 - 3rd July 1866 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about local partying at Lady Dorothea's birth.

Bundle 15 - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - Sir Malcolm MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about his Ulster wife's 'Scotch' connections and having to go back to sea.

Bundle 17 - 18<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - about locals dancing around the castle at Lady Evelyn's birth.

Bundle 18 - 19<sup>th</sup> September 1868 - the Earl of Mansfield to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about a riot in Dunkeld by a "motley crew of Radicals."

Bundle 20 - 23rd March 1869 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about using local workmen on building work.

Bundle 24 - 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - complaint about an invitation.

Bundle 28 - 22nd August 1875 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about drunk servants.

Bundle 33, 21<sup>st</sup> January and 19<sup>th</sup> December 1880 - the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about drunk servants, and employing staff.

### **Atholl MSS. Box 61**

18<sup>th</sup> July 1847 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole, quoted in K.D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, p.54 - about new gates.

12<sup>th</sup> July 1853 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole, quoted in *Aristocratic Women*, p.54 - about having no money.

Bundle 3 - 7<sup>th</sup> October 1861, General Grey to the Duchess of Athole - about a royal visit to Blair.

26<sup>th</sup> April and 15<sup>th</sup> May 1862 - the Duchess of Athole to the Duke of Athole, quoted in *Aristocratic Women*, p.53 - about the duke's obsession with cows.

Bundle 11 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Frances Drummond - about Duke of Athole's funeral.

Bundle 9 - 26<sup>th</sup> October 1870 - Princess Louise to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about the queen's delight over her new 'Scotch' son-in-law.

Bundle 9 - 25<sup>th</sup> November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor not being sociable.

Bundle 9 - 27<sup>th</sup> November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about her London plans.

Bundle 9 - 28th November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - scorning southern shoots.

Bundle 9 - 30<sup>th</sup> November 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Miss MacGregor - about thistles at court.

### **Atholl MSS. Box 75**

#### *Dirge for the late Duke of Athole*

Bundle 5 - 14<sup>th</sup> April 1846 - John Atholl about Lady Elizabeth's death.

Bundle 2 - 7<sup>th</sup> September 1852 - Lord Tullibardine to Miss MacGregor - about the Scots beating the English.

Bundle 18 - 11<sup>th</sup> October 1861 - the Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria - about the duke's adventures coming home from a royal visit.

Bundle 16 (2) 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1861 - request to bring piper and kilts to Compiegne.

Bundle 16 - *His Grace's Letters from Compiegne*, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> November 1861 - the Duke of Athole to the Duchess of Athole.

Bundle 15 - 24<sup>th</sup> August 1863 - Empress of the French staff - about her Scottish stay.

Bundle 20 - 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1866 - Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 20 - 17<sup>th</sup> March 1867 - Sir Robert Menzies to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 20 - 13<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> August, and 6<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - the Duke of Argyll to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland* - his clan is "low in point of looks" - one man "like a prize animal" - then Campbells find a good man, "we have caught our specimen Campbell."

Bundle 20 - 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1868 - Mr Mackintosh of Daviot to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 2 - 8<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole quoting the queen, to Miss MacGregor - about a Buckingham Palace breakfast.

Bundle 20 - 2nd/10th August 1868 - McNeil of Barra to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 20 - 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1868 - Captain MacDougall of Dungellie to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 21 - 26<sup>th</sup> October 1868 - Sir Charles MacLean to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 21 - 28<sup>th</sup> December 1868 - the MacLachlan to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 21 - 5th January 1869 - Captain Gunn to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 21 - 13<sup>th</sup> January 1869 - Captain Munro of Fowlis, to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 22 - 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1869 - John Mitchell to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

Bundle 18 - March 29<sup>th</sup> 1884 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria - about curling.

Bundle 2 - 25th April 1880 - the 7th Duke of Atholl to Miss MacGregor - about his children attending a Gaelic service.

Bundle 2 - 10<sup>th</sup> July 1883 - the Duchess of Athole, quoting the queen, to Miss MacGregor - about work not done and her dress sense.

## Appendix B – Royal Archives

### Royal Archives

#### Windsor Castle

#### Windsor, Windsor and Maidenhead

#### SL4 1NJ

#### RA/VIC/MAIN and RA/VIC/ADD

RA/ADD/U/32 - 26<sup>th</sup> May 1865 - Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess, quoted in *The Highlanders of Scotland*, p. 17 - “gentlemanlike, chivalrous” Highlanders.

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36 - 26<sup>th</sup> August 1890 - Sir Henry Ponsonby to Lady Ponsonby, quoted in William M. Kuhn, *Henry & Mary Ponsonby* - about kilted royalty being “Highlanders again.”

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/423 - 4<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - Miss MacGregor told to smarten herself up.

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/428 - 8<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about him calling Wallace a “ruffian,” whilst Miss MacGregor said he was a “hero.” He likes the Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor and “all their prejudices.”

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/430 - 10<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about Miss MacGregor maintaining that Prince Charles Edward Stuart is the “finest & purest man in the world.”

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/431 - 11<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about him calling Celts a “miserable little black haired race” and the Ballot Bill.

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/433 - 13<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about Miss MacGregor’s dancing on her large legs at a Highland ball.

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/550 - 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1873 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about offering the Shah Miss MacGregor as company.

RA/VIC/ADD/A/36/753 - 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1874 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about Miss MacGregor’s legs “incommoding” the queen.

RA/VIC/ADD/Q/1/76 - 16<sup>th</sup> January 1867 - Dr Robertson to Queen Victoria - about Miss MacGregor, “a Highlander in blood and feeling,” writing the detail for *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7 - 9<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 26<sup>th</sup> March 1869 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria - about the ‘Balmoral Bursaries’.

RA/VIC/ADD/Q/7/50 - 7<sup>th</sup> July 1899 - Miss MacGregor to Harriet Phipps - about Mrs MacDonald.

RA/VIC/ADD/Q/8/3, and Q8/40 - quoted in Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (Yale University Press, 1995), p.103 - about Victoria giving to charity.

RA/VIC/ADDA/36/751 - 31<sup>st</sup> May 1874 - Henry Ponsonby to Mary Ponsonby - about Miss MacGregor being ugly, but “pleasant and agreeable.”

RA/VIC/MAIN/C/62/53/75 - 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1868 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about her brother having the “loyalty of a Highlander.”

RA/VIC/MAIN/C/76/87 - 25<sup>th</sup> May 1897 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about the Duchess of Athole’s funeral.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/10/87 - 18<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about Highland sheep clipping and Peter Farquharson.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/10/88 - 19<sup>th</sup> June 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about Highland matters, and Landseer capturing a Highland ‘clipping’ scene.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/8/98 - 26<sup>th</sup> January 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about the Duke of Athole's funeral.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/8/99 - 8<sup>th</sup> February 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about future plans after the duke's death.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/63 - 5<sup>th</sup> April 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about 'charming' Highland heroes.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/67 - 29th November 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - about her copy of *The Highlanders* inlaid with tartan.

RA/VIC/MAIN/S/9/77 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1870 - Miss MacGregor to Queen Victoria - with Highland gossip.

RA/VIC/MAIN/Y/165/84 - 4<sup>th</sup> October 1883 - Lady Jane Ely to Sir Theodore Martin - about Miss MacGregor's editing of *More Leaves* and the omission of drink.

RA/VIC/MAIN/Z/211/21 - 31<sup>st</sup> July 1883 - Frances Drummond to Queen Victoria - about *More Leaves*.

## Appendix C - Queen Victoria's journals online

Seven decades of royal history: *Queen Victoria's Journals* is the product of a unique partnership between ProQuest, the Royal Archives and the Bodleian Libraries. It reproduces as high-resolution, colour images every page of the surviving volumes of Queen Victoria's journals, from her first diary entry in 1832 to shortly before her death in 1901, along with separate photographs of the many illustrations and inserts within the pages.

<http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org>

Vol.1, p. 84: 28<sup>th</sup> August 1832 - Victoria as a schoolgirl, learning about Scottish history.

Vol.3, p. 189: 7<sup>th</sup> June 1833 - Victoria rides the pony, 'Highlander'.

Vol.4, p. 4: 13<sup>th</sup> August 1833 - Victoria dances a Scottish reel.  
pp. 167-168: 28<sup>th</sup> November 1833 - Victoria watches *Guy Mannering* at the opera.

p. 6: 9<sup>th</sup> January 1838 - Victoria reading *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

p. 258: 26<sup>th</sup> February 1834 - Victoria gets a 'Scotch' terrier.

Vol.5, p. 38: 8<sup>th</sup> April 1838 - Victoria told that Scotch reformers are "very violent people."

p. 296: 6<sup>th</sup> June 1838 - Melbourne tells Victoria that mountaineers and Highlanders are "fraudulent."

p. 144: 20<sup>th</sup> July 1834 - young Victoria watches Charles dancing in a plaid dress.

Vol.6, p. 34: 15<sup>th</sup> June 1838 - many Scottish aristocrats are poor.

p. 166: 18<sup>th</sup> July 1838 - Lady Cowper wishes to make a tour in Scotland.

p. 210: 26<sup>th</sup> July 1838 - Lord Douglas at court in a 'Scotch' costume.

pp. 270-271: 8<sup>th</sup> August 1838 - Melbourne talks of a "madness for Monuments," referring to the Walter Scott edifice being built in Edinburgh.

Vol.7, p. 163: 19<sup>th</sup> July 1835 - Victoria gets a Highland deer-hound.

p. 171: 15<sup>th</sup> September 1838 - Glasgow considered a "nasty town."

pp. 261-262: 30<sup>th</sup> September 1838 - Melbourne remarking on the MacGregor's accommodation.

Vol.8, p. 29: 11<sup>th</sup> October 1838 - Melbourne quotes Johnston.

Vol.11, p. 100: 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1839 - Edinburgh a "most conceited set."

p. 261: 29<sup>th</sup> July 1839 - a courtier wishes to go shooting in Scotland.

Vol.12, pp. 53-54: 18<sup>th</sup> August 1839 - Melbourne mocking Scottish accents.

p. 165: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1839 - Victoria will not go to Scotland.

p. 188: 1<sup>st</sup> November 1836 - Victoria waxing lyrical about Walter Scott.

p. 200: 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1839 - Victoria will not go to Scotland, or Ireland.

p. 332: 19<sup>th</sup> December 1836 - Queen Victoria relating a story about Wellington.

pp. 22-23: 14th July 1841 - Victoria talks of a dashing Highland band at Windsor.

Vol.13, p. 241: 12<sup>th</sup> January 1840 - Victoria told of the "Universities in Scotland having gone down excessively."

pp. 260-261: 17<sup>th</sup> January 1840 - the 'Scotch' were a "dreadful people," says Melbourne, and there is more "blackguardism" in Scottish universities.

Vol. 14, p. 48: 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1842 - Victoria sees Robert Peel about a trip to Scotland.

p. 54: 7<sup>th</sup> August 1842 - Victoria ponders on how no Sovereign has been to Scotland since the Union.

p. 101: 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1842 - Victoria tastes oatmeal porridge.

p. 119: 8<sup>th</sup> September 1842 - Albert goes shooting in the Highlands.

p.131: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1842 - Victoria calls Scotland a "really delightful country."

Vol.15, p. 54: 4<sup>th</sup> February 1843 - British prime minister's relief to be out of Scotland.

p. 210: 19<sup>th</sup> June 1843 - Victoria gets personal piper in London, Angus McKay.

Vol.16, p. 14: 11<sup>th</sup> August 1843 - Victoria uses Scottish words in diaries, e.g. 'wee' ...  
 p. 184: 1<sup>st</sup> November 1843 - a Dutch prince is delighted with Scotland.

Vol.18, p. 37: 11<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - Victoria declares Dundee town not a fine place.  
 p. 56: 19<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - Duke of Athole's keeper is a red-haired man.  
 p. 69: 25<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - Albert goes stalking and bags a 'Royal'.  
 p. 70: 26<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - Victoria notes the "roaring" stags at Blair Castle.  
 p. 209: 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1844 - Victoria reads of First Pretender's attempts to land in Scotland.  
 p.69: 25<sup>th</sup> September 1844 - Lady Glenlyon is "such a nice person."  
 p.79: 1st October 1844 - Duchess of Athole's Dunkeld cottage "beautifully situated."

Vol.24, p. 27: 17<sup>th</sup> August 1847 - "good Scotch Highlanders."  
 p. 65: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1847 - royal children fishing in a Highland stream.  
 p. 68: 13<sup>th</sup> September 1847 - Victoria passed wretched-looking Highland bothies.

Vol.26, p. 7: 6<sup>th</sup> August 1848 - Victoria declares revolutions bad for the country.  
 p. 50: 8<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - Highlands breathe "freedom & peace."  
 p. 52: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - Victoria likes simple 'Scotch' service, but a pity there are no kilts at the kirk.  
 pp. 56-57: 14<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - Gathering at Invercauld.  
 p. 64: 18<sup>th</sup> September 1848 - Irish attack houses, but Victoria feels safe in Scotland.

Vol.27, p. 324: 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1849 - Albert takes first lesson in Gaelic.

Vol.28, p. 8: 6<sup>th</sup> September 1849 - all the family in tartan.  
 p. 50: 1<sup>st</sup> October 1849 - healthy mountain air of the Highlands.

Vol.29, p. 15: 15<sup>th</sup> January 1850 - talking as Scots would talk: it goes through "one's bones."  
 p. 27: 31<sup>st</sup> January 1850 - Grand Duchess Stephanie of Baden visits Scotland.

Vol.30, pp. 92-94: 19<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Victoria and the painting of Lock Muich.  
 p. 107: 28<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Victoria notes Deeside cottage is like a hovel.  
 pp. 108-109: 28<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Victoria drinking milk in common kitchen, and royal hopes for bonds between Sovereign and Peasant.  
 p. 111: 30<sup>th</sup> September 1850 - Highlanders happily cautious in giving an opinion.  
 pp. 115-116: 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1850 - Highlanders "free from anything like bluster" and Victoria pleased to hear her husband looks like a Highlander  
 p. 127: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1850 - Victoria's son's stockings drying in bothy.

Vol.31, p. 275: 1<sup>st</sup> June 1851 - Highlander has honest face.

Vol.32, pp. 129-130: 7<sup>th</sup> October 1851 - leaving Scotland, even in a downpour, is hard.  
 p. 156: 17<sup>th</sup> October 1851 - Queen Marie Amelie is "charmed" with Scotland.

Vol.34, p.78: 13<sup>th</sup> September 1852 - Albert kills five stags.

Vol.35, p.10: 10<sup>th</sup> January 1853 - Victoria loses services of the Duchess of Athole at court.  
 p. 145: 24<sup>th</sup> May 1853 - Albert gives Victoria a statue of 'The Highland Mary'.  
 pp. 216-217: 30<sup>th</sup> June 1853 - the Cavalry a "fine sight" on parade, but Highland regiments are "quite magnificent."

Vol. 35, p. 287: 20<sup>th</sup> August 1853 - benefits of Highland air for the Crown Prince of Prussia.

Vol.36, p.98: 14<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - Walter Scott works portray the character of the Highlands.  
 p. 99: 15<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - Victoria mourns being from from "beloved Highlands."

Vol.38, p. 182: 4<sup>th</sup> November 1854 - Victoria calls Highlanders in Crimea "brave & true."

Vol.39, p. 198: 9<sup>th</sup> April 1855 - Victoria calls the Duchess of Athole "charming, sensible, clever."

Vol.40, p. 327: 1<sup>st</sup> December 1855 - Victoria talking as the Scots would talk, the King is "no canny."

Vol.44, p. 10: 10<sup>th</sup> September 1857 - Victoria choosing 'Scotch' things for her daughter's wedding.

p. 50: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1857 - one Deeside woman, "a filthy, ugly untidy old creature."  
 p. 51: 9<sup>th</sup> October 1857 - Victoria in a simple croft, giving out petticoats.  
 Vol. 45, p. 162: 21<sup>st</sup> April 1858 - about "the dear" Empress Eugenie.  
 Vol.48, pp. 20-21: 14<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - Victoria at Loch Katrine waterworks opening, with  
     Walter Scott overtones.  
 Vol.49, p. 236: 5<sup>th</sup> September 1860 - Victoria enjoys eating porridge.  
     p. 238: 5<sup>th</sup> September 1860 - Tomintoul is a wretched place.  
 Vol.50, p. 367: 8<sup>th</sup> December 1861 - the Duchess of Athole included in a small royal family  
     dinner.  
 Vol.55, p. 122: 10<sup>th</sup> May 1866 - Victoria notes how loyal the 'Scotch' are, compared to the  
     Irish.  
     p. 231: 6<sup>th</sup> September 1866 - "good loyal Highlanders."  
 Vol.56, p.4: 4<sup>th</sup> January 1867 - Duchess and Miss MacGregor and Arthur Helps at Osborne  
     p.17: 28<sup>th</sup> January 1867 - Osborne visit to lady with cancer  
     p. 20: 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1867 - Victoria to miss Duchess of Athole and Miss MacGregor.  
     p.241: 15<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - reference to Mrs Oliphant.  
     p.292: 9th November 1867 - piper plays during palace dinner.  
 Vol.57, p.80: 19<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - Victoria reading Mrs Oliphant book  
     p. 333: 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1868 - Scotland stabbed England over a government bill.  
 Vol.59: 20<sup>th</sup> May 1870 - "good Miss McGregor."  
     p.151: 9<sup>th</sup> July 1870 - pipers play at royal luncheon.  
 Vol.60, p. 67: 21<sup>st</sup> March 1871 - Victoria says it is a pity Lord Lorne did not wear a kilt at his  
     wedding.  
     p.158: 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1871 - three pipers play at Buckingham Palace royal tent.  
 Vol.61, p.173: 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1872 - Duchess of Athole, Miss MacGregor and Dr Caird at court.  
     p.183: 16<sup>th</sup> June 1872 - Duchess of Athole, Miss MacGregor and Dr Taylor at court.  
     p. 307: 15<sup>th</sup> October 1872 - Victoria talks of "Sir" Arthur Helps.  
 Vol.62, pp. 308-309: 15<sup>th</sup> September 1873 - Victoria romanticises about the spot where  
     Prince Charles Edward Stuart landed.  
 Vol.63, p. 309: 9<sup>th</sup> December 1874 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole and Victoria compare  
     sketches.  
 Vol.67, p. 17: 12<sup>th</sup> January 1877 - Victoria reflecting on Prince Charles Edward Stuart's  
     worth in Scotland.  
 Vol.72, p. 81: 20<sup>th</sup> March 1880 - Victoria knights Theodore Martin.  
 Vol.110, p. 190: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1900 - Victoria refers to "good Miss McGregor."

## Appendix D - Stirling Council Archives,

5 Borrowmeadow Road,  
Stirling,  
FK7 7UW

### PD60 (MacGregor of MacGregor Archive)

PD60/31 - 10th April 1820 - Sir John MacGregor Murray and David Stewart of Garth - about Highland clearance and defending the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl.

PD60/37 - 16<sup>th</sup> July 1809 - Sir John Murray MacGregor to Evan MacGregor.

PD60/42 - pamphlet from R.A. Armstrong, deputy secretary of the 'Highland Society of London', to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

PD60/43 - *Clan Gregor* memoir.

PD60/44 - 15<sup>th</sup> May 1801 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to John Home - about his clan's involvement in the '45. MacGregors remain the "firmest pillars of the throne."

PD60/44 - 21<sup>st</sup> May 1803 - petition to Sir John MacGregor Murray from a destitute clansman.

PD60/44 - Transcript of *Scots Magazine*, report on the '45.

PD60/44 - Duncan MacGregor's Journal of the Clan MacGregor - Transactions in 1745.

PD60/48 - 1774/5 Act of Parliament rescinds the Acts against the name MacGregor.

PD60/48 - copy of declaration acknowledging Sir John Murray MacGregor Bart, Chief of 'Clan Gregor'.

PD60/52 - 16<sup>th</sup> January 1801 - letter from General Norman McLeod of McLeod to Malcolm Laing about the "offensive" book, *MacGregors and the Hebrides*.

PD60/53 - 14<sup>th</sup> September 1818 - John Gregorson to Sir John MacGregor Murray - the MacGregor clan are "doomed to bleed" for their country.

PD60/53 - 30<sup>th</sup> April 1820 - Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

PD60/53 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1821 - from a clansman to Sir John MacGregor Murray - demanding Sir Evan call himself 'MacGregor'.

PD60/53 - William MacGregor Stirling to Sir Evan MacGregor - about the *History of Clan Gregor*.

PD60/68 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1822 - Robert Roy, Secretary of the 'Celtic Society' to Sir Evan MacGregor - saying he has been admitted a member.

PD60/77 - 1822 - letters from clansmen in straightened circumstances asking for aid

PD60/86 - 1<sup>st</sup> October 1822 - Major Donald MacGregor to Sir Evan MacGregor - about boosting the spirit of clanship.

PD60/99 - Address of Welcome to John MacGregor Murray on his return from India, 1795.

PD60/137 - 24<sup>th</sup> May 1831 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor's character as a baby.

PD60/137 - 16<sup>th</sup> November 1831 and 4<sup>th</sup> March 1836 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about trying to get her husband a better post.

PD60/137 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1832 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor about having to live modestly.

PD60/137 - 12<sup>th</sup> February 1834 - Lady Elizabeth to John Atholl MacGregor - about a crooked land agent.

PD60/137, 4<sup>th</sup> March 1836 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about Sir Evan being badly paid in the West Indies.

PD60/137 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1839 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about her not wanting to live in Scotland, as it is so cold.

PD60/137 - 6th April 1840 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about the forced sale of Lanrick Castle.

PD60/149 - 9<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - Duchess of Athole to Sir Malcolm MacGregor about her husband being unable to join his shoot as he is busy with his own.

PD60/160 - 17<sup>th</sup> August 1831 - Sir Evan MacGregor to John Atholl MacGregor - about Dominican appointment.

PD60/164 - details of a map showing *The Adventures of Prince Charles Stuart in 1745 and 1746* - drawn up by William MacGregor Stirling.

PD60/168 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1843 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor's linguistic skills.

PD60/168 - 9<sup>th</sup> July 1845 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor's marriage prospects: a man does not want a wife with "foreign manners and principles."

PD60/168 - 10<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor stooping, but being being distinguished.

PD60/189 - 17<sup>th</sup> December 1841 - Lady Elizabeth to John Atholl MacGregor - about Miss MacGregor's schooling.

PD60/238 - 1840 - Lanrick Estate sale details.

PD60/276 - Lord Macdonald to Mr Gillespie, c.1790 - about the "Gothick" at Armadale Castle.

PD60/291 - 12<sup>th</sup> August 1811 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray - about her son not acquiring 'Scotch' language

PD60/300 - 1<sup>st</sup> July 1811 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Evan MacGregor - detailing his son's debts.

PD60/338 - letters about Sir Evan MacGregor's death and family money worries.

PD60/411 - clothes receipts showing how extravagant Lady Elizabeth was.

PD60/414 - 4<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - Jane Hamilton-Burgogne to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor, - about her 'poverty' near Glasgow.

PD60/419 - 26<sup>th</sup> January 1842 - the War Office to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - about a widow's pension.

PD60/426 - 14<sup>th</sup> September 1841 - Lord Strathallan to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - "the expenses of Bruxelles [are] more moderate than those of Worthing."

PD60/434 - 14th January 1841 - Lady Elizabeth letter - about Mr Jardine: "a Leviathan man of Capital."

PD60/441 - *The Barbadian*, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1841 - about Sir Evan's fine character; and about parties and horses. See also the *Barbados Globe*, 14th June 1841 - about his death.

PD60/446 - detail of Lady Elizabeth's finances.

PD60/460 - 8<sup>th</sup> March 1870 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor - about MacGregor history and people writing down what they know.

PD60/460 - 29<sup>th</sup> August 1874 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor - about "bagging sketches."

PD60/470 - 6<sup>th</sup> November 1858 - Emily Stormont to Miss MacGregor - about scarcity of eligible men in Perthshire.

PD60/470 - notes on an undertaking by the 'Clan Gregor Society' to help poor clansmen, wherever possible.

PD60/503 - 10<sup>th</sup> August 1873 - Miss MacGregor to Lady Helen MacGregor - about her great nephew growing up to be a "true Highlander."

PD60/504 - 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1875 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor - about marriage prospects of his girls.

PD60/536 - 11th July 1803 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Major General Alexander Ross - about clans being demoralised.

PD60/539, - 17<sup>th</sup> April 1818 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray -  
Sir Evan is the talk of all Madras.

PD60/539 - 14<sup>th</sup> August 1818 - Evan Murray MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

PD60/539 - 30<sup>th</sup> September 1818 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Sir John MacGregor  
Murray - about accents.

PD60/546 - 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1815 - about Graham of Duchray's 'giant's castle' on Loch Lomond.

PD60/546 - 24<sup>th</sup> November 1815 - Donald MacGregor to Sir John Murray MacGregor.

PD60/546 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1815 - the Rev. MacGregor Stirling to Sir John Murray.  
MacGregor - about *Priory of Inchmahome*.

PD60/546 - 24<sup>th</sup> November 1815 - Donald MacGregor to Sir John Murray MacGregor - about  
the demise of Gaelic.

PD60/547 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1816 - John MacGregor - about the clan tartan, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1817,  
from John McGrigor, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1817, from Alexander MacGregor.

PD60/551, 553 - Memoranda relating to memoirs and Battle of Talnier.

PD60/564 - *Rules of the Highland Society of Madras*.

PD60/579 - 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1864 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor - about his  
forthcoming marriage.

PD60/607 - 12<sup>th</sup> April, 28<sup>th</sup> May, 5<sup>th</sup> June and 14<sup>th</sup> July 1869 - the Dowager Duchess of  
Athole and Lady Helen MacNaghton - about a royal visit to the Invertrossachs.

PD60/624 - 11<sup>th</sup> January 1871 - Miss MacGregor to Sir Malcolm MacGregor - about Lord  
Lorne being "manly."

PD60/624 - 7<sup>th</sup> September 1876 - C.M. MacGregor to Lady Helen MacGregor - about  
"knitting" the clan together.

PD60/637 - Miss MacGregor lecture - *The Queen in the Highlands*.

PD60/641 - 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1888 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about Rob Roy's  
grave.

PD60/642 and 7 - Miss MacGregor - *A Romance of the Highlands*.

PD60/642 - Miss MacGregor lecture - *Highlanders under the Early Stuart Kings*.

PD60/644 - 8<sup>th</sup> April 1871 - from Cluny Macpherson about proposed Gaelic chair at  
Edinburgh.

PD60/645 - *Prospectus*, Vol.11, quoting the *Glasgow Daily Mail - History of the Clan  
Gregor*.

PD60/646 - 7<sup>th</sup> May 1793 - from a McGregor to Col. Alex Murray - concern about the  
Chief's son learning Gaelic.

PD60/646 - 6<sup>th</sup> August 1794 - letters regarding Sir John MacGregor Murray's right to the  
Chiefship.

PD60/647 - letters regarding Sir John MacGregor Murray's right to the Chiefship.

PD60/648 - 25<sup>th</sup> January 1889 - Gregor MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about allowing  
women to join the Clan Gregor Society.

PD60/649/15 - a copy of the History of Clan Gregor is sent to Tasmania.

PD60/649 - 27<sup>th</sup> June 1841 - James MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - about settling  
Sir Evan's extensive Barbadian debts.

PD60/649 - 28<sup>th</sup> and 29th July 1888 - Miss MacGregor to the Dowager Duchess of Athole -  
about the spirit of clanship.

PD60/649 - June 1889 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about being the "chief in  
knowledge" of the clan.

PD60/652 - 21<sup>st</sup> April 1850 - Evan MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about not liking small  
Scottish towns.

PD60/653 - 23rd June, and 14<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> July, and 9<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> August 1845 - Miss  
MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - about her Scottish holiday.

PD60/655 - 24<sup>th</sup> November 1850 - Sir John MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about Edinchip and the children.

PD60/657 - 7<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Lady Huntley to the Dowager Duchess of Athole - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

PD60/657 - 31<sup>st</sup> October/1<sup>st</sup> November 1867 - Lord Breadalbane to the Dowager Duchess of Athole.

PD60/657 - 13<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Fraser of Beaufort Castle to Miss MacGregor.

PD60/657 - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - the Duke of Montrose to the Dowager Duchess of Athole

PD60/658 - Miss MacGregor notes on clans.

PD60/659 - 9<sup>th</sup> September 1867 - Mr Ross to Miss MacGregor - about subscribers for the art book and a poor turn-out at Braemar Gathering.

PD60/660 - list of clan plants and motifs to be incorporated into *The Highlanders*.

PD60/662 - Miss MacGregor's notes on Scottish clans.

PD60/662 - 20<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - Dr Robertson to Miss MacGregor - about fat Donald Gordon.

PD60/662 - 25<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - Dr Robertson talks of sheep in Aberdeenshire and of Miss MacGregor's "literary labours" and the success of *Leaves*.

PD60/662 - 20<sup>th</sup> June 1868 - Hermann Sahl to Miss MacGregor - about how 'gillie' can be translated into German.

PD60/662 - 29<sup>th</sup> March 1869 - talk of another royal art book, involving the princes.

PD60/662 - 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1869 - Miss MacGregor to Mr Skene's secretary - about *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

PD60/665 - 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about selecting the "finest men" for *The Highlanders of Scotland*.

PD60/665 - 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1867 - G. Condie to Miss MacGregor - about one of the sitters, John Stewart losing his job.

PD60/665 - 18<sup>th</sup> September 1868 - Kenneth MacLeay says the MacDonalds are the "premier Clan of the Country."

PD60/665 - 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1869 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about the Cameron and Chisholm.

PD60/665 - 31<sup>st</sup> March 1869 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about a man committing suicide and about the MacLachlan.

PD60/666 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about men "full of muscle."

PD60/666 - 11<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - Kenneth MacLeay's wife has died.

PD60/666 - 25<sup>th</sup> February 1868 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about "excellent specimens."

PD60/666 - 4<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - Miss MacGregor to Kenneth MacLeay about not finding his own men to paint.

PD60/666 - 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - admitting defeat in the battle to choose men.

PD60/666 - 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> August 1867, and 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 26<sup>th</sup> May, and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1868 - correspondence between Miss MacGregor, the Dowager Duchess of Athole, and Kenneth MacLeay - he is out on the road, finding men to paint.

PD60/666 - 21/22<sup>nd</sup> November 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay - about Lachlan McPherson.

PD60/666 - 15<sup>th</sup> October 1867 - Mr Mitchell to Miss MacGregor - about who chooses men.

PD60/666 - 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1867 - the queen wishes to see different poses.

PD60/666 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - about the good-looking Grants.

PD60/668 - 24<sup>th</sup> July 1867 - the Duchess of Roxburghe - writing on the queen's behalf, to tell Miss MacGregor that she and the duchess are to choose the men to be painted.

PD60/688 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

PD60/668 - 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor.

PD60/668 - 6<sup>th</sup> August 1867 - the Dowager Duchess of Athole to Queen Victoria - complaining about Kenneth MacLeay.

PD60/668 - 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1867 - Col. Biddulph to Miss MacGregor - he knows MacLeay to an "obstinate and troublesome man."

PD60/668 - date unclear - possibly 27<sup>th</sup> October 1867 - Lady Jane Ely to Miss MacGregor - the queen is happy with what she proposes.

PD60/666 - 11<sup>th</sup> January 1868 - MacLeay's wife dies.

PD60/666 - 21st May 1868 - the MacNaghton is too fat for a Highlander.

PD60/666 - 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1868, and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1868 - MacLeay's travels.

PD60/669 - 25<sup>th</sup> February 1867 - Dr Robertson to Miss MacGregor - about dying wife.

PD60/669 - 21<sup>st</sup> May 1867 - Alice Helps to Miss MacGregor - about checking Gaelic in *Leaves*.

PD60/669 - 18<sup>th</sup> July 1868 - Sir William Fraser talking about Miss MacGregor's "great work."

PD60/670 - 30<sup>th</sup> March 1868 - Mr Mitchell to Miss MacGregor - about progress of the queen's art book.

PD60/671 - 8<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> August 1897 - letter sending Miss MacGregor the Diamond Jubilee Medal, and about her pension.

PD60/671 - 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909 - Sir Malcolm MacGregor, 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief of Clan Gregor - about USA clan society.

PD60/671 - 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909 - John MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about helping young MacGregors.

PD60/672 - List of Subscribers for queen's art book, August 1869.

PD60/678 - 27<sup>th</sup> March 1830 - persecution of MacGregor men and women.

PD60/679 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1897 - Mr Gregg to Miss MacGregor - about *History of the Clan Gregor*.

PD60/683 - 2<sup>nd</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> April 1890 - MacGregor information.

PD60/684 - 25<sup>th</sup> January 1889 - Gregor MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about her membership of the 'Clan Gregor Society'.

PD60/688 - Miss MacGregor notes on clans.

PD60/688 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1867 - Kenneth MacLeay to Miss MacGregor - he has found an elderly, but good 'specimen' to be painted.

PD60/693 - *A MacGregors' Gathering*, and *The Clan Gregor Gathering*, reported in the newspapers.

PD60/693 - cuttings from *Glasgow Herald*, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> November 1890. See also 7<sup>th</sup> July 1891 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about Clan Gregor history.

PD60/794 - cutting from the *Scotsman*, 1997, *Clan Gregor Society*.

PD60/794 - *Rules and Regulations of Clan Gregor Society*.

PD60/800/801 - translating a book about the Jacobite uprising.

PD60/825 - *List of Candidates, and Polling Paper for Election at the Caledonian Asylum*.

PD60/825 - 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1823 - Major Duncan MacGregor, of the 'Gaelic School Society', to Sir Evan MacGregor.

PD60/825 - 5<sup>th</sup> April 1823 - letter informing Sir Evan of a 'Highland Society' meeting.

PD60/825 - 'St Fillan's Highland Society' leaflet about 1823 Games at Lochearnfoot.

PD60/829 and 896 - 1787 copy of Bond of Chieftainry in favour of Sir John MacGregor Murray.

PD60/829 - 20<sup>th</sup> January 1788 - John MacKenzie, 'Highland Society' Secretary, to Sir John MacGregor Murray.

PD60/829 - detail on 'Clan Alpin Fencibles' being disbanded - from a cutting from the *Edinburgh Courant*, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1802.

PD60/829 - Sir John MacGregor Murray's instructions for his son's future in the event of his death.

PD60/830 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1826 - *Sir Evan Applications for a West Indian Government*, - Downing Street to Sir Evan MacGregor; 15<sup>th</sup> September 1828 - Sir Evan MacGregor to the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl.

PD60/831 - various letters showing Lady Elizabeth on the Continent and in England.

PD60/833 - June and September 1836 - letters showing Lady Elizabeth lobbying for promotion for Sir Evan in the West Indies.

PD60/835 - various letters showing Lady Elizabeth on the Continent and in England.

PD60/836 - invitations from European royalty to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor.

PD60/842 and 878 - Sir Evan's titles shown on End of Slavery Proclamation.

PD60/843 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1823 - Sir Evan MacGregor to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor - children not to eat with the servants.

PD60/843 - September 1823 - the housekeeper, Mary Anne Bryne, to Sir Evan MacGregor - about Lanrick Castle domestics.

PD60/845 - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1816 - Alexander Campbell to Sir John MacGregor Murray - about music scores.

PD60/850, 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> March 1890 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about Perthshire circulars for MacGregor research.

PD60/850 - 12<sup>th</sup> June 1890 - Alex MacGregor to Miss MacGregor - about Rob Roy.

PD60/855 - 25<sup>th</sup> September 1832 - "the salary of the Government of Dominica is really so trifling."

PD60/857, 859 and 140 - letters to Sir John Murray MacGregor from clansmen asking for help.

PD60/860/2-3 - 1835 - Lady Elizabeth about West Indian Governor's pay.

PD60/869 - Review of 'History of the Clan Gregor' in *Dundee Advertiser*, quoted in newspaper cuttings.

PD60/871 - Patent of Baronetcy, 1795.

PD60/874 and 875 - Memoranda relating to battles of Mahidpore and Talnier.

PD60/880 - list of Archers at 1822 royal visit to Edinburgh.

PD60/880 - 5<sup>th</sup> September 1822 - Sir Evan MacGregor to Sir Walter Scott - about the Stone of Destiny.

PD60/880 - n.d. - "the King wishes to make you the Channel of Conveyance to the Highland chiefs and their followers" after the 1822 visit.

PD60/881 - 5<sup>th</sup> June 1810 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to Major Thornton - about attempt to kill the Duke of Cumberland.

PD60/882 - *Madras Gazette Extraordinary*, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1818, Talnier Battle.

PD60/885 - 6<sup>th</sup> December 1822 - license permitting Sir Evan MacGregor to use the name.

PD60/885 - the Duke of Atholl appoints Sir Evan a Deputy Lieutenant of Perthshire.

PD60/889 - 4<sup>th</sup> May 1825 - Commission by the 'Royal Company of Archers', appointing Sir Evan MacGregor Brigadier General.

PD60/891 - 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1793 - seal of Burgess ticket.

PD60/893 - booklet on the 'Clan Gregor Society'.

PD60/896 - list of 598 men who supported Sir John's right to the chiefship in 1787.

PD60/897 - September 1822 - address to Sir Evan MacGregor, after 1822 visit.

PD60 (Unlisted Material) Box 2, Bundle 36, *Draft for History of MacGregor Clan... drawn by MacGregor Stirling*, and Box 3, Bundle 63, letters to Sir Evan from William MacGregor Stirling about research into the clan history.

PD60 (Unlisted Material) Box 4, Bundle 70, letters about the formation of the CGS society.

## Appendix E - National Archives of Scotland, Scottish Records Office

**H.M. General Register House,  
2, Princes Street  
Edinburgh  
EH1 3YY  
(SRO)**

### **Alexander Robertson of Struan: *Stewart of Garth Transcripts***

**Note: some of these are duplicated and held in the Stirling Archives (MacGregor of MacGregor). See also:**

**[jamesirvinerobertson.co.uk/DavidStewartofGarthCorrespondence.pdf](http://jamesirvinerobertson.co.uk/DavidStewartofGarthCorrespondence.pdf)**

SRO/GD1/53 - 8th and 18th January - 14th February, 5th December 1815, quoted in Michael Fry, *Wild Scots*, p.180 - about clan tartans: "they wore no uniform garb."

SRO/GD1/53 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1815 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to David Stewart of Garth - about being an "aboriginal Highlander" and collecting clan badges as well as tartans (transcript from Stirling Archive, MacGregor Papers).

SRO/GD1/53 - 27<sup>th</sup> February 1816 - James Hamilton, 'Highland Society', to David Stewart of Garth - "discussion about Macg-Murray's cheap edition of Ossian" (transcript from Stirling Archive, MacGregor Papers).

SRO/GD1/53/111/G - 15<sup>th</sup> April 1823 - David Stewart of Garth to the Rev. Alexander Irvine - Atholl is a "grinding and cruel oppressor."

SRO/GD1/53/111/1 - 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1819 - Alex Robertson of Struan to Capt. D. Robertson - about the Atholl's plans to demolish the old kirk at Strowan.

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 27<sup>th</sup> March 1820 - David Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray - about him driving tenants to cities to become "Radicals" (transcript from Stirling Archive, MacGregor Papers).

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 19<sup>th</sup> April 1820 - David Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray - about Highland lairds going bankrupt (transcript from Stirling Archive, MacGregor Papers).

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 10<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> April 1820, and 27<sup>th</sup> October 1820 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to David Stewart of Garth - the Duke of Atholl is not clearing land. See also Stewart of Garth, quoted in James Irvine Robertson, *The First Highlander: Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB, 1768 - 1829* - 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1820, p.89 - this clearance is "extirpation."

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 9<sup>th</sup> May 1820 - David Stewart of Garth to Sir John MacGregor Murray - about 'Highland Society' dinner (transcript from Stirling Archive MacGregor Papers).

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1815 - David Stewart of Garth to Sir John Murray MacGregor - about clan tartans - "all chiefs should be applied to and requested by the Society to furnish them with a specimen of their Clan tartan."

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1815 - Sir John MacGregor Murray to David Stewart of Garth - about clan badges and being an "aboriginal Highlander."

SRO/GD1/53/112 - 8<sup>th</sup> December 1815 - Farquharson of Monaltrie to David Stewart of Garth - about being a "Big Highland Cheese."

SRO/GD24/532/14 - 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1831 - Anne Home Drummond to Henry Home Drummond - London a "detestable" city.

SRO/GD24/1/532/27 - 18th July 1839 - Lord Glenlyon to Henry Home Drummond - he is hoping to make Anne Home Drummond happy.

SRO/GD24/1/532/15 - 26<sup>th</sup> November 1839 - Lady Glenlyon to Henry Home Drummond -  
about her “prize” in marrying the future duke.

SRO/GD24/1/532/31 - 30<sup>th</sup> July 1847 - the Duchess of Athole to Mrs Home Drummond -  
about successful Russian visit to Blair.

SRO/GD24/1/437 - 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duke of Athole to Mr Home Drummond  
- about Loch Katrine expedition.

SRO/GD24/1/437 - 18<sup>th</sup> October 1859 - the Duchess of Athole to Mr Home Drummond -  
about successful Loch Katrine trip.

SRO/GD24/1/542 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1861 - Miss MacGregor to Mrs Home Drummond - about  
visiting poor tenants and seeing kilted schoolboys: “many calls to make and friends to  
see.”

## Appendix F - MacGregor Family Papers

**Bannatyne House,  
Newtyle  
PH12 8TR**

Letters and notes:

10<sup>th</sup> October 1845 - Lady Elizabeth MacGregor to Francis MacGregor.  
26<sup>th</sup> January 1888 - Miss MacGregor to Sir William Fraser. She calls herself an "amateur dabbler" in research, but is still tasked with detailing royal pedigrees.  
21<sup>st</sup> July 1905 - A letter from a nephew to Miss MacGregor, quoting *Philippart's East India Military Calendar*. Philippart, J. (1824). *The East India military calendar: Containing the services of general and field officers of the Indian Army: 3 volumes*. Kingsbury: Parbury and Allen, p. 461.  
28<sup>th</sup> May 1909 - *The Clan MacGregor*: a letter from Miss MacGregor to the newspapers  
8<sup>th</sup> August 1890 - booklet about the opening ceremony - *The Rob Roy Memorial, Inaugural Ceremony at Balquhidder*.

*Sir Evan and his Father, Family Book*, complied by Miss MacGregor.

Literary and Historical Notes: *A Royal Visit to the Trossachs*.

Press Opinions of the History of the Clan Gregor, Vol.1, from *The Spectator*, from William Brown Prospectus, 1900.

*Scheme for the Publication of Histories of the Clan Gregor*.

*Miss MacGregor Memoir*.

*Sir Evan MacGregor Memoir*.

Miss MacGregor birth certificate.

*The Rob Roy Memorial, Inaugural Ceremony at Balquhidder*.

*Edinchip Papers*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1890.

Family Book, containing:

*Sir John's Funeral*.

*The King's Visit to Edinburgh, 1822*.

*Sir Evan's Wounds*.

## **Appendix G – Paintings and artefacts**

Sight of paintings, christening cup, and curling stone brooch at the MacGregor chief's home in Scotland.

Sight of papers at Megginch Castle, Perthshire.

Sight of paintings at Blair Castle, Perthshire.

Sight of paintings at Scone Palace, Perthshire.

Perth Library - sight of valuation roll.

## Appendix H – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)

Matthew, H. C. G. & Harrison, B. (2004). *Oxford dictionary of national biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **The following people were researched:**

Barrie, Sir James Matthew (1860–1937), playwright and novelist.  
Burke, William (1792–1829), murderer.  
Burns, Robert (1759–1796), poet.  
Campbell, Alexander (1764–1824), composer and writer.  
Campbell, Elizabeth, Duchess of Argyll (c.1733–1790), courtier.  
Campbell, Gertrude Elizabeth (1857–1911), art critic and journalist.  
Campbell, Janey Sevilla (1846–1923), theatre producer.  
Carlyle, Thomas (1795–1881), author, biographer and historian.  
Clark, Sir James (1788–1870), physician.  
Crockett, Samuel Rutherford (1859–1914), Free Church of Scotland minister and novelist  
Edward V11 (1841–1910), British king.  
Fraser, Sir William (1816–1898), genealogist and archivist.  
Geddes, Sir Patrick (1854–1932), social evolutionist and city planner.  
Gower, Elizabeth Leveson, Duchess of Sutherland (1765–1839), landowner.  
Gower, Millicent Fanny Sutherland-Leveson (1867–1955), society hostess and social  
reformer.  
Grieve, Christopher Murray (pseud. Hugh MacDiarmid) (1892–1978), poet, writer and  
cultural activist.  
Hamilton, Lady Anne (1766–1846), courtier.  
Hastings, Lady Flora, Elizabeth (1806–1839), courtier.  
Helps, Sir Arthur (1813–1875), public servant and author.  
Kerr, Cecil Chetwynd, Marchioness of Lothian (1808–1877), Roman Catholic convert.  
Lister, Joseph, Baron Lister (1827–1912), surgeon and founder of a system of antiseptic  
surgery.  
Livingstone, David (1813–1873), explorer and missionary.  
Logan, James (1797–1872), writer on Scottish Gaelic culture.  
Macdonell, Alasdair Ranaldson of Glengarry (1773–1828), chief of the Macdonells of  
Glengarry and soldier.  
MacGregor [later Campbell] Robert (bap. 1671, d. 1734), outlaw and folk hero.  
Macpherson, James (1736–1796), writer.  
Maxwell, James Clerk (1831–1879), physicist.  
Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Jacob Ludwig) Felix (1809–1847), composer.  
Murray, Amelia Matilda (1795–1884), writer and courtier.  
Murray (nee Home Drummond) Anne, Duchess of Atholl (1814–1897), courtier.  
Murray, Katharine Marjory Stewart (nee Katharine Marjory Ramsay) Duchess of Atholl  
(1874–1960), public servant and politician.  
Nasmyth Alexander (1758-1840), artist and engineer.  
Oliphant, Carolina, Lady Nairne (1766-1845), songwriter.  
Scott, Caroline Lucy, Lady Scott (1784–1857), novelist.  
Scott, Charlotte Anne Montagu-Douglas, Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry (1811–  
1895), courtier.  
Scott, Harriet Anne (1819–1894), novelist.  
Simpson, Sir William, John Ritchie (1855–1931), physician, specialist in tropical medicine.

Sinclair, Sir John (1754–1835), politician and agricultural improver.  
Skene, William Forbes (1809–1892), historian and Celtic scholar.  
Stanley, nee Bruce, Lady Augusta Elizabeth Frederica (1822–1876), courtier.  
Stewart, David Stewart of Garth (1772–1829), army officer and writer on the Scottish  
Highlanders.  
Stuart, Charles Edward (*real name*, Charles Manning Allen, (1799?–1880), imposter.  
Stuart, Frances Teresa, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond (1647–1702), courtier.  
Stuart, John Sobieski Stolberg (*real name* John Carter Allen, (1795?–1872), imposter.  
Thomson, William, Baron Kelvin (1824–1907), mathematician and physicist.  
Watson, John (*pseud* Ian Maclare (1850–1907), Presbyterian minister and author.  
Wilkie, Sir David (1785–1841), painter of genre, historical subjects and portraits.

## Appendix I – Clan Groups

### **Spoken to:**

American Clan Gregor Society - Lois Ann Garlitz (Chieftain).  
Clan Armstrong Trust - Ian Martin (Archivist).  
Clan Elliot Society - Margaret Elliott of Redheugh (Chief).  
Clan Gregor Society - Peter Lawrie (Historian) and Richard MacGregor (Chairman).  
Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor (Chief and 2015 Convenor of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs).  
Clan MacLaren Society - Donald Maclaren of MacLaren (Chief).  
Clan Macnab Society - Jamie Macnab (Chief).  
Clan MacThomas Society - Andrew MacThomas (Chief).  
Sue McIntosh (2014 President COSCA).  
Scottish Australian Heritage Council - Malcolm Buchanan (President).

### **Researched:**

Armstrong Clan Association  
Armstrong Clan Society, USA.  
Clan Campbell Society, North America.  
Clan Donald Society and the Clan Donald Centre.  
Clan Donnachaidh Society.  
Clan Fraser Society  
Clan Lesley Society.  
Clan Mackenzie Society.  
Clan MacLeod Society of Scotland.  
Clan Moffat Society.  
Clan Scott Society.  
St Andrews Society of the State of New York.  
The Association of Highland Clans and Societies.  
The Clan Graham Society

## **Appendix J – Highland Games and Clan Events Attended**

American Clan Gregor Society 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Virginia, USA.  
Central Florida Scottish Highland Games, USA.  
Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, North Carolina, USA.  
Hawick Reivers Festival, Hawick, Scottish Borders.  
Killin Highland Games, Perthshire, Scotland.  
Loch Norman Highland Games, North Carolina, USA.  
Lochearnhead Highland Games, Perthshire, Scotland.  
Scottish Australian Festival, Sydney, Australia.  
Stone Mountain Highland Games, Georgia, USA.  
The Border Gathering, Dumfriesshire, Scotland.

### **Researched:**

Braemar Gathering, Aberdeenshire.  
Greater Greenville Scottish Games, South Carolina, USA.  
Peebles Highland Games, Scottish Borders.