BECOMING BRITISH? NAVIGATING THE UNION OF 1707

Barbara C. Murison*

On the eve of the union of 1707, the Earl of Cromarty sent New Year’s greetings to the Earl of Mar and his family in sunnily optimistic fashion: “God give all of you … Brittish minds. May we be Brittains, and down goe the old ignominious names of Scotland, of England … Brittains is our true, our honourable denomination.”¹ The optimism, however, was unjustified; as Linda Colley and others have pointed out, a sense of “Britishness” cannot properly be discerned until much later in the eighteenth century; it turned out that, in the aftermath of 1707, it was perfectly possible to “meet the challenge of becoming British without ceasing to be Scottish.”² A recent and extensive general literature exists on the processes (and the limitations of those processes) involved in the acquisition and demonstration of “Britishness,” whether in the political, religious, marital, linguistic or other spheres.³ However, there are gaps in this literature; substantial case studies are few.⁴ This paper will take one extended family, the Humes of the Merse (Berwickshire) and use it as a lens through which to view the process of “Brittification;” the four main areas addressed will be the legal, religious and

* Barbara C. Murison is a member of the Department of History, University of Western Ontario. She is currently working on a series of papers on the counter-enlightenment. The author acknowledges assistance from the Alumni Research Awards Programme, Faculty of Social Science, The University of Western Ontario.
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educational ramifications of union for ambitious Scots and the issue of self-identification.

The Hume kin group is an extensive one. The Rev. John Veitch (d.1702) in his “Description of Berwickshire or the Mers,” concludes his work by observing that “the considerablest Names are the Humes of which besides the Earle there will be above 30 families with Estates.” Within this group, the main protagonists will be Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, opponent of the Lauderdale administration of Scotland in the late 1670s, participant in the Argyll rebellion of 1685, exile in Holland and a member of William of Orange’s expedition in 1688, Hume’s offspring, including particularly his daughter Grisell, her husband George Baillie of Jerviswood and Mellerstain, son of Robert Baillie, executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh for his involvement in the Rye House Plot, the daughters of the Baillie/Hume union and the elder daughter’s husband, Alexander Murray of Stanhope. These people were not, originally, of major social status; they were of the laird class. The fortunes of George Baillie and Patrick Hume, however, prospered mightily after 1688. Hume was created Lord Polwarth in 1690 and, in 1696, appointed to the Chancellorship of Scotland, the highest political office in the kingdom; the following year he was created Earl of Marchmont. He was Lord High Commissioner in the 1698 parliamentary session and Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1702. Baillie’s rise was less rapid; he became receiver general (Scotland) in 1693 and was a major force in the squadron volante, which pushed for the union of 1707. A post at the Board of Trade followed, and early in the reign of George I he received further preferment, becoming, in succession, a Lord of the Admiralty and a Lord of the Treasury.

We must dispose, first, of any notion that the lairds of the Merse were unacquainted with the wider world in the years before the union. In the late seventeenth century, their sons frequently attended universities in France (Sir Patrick
Hume studied law in Paris or in Holland (George Baillie studied at Franeker, Alexander and Andrew Hume, sons to Sir Patrick, at Utrecht); their families visited English spa towns such as Scarborough (as did Sir John Hume of Blackadar and his lady and sisters in 1694) and Bath (where George Baillie was frequently treated for his deafness); there were numerous Scottish political deputations to the English court (such as that of 1674 to protest against Lauderdale, which included Patrick Hume, or the 1704 visit of George Baillie, in the company of the Earls of Roxburgh and Rothes, to represent to Queen Anne the views of the Scottish opposition); and there were personal solicitations which necessitated a presence in London: the nineteen year old Grisell Hume spent some time there in 1685, “ordered and allowed” by the commissioner to the Scottish parliament, the duke of Queensberry, to contact her father in exile to see whether he would agree, if pardoned, to communicate information about what “people beyond sea” were currently plotting. Moreover, the full restitution of the Baillie estates and, in particular, the rents, took years rather than months of solicitation in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. There was also a certain amount of intermarriage with the English before 1707; perhaps it did not bring much in the way of Scottification or Anglicisation, but it could certainly prove useful in times of conspiracy and crisis; Hume’s release from Stirling Castle in 1679 can mainly be attributed to his influential English relations, particularly his cousin, the countess of Northumberland. In 1702, with his particular patron William dead, he specifically enquired regarding the influence of his English relatives at court and with the Queen, listing the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Devonshire, his son the Marquis of Hartington, the Earl of Rutland, and Rutland’s son, who had married the daughter of Lord Russell. One can clearly identify, then, Anglo-Scottish conspiracy networks, religious networks, business and colonial networks and marriage networks, overlapping and
interleaving.\textsuperscript{11} Long before the Glorious Revolution or the Union, the Hume family had an extensive network of connections in England, and many members had spent substantial time there. Union, of course intensified those relationships: it brought opportunities aplenty, but it also brought dangers, as we shall see, first, in the legal sphere.

The preservation of the Scottish legal system is often touted as a vital benefit of union, and by the terms of Articles XVIII and XIX of the Treaty, Scots law and Scots courts were protected in various ways. However, on the part of the English commissioners, it may well have been assumed that, as James VI and I had once observed, the common law of England essentially underlay the law of Scotland; thus a process of further assimilation of Scots law to English was to be expected. In contrast, many Scots observers held that “the essentially customary law of Scotland would continue to be developed in sovereign courts…”\textsuperscript{12} Although there is evidence that the Scottish commissioners were aware of some of the complexities, such as the question of what would happen to appeals for ‘remeid of law’ from Scottish courts to Scottish parliament when the latter ceased to exist, for some reason the issue was not addressed in the union debates in the Scottish parliament;\textsuperscript{13} the result was that the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords over the Court of Session (although not over the High Court of Judiciary) was established almost immediately after the union was enacted, and in part through the action of members of the Scottish élite themselves.\textsuperscript{14}

It is a truism that law was vital to the Scottish élite; it existed for them and it was administered by them.\textsuperscript{15} Their sons were trained in it and certainly by the late seventeenth century it was the first, rather than the last, resort of action. As George Home’s diary indicates, lawsuits were part of the fabric of everyday life; and while intra-family feuds might certainly develop, the institution of legal proceedings against a close neighbour or kinsman did not have to preclude “friendly
social intercourse.”¹⁶ The Humes took the law very seriously; the question for them in 1707 was whether they could work as successfully within the English legal structure as they appeared to be able to do in the Scottish one, and what employment in British government posts and residence in England would mean in legal terms for men such as George Baillie.

The first challenge which worried the Baillies of Mellerstain (it began in 1710 and lasted until the early 1740s) was originally within the purview of the Scottish courts and connected with the marriage of young Grisie (elder daughter of Grisell Hume and George Baillie), its breakdown, and the implications for George’s will and the disposition of the family estates.¹⁷ In August 1710, the seventeen-year-old Grisie married Alexander Murray of Stanhope; the marriage took place in Scotland. Although both her father and her grandfather, Marchmont, disapproved, for the Murray family had chronic financial problems and was of an Episcopal and Royalist background which sat ill with the Presbyterian and Whig principles of the Baillies, Grisie’s tears and the support of her mother trumped pecuniary and political advantage.¹⁸ It was a disastrous marriage. Murray proved obsessively jealous and after three unhappy years, Grisie and her parents instituted a process for separation. This was the first separation process to be heard by the Commissary court of Edinburgh; that fact itself is suggestive. A later judgement that the success of the action was mainly attributable to “… strong interest and Influence by the Ladys friends” was undoubtedly correct.¹⁹ For those without such influence, the words “Deil speed them they had neither kith nor kin” apply.²⁰

The Humes had a strong presence in the Scottish legal system. Grisie’s grandfather, Marchmont, had, as Lord Polwarth, been appointed an extraordinary Lord of Session in 1693. Uncle Alexander had been an ordinary Lord of Session since 1704; his political stock was also high at the time of this separation case since he had been warmly received at
Hanover in 1712 and the family was expecting substantial preferment upon the death of Anne. Uncle Andrew was one of the Commissaries, and empowered to act as one of the procurators when Murray countered the Separation case with an Adherence one.\(^2\) When the Commissaries needed to take Grisie’s oath on vital points connected with her allegations, this took place in the friendly environment of her parents’ Edinburgh lodgings. No witnesses were called to substantiate the pursuers’ allegations of the threats of violence to Grisie, nor were there any assaults alleged.\(^2\) The final judgement of the Commissaries was that the Separation be granted, together with a legally enforceable Aliment of £150 per year; Murray’s Adherence process failed.\(^2\) It was a very successful demonstration of the legal clout of the Baillies.

Murray was not a man to accept defeat quietly, but clearly the traditional route of appeal to the Court of Session would have been useless. Himself an advocate, he was aware of the burgeoning number of Scottish appeals to the House of Lords. Even before the final decreet, he protested against four interlocutory sentences of the Commissaries and appealed to the parliament of Great Britain for “Redress and Remeid of Law.” The case does not seem to have gone forward in the Lords; but the possibility of it may have been an additional reason, beyond the furthering of George Baillie’s career upon the accession of George I in August, 1714, for the Baillie family’s move to London in December.\(^2\) Moreover, Murray himself was soon occupied with other matters, for he participated in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. As he languished in the Marshalsea in its aftermath, he constructed some interesting, if rambling, legal arguments as to why accusations against him of treason and rebellion were improper. He had been “born subject to no Laws or Governt. but those of God & Scotland …,” his “Natural Liberty” had not been taken away by the recent Incorporating Union, which was now “universally felt and acknowledged” to have been of fatal consequences to both
Scotland and England. The accusations must therefore fall to the ground.25 It was a very different approach to Anglo-
Scottish legal relations than the one he had taken in the Separation case.

Over the years, there was no lessening of Murray’s bitterness over the Separation and Aliment. He continued to bombard the Baillies with letters, sometimes requesting reconciliation, sometimes threatening them. Both sides in this dispute continued to look for legal pressures, whether Scots or English, which might be applied to their advantage. As late as 1737, Murray was still seeking for the return of his intemperate letters to his father-in-law and casting around for ways of forcing Grisie to co-habit. The family was worried that Murray would do “some rediculis thing as a separation in Scotland by Law is nothing here [in England] he may go to the Chife Justes & get a warent to take his wife.” Family friend Dr King, head of St Mary Hall, Oxford where the sons of Grisie’s sister, Rachel, Lady Binning, were being educated, felt that the Chief Justice needed to have the problem explained to him, “for if Murray …were to swear his wife has left him without any cause” a warrant would be issued to enable him “to take her when he could find her.”27 There was an understanding here that English lawyers had little grasp of, or respect for, Scots law.28 George Baillie also fretted about whether his will was adequate for protecting the transmission of family property, worrying particularly about the ius mariti which in Scots law gave a husband a right to his wife’s moveable property. As a Baillie lawyer in Edinburgh, Charles St Clair, (a part of the family after he married one of Andrew Hume’s daughters), noted in 1731, it had been exceedingly difficult for the Scottish lawyers drafting George Baillie’s 1724 will to exclude Sir Alexander Murray entirely.29 The will stated that no “Consent or Concurrence” from Murray was needed for the execution of any of its provisions; Grisie’s husband should have “no manner of Right title power Clame or pretension to a ius Mariti.” It was hoped that leaving all
George’s property to his wife in Life Rent would attain that result. On the death of Lord Binning, Rachel’s husband, a second will was felt necessary. This 1734 document again contained firm exclusion of Murray. Both wills were recorded in the Scottish Books of Council and Session and the Register of Tailzies. Still, there were some doubts whether all of these arrangements would hold, despite the somewhat nervous assurances received from Scotland in the aftermath of George’s death that everything was “as strong as anything can be …” The Baillies had continued to live in England after George’s retirement from public life; wisely, given the fear of the operation of English laws upon them, they chose to hold no property there. In a letter to her brother Alexander some months after her husband’s death, Grisell asked whether it was necessary to execute the will at all in that jurisdiction since “all we have in England is what you see at our table & wearing clothes …”

In another family legal matter, however, the outcome was not so satisfactory. The case again involved the beautiful Grisie. In 1721, a footman assaulted her in her parents’ house in London; although she threatened him with a pistol and he fled, the newspapers got hold of the story and an anonymous ballad on the event (almost certainly by the talented Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, supposed friend of the victim) was widely circulated. Lady Mary pronounced herself “too well acquainted with the world (of which Mrs Murray’s affair is a fatal instance) not to know that the most groundless Accusation is always of ill Consequence to a woman…” and the opinion of the Duchess of Marlborough was that the victim should have kept quiet about it from the beginning. Clearly the avoidance of publicity and of legal action was deemed appropriate female behaviour in polite eighteenth-century London society, but it was not the way of the Baillies, who had been nurtured in a significantly different, and tougher, Scottish environment where they were also well able to manipulate the legal system. The whole family, together
with supporters such as the dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, turned out for the trial at the Old Bailey. Grisie herself testified, but there were damaging counter-accusations of sexual improprieties between her and the Reverend Gilbert Burnet, a son of Bishop Burnet. 35 Years later, in a brief memoir of her sister intended as the basis for her funerary inscription, Rachel Baillie noted that Grisie had succeeded in rejecting the advances of a King and that her actions were always governed by honour and virtue; her “valuable Cariktor” was emphasised. But this looks like special pleading: the damage had been done in 1721. 36 The Baillies had not properly conformed to the mores of early eighteenth century London society.

The legal problems discussed thus far were of an essentially family nature; but there also existed substantial legal problems in the public sphere, which again affected the extended Hume family. There were difficult business cases involving Murray of Stanhope’s unsuccessful investments, the outcome of which hinged on the differences between Scots and English laws on debt. 37 And there were thorny issues regarding religion and office-holding by Scots in the British government: here, the Hume family was to some extent caught in the crossfire. On first inspection, it would appear that the Presbyterian church had had its position as the established church in Scotland fully guaranteed at the time of union; an act securing the privileges of the Kirk was passed in 1706 and those privileges were confirmed by the English parliament. However, as was the case with the guarantees in the sphere of Scots civil law, things did not turn out quite as expected. For example, appeals made to the British parliament against decisions of the General Assembly and other Presbyterian courts in cases of contested calls “and multitudes of other things” as the Rev. Robert Wodrow complained, helped erode the independence of the kirk. 38 Moreover, it turned out that, if successful careers were to be pursued at the political centre of this new, multi-confessional
state, (which, as Kidd points out, was something of an oddity for the early modern period), religious accommodations – mainly by the Scots – would have to be made.39

The family’s Presbyterian pedigree was impeccable. George Baillie at the age of twenty had been present at the execution in the Grassmarket of his father, Robert, for involvement in the Rye House plot; by all accounts, the experience gave George a “grave, silent, thoughtful turn to his temper.”40 According to his physician, the last twelve years of his life were spent in constant meditation, contemplation, and prayer.41 George’s mother was Rachel Johnston, daughter of Johnston of Wariston, one of the architects of the National Covenant and a Presbyterian martyr in 1663. Sir Patrick Hume was a close friend of Robert Baillie and possessed of the same kind of Covenanting ideas (hence his flight in 1684);42 his daughter Grisell became enshrined in the pantheon of Covenanting heroines for her bravery in smuggling food to her father as he lay concealed in the family vault at Polwarth. Sixty-two years later, in the sermon preached at her funeral in Scotland, she was praised as a “steady Friend to our Church.”43 When at Mellerstain the family attended the church at Earlston, the parish in which Mellerstain is situated; in Edinburgh they rented a loft in St Giles, and in London they had a pew in the King Street Chapel.44 It seems easy to demonstrate a lifelong devotion to Presbyterianism. And yet in the Oxford years the whole family regularly attended the Anglican services at the university church where the Bishop of Oxford preached; and Presbyterianism itself was somewhat protean in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

We note that George Baillie and his brothers-in-law had thriving careers both before and after the union; had they been forced to make compromises along the way? The re-establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland in the Revolution settlement had been far from a foregone conclusion; essentially the Kirk was on probation for much of
William’s reign. Although some Presbyterians had been willing to moderate their position even before 1688, Sir Patrick Hume had not been of that number. Even after William’s accession, it was hard for him to break a lifetime habit of criticizing monarchs; he even spoke of packing the King off to Holland if grievances were not redressed. The much younger, and more pragmatic, George Baillie also had his reservations about the “Deliverer of the Nation.” However, these views were not for public consumption and it was clear that the family’s well being depended on certain accommodations. Hume visited London and consulted, among others, his kinsfolk Gilbert Burnet (late of Utrecht and now created Bishop of Salisbury) and Burnet’s cousin James Johnston (George Baillie’s uncle) who enjoyed substantial royal patronage at this time. The result was that he moved to the court position by early 1690. A few years later, however, it was again necessary for Hume to be reined in. It was being said he was “too hot and positive” and therefore “unfit for any place;” daughter Grisell needed to “moderate him.” That this moderation was successful was surely indicated by Polwarth’s appointment, in 1696, to the chancellorship of Scotland.

This is not to suggest that Hume was abandoning his devotion to the principles which had led him to imprisonment and flight in the 1670s and 1680s and to a leading place in the counsels of the Scottish exiles in the Netherlands. His opposition to popery and to arbitrary power remained unwavering. Nor, as Patrick and Whatley have emphasised, should we underestimate the long-standing interest of Hume in projects for Anglo-Scottish union and his contribution, as a member of the squadron volante, together with his son-in-law, Baillie, to the passage of the union through the Scottish parliament. He was particularly anxious to ensure the Protestant succession and to counter the plans of the Jacobites. However, the emphasis of these authors on “Persistence, Principle and Patriotism” should not exclude a
consideration of Profit. The results of that union did not seem to these leading members of the squadron consonant with their efforts. Some of the critical decisions made had been primarily designed to further the interests of the Hume/Baillie family and to reduce the influence of the Queensberry interest. There was all the more disillusionment, then, when Queen Anne’s thanks to Marchmont for his rôle in promoting union was not sufficiently translated into royal patronage. Marchmont’s political decline (he had been dismissed from the Chancellorship very shortly after Anne’s accession) was not reversed. He failed to be elected as one of the sixteen Scottish peers in 1707 and 1708 and he was deprived of the office of Sheriff of Berwickshire in 1710. George Baillie, too, although he made some modest progress in Anne’s reign, being elected to the British parliament and appointed a Lord of Trade (although dismissed in 1712 in a purge by the Tories) had to wait for the Hanoverian succession before reaching the apogee of his career: in the reign of George I he became a Lord of the Admiralty and a Lord of the Treasury. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s husband identified him as one of the nine ‘chief men in place’ in the early 1720s. Little wonder that, at the time of the drafting of George’s memorial inscription years later, the family took exception to the author’s reference to the ‘very happy reign of Queen Anne’. It had not proved to be a particularly happy reign for them.

The broader religious problem here is how Scottish Presbyterianism came to terms with the politics of the post-Revolution years. It has been forcefully argued that Presbyterianism stood “outside the mainstream of Revolution principles” and there was certainly an active smear campaign against it throughout the reigns of William and Anne. One person’s “warm Assertor of public Liberty,” to quote from George’s memorial stone, might be another’s king-killing fanatic. The main response to this campaign, it has been suggested, was the deliberate transformation of the militant Whiggism of the Presbyterian tradition into a “civil
religion” which could support the prevailing political and social establishment. This would have to involve, in turn, a very careful managing, if not elision, of the Presbyterian past. Thus George’s tombstone simply mentions that he came of “an ancient and worthy Family.” There is no mention of his father’s martyrdom, and in Cheyne’s obituary, the father’s death is attributed to “his love to his Religion and Country” and, more vaguely, to “the madness of the Times.” As for Hume, his 1701 Latin draft for his own monument inscription has far more to say about William than himself and indeed gives the impression that his own career did not begin until 1688, in the aftermath of four years of (unexplained) exile.

However, such success as had been achieved had not been without cost. The “elephant in the room” was the sacramental test, and the topic provoked much anguish for the Hume/Baillies. Marchmont’s position was detailed in a lengthy memorandum sent to Baillie in January 1709. In effect he challenged the legality of the Test Act, which required the taking of communion “in the manner and mode of the Church of England” as a prerequisite for “offices and places civil.” His argument was that, although the sacramental test was not specifically referred to in the Treaty of Union, it could be overturned through the language of Article IV. By that Article, all subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain possessed all the “rights, privileges and advantages” which they had had when the kingdoms were distinct; moreover, if the citizens of either kingdom had had rights not possessed by the other, those rights would now be communicated to all subjects of the united kingdom. The conclusion, then, was that the sacramental test ceased. There could be no “bar and impediment:” all protestant subjects of Great Britain were “capable of publick trust.” Alternatively, if, for protestant security, there must be a sacramental test, then surely taking communion in both bread and wine “which is enough to bar the Romanists” and in some protestant
congregation “authorized, or allowed, or at least tolerated by law” would suffice.58

It was a good argument from a man who had believed that union would open up broader career opportunities for Scots, in particular for Presbyterians (and perhaps, in part, had supported it because of that); but good arguments do not always win a case. Although there had been some expectation that the Whigs would try to repeal the Test Act in the 1708-9 parliamentary session, it was clear by the time of Marchmont’s memorandum that the plan was on hold. The sacramental test continued to be insisted upon, and the Anglican high-flyers several times pressed for and eventually obtained, in 1711, in the aftermath of the Tory election victory in 1710, the passage of an Occasional Conformity Act which would exclude from office anyone who at any time attended a dissenter service.59 Moreover, the Greenshields case in Scotland and the Sacheverell case in England had raised the religious temperature substantially in both countries.60 Marchmont, the born-again moderate, regretted the impact of these cases, feeling that it was a pity to pick at the sores “which every good protestant should wish to be healed or at least covered with a good plaster and not laid open.”61

If Baillie wanted a successful career he had to conform. Contemporaries noted and commented. A 1710 electoral analysis by the Duchess of Buccleuch’s chaplain classified him as a person who was Episcopal or Presbyterian upon occasion, and dependent on being “moved by the Court ministers,”62 yet to see him as a mere placeman is unfair; another commentator, in a list drawn up for the Whig Lord Somers on the degree of enthusiasm for the Revolution possessed by the Scots in the British parliament identified him as “for [the] revolution by principle”63 (my italics) and on the many religious questions before the House, including the occasional conformity bill and the bill restoring lay patronage in Scotland, Baillie voted in accordance with a sound
Presbyterian position, while making it clear that he was not in favour of religious persecution or of the Kirk’s sometimes over-zealous insistence on its privileges. He attempted to judge all issues on their merits; other squadron leaders were not always as principled as he.\textsuperscript{61} Dr Cheyne insisted in his \textit{Historical Character} of Baillie that when in England “he continued steadily in his own Church and principles.”\textsuperscript{65}

There remains the problem of explaining the regular attendance by the Baillie family at the university church in Oxford. As noted already, the attendance of the Binning boys at St Mary Hall, which like all Oxford and Cambridge colleges was open only to Anglicans, was the main reason for residence in Oxford after George’s retirement and it was very necessary to keep on good terms with the university authorities. One might also argue that Lady Grisell and her husband belonged to a generation that put more emphasis on private soul-searching than public devotions.\textsuperscript{66} Presbyterian services were attended when any member of the family was in Scotland and Presbyterians were welcomed in the Oxford house; Grisie wrote to her uncle Alexander of the family’s pleasure that a particular visitor was a Cameronian.\textsuperscript{67}

The educational questions are fascinating ones. What kind of future, exactly, were the children and grandchildren of the family being fitted for? Some contrasts between the various generations may be noted. Patrick Hume’s studies at Paris\textsuperscript{68} gave him not only a facility in Latin (as demonstrated in the drafting of his own memorial), but also the ability, when in exile in Utrecht, to teach his own children, giving them lessons in Latin, French and Dutch “as well as in the more ordinary branches of education.”\textsuperscript{69} George Baillie had been tutored at home (there is a notebook of some of his work in the Mellerstain Library) before attending a Dutch university, Franeker; according to his wife, he regretted not having used his time better, since “he never went further than the 2\textsuperscript{nd} part of the [Latin] gramer” so could not follow his father-in-law’s suggested reading list, designed to further his career.
Nonetheless, the household accounts demonstrate that Baillie was constantly buying books and when, in 1708, the family left Edinburgh to take up residence at Mellerstain, he took four cartloads of books with him. Grisell’s brother Alexander, born in 1675, tells us in an account of his life (which might well be re-titled “my wonderful career”), that he was initially “brought up at school in the care of his mother” (this was at the time of his father’s opposition to the Lauderdale régime); after his return with his mother to Scotland in 1689 he continued Latin and Greek at Redbraes (the family castle of the Humes) and then attended Galashiels school in 1690 and 1691, boarding with his mother’s sister. Late in 1692 he accompanied his father to London and then went over to Utrecht, where he studied “largely Civil Law and the other parts of learning” for the next three years, apart from a few months in winter 1694 when he was at Ghent with his eldest brother, serving in the dragoons.

What of the next generation? Since Alexander’s diplomatic career took him abroad for long periods of time, his sister, Lady Grisell, was made guardian to his children. There was a mixture of Scottish and English elements in their upbringing. With some difficulty, she procured the services of the already famous twenty-one year old Colin Maclaurin, Professor of mathematics at Aberdeen since the age of seventeen, to act as tutor to the eldest son, George, Master of Polwarth. They went abroad and George was enrolled at the Academy at Nancy. Grisell sent the twins, Hugh and Alexander Hume-Campbell, to a private school in London (1716-1721) until they were old enough to go to Holland. They attended the universities of Utrecht and Franeker (1721-1725), as the parental generation had, and also spent some time at the university of Edinburgh. These boys were being prepared for a career at the centre of the British political stage and the assumption was that they would hold major offices. The twins, particularly Hugh, both made their mark in the Commons; Walpole is said to have remarked that people
might praise the speeches of Pulteney and Pitt if they pleased, but “when I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate.”

The Binning boys received an education much more English than Scots, and including Oxford University and the Grand Tour; on 5 May, 1737, Thomas and George were entered in St Mary Hall, Oxford “and went home to their Hall in their gowns and caps.” A younger brother, Charles, went to school the following day, a school which “they say is one of the best in England.” There were enough Scots at St Mary Hall to organise “a very grand entertainment” for St Andrews Day that year; Keith Brown is too categorical in assuming that “the exposure of the Scottish aristocracy to an English education came long after the political union of 1707.” This was a small Hall with an excellent academic reputation – certainly an incentive for the Baillies, who took education very seriously indeed. But St Mary Hall was also thought to have a particular political bias; in March 1738, rumours were circulating that a noble lord had said that “St Mary Hall was a nest of all the Scots Jacobits, who came there on purpose to support it.” Colonel Campbell had contradicted the assertion, which apparently had originated with “some of our friends & Country men [i.e. Scots] at Christ Church.” The Hall’s political reputation was not surprising, given that the man who was Principal, and who controlled the Hall entirely, without Fellows or governing body, was Dr William King, a thorough-going Jacobite and a correspondent of the Old Chevalier. His close friendship with the Hume/Baillie family (he even drafted George’s memorial inscription) seems at first glance an oddity; the family was strongly Whig. But King’s biographer rightly observes that he saw clearly what other Jacobites did not: that the restoration of the Stewarts necessitated the help of the anti-Walpole Whigs. Thus King’s free translation of Milton’s Epistle to Pollio (1740) was in fact both an attack on Walpole’s corrupt government and a paean of praise of that
long-dead Whig (and anti-Jacobite) Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont (d.1724); and his *Sermo Pedestris* was dedicated to Alexander, the second Earl, who had been dismissed by Walpole from his post as Lord Clerk Register in 1733 because of his opposition to the excise and was not reselected as one of the sixteen representative Scottish peers. On their part, perhaps the Baillie family in Oxford was using the Doctor as an insurance policy in case the times should alter. After Oxford, the Binning boys were despatched on the Grand Tour; as ever, their grandmother gave freely of her advice and their mother and aunt took infinite pains, late in 1739 and early in 1740, on the acquisition of a suitable tutor. In sum, the males of the family were being given an education that would provide as many personal and political options as possible.

We know rather less about the education of the females of the family. Grisell Baillie when advising her brother Alexander in the late 1730s to stop ruining his health by “musing upon books all the day,” freely admitted her own lack of Greek and Latin, and approvingly quoted an aristocratic acquaintance of a similar age (Grisell was in her early seventies at this time) to the effect that the Bible and family history sufficed for her reading, in contrast to the lasses of the next generation whose literary diet included plays and histories. The *Household Book* indicates the Scottish education of the Baillie girls in reading and writing, French, geography, arithmetic, dancing, sewing and music: a conventional enough educational diet for females of this class in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There were brief attendances at schools, a series of masters was summoned to Mellerstain and there was a resident governess, May Menzies, who was still living with the family some forty years later and is mentioned as having taught the girls all the French they knew. In the Oxford years, Grisie frequently discussed her reading with her uncle Alexander; in 1737, she had read a history of China and was immersed in Kempfer’s history of
Japan and her sister had been reading the new edition of Bayles dictionary, intending to cover “every word,” much to Dr King’s amusement. A few weeks later she had been reading the whole of Sir William Temple’s works, “every one of w[ich] affords something to instruct anybody ...” These letters indicate the depth of her reading and indeed, in her London years she had been friendly with Pope and other literary luminaries, including, as has been indicated, that blue-stocking Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. It is to be doubted whether an entirely Scottish education would have given the Baillie girls quite the polish they possessed. As has recently been suggested, spending time in London as a girl or young woman constituted an “invisible academy,” comparable to the Grand Tour for males. Of course, the Baillie offspring had experienced the latter also, when the whole family travelled overland to Italy and remained there for several months in the hope that Rachel’s husband, Lord Binning, would recover his health. The ‘sweet-tongued Murray’ referred to in the poet Gay’s Mr Pope’s Welcome from Greece had continued her singing lessons there.

Finally, what sense of identity did these people have? Perhaps the acquisition of “Brittish Minds” was not quite as simple as the Earl of Cromarty had suggested just before the union. At an everyday level, there were the usual railings of the transplanted against the food and customs of the locals: the desire to be “at home eating pottage” and “breathing Scottish air,” the lack of Scots folk at Bath to join in the dancing and other amusements. There was also the question of accent; we know that Grisell always retained a strong Scottish one, for in 1740 the family was much diverted when the young Grisie of the fourth generation (daughter of Rachel, Lady Binning) attempted to repeat her grandmother’s words in broad Scots but did not quite say what she wanted to. That a Scots accent could prove fatal politically in the new British parliament is demonstrated by an anecdote concerning Erskine of Grange, brother to the Earl of Mar. Thinking to
advance his career, he got himself elected to the House of Commons, resigning his Scottish judgeship to qualify himself to stand. His first speech was applauded, “but the House would not long endure his Scotch accent; so that after speaking three or four times he was ill heard and neglected.”

For the Baillies as for others, being Scots was something to be proud of, after the union as before it. George Baillie worried about the contempt expressed for Scots in the House of Commons and the economic ruin which the extension of various English taxes would bring to Scotland. He was by no means an invariable courtier and frequently expressed in his private correspondence his desire to act in a way which seemed right to him.

He certainly would have agreed with the verdict of John Hume [Hume] of Kimmerghame in 1659 who felt it an honour to be of the Scots nation and wrote of Scotland as his “native land.”

We need to be alert to certain linguistic developments, however. The term ‘my country’ did not, for a long time, have the meaning which later developed. Thus, Alexander Hume boasted of being elected to the Scottish parliament for the shire of Ayr early in the reign of Queen Anne, “… although he had not been above 2 years in that Country.” Usages of this sort (which are very common in the contemporary literature) seem to support Claydon’s view that ties to kinsmen and locality were far more important than any feelings of wider nationality.

Contrast that, however, with the views expressed by Alexander Murray. Murray claimed that it was his “Scotch heart” which had prevented him from selling himself at the time of the union as others had; and he discussed the whole matter of identity in a letter to his friend Campbell of Calder in 1722, concluding that his personal friendships with Englishmen flourished on the basis that “the more they loved their country & oppos’d the interest of ours – the more personally I esteem’d them tho’ as my nationall enemyes …” (and they him, he alleged). It is a convoluted argument from one whom some thought “not
quite right in the head” but it certainly demonstrates a very different use of the word “country” from that of his brother-in-law and a broad view of his nationality – as a Scot.

The memorial stones for George and Grisell Baillie also present interesting questions in the search for identity. When Grisell is noted as “An Honour to her Country” and praised for her love of it, it seems plausible to suggest that Scotland is meant; her most outstanding exploits in the public mind belonged to her Scottish childhood. It is indeed possible that, as was the case with brother Alexander, ‘Country’ refers simply to her local area, the Merse. The interpretations of the references to Country on George’s stone are made the more complicated by the inscription’s Latin and English versions. What in English reads as “A Lover of his Country” in Latin is Civis optimus: literally, the best of citizens. This recipient of the esteem “of all the illustrious Persons of his Country” received it in the original Latin from the Principes Reipublicae, the leading persons of the state, which could well mean the British state. Tellingly, however, in a line beginning “Both in England and Scotland …” the original Latin version has an additional word not present in the English: Scotia nostra (my italics). It is surely possible that George Baillie himself, rather than the English-born author of the Latin version, William King, insisted on that additional word. The news of Baillie’s death was also commemorated in the press. Dr Cheyne’s appreciation of his relative and patient was sent to the Gentleman’s Magazine; Cheyne also asked his novelist and publisher friend, Samuel Richardson, to print some additional copies “in a handsome legible Character” on “a Half Sheet of Imperial Paper,” to be circulated in London, in Oxford (where Baillie was living at the time of his death), in Bath and in Scotland and sent to the editors of the Weekly Miscellany and the London Journal. Baillie had been born a Scot but died, it would seem, a citizen of Britain.

It has been argued here that there were substantial practical roadblocks to the acquisition of a true sense of
“Britishness.” Early hopes by Scots that a “united kingdom” had been created were soon dashed. The legal and religious terms of the union, as the experiences of the Hume/Baillie clan indicated, were a great deal less generous to the Scots in reality than they had been in theory. In particular, the rapid growth of appeals from Scotland to the House of Lords, the lack of understanding by the English of Scots law, and the continued existence of the Test Act, undermined the Scottish legal system, produced resentment and precluded easy integration. We need to note, however, that Scots themselves frequently wavered between protecting Scottish institutions and seeking advantage through asking for ‘British’ decisions when things had not gone well with Scottish ones. Politically, the Scots in the British parliament could achieve little. The sixteen Scottish peers in the House of Lords and the forty-five Scots members in the Commons could never play a major rôle, even if they had been of one mind, which they often were not. To be sure, a sense of a Scottish national interest did emerge among the Scots members from time to time, but ministerial policy was not usually shaped by Scottish pressures, particularly in the period under consideration here. As for ‘polite’ English society, it could be superficially welcoming to Scots but was frequently cruel, as the gossip about the Lady Murray court case in 1721 demonstrated. Those Scots who in the end opted for “Scotland for life”, as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wapsishly noted of Lady Loudon in 1721, were dismissed as no great loss to London society.

Perhaps the acquisition of any feelings of ‘Britishness’ had to be a generational affair. Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont failed to come to terms with the continued existence of the sacramental test. His parliamentary career ended at the union and he spent his declining years at Berwick, where he died in 1724. He was interred in the family monument in the Canongate kirkyard, Edinburgh. His daughter and son-in-law lived for years in England, and took
advantage of its opportunities; but they continued to think of themselves as Scots and they were buried in the family vault, constructed for them in the grounds of Mellerstain. As for the third generation of this family, it tended to move as interest or duty dictated. Grisie, for example, the immediate heiress to her parents, returned to Scotland to run the family estates after the death of her mother in 1745. In the end, this family was, in the period covered by this paper, an Anglo-Scottish hybrid rather than British. The “Scottish” card and the “British” card would be played as appropriate. The acquisition of what the Earl of Cromarty had referred to as “British minds” certainly proved elusive. It still is.
Notes

1 *Mar and Kellia Papers*, Vol.1, 242, Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC). Given the future political careers of these two men, this reads oddly: although Cromarty seems to have been a consistent supporter of incorporating union, his contemporaries found him volatile: “maggoty and unsettled … never much to be relied upon or valued,” is one contemporary judgement (Colin Kidd, citing Lockhart, in the article on George Mackenzie, first earl of Cromarty, in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), consulted online. As for Mar, he is most famous as the leader of the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.


4 See, however, the collection of essays in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Leisburg, 2010).

5 Veitch’s *Description* is contained in Macfarlane’s *Geographical Collection III* (Edinburgh, 1908), and cited in *An Album of Scottish Families, 1694-1696; being the first instalment of George Home’s Diary*, [sic: the name was variously spelled Hume or Home] ed. Helen and Keith Kelsall, (Aberdeen, 1990), Introduction, 18.

6 About 40% of entrants to the faculty of advocates between 1650 and 1740 had studied in Dutch universities: Brown, “Scottish identity in the seventeenth century,” 241 France became less popular after the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

7 Kelsall, Album of Scottish Families, 16, 24.
National Archives of Scotland (NAS), Hume of Marchmont Papers, GD158/2830, Grissell to her mother, 22 March 1685. On Scottish exiles see Ginny Gardner, The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660-1690 (East Linton, 2004).

Her mother, Countess of Suffolk, was the younger daughter of George Hume, Earl of Dunbar. Through a series of marriages, a blood relationship was established between the families of Hume, Russell, Cavendish and Manners.

Marchmont to Robert Pringle (his cousin), 15 April 1702, in A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont, ed. George Henry Rose (London, 1831), Vol. 3, 239. The Duke of Bedford was the only son and heir of William, styled Lord Russell, who had been found guilty of high treason in 1683 for participating in the Rye House Plot and was attained and executed. After the Revolution, Russell’s attainder was voided by act of parliament and the son’s career blossomed. The Duke of Devonshire had been ‘in arms’ for the Prince of Orange in 1688, as had George Baillie and Patrick Hume. He was Lord High Steward at the coronations of both William and Mary and Anne. The Earl of Rutland was one of William’s chief supporters in 1688 and when princess Anne fled Whitehall she took refuge at his house, Belvoir Castle. His son was not only one of the English commissioners for union in 1706, (George Baillie was among the Scottish ones) but married the daughter of the executed Lord Russell. We have here a tight network of connections. G. E. Cockayne, Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom (London, 1887-1898), Vol. 1, 300, Vol. 3, 115, Vol. 6, 467.

There is some reason to suspect that the Anglo-Scots Carolina colonization project of the early 1680s was a cover for treasonable activity; certainly it could facilitate it. On the connections of English and Scottish aristocracy before 1707, see Keith M. Brown “The origins of a British aristocracy: integration and its limitations before the treaty of Union,” in Ellis and Barber, Conquest and Union, 222-249. Brown underestimates the volume and complexity of Scots connections with England. For a wide-ranging view of the importance of kinship networks, this time in a purely English context, see David Cressy, “Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England,” Past and Present, no. 113 (1986), 36-69.

A remark by George Baillie late in 1705 suggests that appeals to the Lords were already seen as a done deal: “...it [union] will render the [court of] session disposers of our estates at pleasure, when there shall be no appeal from their sentence but to the house of peers.” Baillie to Roxburgh, 15 December 1705, *Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood, 1702-1708*, ed. G. E. M. Kynynmond, (Edinburgh, 1842), 143-144. Baillie went on to suggest that only appeals to the Scottish parliament had kept the Court of Session within bounds.


*Kelsall, Album of Scottish Families*, Introduction, 14; the editors illustrate this argument by referring to an adjudication raised by George Home against the Earl of Home: see Introduction, 31 and accompanying Diary references.

The use of the family’s name, Grisie, for daughter Grisell is to avoid confusion with her mother, Grisell, her grandmother, Grisell, and her niece, Grisell. Some of the material on Grisie from p.3-top of p.5 in this article is used, for largely different purposes, in Barbara C. Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions: Rhetoric, Reality and the Bailies of Mellerstain,” in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Modern Scotland*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Aldershot, 2008), 99-112.

See Marchmont to the Dowager Lady Polmont, 12 August 1710, in *Papers of the Earls of Marchmont*, ed. Rose, Vol. 3, 351, n.1 Murray’s relations had also flirted – and more than flirted – with Jacobitism and he himself would be ‘out’ in the ’15. Grisie’s own account of her pleas is to be found


20 A. D. Gibb, *Law from over the Border* (London and Reading, 1950), 11, n.11, citing Maidment’s *Court of Session Garland*.

21 The Court of Session had appellate powers and could review all interlocutory judgements in consistorial cases; it could then remit instructions to the Commissaries: see F. P. Walton, “The Courts of the Officials and the Commissary Courts, 1512-1830,” in *An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature on Scots Law by Various Authors* (Edinburgh, 1936), 145.

22 Essentially the case rested on Murray’s letters to his wife and her family, which displayed a ferocious rage against her, and his showing to his wife a copy of the *Taitler* which contained a history of a man who had killed his wife.

23 The final decree was 5 March 1714. See NAS cc8/5/2 Commissary of Edinburgh consistorial Decrees Vol. 2, June 6 1710-October 18 1727 and cc8/6/6 Consistorial Processes.

24 My scan of various collected reports of Scottish appeal cases, for example David Robertson, *Reports of Cases on Appeal from Scotland Decided in the House of Peers* (London, 1807), supplemented by the reading of the *Journals of the House of Lords*, Vol. IX, 1709-1714 and Vol. X, 1714-1718, National Library of Scotland (NLS), revealed nothing. However, Murray was still talking about an appeal to the House of Lords in 1738: see note 26 below.

25 NLS Adv. MS 29.1.1, Vol III, fols. 2-13, Murray of Stanhope Papers, Murray to Lady Falcon Bridge from the Marshalsea Prison, 16 April 1716. Eventually, Murray was granted indemnity, but more through promises of future loyalty to George I and help from the Duchess of Marlborough among others (including his father-in-law) than through the arguments summarised above. Murray had supported the 1713 bill to repeal the union.

26 The request was re-iterated on George Baillie’s death; a letter to Grisie referred again to a petition to the House of Peers and to clearing his name: NLS Adv. MS 29.1.1, Vol I, fol.7, undated letter draft.

27 NAS GD158/1448/2, Hume of Marchmont Papers, Rachel, Lady Binning, to her uncle Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 19?, 1737.

NAS GD158/1393/2, Charles St Clair to the 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 16 October 1731.

NAS c8/8/103, Testaments: Edinburgh Commissariat.

NAS GD158/1449/53, Grisie to her uncle Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 30 September 1738, reporting the views of the Bailie lawyer in Edinburgh.

NAS GD158/1257/26, Lady Grisell Bailie to her brother Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 11 December 1739. Matters were also simplified by the fact that Grisell Bailie outlived her son-in-law.


For appreciation by a Scot of the greater politeness of England see NLS Adv. MS 29.1.1 Vol. I fol.122, Alexander Murray to Mr Campbell of Calder, 6 November 1722.

Mellerstain House, Mellerstain, Bound Letters Vol. VIII (1719-23), Rachel, Lady Binning to Lady Mary Howard, 9 December 1721. The footman was sentenced to be hanged, a punishment later commuted to transportation to New England.

NAS GD158/595, undated. Grisie died in 1759.

The lengthy proceedings in both Court of Session and House of Lords regarding unsuccessful mining schemes in Scotland involving the Duke of Bridgewater and others can be followed in the records of those tribunals and in the Murray of Stanhope papers, NLS.


NAS GD158/551, Lady Murray’s Memoir, 21.

Dr Cheyne, a Scot and a famous practitioner of the day, popular in London society, was related to the family through the Burnet family, and
was Baillie’s physician for thirty years. Cheyne’s biographer is too
dissemissive of Baillie’s piety, for Baillie belonged to a Presbyterian tradition
which emphasised private soul-searching rather than public display: see
Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and depression in the Enlightenment: the Life and
Times of George Cheyne* (Norman, Oklahoma, 2000), 167.
42 Hume’s great comfort while hiding in the darkness of the family vault at
Polwarth Church prior to fleeing the country was to repeat the whole of
Buchanan’s Psalms, which he had by heart. In 1722, two years before his
death, he asked his daughter to test him on his knowledge of them “and he
missed not a word in any place she named to him …” Lady Murray’s
*Memoir*, 38-39. See also Hume’s notes on the Christian life, NAS
GD158/2968, undated.
43 Mellerstain, Sermon MS, Muniment Room.
44 Grisell’s account book records a rent of 9s for the Michaelmas quarter,
1716 and 8s for the “Meeting House rent” for the Christmas quarter:
*Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733*, ed. R. Scott-Moncrieff
(Edinburgh, 1911), 47, 48.
45 See Kidd, “Religious Realignment between the Restoration and
Union,” in *A Union for Empire*, ed. Robertson, *Political Thought and the
British Union of 1707*, 157, 158. William Carstares, another of the Scottish exiles
in the 1680s and a member of William’s inner circle, had urged such an
approach.
46 Hume was also well aware that while he had spent years risking life and
estates, others who had been in ease and security were receiving much
greater recognition: P. W. J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish
Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979), 16, 29, 34.
December 1694.
48 *Mellerstain Letters*, Vol. I, 22 January 1695. Hume’s impetuosity was well-
known. His relative Bishop Burnet described him as “a hot and eager
man”; see Bishop Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 2nd edition (Oxford,
1833), 2, 23. In his youth he had participated in the abduction of the 11
year-old heiress of Ayton and the marrying of her to his relative George
Home, the 17 year-old heir to the Kimmerghame estates. In this, as in
many other matters, family interests came first.
49 The significance of the exile community as a breeding place for
Revolution is emphasized in Gardner, *Scottish Exile Community in the
Netherlands*.
50 Derek J. Patrick and Christopher A. Whatley, “Persistence, Principle
and Patriotism in the Making of the Union of 1707: The Revolution,

51 David Hayton, “Scottish Issues and Scottish Members,” in *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, Vol. I, ed. David Hayton (Cambridge, 2002), 50, emphasises the commitment to Whig principles of the squadron but also points out that the group was largely held together by family relationships and friendship. The interests of the group needed to be pushed.

52 The way had been prepared by brother-in-law Alexander, whose diplomatic career made him a natural choice to represent the Scottish elite in a mission to Hanover to ascertain the interest or otherwise of the ruling family there in assuming the British crown: see above. Mr Wortley Montagu, ‘On the State of Affairs when the King Entered’, in *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe (New York, 1970, reprint of third edition, 1861), Vol. I, 138. Marchmont was also restored to his Sheriffdom in this period.

53 NAS GD158/1449, 21 Jan. 1740.


55 *Ibid*.

56 The Baillie monument inscriptions are to be found at NLS 2.641 (12); for Hume’s (or Marchmont’s, as he then was) see NAS GD158/927. Efforts to see the final version of the Marchmont inscription in the Canongate kirkyard proved unavailing due to the closing up of various mausoleums because of vandalism fears.

57 For a summary of the discussion of this and related religious topics at the time of the union negotiations and Marchmont’s and Baillie’s part in them, see J. Stephens, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union* (Edinburgh, 2007), 54 ff. In 1689, also, there had been some discussion of the scrapping of the sacramental test, but the Whigs were divided on the issue: see G. Holmes, *British Politics in the age of Anne* (London, 1987), 105.


59 Three Occasional Conformity bills, introduced between 1702-4, failed. The meek acquiescence of the Whigs in the passage of the 1711 bill smacks of backroom deals: see Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 105, 113. The 1711 act was repealed in 1719. We should note, however, that the Baillies were still renting a pew in the King Street chapel in 1716.
Greenshields was an Episcopalian minister imprisoned in 1709 for conducting worship in Edinburgh in disobedience to the Kirk Presbytery of Edinburgh and the city government. He appealed his case to the House of Lords which, with a fine disregard for Scottish civil and religious jurisdiction, reversed the decision in 1711. The high-churchman Dr Sacheverell insisted that the means of bringing about the Revolution of 1688 had been “odious and unjustifiable:” he was impeached in 1710.

NAS GD158/967, Marchmont to Jerviswood [George Baillie], 27 March 1710. Marchmont’s new-found moderatism was certainly a contrast to much of his earlier behaviour; see above and n.48.

For a similar view of the Scottish members’ behaviour in the British parliament see Brown’s comment that the best way to make the system work in the interests of the Scottish members was “to play the rôle of crown lobby-fodder expected of them”: “Origins of a British Aristocracy,” 242. However, David Wilkinson, author of the article on Baillie in The House of Commons 1690-1715, ed. Hayton, Vol. III, 112, finds the chaplain’s judgement “wide of the mark:” see, in particular, his discussion of Baillie’s attitude to the 1709 treasons bill.

Copy memorial for Lord Somers, NAS GD158/943, undated, but probably around the same time as the chaplain’s list.


George Cheyne, An Historical Character of the Honourable George Baillie, Esq., Appendix I to Lady Murray’s Memoirs, 112.

And see above, note 41.

NAS GD158/1449/32, 3 February, 1737/8. The original Cameronians were an extreme group of Covenanters who remained aloof from the Presbyterian religious settlement of 1690.

Hume’s relative Sir David Hume of Crossrig studied in Paris at the same time as he did.

Warrender, Marchmont and the Humes of Polwarth, 37.

NAS GD158/1064/2, Grisell Baillie to her father, 1st Earl of Marchmont, 6 May 1709; Scott-Moncrieff, Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, xxv.

NAS GD158/1213, undated narrative by Alexander.

Becoming British?

73 Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715-1754* (London, 1970), Vol. II, 160. Their father had taken the surname Campbell at the time of his marriage to Margaret, heiress to the estates of her father, Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, a fellow-prisoner of Patrick Hume on the Bass Rock in the Lauderdale era. Aristocratic Scottish families were much less likely than aristocratic English families in this period to send their offspring to public schools; see John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The peerage of eighteenth century England* (Cambridge, 1984), 42.

74 Hugh had become Lord Polwarth on the death of his brother, George. Unfortunately, his assumption of the Marchmont peerage on the death of his father in 1740 removed him to the Lords after only six years in the Commons: for various reasons, his career never reached the predicted heights. For the details of the twins’ careers see Sedgwick, *House of Commons 1715-1754*, Vol. II, 159-160.

75 NAS GD158/1449/9, Grisie to her uncle Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 5 May 1737. The school is not named.


77 NAS GD158/1449/34.

78 King was Principal of the Hall from 1719-63.


80 Alexander reacted by abandoning family tradition and joining the Tories: Greenwood, *William King*, 98.

81 See, for example, NAS GD158/72, 74, 78, 94 and GD158/1457.

82 NAS GD158/1257/11, Grisell Baillie to her brother, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 4 February 1737/8. Nonetheless, Grisell’s accounting skills were superb and her letters well-written and cogent; she knew French; she learned Dutch in the Utrecht exile years and mastered sufficient Italian to enable her to bargain with the locals when the whole family spent some months in Italy.

83 See, in particular, the Introduction to the *Household Book*, II, Education and Amusements.

84 See GD158/1449/17, 19, 37.

85 K. Glover, “‘Polite London Children’: Educating the Daughters of the Scottish Elite in Mid-Eighteenth Century London,” in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Nenadic, 266. Glover focuses the discussion on the upbringing of the daughters of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto and his wife; interestingly, Elliot was related to the Baillies and possessed estates close to theirs; he had first courted Rachel, who had discouraged him in favour of ‘Binny’, heir to the Earl of Haddington: see NAS GD158/1237/5.
86 NAS GD158/1449/21, Grisie to her uncle Alexander, 8 November 1737; NAS GD158/1201/1, Grisie to her grandfather, Marchmont, 8 September 1716.
87 NAS GD158/1449/88, Grisie to her uncle Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 18 January 1740.
88 He lost in the next election. William King, Principal of St Mary Hall, Political and Literary Anecdotes of His Own Times (London, 1818), 114.
89 George Baillie to the 1st Earl of Marchmont, 4 July 1713, HMC Polwarth (London, 1911), 13. Riley, like Brown, is more cynical about the motivation of Baillie and other Scots politicians: see P. W. J. Riley, The Union of England and Scotland: a study in Anglo-Scottish relations in the eighteenth century (Manchester, 1978), 95. Baillie’s contemporary, the Jacobite Lockhart, also paints a hostile picture of him.
90 NAS GD158/2715/1, John Hoome of Kinnerghame to his father, 21 November 1659.
91 NAS GD158/1213.
92 Claydon, “British History in the Post-Revolutionary World,” 133.
94 Cited by Hayton in his article on Murray in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (consulted online).
95 The Latin was the original.
96 Guerrini, Obesity and depression, 167.
98 The tensions between unionism and nationalism are well analysed in Colin Kidd, Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000 (Cambridge, 2008), although with more emphasis on the practical, as opposed to the theoretical, motivations for actions.
99 Harris has drawn useful attention to the hard work of Scottish M.P.s and peers, and to resolute lobbying efforts by the Convention of Royal Burghs and others, but has to admit that the results were mixed: Bob Harris, “The Scots, the Westminster parliament, and the British state in the eighteenth century,” in Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850, ed. Julian Hoppit (Manchester, 2003), 136.