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SURVEYING AND ANALYSING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PROPERTIES IN CARE AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, C.1600-1997

A Report for
Historic Environment Scotland

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores the extent and character of relationships between the properties in the care of the Scottish Ministers (thereafter PiCs) and the British Empire.

The project team of Dr Stephen Mullen, Professor Stephen Driscoll and Dr Andrew Mackillop from the University of Glasgow developed the research in collaboration with a steering group of Historic Environment Scotland (HES) staff. They were also supported by an advisory board consisting of external experts.¹

The research was primarily desk-based, although a limited amount of fieldwork was undertaken for the extended case studies. The evidence consisted of published works and publicly available documents, many of which are curated by Historic Environment Scotland, more particularly its Statements of Significance and Canmore.² It was beyond the scope of this study to investigate large collections of primary historical sources, but further research would certainly be valuable for many of the PiCs. Given that no body of primary records was consulted in a systematic way, it would be expected that the number of PiCs with connections to the British Empire could increase as further detailed examination takes place. The findings outlined in this report are best understood as robust but conservative.


¹ Dr Iain Banks (Conflict Archaeology, University of Glasgow); Dr Gareth Beal (Archaeology, University of Glasgow); Miles Greenwood (then Curator of Legacies of Slavery & Empire, Glasgow Life); Dr Shantel George (Beniba Centre for Slavery Studies, University of Glasgow); Professor Tony Pollard (Conflict Archaeology, University of Glasgow); Zandra Yeaman (Curator of Discomfort, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow)

² <https://canmore.org.uk/site/search>, accessed 18 September 2023.




The project team, in consultation with the advisory board and the HES steering group, developed a typology of empire connections to better survey and synthesise how the Empire intersected with PiCs. These are as follows:


Property:

 describes land or buildings owned by either an established propertied family which participated in the Empire, or a recently enriched family which, through involvement in colonial activities, acquired the means to secure property.


Cultural:

 describes a connection that denotes the ways in which an empire influence, often in the form of wealth and associated prestige, enabled owners or those acting on their behalf, either through action or inaction, to shape the condition, fabric or representation of a PiC.


Memorialisation:

 describes a site that has statues, plaques, grave monuments, windows or other emblems of remembrance linked to individuals or institutions with links to the Empire.


Production:

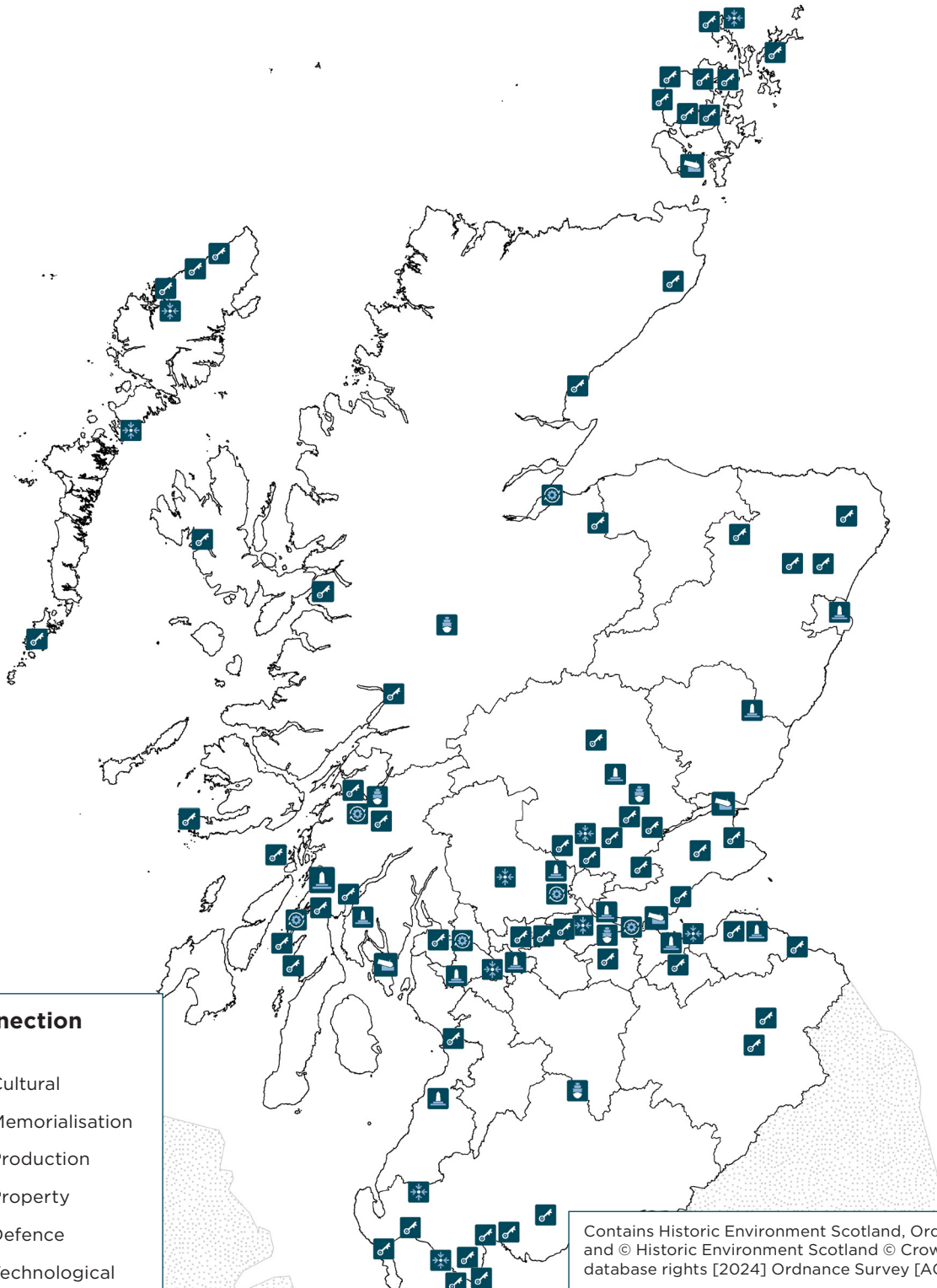
 describes a site where commercial, manufactured or human resources, derived from either empire imports or empire exports, are created, concentrated, organised and distributed. In the case of the major castles, production took the form of regimental manpower.

Defence:

 describes a site whose function differed from those primarily defined by their involvement in the creation and mobilisation of people and materiel. Defensive sites could be purpose-built structures or repurposed buildings built in an earlier historical era. They were intended to act as local points of resistance to the threat of military invasion or naval raiding by Britain's imperial-era enemies. They were usually used for munition and arms storage – as opposed to functioning as centres of arms and ammunition production and distribution.

Technological:

 describes a site associated with engineering, technical, manufacturing or built structures which serviced colonial commerce, economic production, transportation and communication. It also refers to the transfer and circulation of ideas and personnel associated with serving the Empire's technological requirements.



Connection

- Cultural
- Memorialisation
- Production
- Property
- Defence
- Technological

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FINDINGS

- 126 (37.5 per cent) of the 336 PiCs have one or more identifiable ‘empire connections’, ranging from those PiCs which had a decisive role in empire to those which were owned by an individual/family with involvement in the British Empire at some point between c.1600 and 1997.
- By far the largest category of connection is ‘property’, with 69 per cent of the identifiable empire connections summarised in Table 1 (see page 32) having a link to the British Empire via their ownership. The next highest category is ‘memorialisation’, with 10 per cent.
- The part of the Empire most consistently linked with PiCs is the Caribbean: over 50 PiCs align with this region, while Asian connections can be seen in over 40 PiCs. Most of these links occurred through the English and later British Empire, but a few of the PiCs highlight uniquely Scottish activities in settler-colonisation schemes (including Darien and Nova Scotia): some PiCs have connections through owners, or later memorialisation, connected to these aspects of pre-1707 Scotland’s attempts at colonialism. A number of PiCs memorialise individuals connected to the trafficking of African enslaved people. All of these connections are outlined in the appendices.
- This research demonstrates the decisive role that empire-derived wealth, and the material and cultural influence that it enabled, played in the preservation of a number of high-profile PiCs. It also reveals the important contribution of Scots and Scottish families involved in the Empire to the development of antiquarian knowledge during the 19th century and the shaping of Scottish archaeology. These empire-connected individuals and associated intellectual networks exerted a degree of influence, greater than previously recognised, within the distinctive Scottish propertied, legal, regulatory and cultural environments that facilitated the archaeological investigation and representation of the country’s history and heritage.
- The report uses a number of case studies to explore the extent, depth and character of these empire-derived influences on the historic environment that has come down to us. Glasgow Cathedral [PiC121]³ is not unusual in having burial monuments to people involved in colonial and imperial activities, but the concentration of different forms of military, personal and familial monuments is exceptional. Edinburgh Castle [PiC222] provides a national focus for military memorials, which include many prominent monuments to Scotland’s officer class and regiments. Stanley Mills [PiC043] provides a clear example of the entanglement of industry, technology and empire. Other case studies focus on influential landowners – the Malcolms of Poltalloch, the Maxwells of Monreith, the Mathesons of Lewis and the Balfours of Trenabie. All are particularly helpful in illustrating how connections generated through contact with the British Empire supported the rise of antiquarianism and monument conservation and presentation.



126 (37.5 per cent) of the 336 PiCs have one or more identifiable ‘empire connections’

³ All names of the Properties in Care are based on how they appear in the ‘Scheme of Delegation by Scottish Ministers to Historic Environment Scotland – Properties in Care’.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

Historic Environment Scotland's commissioning on 1 December 2021 of a review of possible connections between the British Empire and the 336 properties in its care is part of a wider process of reappraisal and reflection evident across the United Kingdom.⁴ A range of universities (initially the University of Glasgow's 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow (2018)'), local authorities (such as Glasgow City Council (2022)), and other civic bodies such as the National Trust (England, Northern Ireland and Wales) and the National Trust for Scotland, have already undertaken similar audits.⁵

While all these investigations share common motivations, methodologies and objectives, the scope of this report reflects the distinctive character and scale of PiCs under HES's ownership, care or guardianship. These constitute 'a national portfolio of prehistoric and historic monuments ... representing around 5,000 years of Scotland's past'.⁶ Many of the buildings, sites and landscapes within the PiC boundaries are recognised, either in part or wholly, in law at a national level for their cultural significance through designation as listed buildings, scheduled monuments and/or through inclusion on the Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes.⁷ They are located in every region of Scotland, and some of the PiCs are iconic and instantly recognisable manifestations of the country's long and fascinating past.⁸ A select number are seen as places of international, even global significance.

1.2 Language

This study's use of terminology around chattel slavery is informed by Professor Gabrielle Foreman's community-sourced best practice guidelines.⁹ Firstly, this study adopts the preferred term 'enslaved' rather than 'slave' for the reasons noted: 'using enslaved (as an adjective) rather than "slave" (as a noun) disaggregates the condition of being enslaved with the status of "being" a slave. People weren't slaves; they were enslaved.' Secondly, rather than use the term 'slave-owner', this study adopts the preferred term 'enslaver' (to denote that their actions led to the enslaved status of others) rather than the euphemistic 'master' or 'slave holder'. There is a growing opposition to the term 'slave trade', which conveys the impression of legitimate commerce rather than forced international human trafficking that was resisted by many African people at the time. One preferred term is 'African trafficking', although this descriptor is less widely known compared with the conventions around 'enslaved' and 'enslaver'.

4 For two of the most prominent reports from the heritage sector, see <https://www.gov.wales/slave-trade-and-british-empire-audit-commemoration-wales>, accessed 12 January 2023; <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/who-we-are/research/addressing-our-histories-of-colonialism-and-historic-slavery>, accessed 12 January 2023.

5 For Glasgow and Edinburgh City Council reports on the extent and legacies of colonialism and slavery within their respective cities, see <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=29117>, accessed 9 March 2023; <https://democracy.edinburgh.gov.uk/documents/s48188/Item%207.11%20-%20Edinburgh%20Slavery%20and%20Colonialism%20Legacy%20Review%20Report%20and%20Recommendations.pdf>, accessed 7 November 2022. For the first UK report on how empire (in this case slavery-derived wealth) impacted the university sector, see <https://www.gla.ac.uk/explore/historicallslaveryinitiative/>, accessed 17 November 2022. See also the National Trust reports: for Scotland, 'Facing Our Past' report, available at: <https://www.nts.org.uk/what-we-do/advocacy/research>, accessed 29 May 2023.

6 <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/what-we-do/managing-the-estate/>, accessed 8 March 2023.

7 <https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/>, accessed 10 May 2023.

8 The report uses HES's own regional and district demarcations - see <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/explore-by-region/>, accessed 10 May 2023.

9 P. Gabrielle Foreman et al., 'Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help' community-sourced document, available at: <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1A4TEdDgYsIX-hlKezLodMIM71My3KTNOzxRvOIQTOQs/mobilebasic>, accessed 29 May 2023.

1.3 Objectives

This report evaluates the extent and character of intersections between the British Empire and PiCs. To understand this dynamic, HES originally developed the research themes of 'Ownership' and 'Memorialisation'. The value of this framing is that it decouples the PiCs from a strictly chronological and linear understanding of their histories. This emphasis points towards the long and complex 'afterlife' of such sites rather than the facts of their creation and early development. Many PiCs were created centuries, if not millennia, before the advent of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. However, shifting attention to patterns of later ownership and memorialisation bypasses these chronological disconnections. What is revealed are the ways in which colonial influences could generate a new layer or accretion of history onto sites or buildings that might not seem to have any obvious connection to the British Empire.

Once Scottish society increasingly engaged with British colonialism after c.1600, the nature of property owning, and what occurred on such properties, began to be influenced by growing connections to the Empire. These empire-derived influences included the wealth to purchase or secure the properties on which the sites were located, the social motivation to demonstrate conspicuous gentility, and understandings of the past, present and future that drew upon contemporary colonial mentalities.

A better appreciation of these propertied connections and the various cultural practices they enabled reveals the Empire as an active ingredient in the extended history of some PiCs. Ancient, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman and medieval sites experienced new histories and moments of ownership, investigation, consolidation and presentation that were influenced by links to the Empire. In this way, the more recent historic phenomenon of the British Empire came to shape how many of these significantly older PiCs were surveyed, preserved, altered, presented, interpreted and memorialised. Outlining this dynamic is the key aim of the report.

Given the scale, diversity and complex histories of PiCs, it is important to emphasise the exploratory and interim nature of this report. Without a comprehensive review of all collections relating to each site, a number of additional empire connections may yet be uncovered. What follows should be understood as a starting point rather than a definitive statement of the British Empire's links to some of Scotland's most significant archaeological and historical places. Its aim is to point to new ways of tracing, surveying, characterising and evaluating the impact of the Empire on Scotland's cultural heritage.



KEY FINDINGS



126 Properties in Care with 'empire connections' (37.5 per cent of overall total).



69.6 per cent of these PiCs can be classed as having a 'property' connection via the ownership of land or buildings either by an established propertied family which participated in the Empire, or a recently enriched family which, through involvement in colonial activities, acquired the material means to secure property.



The most significant parts of the Empire generating these connections were the English/British Caribbean and Asia.



In terms of memorialisation at the PiCs, the military forms the single most obvious and conspicuous link to the Empire.



There was a significant element of empire-influenced preservation(s) of PiCs. There was a symbiotic relationship between the post-1707 British state and Scottish individuals and families with links to the British Empire, which increasingly coalesced from the 1880s, to preserve some of Scotland's most iconic heritage sites.



Scots with links to the British Empire were a major influence on relevant forms of antiquarian knowledge production in the mid-to-late 19th century, at a crucial phase in the development of Scottish archaeology and antiquarianism, and in relation to key, even iconic sites.



Empire wealth, empire-connected families and associated intellectual networks influenced, to a greater degree than previously recognised, the distinctive Scottish propertied, legal, regulatory and cultural environments that facilitated the archaeological investigation and representation of the country's history and heritage.



2. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

2.1 Definitions

‘Caribbean’/‘West Indies’: The report avoids use of the term ‘West Indies’ when describing colonies such as Barbados, Grenada, Jamaica, Tobago or Trinidad. It uses instead the less ideologically loaded term ‘Caribbean’. However, the report retains the contemporary terms ‘West India’ and ‘West Indies’ used to describe traffickers, enslavers and merchants with major interests and profits reliant on those parts of the Empire.

‘colonialism’: This term is used for those aspects of the British Empire which involved political, military, economic, social and cultural regulation of territories, resources and peoples. Colonialism took different forms. It involved the creation of conquest colonies, as in India. In other areas, such as North America and Australia, it entailed ‘settler colonialism’, which displaced and brutalised indigenous peoples. It also involved the creation of societies and economies dependent on the enslavement of Africans and their descendants. A feature common in all such territories was the use governmental, legal and racial forms of hierarchy to ensure subordination, exploitation and, crucially, reduced forms of resistance from subject peoples.¹⁰

‘the British Empire’/‘the Empire’: These terms are used interchangeably to refer to the extension of formal or de facto sovereign power over territories and colonies by the kingdom of England after c.1600, Great Britain (created 1707), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (created 1801) and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (created 1922).¹¹

These forms of control were expressed in terms of ‘plantation’, ‘colony’, ‘protectorate’, ‘dominion’, ‘mandate’ or ‘overseas territory’. The common thread that links the many different forms the British Empire took from c.1600 to 1997 is the attempt to ensure the political, economic and human resources of a society were controlled, exploited or influenced to benefit English or British geo-political, economic and financial interests. Historians distinguish between processes of ‘expansion’ and ‘empire’. The former might lead to the later emergence of ‘empire’ but could equally result in the development of a non-colonial set of connections. Despite the marked constitutional, economic, social and cultural differences between the component parts of the Empire by c.1900, historians recognise an internal coherence to what has been labelled ‘the British world system’. This ‘world system’ is referred to here as ‘the Empire’.¹²

‘empire’: This refers to the phenomena of ‘imperialism’ and ‘colonialism’ and the construction of extensive forms of overseas sovereignty, often over a geographically diverse set of territories.

‘empire connections’: See Sections 4.1 to 4.3.

¹⁰ For discussion of the meanings of ‘colonial’ see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 26–32.

¹¹ For discussion of the term ‘empire’ and its changing meanings in a British context see Richard Koebner, *Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); H. V. Bowen, ‘British Conceptions of Global Empire, 1756–83’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 26:3 (1998), pp. 1–27; Andrew S. Thompson, ‘The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895–1914’, *Journal of British Studies*, 36:2 (1997), pp. 147–77.

¹² For definitions of ‘expansion’ and ‘imperialism/empire’ and the relationship between these processes, see P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India and America c. 1750–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 4–16, 25–33, 57–8; *John Darwin, The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 2–20.

‘empire-derived wealth’: This refers to the forms of material, social and cultural accumulation made possible by direct or indirect involvement in British imperialism and colonialism. Profits could be made directly from enslavement-based production, trading in goods generated by enslaved labour, or by involvement in other forms of production and commerce dependent on conquest and settler colonies. Imperial wealth was derived from service in one of the key state, corporate, financial or economic institutions that created, defended and expanded the British Empire.

The term also relates to the transferable nature and intergenerational impact of material wealth and associated political, propertied, social and cultural influences secured through involvement in the British Empire. The phenomenon of wealth creation, transfer and transformation is one of the most significant, and still to be fully recovered, aspects of the Empire’s domestic legacy. In the case of the 2nd marquess of Zetland, or the 7th and 8th dukes of Argyll (See PiCs067, 076, 077, 091, 176, 267) already wealthy families acquired additional resources or socio-cultural standing through involvement in the Empire. This enabled the consolidation or expansion of property interests, financial reserves and more intangible social assets such as political and cultural influence. While not necessarily a central part of overall family resources, this wealth enabled greater levels of genteel activities like estate improvements, or cultural interests like antiquarianism, archaeological exploration and the preservation and presentation of ‘ancient’ or ‘medieval’ sites on properties.

A key feature of ‘empire-derived’ wealth was its transmission across generations. While later members of a family might not necessarily be involved directly with the Empire, their social and cultural capital was secured and perpetuated to varying degrees by previous injections of profits. This dynamic worked on a spectrum, with some families benefiting from one ‘moment’ of such wealth acquisition, through marriage for example. In other instances, such as the Malcolms of Poltalloch, the basis of the family’s wealth, property and social capital across several generations was derived almost completely from the Empire and colonial activity.¹³

‘imperial’/‘imperialism’: These terms are used interchangeably to refer to the forms of government, institutions, policies and practices, such as colonial administration, the army, navy, the chartered companies and supporting economic, financial, educational and civic infrastructures, that enabled and consolidated the British Empire.¹⁴



The phenomenon of wealth creation, transfer and transformation is one of the most significant, and still to be fully recovered, aspects of the Empire’s domestic legacy.

¹³ For discussion of ‘empire-derived wealth’, including its intergenerational aspects, see Iain MacKinnon and Andrew Mackillop, ‘Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands: Legacies and Lessons’, available at: <https://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/resources/plantation-slavery-and-landownership-the-west-highlands-and-islands-legacies-and-lessons/>, accessed 27 March 2023.

¹⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary* definition for ‘imperialism’ is here adjusted for, and applied to, the historic British Empire.

2.2 Chronologies

The world-wide Empire developed by England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and then the United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland played a significant contributory role in the emergence of the modern globalised world.¹⁵ In 1914 the British Empire encompassed more than 11 million square miles and contained over 400 million people. Even as it began to break apart in the face of demands for democratic self-government, the impact of two world wars and economic eclipse, Britain's imperial 'world system' continued to shape the lives of a substantial percentage of the planet's population. Immediately prior to an intense phase of decolonisation between 1947 and the early 1970s, the Empire's population stood at approximately 700 million.¹⁶

Providing a single start and end date for such a complex and protracted phenomenon is an exercise fraught with challenges. In accordance with the current standard in academic literature, this report dates the British Empire from the formation of the English East India Company in 1600 to Britain's withdrawal from Hong Kong in 1997.¹⁷ A case could be made for an earlier beginning, either through maritime expansion or Tudor plantation in Ireland. A similarly persuasive case can be made that tangible territorial, political and cultural remnants of the Empire continue to the present day. These range from the role of British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies in international financial deregulation or diplomatic issues around areas like the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar and the partition of Ireland.¹⁸

There are major implications for assessments of PiCs arising from this chronology. Trends in ownership or acts of memorialisation relating to many PiCs between c.1600 and 1997 occurred against the backdrop of an increasingly complex global and integrated Empire. Its presence became embedded in British and Scottish society in multiple ways. Some of these are obvious and well known, while others have become obscured and difficult to reconstruct. More immediately, this timeframe underlines just how recently the Empire remained an active factor in British and Scottish society.¹⁹ It continues to influence patterns of property ownership as well as cultural attitudes and practices around memorialisation in the 21st century.²⁰ The timescale used in this report takes the Empire surprisingly close to us in time and in ways that expand the potential for multiple and sequential links to a PiC.

2.3 Geographies

The British Empire was vast and eventually encompassed a global set of geographies. Oceanic trade formed a key means of expansion that complicates the task of defining clear geographic boundaries. Economic connections, especially from c.1820s to the 1970s, facilitated substantial British diplomatic influence and even political-military intervention in areas as diverse as South America, present-day Iran, Turkey and south-east China. These interactions did not always involve the direct or sustained exercise of British sovereignty.²¹ For the purposes of identifying possible links to HES PiCs, this 'informal empire' is not considered as part of the British Empire, although its influence and impact was significant, especially from c.1820 to c.1970.

15 Tony Ballantyne, 'Empire, Knowledge and Culture: From Proto-Globalization to Modern Globalization', in A. G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalisation in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002), p. 88; C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 94-5.

16 John Darwin, 'Britain Empires', in Sarah Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), pp. 1-20.

17 David Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia, 1600-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 31-2; Mark Chi-Kwan, 'Lack of Means or Loss of Will? The United Kingdom and the Decolonization of Hong Kong, 1957-1967', *International History Review*, 31:1 (2009), pp. 45-6.

18 John C. Appleby, 'War, Politics, and Colonization, 1558-1625', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 55-78; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 121-64; Charles Cawley, *Colonies in Conflict: The History of the British Overseas Territories* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), p. 2.

19 For debates on the extent to which the Empire did or did not form a defining factor in British society, see B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 5-12; John M. MacKenzie, 'Comfort and Conviction: A Response to Bernard Porter', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:4 (2008), pp. 665-6.

20 John M. MacKenzie, *A Cultural History of the British Empire* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2022), pp. 177-205.

21 P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1660-2015*, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 265-99, 369-414.

It is important to acknowledge that describing a territory as part of the Empire raises important questions about where such boundaries can be drawn. The case of Ireland exemplifies the contested nature of defining the Empire and deciding which territory is or is not in an 'imperial' and 'colonial' situation. Following the most up-to-date academic thinking, the plantation of Ulster (from 1606 onwards) is included as an early and seminal part of Scotland's involvement in English and later British imperial expansion and colonialism. It is important to acknowledge the extent and sophistication of debates over whether Ireland should be considered a colony, as a dependent kingdom in a multiple monarchy, or as an 'sub-imperial centre' within the metropolitan British-Irish state. A sceptical reading of Ireland's 'colonial' status stresses the European nature of its society, the degree of integration into the metropolitan state, society and economy, and the stark differences in politics, law and racial attitudes that distinguished the country from societies in the Caribbean, Africa or Asia.²² Although interpretations remain contested, the extent to which the plantation of Ulster is now characterised in colonial terms by academic historians justifies the inclusion of Ireland as a part of the British Empire and as seminal to the early history of Scotland's involvement in that empire.²³ It is a historic fact that Scots played a disproportionate role in the displacement of native Irish people and communities. Indeed, the extent of cooperation between Scots, English and Welsh colonists was such that historians now argue that the origins of a truly British, as opposed to English, empire owes much to the Ulster experiment in settler colonialism.²⁴

The timescale and geographies used here to define the British Empire create several sensitivities, both in terms of certain memorials (such as those at Glasgow Cathedral dedicated to members of Scottish regiments serving in Northern Ireland in Ulster) and individual PiCs. In addition, this chronological proximity generates ethical issues and responsibilities in relation to living individuals and important civic organisations such as churches and regimental associations/museums. With such a diversity of British 'imperial connections' across four centuries and multiple geographies, there are many different dimensions, dynamics, perspectives and issues shaping assessments of the PiCs.

To this issue of external complexity needs to be added the internal one of Scotland's own long and involved system of property holding. Some of the most high-profile Neolithic PiCs are in the Northern Isles, where tracking historic ownership links to PiCs presented a particular challenge. The nature of landowning in Orkney and Shetland, for example, with many 'bonnet lairds' and feuing practices, made identification of owners and property boundaries challenging.²⁵ Even so, a significant number of PiCs in Orkney with connections to Empire were identified (15 of 126; 11.9 per cent of sample). The Orkney PiCs were identified mainly from secondary literature, including the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.²⁶

22 Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 4–5, 231–4. For Ireland as a 'sub-imperial centre', see Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 253–62.

23 For an effective survey of the debate over Ireland's status, see Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570–1641* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 28–9.

24 Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish'*, Figure 1.1, p. 5; N. Canny, 'Introduction', in N. Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, I: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 2–7.

25 Loretta R. Timperley, *A Directory of Landownership in Scotland c. 1770* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1976).

26 For example, Douglas Barker, *Shapinsay: The Transformation of an Island Society, 1830–1875* (2004); Gilbert Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827–1888* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995); James D. Irvine, *The Breckness Estate* (Orkney: Orcadian Press, 2009). Between 1856 and 1891, antiquarian George Petrie authored multiple articles on Orkney discoveries in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

2.4 Scotland and the British Empire

Research into Scottish society's participation in the English and British Empire has confirmed a pattern of heavy, sometimes disproportionate, involvement that lasted over three and a half centuries.²⁷ A previous historiographic tendency to focus on the role of Scots 'overseas' – be it in Ulster, the North American colonies, the enslavement-based societies of the Caribbean, the later settler dominions, or in colonial Africa and Asia – has evolved into an analysis which assesses the impact and legacies of empire connections on Scotland itself.²⁸

Several characteristics of the Scottish role in the Empire form a vital context for understanding how PiCs became linked to, or influenced by, British imperialism and colonialism. First, Scottish society was involved in the English Empire for c.100 years prior to the Union of 1707. To the case of Ulster highlighted above, can be added Scottish migration to settlement colonies in what is now east New Jersey, New York and the Carolinas throughout the 1680s to early 1700s.²⁹ Meanwhile, commercial exploitation of England's territories in the Caribbean by Clyde-based merchants, financiers and shippers was underway decades before the creation of Great Britain. The high-profile failure in 1700 to create an independent Scottish colony in Darien can detract from the fact that the country was already substantially involved with English colonialism before 1707.

The 18th and 19th centuries built on these pre-Union developments. Involvement in the tobacco, sugar and cotton economies linked Glasgow's commercial, manufacturing and financial elites, as well as large sections of the city's working population, to transatlantic systems of racialised enslavement from c.1680 to the late 1830s. Even after emancipation in 1838, Scottish businesses, shipping and financial interests profited from

indentured labour in the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. Scotland's economy and its balance of imports and exports also showed a distinctive reliance on the Empire's markets throughout the rest of the 19th century and into the first five decades of the 20th century.³⁰

To the pattern of centuries-long involvement should be added two other characteristics which explain why many PiCs exhibit connections to the Empire. Scottish engagement was socially and geographically extensive. The fact that the country's aristocracy and landed gentry families were heavily represented in some of the key institutions of British imperialism – the Royal Navy, the British Army, the English East India Company and the City of London's financial sector – is key to understanding why so many landed estates and much of the country's historic built infrastructure came to be connected with the Empire.³¹ To the country's propertied elite should be added the engagement of Scotland's religious and educational institutions with British imperialism and colonialism (see Section 3.4).

Traditions of imperial service among the propertied elite were mirrored by the development of employment and migratory links which ensured the Empire's domestic impact extended down the social order and across the country's different regions. Textile workers in the Lowlands, including at Stanley Mills [PiC043], processed colonial products. Meanwhile, Orcadian men joined the Hudson's Bay Company in disproportionate numbers from c.1700 to c.1830, a pattern of imperial employment which broadly mirrored the move of Scotland's urban and rural populations into the Highland and Lowland regiments of the British Army between c.1750 and c.1960 (see Section 3.5).³² These different points of contact, employment and participation ensured that the Empire formed an important, and sometimes locally decisive, influence across Scotland throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and for much of the first half of the 20th century.

27 For general surveys see Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh and East Linton: Birlinn and Tuckwell Press, 2001); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003)

28 For detailed chapters on Scotland and the British Empire, see John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

29 Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

30 Stephen Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775-1838* (London: University of London Press, 2022), pp. 30-4; Esther Breintenbach, 'The Impact of the Victorian Empire', in T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 533-50.

31 Douglas Hamilton, 'Scotland and the Eighteenth-Century Empire', in Devine and Wormald, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, pp. 423-38; Sarah Caputo, 'Scotland, Scottishness, British Integration and the Royal Navy, 1793-1815', *Scottish Historical Review*, 97:1 (2018), pp. 85-118; John Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 121-129; Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690-c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp. 83-191.

32 Andrew Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000); Suzanne Rigg, *Men of Spirit and Enterprise: Scots and Orkneymen in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1780-1821* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011).



3. RESEARCH PROCESS

3.1 Methodology: Scoping Questions of Ownership

From the outset, this was intended as a desk-based research project, sampling open-access material related to the PiCs in state guardianship or ownership as currently managed by HES. The researchers were provided with a list of 336 PiCs, identifying their legal owner and designation status and relevant identifier (e.g. Aberdour Castle in Aberdour, Fife, is PiC001). The researchers developed both Excel and Access entries for each PiC, which provided a record of 'empire connections' and facilitated analysis. These were cross-referenced with entries in the Canmore website, which is HES's 'online catalogue to Scotland's archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage'.³³ Canmore provides data on, for example, location and history of sites, previous archaeological work and quite often any relevant academic literature and popular works. This online database evolved from the work of the RCAHMS (the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1908 to 2015), which was 'responsible for recording, interpreting and collecting information about the built and historic environment'.³⁴

The crucial first step was the identification of (a) when each PiC was 'established' and (b) the ownership of each PiC across its lifecycle – which often involved verification of the last person involved when each property was taken into state guardianship or ownership.

Firstly, HES's 'Statements of Significance' were surveyed for each property. Sometimes these yielded evidence of ownership connections to the Empire that encompass a cluster of PiCs. For example, the Statement of Significance for Barsalloch Fort [PiC180] in Mochrum, Wigtonshire, revealed that Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith (1845–1937), President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Chairman of the National Library of Scotland, collaborated on antiquarian matters with General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827–1900). Since Pitt-Rivers had established imperial connections, this established a *prima facie* case to facilitate further research on Barsalloch.³⁵ The Statement of Significance also noted that Maxwell owned land which contained other PiCs (e.g. in addition to Barsalloch, Drumtroddan Standing Stones [PiC193], Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marked Rocks [PiC192] and Druchttag Motte [PiC190]) which warranted further investigation on these PiCs.³⁶ When researching Pitt-Rivers'

³³ Canmore: National Record of the Scottish Environment, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/>, accessed 25 March 2023.

³⁴ RCAHMS Archives, Scotland's Places, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/rcahms-archives>, accessed 29 May 2023.

³⁵ Mark Bowden, 'Rivers, Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt- (1827–1900), Anthropologist and Archaeologist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 23 March 2023.

³⁶ 'Barsalloch Fort Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f532461b-ca5d-4caa-b0bf-a78c00e4d5ec>, accessed 23 March 2023.

occupation status and Maxwell family histories using the methodology described below, it became clear that Maxwell of Monreith also had familial connections to Caribbean slavery.³⁷

Second, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* was a critical resource, and in many cases provided valuable details on origins, ownership and the antiquarian processes that led to the creation of nationally recognised monuments, many of which were to become PiCs. For example, C. Calder's 'Report on the Excavation of a Neolithic Temple at Stanydale in the Parish of Sandsting, Shetland' was published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1952, which related to Stanydale Temple [PiC267]. Calder acknowledged 'permission to dig was kindly given by Mr James M. S. Tait, factor to the Marquis of Zetland, and to him and to the Society, which generously financed the operations'.³⁸ In 1950, Lawrence John Lumley Dundas was the 2nd marquess of Zetland (1876–1961) directly descended from Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Baronet, a Caribbean enslaver.³⁹

Third, some individuals were well known to the authors based on previous research or classic historiographical works. Sir James Nicolas Sutherland Matheson, 1st Baronet (1796–1878) was a co-founder of the firm, Jardine, Matheson and Company, which became one of the leading players in the opium trade from India to Hong Kong and China more generally. In 1844 he purchased the entire Isle of Lewis which, as will be shown, contained several sites that would eventually become PiCs.⁴⁰ Another key example, the Malcolms of Poltalloch, are among the best documented and researched of all Scottish enslavers in the colonial era. The Malcolm family owned large swathes of land around Kilmartin Glen in Argyllshire.⁴¹ Existing literature thus facilitated a *prima facie* case for these (and other) examples which necessitated

further research in primary sources, particularly to verify the nature and extent of imperial or colonial interests, patterns of landownership, and the effects of empire-derived wealth upon the land and, by extension, ancient monuments (these steps are discussed below).

Fourth, the open-access resource Scotland's Places often provided details on owners and Scottish locations at specific dates, compiled from a diverse body of evidence such as 'Maps, Surveys and Plans, Photographs, Archaeological Records, Drawings, Tax Rolls, Ordnance Survey Name Books, Publications'.⁴² Sometimes the identification of certain owners facilitated cross-referencing with other open sources. For example, a 'Plan of the Estate of Seabegs, Stirlingshire' on Scotland's Places reveals that in 1847 Seabegs mansion on the Kerse estates (which likely held sections of the Antonine Wall) was owned by Thomas Dundas, 2nd earl of Zetland.⁴³ The Legacies of British Slavery website reveals this branch of the Dundas family were descended from a Caribbean enslaver, the previously mentioned Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.⁴⁴

Fifth, PiCs were cross-referenced with the National Library of Scotland's Maps (especially Ordnance Survey 1843–82). These sometimes provided greater detail on the estates owned by specific individuals in relation to PiCs. For example, John Gillone's 'Maxwells of Monreith Estate Maps and Plans, 1777–1778' illustrated the boundaries of the Maxwell of Monreith estate and confirmed ownership of Barsalloch at the end of the 18th century.⁴⁵

Sixth, PiCs were cross-referenced with the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (the 'Old Statistical Account') was published in the 1790s, and *The New Statistical Account* was published in 1845. Rosalind Mitchison described these as 'the most frequently quoted of

37 Terry Jenkins, 'Shaw Stewart, Sir Michael, 6th bt. (1788–1836), of Ardgowan; Blackhall, Renfrew and 14 Carlton Terrace, Mdx'. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/shaw-stewart-sir-michael-1788-1836>, accessed 19 September 2022; H. W. Meikle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Maxwell, Sir Herbert Eustace, Seventh Baronet (1845–1937), Politician and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 19 September 2022.

38 C. Calder, 'Report on the Excavation of a Neolithic Temple at Stanydale in the Parish of Sandsting, Shetland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 84 (1952), pp. 185–205 at p. 185.

39 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113>, accessed 1 February 2023.

40 Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

41 Allan MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom from Clanship to Commercial Landlordism, c.1600–c.1850', in S. M. Foster, A. I. MacInnes and R. K. MacInnes (eds), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1998), pp. 162–90 at p. 174; 'Commercial Landlordism and Clearance in the Scottish Highlands: The Case of Arichonan', in J. Pan-Montojo and F. Pedersen (eds), *Communities in European History: Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts* (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2007), p. 52.

42 Scotland's Places, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/about>, accessed 23 March 2023.

43 'Plan of the Estate of Seabegs, Stirlingshire', Scotland's Places, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/record/nrs/RHP6129/plan-estate-seabegs-stirlingshire/nrs>, accessed 1 February 2023.

44 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113>, accessed 1 February 2023.

45 'Maxwells of Monreith Estate Maps and Plans, 1777–1778', National Library of Scotland Maps, available at: <https://maps.nls.uk/view/97149603>, accessed 23 March 2023.

all Scottish historical sources'; they provide valuable snapshots of life at the end of the 18th and in the mid 19th centuries. Church ministers were tasked with collating information on local economies and societies, such as industry and agriculture.⁴⁶ In the context of this study, the attention to detail provided about local antiquities often proved crucial, for this allowed assessment of some PiCs. For example, while the owners of Ravenscraig Castle [PiC032] were involved with Caribbean slavery, according to the *Old Statistical Account* (1794), the 'castle of Ravenscraig ... has, for many years, been uninhabited, and in a ruinous state'.⁴⁷ It remained so a half-century later, as reported in the *New Statistical Account* (1845): 'although in a ruinous state now'.⁴⁸ This methodology not only confirmed ownership but facilitated comparisons about the significance of empire-derived wealth (or lack thereof) across an era when many such fortunes were made.

Seventh, known owners were cross-referenced with the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which often identified imperial and/or colonial interests. For example, Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs (1831-1905) was the owner of Trumland estate in Orkney and had - alongside his wife - an important role in the excavation of Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn [PiC322]. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* reveals that Traill-Burroughs was an army officer in India where he commanded forces during the Indian Rising of 1857-9. He returned to estates in Orkney (12,000 acres) and was a landlord involved in the eviction of tenantry.⁴⁹

The above examples underline the process undertaken for the initial survey of all 336 Properties in Care which identified origins, ownership and often details of antiquarian preservation and knowledge production.

3.2 Methodological Limitations: An 'Imperial Moment'

A recognised methodological limitation of the survey is that the findings from the initial scoping stage are based upon what can be described as an 'imperial moment'. This phrase is intended to introduce a cautionary note by highlighting the fact that the evidence consulted inevitably shapes the character and limitations of the recovered 'empire connection'. Within the scope and timescale of this project, it would be impossible to identify every owner for 336 PiCs, across four centuries of ownership in each case. One reason for this is that the historiography explicitly focusing on the ownership of PiCs is limited - although there are some important exceptions such as J. S. Fleming's article on Newark Castle [PiC122] in Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire.⁵⁰ While the historiography for each site is not always well - or evenly - developed, sometimes literature exists that focuses on the owners who had the strongest or most influential impact across the lifecycle of the property. However, if they did - or did not - have an imperial and colonial connection, the availability of such evidence governed the study's conclusions. In other words, conclusions around the initial scoping were made on readily available but limited historiography. It is highly probable that some PiCs have owners with 'empire connections' that have yet to be discovered.

On the other hand, the buildings/monuments/lands that would later become PiCs might have a lifecycle spanning many centuries yet possess only a fleeting connection with the British Empire; perhaps through an estate owner who owned the site but did not take steps to preserve, investigate or celebrate it as a monument of historical significance. In other cases, the ownership connection was direct and transformative, bringing about preservation and turning curious historical landmarks into sites of special archaeological interest through the process of transferring them into state care or recognition through scheduling. Yet another possible scenario involved the preservation of sites due to unintended consequences; for example, a landmark site on an estate owned by a West India merchant who became rich from the profits of Caribbean slavery

46 R. L. Plackett, 'The Old Statistical Account', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series A (General)*, 149:3 (1986), pp. 247-51.

47 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Dysart, Fife, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794), p. 523.

48 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, Dysart, Fife, Vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 133.

49 H. M. Vibart and James Lunt, 'Burroughs, Sir Frederick William Traill- (1831-1905), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

50 J. S. Fleming, 'Newark Castle and its Owners', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 5:2 (1906), pp. 68-77 at p. 76.

might undergo investigation and preservation as part of a wider interest in genteel pursuits. At the other end of the scale, imperial wealth could finance estate works which sometimes contributed to the destruction of Scotland's ancient heritage as sites were cleared away in the name of 'improvement'. At other times, such connections were slight almost to the point of irrelevance. However, identifying an 'imperial moment' was crucial to this study, since it allowed classification of 'empire connections', however small, and often pointed the way towards the need for further research.

In contrast to fleeting and one-off moments of intersection, other localities could experience a prolonged sequence of such links which had a decisive impact on their historical development. On the Isle of Lewis, Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280] and Dun Carloway [PiC288] provide an example of a propertied estate exposed to contact with the Empire through successive, unrelated landowners with major reserves of colonial wealth and associated socio-cultural status. Lewis was controlled by the MacKenzies of Seaforth from the early 17th century. Two leading members of the family were involved in military service in India in the late 1770s and early 1780s. The resultant imperial profits helped stabilise the MacKenzies' financial position. Another earl of Seaforth then served as a colonial governor in the Caribbean in the early 1800s. Later, as already noted, the whole island (and with it the sites that would later become PiCs) were purchased by James Matheson (see Matheson of Lewis case study). In 1917, representatives of the Matheson family sold the entire estate of Lewis to William Hesketh Lever, 1st viscount Leverhulme (1851–1925). Although his wealth was not derived initially or directly from involvement in the Empire, Leverhulme developed major commercial and manufacturing interests in Nigeria during the 1910s. By 1920 this investment strategy resulted in the commitment of £8 million to secure ownership of the Niger Company.⁵¹ This sequence of owners meant that Lewis, unlike most of the PiCs surveyed, did not experience a single 'imperial moment'. Instead, the Empire played a major role in the island's history for over 140 years between 1778 and 1925.



⁵¹ Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Lever, William Hesketh, First Viscount Leverhulme (1851–1925)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 15 May 2023.

3.3 Follow-up Methodology

The team developed a sample management system that allowed them to identify those PiCs requiring further investigation, and to assign research priorities. It would have been unmanageable to develop family trees to trace ownership for all PiCs, although this was possible for some (at least across short time periods). Following the initial assessment process outlined in Section 3.1, those PiCs identified as requiring further investigation became the focus of a six-step research methodology:

Step 1

Sources were consulted such as *Burke's Landed Gentry*; matriculation lists for Scottish universities and civic institutions such as the Merchant House and the Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow; the *Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland*.

Step 2

Existing historiography was surveyed to establish comprehensive lists of colonial merchants, planters, military officers, East India Company officials, Hudson's Bay employees and those implicated in the Atlantic slavery economy.

Step 3

Public databases: families and individuals were compared and cross-referenced with publicly available websites such as 'Legacies of British Slave-ownership' and 'Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the 18th century'.⁵²

Step 4

Other digitised sources: potential examples were cross-referenced with digitised sources (via Scotland's People website) from the National Records of Scotland (NRS), such as the Old Parish Registers (covering 1553 to 1854) as well as the confirmation inventories, wills and testaments (available via Virtual Volumes in the National Records of Scotland or the National Archive, Kew's Probate Court of Canterbury). In a limited number of cases, confirmation of site ownership was identified via the NRS's search tool for sasines.

Step 5

Research databases: individuals associated with PiCs were cross-referenced with unique private databases based on previous research undertaken by the authors Mullen and Mackillop.

Step 6

Manuscript collections: lists of owners were cross-referenced with names in Scottish civic organisations who lobbied on colonial issues, such as the Glasgow West India Association and East India Association, and East India Club of Edinburgh. The project also sampled holdings in Historic Environment Scotland's archives for material related to major clusters of ownership of individual PiCs which will be examined in more detail in case studies (Malcolm of Poltalloch; Maxwell of Monreith; Matheson of Lewis).

⁵² <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>; <https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/>, accessed 7 June 2023.

3.4 The Church of Scotland and British Imperialism: Tracing Institutional Ownership and Connections

Some of the methodological challenges around the nature of ownership can be illustrated using the case of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (the Kirk). Several PiCs were either Presbyterian kirks or sites on property once in the ownership of the Church of Scotland. Given its prominence in post-1560 Scottish society, it is not surprising that the Church of Scotland became entangled in the ownership of locations that later became PiCs.

Similarly, in common with Scotland's other civic institutions, the Kirk also developed a sustained track record of involvement in British colonialism. This was the case in ideological and material terms. Over the 18th to 20th centuries the established Scottish Church developed a global missionary presence under the Empire's auspices. It also became a beneficiary of returning imperial and colonial profits.⁵³ These connections mean that the seemingly 'domestic' nature of the Church's function and property cannot be taken at face value.

PiCs with Kirk associations also pose distinctive questions around defining individual or collective forms of ownership and the precise nature of the 'empire connection'. Some of the PiCs in this category contain important examples of Scotland's ancient heritage. A major Pictish-era monument, Aberlemno Churchyard Cross Slab [PiC002] is located within a kirkyard. Another example is Kinkell Church [PiC251] near Inverurie in Aberdeenshire. As noted by HES, 'Kinkell was refitted for Presbyterian

worship following the Protestant Reformation of 1560 and declared redundant in 1771.'⁵⁴ Archival records related to this site in HES's Archives and Collections reveal that it was the 'Parish Council of Keithhall and Kinkell' that agreed with the Commissioners of HM Works that Kinkell Church should enter guardianship in 1908.⁵⁵

While this study found that Kinkell Church has no known imperial connections, it remains possible that some of the parishioners did. Since it was in use in the colonial era (c.1603 to abandonment in 1771), this has important implications: it was routine practice for those involved in empire-related activities to donate wealth to their local kirk in order to demonstrate the virtuous nature of their profits, to improve society and so enhance their reputation.⁵⁶ Although it is recognised that a location such as Kinkell was not a centre of colonial commerce in the same way that Glasgow was, the broader point is that many Presbyterian churches benefited from wealth derived from the British Empire that will only be uncovered with detailed research in each institution and parish.⁵⁷ One area of the Kirk which for reasons of time and manageability could not be recovered, but which would certainly benefit from further research, is the role church 'patrons' with connections to the Empire played in the history of specific church and church-associated buildings.

The Church of Scotland has already begun a process of introspection with regards to Atlantic slavery, exemplified by the Legacies of Slavery study (2023).⁵⁸ This type of research, which explores individual localised links within a broader institutional framework, may reveal more connections not uncovered here.

53 Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 206-44; Jamie J. Kelly, 'The Rhetoric of Empire in the Scottish Mission in North America, 1732-1763', *Scottish Church History*, 49:1 (2020), pp. 25-37.

54 'Kinkell Church', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kinkell-church/>, accessed 25 March 2023.

55 Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/127, 'Minute of Agreement between The Parish Council of Keithhall and Kinkell and Commissioners of H.M. Works'.

56 Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, pp. 285-6; Andrew Mackillop, 'Poverty, Health and Imperial Wealth', in Gurminder Bhambra and Julia McClure (eds), *Imperial Inequalities: The Politics of Economic Governance Across European Empires* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), pp. 157-76.

57 Donations for poor relief and the maintenance of parochial finances from Scots active in South Asia have been traced to 23 parishes across Scotland between c.1760 to c.1820. See Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690-c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p. 236, pp. 274-5.

58 See 'The Church of Scotland and the Legacies of Slavery' (2023), available at: <https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/data/assets/pdf/file/0009/107865/faith-impact-forum.pdf>, accessed 29 May 2023.

3.5 The Military

Armed service was a defining feature of Scotland's experience of British imperialism. The country often supplied officers and men in numbers disproportionate to the Scottish share of Great Britain and the United Kingdom's overall population.⁵⁹ However, this contribution was uneven both across time and the different branches of the armed services. While large numbers of Scots served in the Royal Navy and, during the final decades of the Empire's existence, the Royal Air Force, memorials to such personnel do not feature strongly at the prominent PiCs. Military service, by contrast, forms one of the key means by which the Empire is represented at such sites. Participation evolved a distinctive institutional character in the form of recognisably Scottish or Highland regiments within the British Army. These units served in both a campaigning and garrisoning capacity. Rather than the example of a Highland regiment – the histories of which tend to be better known – the example of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (the Scots Greys) reveals these processes in action. The Scots Greys regimental museum has been located at Edinburgh Castle [PiC222] since 2006. Compared with other units, its engagement with imperial service was relatively light. Yet even its record of overseas postings reveal how central the Empire could be to the service history of one of Scotland's best-known regiments. The Scots Greys Empire history is summarised as follows:⁶⁰

Crimea (treated here as an 'imperial' campaign)	1854–6
Sudan (campaign)	1885
South African War (campaign)	1889–1902
South Africa (garrison)	1902–5
India (garrison)	1922–7
Palestine: Arab 'Revolt'/Rising (garrison)	1938
Palestine/Syria (campaign)	1939–41
North Africa (campaign)	1942–3
Aden (garrison)	1962–3

It is noteworthy that just under half of the Scots Greys' experience of the Empire occurred after 1938, a fact that underlines how imperial theatres shaped Scotland's culture of military identity until surprisingly recently.

As a society disproportionately exposed to English occupation and then British garrisoning, Ireland looms large in the histories of many of the regiments memorialised at high-profile PiCs like Stirling Castle and Edinburgh Castle. The 25th Regiment (the King's Own Scottish Borders [KOSB]) is remembered at Edinburgh Castle Esplanade [PiC222] by means of a monument commemorating its formation in 1689. However, the 25th Regiment also had a protracted imperial past, undertaking garrisoning and campaigning duties in Egypt (1801), Afghanistan (1878–80); South Africa (1899–1902); India (1914); Palestine (1915 and 1947–8); Burma (1943–5); Malaya (1955–8); Aden (1962–64); and Belize (1978).⁶¹ As part of this wider pattern of service, the KOSB served in Ireland in 1914 and again with several tours in Northern Ireland from 1970 to 1989. While garrisoning Dublin in July 1914, a detachment of the regiment fired into a crowd killing three people.

Given the general function of the army within the Empire, it is inevitable that Scottish units were involved in acts of violence against a wide range of peoples from different cultures and geographies. The 93rd Sutherland Highlanders (Regimental Museum at Stirling Castle [PiC 111]) and 74th Highlanders (memorialised at Glasgow Cathedral [PiC121]) and the 92nd and 78th Highlanders (remembered at Edinburgh Castle Esplanade [PiC222]) were heavily involved in counter-insurgency actions during the Indian Rising of 1857 to 1859. Besides participation in conventional warfare, contemporaries highlighted the leading role of these units in suppression activities across North India. It is estimated that the overall British campaign in central northern India in this period claimed the lives of at least 150,000 people.⁶² Racialised judicial repression and military violence remained an underlying feature of the Empire well into the age of decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s.⁶³

59 Stuart Allan and Allan Carswell, *The Thin Red Line: War, Empire and Visions of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMSE, 2004).

60 <https://www.scotsdg.org.uk/history/battle-honours>, accessed 12 December 2022.

61 Trevor Royle, *The King's Own Scottish Borderers: A Concise History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2008).

62 Alan Lester, Kate Boehme and Peter Mitchell, *Ruling the World: Freedom, Civilisation and Liberalism in the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 246–7.

63 David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: W & N, 2006), p. 262; Alan Lester, *Deny and Disavow: Distancing the Imperial Past in the Culture Wars* (London: SunRise, 2022), p. 167.

Public memory is always selective, of course, and in the case of regiments often focuses on founding moments or decisive battles and campaigns rather than events of the kind that occurred in Dublin in July 1914 or India in 1857. Consequently, while the imperial nature of memorialisation at PiCs like Edinburgh Castle Esplanade [PiC222] or Stirling Castle [PiC111] is obvious, it is important to be clear about what is remembered, and when, and which places, periods, and peoples of the Empire are not recalled. As in the case of the 25th regiment, and discussed in detail in the Glasgow Cathedral Case Study in relation to the Scots Guards, the imperial histories of the following regiments: 21st, 26th, 42nd, 71st, 72nd, 74th, 75th, 78th, 92nd and 93rd are memorialised at a number of PiCs in ways that reflected the cultural norms and world view of British and Scottish society. This process involved presenting certain dimensions of regimental actions in preference to others. It hardly needs saying that this is no different from the memorialisation of many other non-military figures and organisations closely connected with the British Empire.

Patterns of prolonged overseas deployment and campaigning meant these regiments were often physically absent from Scotland. One reaction to this involved the creation of an increasingly influential and multi-layered memorialised presence back in Scotland. Military units and their service became a crucial means of expressing not only Scotland's status within the British Union but also the country's contribution to the wider imperial project. An obvious testament to this societal and cultural dynamic can be traced in a series of memorials at several of the most high-profile PiCs.



The process of raising and then disbanding entire regiments means that the castles in HES's care have a substantial history of association with units that had defining imperial elements to their histories.

This is especially true of the major castles. Constructed as medieval power centres and defensive sites, Dumbarton Castle [PiC120], Stirling Castle [PiC111] and Edinburgh Castle [PiC222] evolved into British army barracks and training depots during the period of the British Empire. This change in function means that these medieval castles with their Renaissance palaces became what can best be understood as centres of imperial 'production'. From the mid 18th century onwards, they acted as gathering and training points for manpower destined for the Empire. An early example of this process is the recruiting in 1747 of Jacobite prisoners held at Dumbarton Castle for deployment to South India.⁶⁴ The process of raising and then disbanding entire regiments means that the castles in HES's care have a substantial history of association with units that had defining imperial elements to their histories. The 76th Highland Regiment, which fought in North America during the later 1770s and was captured at Yorktown in 1781, was formed at Fort George [PiC332]. Another regiment raised during the conflict with the Americans, Fraser's 71st Highland Regiment, was both established and disbanded at Stirling Castle.⁶⁵

These patterns of creation and dissolution inevitably determine which units are remembered and why. Earlier phases of involvement, especially prior to the mid 19th century, do not have surviving monuments at such sites. The presence (or absence) of monuments reflects changing trends in attitudes towards the British Army more widely and also the huge growth in memorialisation generally throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. As the 19th century progressed, who was remembered, and why, evolved in response to wider societal developments and attitudes to the Empire.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ National Records of Scotland (NRS), Edinburgh, Seafield Muniments, GD248/413/1, pp. 3–4; NRS, Grant of Monymusk, GD345/1195, 'Accompt of Men Enlisted for HM's service in Captain Grant's Independent Company'.

⁶⁵ James Browne, *The History of Scotland, its Highlands, Regiments and Clans* (Edinburgh: F.A. Nicolls & Co., 1909), pp. 313.

⁶⁶ Richard Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850–1950', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 113:1 (1997), pp. 13–21.



4. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

4.1 Extent of Imperial Connections

It is now apparent that a significant proportion of PiCs had connections with individuals, families or institutions that had a multiplicity of links to the British Empire. In terms of numbers alone, this study identified 126 PiCs with various empire connections: this amounts to 37.5 per cent of all 336 PiCs. It is important to stress that limitations of time, source material and the means of systematically identifying owners for both c.1600–c.1700 and c.1900–c.1970 ensure this is likely a conservative finding.

One means of illustrating this important dimension of the report's overall findings is to highlight the example of Duff House [PiC239]. William Duff, Lord Braco and 1st Earl Fife (1697–1763), commissioned the building of Duff house in Banff in 1734.⁶⁷ While he served as MP for Banffshire from 1727 to 1734, and hailed from a privileged landed background, there is no known evidence that Lord Braco had any connections with slavery or the wider Empire that may have provided the material means to assist with the construction of his new country house. As the son of William Duff of Dipple and Braco, described as a 'merchant in Inverness', trade in colonial commodities may well have played some role in the making of the family's early fortune.⁶⁸ But this possibility has yet to be demonstrated.

In 1723 Lord Braco married Jean Grant, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant.⁶⁹ Their fourth son, George Duff (born 1736), certainly did marry into the plantocracy.⁷⁰ The *Legacies of British Slavery* website notes that Frances Duff (née Dalzell) (died 1778) was the 'daughter of Gibson Dalzell, owner of Lucky Hill in St Mary, Jamaica'. She inherited half her father's property in trust on his death c. 1756 and married George Duff, son of the 1st Earl of Fife, in 1757. Under the terms of her will, her Jamaican property was inherited by their son George Duff (1760–1828). In this way slavery-derived wealth undoubtedly came into the Duff family.⁷¹

Yet if the material fortunes of the wider family was augmented by this means, there is no evidence such wealth was directly connected to Duff House. The building was 'eventually occupied by the second earl and his descendants'⁷²; but that individual was not George Duff (born 1736), but instead his elder brother James Duff, 2nd Earl Fife (1729–1809).⁷³ While James succeeded to Duff House, George lived in Milton Duff and South College in Elgin (he purchased the latter property in 1768).⁷⁴ These developments means that slavery-derived wealth went down another branch of the Duff family line living in properties other than Duff House.

For this reason the site is not included as one of the PiCs with a confirmed empire connection. Further research into the family's wider affairs would enable a consideration of how the Duffs may have used a combination of local and empire-derived income to consolidate and expand their material means and with it their ability to complete and maintain imposing structures such as Duff House.

A fundamental realisation arising from the headline figure of 37.5 per cent is the extent to which the wealth, property and socio-cultural prestige acquired by individuals and families connected to the British Empire overlapped with the early formalised attempts to list and preserve Scotland's 'ancient' heritage. Indeed, the Empire and the drive to preserve aspects of history and culture were in a mutually influencing relationship.

67 John Finlay, *Legal Practice in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p.70.

68 Alister and Henrietta Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs* (Edinburgh: W. Brown, 1914), Vol. I, p.105, p.108.

69 Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs*, Vol. I, p.105, p.111.

70 Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs*, Vol. I, p.105, p.144.

71 'Frances Duff (née Dalzell)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645875>, accessed 29 November 2023.

72 Duff House, Canmore, Available: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/18493/duff-house>, accessed, 29 November 2023.

73 Alister and Henrietta Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs* (1914), Vol. I, p.105, pp.168-9.

74 Alister and Henrietta Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs* (1914), Vol. I, p.105, p.144.

The 'first legislation aimed at preserving monuments in the UK was the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, which provided for the protection of a group of representative monuments included in a schedule to the Act and allowed them to be taken into state care'.⁷⁵ It should be stressed that it was only with the owner's consent that a property in private ownership could be placed in 'guardianship'. Of the twenty-one monuments listed in Scotland in the 1882 Act, six (28.5 per cent) had some connections through individuals or families to the British Empire. As described in the 1882 Act, these were 'the Pictish towers at Glenelg' in Glenelg, Inverness-shire; the 'Ring of Brogar [sic] and other stone pillars at Stennis [sic] in Orkney, and the neighbouring pillars' at Firth and Stennis, Orkney; the 'Chambered Mound at Maeshowe' at Firth and Stennis, Orkney; the 'Stones of Callernish' at Uig, in Ross-shire; the 'Two stones, with incised crosses, on a mound in a field at Laggangairn' in New Luce, Wigtonshire; and the 'pillars at Kirkmadrine' in Stoneykirk, Wigtonshire.⁷⁶ These relate respectively to Dun Telve [PiC330] and Dun Troddan [PiC331] (which are counted as one site in the 1882 Act); Ring of Brodgar [PiC313]; Maeshowe, Chambered Cairn [PiC305]; Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280]; Laggangairn Standing Stones [PiC200]; and Kirkmadrine Stones [PiC199].

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The 126 PiCs with these empire connections are spread across Scotland. As might be expected given the extent of colonial commerce in Glasgow, many properties in nearby counties were owned by individuals with such links, and this is reflected in the major concentration of PiCs of interest here. Argyll, for example, has 26 PiCs with empire connections (c.21 per cent of the sample of 126), many of which were on land owned by the Malcolms of Poltalloch, who held shares in a Glasgow–West India firm. However, the majority of PiCs with empire connections were outside the central region.

Geographical Empire Connections

Like the regional analysis above, this section is based on a summary of 'empire connections' identified for 126 Properties in Care (again, some PiCs had multiple 'empire connections'). However, the summary focuses on which parts of the Empire generated the link rather than where each PiC was located across Scotland.

The high proportion of British West India connections to PiCs is explained by the influence of major families, such as the Malcolms (Jamaica planting wealth) and the Maxwells of Monreith (inherited wealth derived from Tobago slavery). The significant proportion of connections with Asia is explained by the incidence of returnees from the Empire, such as the Balfours of Trenabie and Shapinsay, who were enriched with wealth acquired in India,⁷⁷ and others such as James Matheson of Lewis. But other aspects of Scottish settler colonisation are also evident. Links with the Company of Scotland and the Darien Scheme are revealed at PiCs such as Huntingtower Castle [PiC071], inherited by John, 2nd earl of Atholl, in 1670 and Trinity House, Leith [PiC225].⁷⁸ Scottish settler colonisation is also evident in relation to Nova Scotia. For example, Castle of Park [PiC187] was owned by the Hays of Park, Wigtonshire, who were recorded as Baronets of Nova Scotia, a settler colonisation scheme established by King James VI and I (1566–1625). Scottish landowners who encouraged settlers to emigrate were rewarded with landed titles in what is now Nova Scotia ('New Scotland') in modern Canada.⁷⁹ This ceremonial aspect of Scotland's pre-1707 efforts at colonisation are memorialised with a 1953 plaque at Edinburgh Castle Esplanade [PiC221].

⁷⁵ Richard Fawcett, *The Conservation of Architectural Ancient Monuments in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2001), p. 4.

⁷⁶ See parliamentary legislation: Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 [45 & 46 Vict. CH. 73].

⁷⁷ Douglas Barker, 'Shapinsay: the Transformation of an Island Society, 1830–1875' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2004), p. 6.

⁷⁸ 'Huntingtower Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0845840c-2900-4440-b71f-a86500f593b9>, accessed 10 March 2023. See Trinity House [PiC225] case study.

⁷⁹ William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation Or, The Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Fullerton & Co., 1863), p. 453.

4.2 Classifying Empire Connections: Issues and Challenges

In taking forward the project, the key challenge was the development of a robust typology of ‘empire connections’ which captures the complex and often subtle nature of links while not giving undue prominence to fleeting and tangential influences. An initial solution was to assess a ‘connection with Empire’ in terms of its significance: for example, as ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’, and then as ‘major’, ‘minor’ or ‘tangential’. However, as research progressed and feedback from specialists in the field was considered, it was clear this framework failed to capture the reality that a PiC could (and did) have one or more of these links depending on time, owner or activity. The project team concluded that this mode of classification risked an overly complex method that either downplayed imperial connections or over-emphasised fleeting links. Terms like ‘indirect’, ‘minor’ and ‘tangential’ also risked marginalising the violence and coercion faced by enslaved and other colonial peoples.

4.3 Types of Empire Connection

The authors reflected upon the interpretative framework early in the research process and opted for a thematic framework which was grouped under the following broad headings. These necessarily overlapped and combined in many instances.

Property (4.3.1): The ownership of land or buildings either by an established propertied family which participated in the Empire, or a recently enriched family which, through involvement in colonial activities, acquired the material means to secure property.

Cultural (4.3.2): A connection that denotes the ways in which an empire influence, often in the form of wealth and associated prestige, enabled owners, either through action or inaction, to shape the condition, fabric, or representation of a PiC.

Memorialisation (4.3.3): Statues, plaques, grave monuments, windows, flags or other emblems of remembrance linked to individuals or institutions with links to the Empire.

Production (4.3.4): A site where commercial, manufactured or human resources, either derived from empire imports or export, are created, concentrated, organised and distributed. In the case of the major castles, production took the form of regimental manpower.

Defence (4.3.5): A defence connection relates to PiCs whose function differed from those locations defined primarily by their role in the creation and mobilisation of men and materiel (‘production’). Defensive sites could be purpose-built structures or repurposed older buildings. They were intended to act as local points of resistance to threatened military invasion or naval raiding by Britain’s imperial-era enemies. They were usually used for munition storage – as opposed to functioning as centres of arms and ammunition production and distribution.

Technological (4.3.6): A site associated with either engineering, technical, manufacturing or built structures which serviced colonial commerce, manufacturing, transportation, and communication. It also refers to the transfer and circulation of ideas and personnel associated with serving the Empire’s technological requirements.

These classifications produce the overall results summarised in Table 1. It is important to note, however, that over time PiCs could have more than one type of connection, hence 134 connections across 126 PiCs.

Table 1: Properties in Care and known empire connections⁸⁰

No. of connections	Type of connection	Percentage of total
92	Property	69%
13	Memorialisation	10%
11	Cultural	7%
8	Production	6%
5	Defence	4%
5	Technological	4%
134	Known connections	

⁸⁰ While many PiCs exhibited different empire connections over time, eight sites are double counted to illustrate the ways in which a location could have at least two clear links to empire operating simultaneously. These are: PiC020 (Culross Abbey – property and memorialisation); PiC043 (Stanley Mills – technology and production); PiC055 (Bunawe furnace – production and technological); PiC060 (Castle Sween – property and production); PiC141 (Dryburgh Abbey – property and memorialisation); PiC152 (Kinneil House – property and technological); PiC222 (Edinburgh Castle – memorialisation and production); PiC280 (Calanais Stone – property and cultural).



4.3.1 Property

The 'property' theme covers a multitude of relationships: from an owner's direct preservation of sites to decaying human-made archaeological features or structures on landed estates which may have been preserved unintentionally but subsequently entered state care. Individuals involved in, or associated with, British imperialism were often fundamental to the preservation of a specific PiC, although at other times features and sites were present on their land and survived almost by accident. Many sites received little or no interest or intervention from owners regarding preservation, and some were actively destroyed.

The Malcolms of Poltalloch are among the most well-known Scottish enslavers in Jamaica, and their Argyll estates connect to multiple PiCs in the Kilmartin area. In 1830, at the peak of their colonial influence, the Malcolm family purchased the land of Carnaserrybeg, including Carnaserrie Castle [PiC058]. The purchase was a prime example of a process – surveyed by Iain Mackinnon and Andrew Mackillop – in which a *nouveau riche* slavery elite disrupted traditional forms of life in the Highlands and cleared existing communities.⁸¹ Ownership of this castle by enslavers illustrates how colonial wealth contributed to its preservation, even though the castle was constructed a generation before the advent of the British Empire in c.1600. Sir Ian Malcolm of Poltalloch guaranteed the preservation of Carnaserrie Castle in 1932, placing it in state guardianship.⁸² Slavery-derived wealth had no role in establishing the castle, but its location was likely preserved in some measure due to the family's maintenance of the site.

Ownership enabled the use of empire-derived wealth to maintain and preserve sites that would eventually become PiCs. An example is St Clement's Church, Rodel [PiC316] on the Isle of Harris. In 1778, Norman MacLeod of Dunvegan sold the barony of Harris to Captain Alexander MacLeod (c.1715–90). Captain MacLeod's career as an 'East Indiaman

81 I. MacKinnon and A. Mackillop, 'Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands ...', available at: <https://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/resources/plantation-slavery-and-landownership-the-west-highlands-and-islands-legacies-and-lessons/>, accessed 27 March 2023.

82 Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/039, 'Minute of Agreement by Sir Ian Zachory Malcolm and the Commissioners of Works for Carnassarrie Castle, Kilmartin Argyll', 13 June 1932.

commander', and his subsequent commitment to preserving the island's ancient heritage, especially St Clements, is already a matter of historical record.⁸³ In 1784, St Clements was ruinous. Alexander MacLeod set about restoring the church, including the addition of a new roof. However, owing to the 'carelessness of the carpenters', a fire ripped through the church and the new roof was destroyed. A programme of repairs was implemented, and although these were unfinished on MacLeod's death in 1790, the building received maintenance work which enabled it to remain in use as a church.⁸⁴ Thus a financial connection need not be a transformative process, or even fundamental to the preservation of the entire property, but it had some material and direct effects on a PiC.

This study also incorporates the intergenerational transmission of empire-derived wealth into the analyses of the ownership/property thread. The authors took the established academic position that such wealth and material resources could be transformative across successive generations of family lines, especially when considered in the context of inherited property and capital. As will be shown, since direct descendants of those involved with the Empire had a role in developing or preserving what would become a PiC, and engaged with the state on that basis, this approach has important implications.

4.3.2 Cultural

This connection overlaps closely with the property/ownership theme, with the capacity to shape the history and representation of a site dependent on rights of property over a given location. Owners with connections to the British Empire generated ideas and knowledge relating to PiCs that disrupted customs and behaviours and reshaped cultural practices at a local and national level. For example, the Malcolm of Poltalloch family co-opted medieval sculptured stones (now in the Kilmartin Church graveyard). All but one of seven pre-existing carved

grave-slabs from the 1600s were inscribed with the name 'Poltalloch' – after the Malcolms had enriched themselves through colonial wealth.⁸⁵ This example demonstrates how colonial elites used existing monuments to promote their own values. By refashioning and projecting a collective identity as traditionally minded and culturally aware local patrons, the family consolidated the high material status afforded to them by slavery-derived wealth by emphasising their social respectability and gentility. As will be discussed in more detail below, other individuals connected with British imperialism and PiCs (as well as employees and descendants) contributed to the production of antiquarian knowledge around Scotland's ancient heritage.

4.3.3 Memorialisation

Arguably more so than any other tangible legacy of the Empire, statues and memorials currently act as touchstones for contemporary debates and controversies over how to best interpret and remember the UK's imperial and colonial history.⁸⁶ By their very nature, plaques, monuments and statues are often placed in prominent, easily accessible public landscapes, parks, city-spaces and heritage sites.

Memorialisation could take many forms: war monuments or simple gravestones in churches marking the burial location of long-dead imperialists. For example, Castle Semple in Renfrewshire – although now largely lost as a coherent entity – was one of the most significant Scottish landed estates owned by Caribbean enslavers (the McDowalls). Yet edifices within its vicinity reveal how cultures of memorialisation can be less than obvious and less easily traced. There is no known evidence, for example, that Castle Semple Collegiate Church [PiC116] was directly improved via slavery-derived wealth. It was located on a property owned by enslavers, explaining why subsequent descendants are memorialised in its grounds. Other examples of PiCs acting as sites

83 Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire*, pp. 236, 242; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, 'MacLeod, Alexander (c.1715–90), of Harris, Inverness and Theobalds, Herts', in L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754–1790* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1964), available at: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10521/harris-rodell-st-clements-church>, accessed 3 September 2022.

84 A. Ross, 'Notice of St Clement's Church at Rowdill, Harris', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 19 (1885), pp. 131–2.

85 For a 3-D model, see 'Poltalloch Enclosure, Kilmartin Churchyard', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/poltalloch-enclosure-kilmartin-churchyard-7f60db6a7b4e4efebd5cd196517e5ca8>, accessed 25 March 2023.

86 Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireland: How Imperialism Has Shaped Modern Britain* (London: Penguin, 2021), pp. 207–8; MacKenzie, *A Cultural History of the British Empire*, pp. 177–205.

of empire-related memorialisation are Edinburgh Castle Esplanade [PiC222], Glasgow Cathedral [PiC121], Dunblane Cathedral [PiC063], St Machar's Cathedral Transepts [PiC265], Dryburgh Abbey [PiC141] and Culross Abbey [PiC020].

4.3.4 Production

The term 'production' refers to PiCs which were used as sites of economic or military activities that enabled, enhanced or complemented Scottish/British imperial efforts. An early example is Castle Sween [PiC060], which was used as a distribution point for meal imports from Ireland in 1646 to support Covenanter and English government forces seeking to reassert control over Ireland. The Castle provides a key example of Scottish-English collaborative imperialism 60 years before the Union of 1707 confirmed the creation of an officially 'British' Empire.

Sites of production were locations where the Empire's resources were created, stockpiled and mobilised. As already noted in Section 3.5, a range of HES's castles in care – Edinburgh Castle [PiC222], Stirling Castle [PiC111], Dumbarton Castle [PiC120] and Blackness Castle [PiC129], as well as Fort George [PiC332] – undertook this 'production' function – either as marshalling areas for manpower or munitions storage for armed forces. Meanwhile, PiCs like Stanley Mills [PiC043] and Bonawe Iron Furnace [PiC055] constitute sites of economic and technological production, creating material such as iron for export to colonial markets, or refining raw imports into a higher-value commodity.

4.3.5 Defence

A defence connection relates to defensive sites whose function differed from those locations primarily defined by their production role in the creation and mobilisation of men and materiel. Defence sites could be purpose-built structures such as Fort Charlotte [PiC245] or Hackness Battery and Martello Tower [PiC306] or repurposed older buildings, such as Rothesay Castle [PiC123]. They were intended to act as local points of resistance to threatened military invasion or naval raiding by Britain's imperial-era enemies. They were usually used for munition storage – as opposed to functioning as centres of arms and ammunition production and distribution.

4.3.6 Technological

Some PiCs were connected to the British Empire through technological advances, sometimes as the multiplier effects of empire-derived investment that boosted commerce and industry. A revealing example of the technological theme is the empire-related history of the Wanlockhead mines, site of the Wanlockhead Beam Engine [PiC128]. An earlier engine on the site was produced by the famous firm Boulton & Watt, which had connections to a West India banking house and the English East India Company in the 1770s. These links mean the site can be fitted into wider questions about the 'multiplier' effects of British imperialism.⁸⁷ A key issue of interpretation is whether installations of the Boulton & Watt engine can be viewed as deriving from empire-related processes. The firm's establishment and development has been invoked by Trinidadian historian Eric Williams in the classic *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) as an example of the multiplier effects of West India commerce.⁸⁸ That is to say that Matthew Boulton, and Boulton & Watt, benefited from expansion capital in the 1770s sourced from a bank with West India securities, and then took major orders from the East India Company in the 1770s and 1780s which possibly kept the company afloat at a precarious time, allowing them to produce major steam engines for sites such as Wanlockhead. However, since the Wanlockhead Beam Engine was manufactured later and not by Boulton & Watt, a question naturally arises: at what point, if ever, does a firm that is connected to the British Empire evolve, as it were, beyond a slavery connection? When is the connection 'over'? What is not in doubt is that an earlier phase of Wanlockhead's development as an industrial site was directly shaped via technology to the Empire.

As should be apparent, PiCs might have several of these types of connection simultaneously. Assessing the prominence or decisiveness of these connections is a subjective process. A key challenge for the report was developing a framework or classification system that is sensitive enough to reach robust but proportionate conclusions. Within each case study in Appendix 1, efforts have been made to assess the scale of imperial connections and how significant (or not) this connection was to the development and preservation of a PiC.

⁸⁷ Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Polity, 2023).

⁸⁸ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 102-3.



5. REPORT CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Imperial Preservation of Scotland's Historic Environment

Many individuals directly involved with British imperialism had a substantial and active role in preserving PiCs. As already indicated, the dramatic rise of the Malcolms of Poltalloch was closely connected to slavery-derived wealth accumulated from Jamaica plantations and shares in Stirling, Gordon & Co, a Glasgow–West India firm. The family were directly connected to seventeen of the 336 PiCs, the single biggest influence on the preservation of Scotland's ancient heritage identified in this study.

Another key example is Sir James Matheson. After returning to Scotland following his colonial career in Jardine, Matheson & Co., his wealth facilitated the purchase and clearance of the Isle of Lewis.⁸⁹ His new status as owner also set in motion a new phase in the preservation and presentation of Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280]. The Matheson family also had a direct role in the preservation of Dun Carloway [PiC288]. While Steinacleit Cairn and Stone Circle [PiC320], Arnol Blackhouse No. 39 [PiC272] and Arnol Blackhouse No. 42 [PiC272] were also on Lewis, the Matheson family had a much less direct role in the establishment and

preservation of the latter three PiCs. Nevertheless, these were places that in ownership terms were linked to families with substantial empire-related interests.

The profits of Caribbean slavery often boosted family incomes in Great Britain and the UK during the colonial era with intergenerational implications beyond wealth accumulation. As noted by the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project in 2014, the 'activities of those descendants of slave-owners in the 20th and indeed 21st centuries who continued to shape Britain were themselves in part legacies of slave-ownership'. Even if the wealth itself did not transform family fortunes, quite often the 'social and cultural capital acquired through slave wealth remained'.⁹⁰ This has implications for some of the individuals in this study. For example, Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, 7th baronet of Monreith (1845–1937), was descended from Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart, 5th baronet of Greenock and Blackhall (1766–1825).⁹¹ This maternal grandfather owned estates and enslaved people in Tobago.⁹² While it is clear that Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell's maternal line had long connections with the Atlantic slavery economy, it is impossible to identify just how much Helenora, daughter of Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart, brought to the Maxwell of

⁸⁹ Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

⁹⁰ 'Introduction', in Catherine Hall et al. (eds), *Legacies of British Slave-ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 3–4.

⁹¹ H. W. Meikle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Maxwell, Sir Herbert Eustace, Seventh Baronet (1845–1937), Politician and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 27 March 2023.

⁹² 'Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart 5th Bart', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632164>, accessed 27 March 2023.

Monreiths via her dowry (a 'tocher' in Scots).⁹³ The Maxwell of Monreith family maintained large properties across successive generations and are associated with several different PiCs discussed here.

Case studies of these families exemplify the processes around the empire-connected preservation of Scotland's historic environment: plantation ownership in Jamaica and Glasgow-West India commerce (Malcolm of Poltalloch; seventeen PiCs); inherited wealth from forebears involved with slave-ownership (Maxwell of Monreith; ten PiCs); and East India commerce and opium trading in Hong Kong and China (Matheson of Lewis; five PiCs). Together, these three families alone are associated with 32 PiCs, just under 10 per cent of the estate.

5.2 Empire-Influenced Production of Scottish Antiquarian Knowledge

Individuals with connections to British imperialism were involved with the production of knowledge around Scotland's sites of historic interest (sometimes because these sites were on their property) thus shaping national conversations around cultural heritage in perpetuity.

Individuals connected with British imperialism, as well as their descendants, preserved many sites. The example of the Neolithic Temple at Stanydale has already been noted. The antiquarian preservation and knowledge production in this case is an example of the intergenerational legacy of empire-derived wealth and influence, despite occurring over a century after slavery was abolished in the British West Indies.

As well as the direct preservation and excavation of sites, individuals with connections to the British Empire sometimes actively contributed to the production of knowledge. A key example relates to Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280]. As noted above, Sir James Matheson owned the Isle of Lewis

from 1844 and had a role in the establishment of the stones as a permanent place of special interest. Alongside his role in these bespoke preservation strategies, Matheson sent two notes to *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, which were published in 1862. The preservation of Calanais was a by-product of evictions and clearances enabled by empire-derived wealth. In this context, these notes are effectively sanitised accounts of a traumatic community event written for a genteel antiquarian audience. Although the articles were written by others, Matheson was listed as co-author (and remains first author in the *Proceedings* 'How to Cite' function).⁹⁴ The academic production of these articles was directly enabled by empire-derived landownership and wealth, and was thus a cultural extension of the earlier career of Matheson in India and in China.

Moreover, the activities of empire-derived clearance, preservation and publication served to prioritise White Eurocentric male perspectives. Local knowledge, tradition and perspectives were ignored. While the *New Statistical Account* (1845) confirms that the 'entire remains of a Druidical place of worship' were already well known by the time of Matheson's purchase of Lewis, later scholars have been informed by the antiquarian record of activities that prioritises the contributions of Matheson et al., and which elide the significant role of the Empire in the production of such knowledge.⁹⁵

A variation on this theme relates to Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn [PiC322] on Rousay, Orkney. The site was uncovered in 1898 when work was being undertaken for a garden bench on the Trumland estate. As previously noted, this estate was owned by Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs (1831-1905), an army officer and India returnee.⁹⁶ Sir William Turner's article on the events prioritised the status of a white male imperialist: Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs is named in the journal title, while Lady Eliza Traill-Burroughs - whose journal provided an important account of these events - is relegated to near insignificance.⁹⁷

93 NRS, SC58/42/2, Paisley Sheriff Court, 'Testament of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart', 6 February 1826, pp. 53-4.

94 J. Matheson and C. Innes, 'Notice of a Chamber Recently Excavated in the Stone Circle of Callernish in the Lewis', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3 (1862), pp. 110-12; for the 'How to Cite' function, available at: <http://journals.socantscot.org/index.php/psas/article/view/4499>, accessed 29 May 2023; J. Stuart and J. Matheson, 'Note of Incised Marks on one of a Circle of Standing Stones in the Island of Lewis', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3 (1862), pp. 212-14.

95 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Uig, Ross and Cromarty, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 153.

96 H. M. Vibart and James Lunt. 'Burroughs, Sir Frederick William Traill- (1831-1905), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

97 W. Turner, 'An Account of a Chambered Cairn and Cremation Cists at Taversøe Tuick, near Trumland House, in the Island of Rousay, Orkney, Excavated by Lieut. General Traill Burroughs, C.B., of Rousay, in 1898', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 37 (1903), pp. 73-82.

The descendants of those connected to the British Empire also made an important contribution to the preservation of Scotland's historic environment and the knowledge production around it. George Petrie (1818–1875) was the factor of the Graemeshall estate on Orkney. Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1805–1894) came into ownership of Graemeshall estate in 1818, after the death of the 6th laird (a distant relation who died without issue). He remained an absentee owner of the Orkney estate for life (visiting only three times).⁹⁸ His father, William Sutherland, was a Jamaica planter who enslaved 200 people.⁹⁹ Alexander Sutherland Graeme's privileged colonial background allowed him to reside outside Orkney while delegating the operations of Graemeshall estate to the Petrie family. George Petrie's work was subsidised by an absentee landlord and beneficiary of colonial wealth which provided agency that allowed him to pursue antiquarian interests at a time of dramatic agricultural change in Orkney. Petrie was the author of many seminal articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* between 1856 and 1891 (one was apparently published posthumously).¹⁰⁰ Among the most famous was an article on his role in the excavation of the iconic Skara Brae [PiC314] around 1850.¹⁰¹ Coincidentally, the owners of Breckness estate (upon which Skara Brae is situated) also had a long association with the British Empire (see entry in Appendix 2).¹⁰²

The example of Sir Herbert E. Maxwell (1845–1937), son of an heiress who inherited wealth derived from Caribbean slavery, has already been noted. He provides another compelling instance of a descendant influencing the development of Scotland's historic environment. He was a noted antiquarian, including president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1900–13), and chairman of the National Library of Scotland (1925–32).¹⁰³ Maxwell authored over ten articles related to various aspects of his antiquarian work.¹⁰⁴ These included a seminal account of the Kirkmadrine Stones [PiC199].¹⁰⁵ Another relates to a 'Celtic Cross' in Longcastle, Wigtownshire.¹⁰⁶ Speaking at his inaugural event as President of the Royal Archaeological Institute – which was held in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery on 11 August 1891 – Maxwell recognised the significance of antiquarianism to Scottish history, cultural heritage and national identity:

*The Scottish Antiquaries have collected within this building a whole host of silent witnesses to the past, each bearing testimony to the origin of our race, and the development of our civilisation. It is neither for the gratification of taste, nor of romantic sentiment, that this great collection has been brought together, and for which we value it. It is our desire to know and to understand the past history of our race, without which, I submit, it is impossible either to understand or to control the present, or to forecast and direct the future.*¹⁰⁷

98 Gilbert Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827–1888* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 1995), pp. 12–29.

99 'William Sutherland', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644561>, accessed 8 September 2022.

100 George Petrie, 'Description of Antiquities in Orkney Recently Examined, with Illustrative Drawings', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 2 (1856) pp. 56–64; G. Petrie and J. Farrer, 'Notice of a Barrow at Huntiscarth in the Parish of Harray, Orkney, Recently Opened', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3 (1862), p. 195; G. Petrie, 'Notice of a Barrow Containing Cists, on the Farm of Newbigging, near Kirkwall: and at Ibister, in the Parish of Rendall, Orkney', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 6 (1865), pp. 411–18; G. Petrie and A. Mitchell, 'Notice of some Rude Stone Implements Found in Orkney', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 7 (1867), pp. 135–6; G. Petrie, 'Notice of Ruins of Ancient Dwellings at Skara, Bay of Skail, in the Parish of Sandwich, Orkney, Recently Excavated', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 7 (1867), pp. 201–19; G. Petrie, 'Notice of Excavations, and Discovery of Cists Containing Large Stone Urns in Stronsay, Orkney', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 8 (1869) pp. 347–51; G. Petrie, 'Notice of the Brochs or Round Towers of Orkney, with Plans, Sections, and Drawings, and Tables of Measurements of Orkney and Shetland Brochs', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 9 (1872), p. 60; G. Petrie, 'Notice of the Brochs or Large Round Towers of Orkney, with Plans, Sections, and Drawings, and Tables of Measurements of Orkney and Shetland Brochs', *Archaeologia Scotica*, 5 (1891), pp. 71–94.

101 G. Petrie, 'Notice of Ruins of Ancient Dwellings at Skara, Bay of Skail, in the Parish of Sandwich, Orkney, Recently Excavated', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 7 (1867), pp. 201–19 at p. 201.

102 James D. Irvine, *The Breckness Estate* (Orkney: Orcadian Press, 2009), pp. 97–8.

103 H. W. Meikle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Maxwell, Sir Herbert Eustace, Seventh Baronet (1845–1937), Politician and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 19 September 2022.

104 'Herbert Eustace Maxwell Bart, M.P.', available at: <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/personDetails.xhtml?personId=52054>, accessed 10 March 2023.

105 H. Maxwell, 'The Crosses of Kirkmadrine', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 51 (1917), pp. 199–207.

106 H. Maxwell, 'Shaft of a Celtic Cross from Longcastle, Wigtownshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 55 (1921), pp. 276–7.

107 H. Eustace Maxwell, 'Inaugural Address of Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., M.P., to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, Held at Edinburgh', *Archaeological Journal*, 48 (1891), pp. 241–50.

All the above underlines the contribution of empire-derived wealth and world views to the development of Scottish antiquarianism at a critical, embryonic stage between 1840 and 1900. The multiple activities, and subsequent publications in Scotland's premier archaeological journal *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, not only established foundational academic knowledge around these sites but also added perceived credibility to the activities and ideas of imperialists, colonialists and their descendants: White men hailing from a higher socio-economic background, elevating themselves further in British society due to imperial wealth and its associated social and cultural capital.

5.3 Symbiotic Relationship Between Empire-Connected Scots and the Post-1707 State's Heritage Infrastructure

A symbiotic relationship emerged between the evolving heritage infrastructure and regulatory framework, as it existed in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the British Empire. This dynamic involved empire-connected families – including their descendants – ensuring the long-term preservation of several now-prominent PiCs. In three case studies outlined in Appendix 1, a variety of standard legal agreements between the Malcolm, Maxwell and Matheson families have been sampled that underline a cooperative relationship between descendants of those involved in the Empire and the state. Mutually beneficial networks and relationships developed which ensured the preservation of some of Scotland's most iconic sites. For example, the Malcolms of Poltalloch's fortune derived from Jamaican slavery and this directly underwrote the purchase of land that held some of the most significant archaeological sites in Scotland. The family preserved the sites at the time, integrating them as features as part of their gentrified lifestyle, but also in the modern era, supporting the transition of archaeological landmarks into sites of national importance throughout the 20th century.



APPENDIX I: EXTENDED CASE STUDIES

The seven detailed case studies consider how the different empire connections outlined previously shaped the character and extant material culture of a range of different PiCs. Processes of ownership, memorialisation, the changing role of places of ‘production’, or the ability of property owners to intentionally (or unintentionally) preserve sites, are outlined in detail.

CASE STUDY 1: Glasgow Cathedral

Glasgow Cathedral [PiC121]

(empire connection – memorialisation)



The cathedral’s empire-connected history is explored through two distinct but inter-related perspectives. The first is the different material forms of memorialisation. The second organising theme involves charting the subtle emphases evident in different locations within the building itself. The focus concentrates on specific interior spaces and explores how each worked to embed empire connections into pre-existing spiritual sites.

The cathedral survey also stresses the need for an awareness of the wider contexts in which memorials were created. It connects events in the Empire (or in the case of Ireland and Northern Ireland, places seen by many as shaped by post-imperial conflict) with acts of remembrance inside the building. The aim is not to offer any one interpretation of specific memorials but rather to enable holistic understandings of the cultural politics shaping the timing, content and character of specific monuments. The emphasis is not on establishing that specific monuments link to a particular empire-related event; instead, the intention is to note the wider contemporary contexts in which monuments or memorials were created.

It should be stressed that the majority of monuments were created and installed many years before the cathedral became a PiC. Likewise, even once the building passed into Historic Environment Scotland’s care, the organisation is not responsible for the creation of the more contemporary acts of remembrance.

Glasgow is home to one of the most imposing medieval cathedrals in Scotland. As befits its long history, certain phases of the building’s past are better remembered than others. Its impressive scale and ‘ancient’ character give the cathedral much of its contemporary civic and public profile. Yet, as a space that hosted centuries of communal religious observance, burials and remembrance practices, the cathedral intersects with Glasgow’s multi-faceted history of involvement in the British Empire. The extent and character of these influences on the cathedral can be seen throughout its grounds and its interior in ways that demonstrate the normative nature of the British Empire in Glasgow’s urban space and society.

Cathedral Precinct

The precinct area is not in state care. It is included here to underline how individual PiCs should be understood as part of a wider, constantly changing urban and memorialisation landscape.

HES has responsibility only for the ‘footprint’ of the cathedral but it is clear that the space around the building had a special civic significance and this is evidenced by contemporary views of national events. Four of the seven statues on the cathedral’s precinct represent individuals with major empire dimensions to their lives and careers. David Livingstone’s activities in eastern central Africa were once key to a celebratory interpretation of Scotland’s role in the Empire.¹⁰⁸ William of Orange, meanwhile, held shares in the Royal Africa Company, which meant he benefited financially from the trafficking of enslaved people. William’s equestrian statue was paid for by an Ayrshire man who served in the 1720s as a governor of the

108 John M. Mackenzie, ‘David Livingstone – Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions’, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 129:3-4 (2013), pp. 277-91.

English East India Company's settlement of Madras (present-day Chennai). This double influence underlines the layering of different phases of the Empire onto and into sites like Glasgow cathedral and its monuments. Indeed, it underscores the country-wide transformation of key public space, arguably into imperial set pieces.

Far less grand forms of memorialisation in the High Kirk burial ground point to the wider links between the Empire and Glasgow's economy and society. The grave of Margaret Maxwell, who died in 1819, reveals that her husband, William, was a 'Tobacconist'. This branch of retail and consumption directly tied the mass of the city's population, as well as Margaret's own material and social status, to a commodity produced by enslaved people.

In its capacity as a highly symbolic civic building in the post-Reformation period hosting three separate burgh parishes, the cathedral has served as a site for interring those with empire connections. Many crypt burials were subsequently removed during the restoration of the cathedral in the mid 19th century. However, memorial plaques are dotted throughout the interior and are especially prominent in the lower church/crypt. It was through funeral and memorialisation practices such as this that individuals profiting from colonial slavery found a place in, arguably, the city's most significant religious space. The defining example of this culture of remembrance is the plaques memorialising three members of the Dennistoun of Colgrain/Kelvingrove family which now surround the tomb of St Kentigern (St Mungo, the city's patron saint). In this way, Caribbean slavery was embedded in the most religiously prestigious spot in the city of Glasgow.

While the intimate juxtaposition between those involved in colonial slavery and the city's ancient religious heritage may seem at odds with today's sensibilities, it is a legacy of the cathedral's long use as a crucial site to commemorate and represent Glasgow's deep immersion in the British Empire.

The Nave

The scale and diversity of memorials in Glasgow cathedral's main interior space reflects the Empire's omnipresent influence. It is testimony to how much the cathedral acted as a central, symbolic site for remembering those active in the Empire that of the 57 monuments/plaques and standards in the nave, 24 (42.1 per cent) explicitly note colonial or imperial connections.

One of the key trends underpinning this overall total is the move away from remembering prominent military officers and merchants to commemorating entire families, ordinary soldiers and whole regiments. This evolution in the culture of memorialisation contributed to a crucial process of popularising the Empire and of making it relevant to a larger percentage of the population. An example of this development is the memorial to personnel from the 71st Highland Light Infantry killed in north-west India in 1863. A regiment closely associated with Glasgow, the iconography operated at an imperial, national and local level. Besides listing ordinary rank and file and projecting the symbolism of 'Lowland' tartan trews and 'Highland' kilts acting together, it may be that the intention was to pass the message of imperial military patriotism onto the next generation of Glaswegians. Meanwhile, five regimental standards provide a potent symbol of the city's identification with the effort to defend and expand the Empire. These can be found in key parts of the building, at the west door, in the chapter house and, in the case of the colours of the 1st battalion of the Scots Guards carried during the 1801 war in Egypt, at the central point in the nave.

Some of those remembered in the cathedral died in conflicts that raise important questions about the timing and nature of the Empire's end and how its legacies remain highly contested and sensitive. For many people, the events in the Falkland Islands (1982) and in the North of Ireland (1969–1998) involved the defence of populations from foreign invasion or political terrorism. Yet these conflicts are also interpreted as 'post-imperial' events – that is, as phenomena that owe much of their origin and character to the enduring influence of Britain's imperial and colonial history.¹⁰⁹ That such relatively recent conflicts can be viewed through these differing perspectives underline how the Empire's dissolution is a protracted process much closer to us in time than might seem to be the case given the largely 1850s to 1950s date range of the most obvious imperial memorials.

¹⁰⁹ Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 148–9. Philip J. Stern, *Empire, Incorporated* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap Press of University of Harvard Press, 2023), p. 318.

Nave Case Study: Oswald Family Burial Plot ‘G.O. [nos.1-8]’

The Oswald family are buried in the most prominent central part of the building, at the crossing where the nave is connected to the choir (under slabs marked ‘G.O.’, numbers 1–8). The Oswald family were originally from Caithness. According to one account of Glasgow, Richard Oswald (1687–1766) and Alexander Oswald (born 1694) ‘came to Glasgow early in last century [that is, the early 1700s] and became rich merchants and shipowners’. They purchased the Scotstoun estate in 1751.¹¹⁰ Their nephew, Richard Oswald of Auchincruive, served an apprenticeship in their Glasgow counting house, before his later involvement in the enslavement and trafficking centre of Bance Island off the coast of Sierra Leone. Oswald’s company was responsible for ensuring thousands of Africans were transported into chattel slavery. Oswald of Auchincruive is buried in St Quivox in Ayrshire.¹¹¹

The elder Oswalds, however, were among the pioneers of Glasgow’s Atlantic commerce in the early 18th century. According to one historian of the city in that era, Alexander Oswald was involved in the establishment of the ‘Great Company’ undertaking trade with ‘Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America’.¹¹² Moreover, it seems very likely the Oswalds were involved with the very few voyages to depart from Glasgow that trafficked African enslaved people in the early 18th century. At one such trial voyage in 1724, Richard Oswald of Scotstoun was cited as the ‘recognized authority on slave trading in Glasgow’.¹¹³ That such a mercantile family were afforded a prominent burial spot in Glasgow Cathedral reveals the normalisation and acceptance of slavery-related activities in early 18th-century Glasgow. This privilege was granted to Richard Oswald of Scotstoun ‘for his good services to the Town as one of the six commissioners to the Rebels in the ‘45’.¹¹⁴ The city of Glasgow was regarded as in ‘danger of being attacked by force

which they are in no Condition to resist’ in 1745, when Charles Stuart’s forces resided in the city and demanded monies. Oswald negotiated favourable terms.¹¹⁵

Lower Church

The Lower Church of what is now Glasgow Cathedral served as the parish church for the Barony parish congregation from 1597 to 1798/1801. It was afterwards converted to a burial ground for the Barony parish and was used as such for approximately 35 years. This was not without controversy at the time. Dr John Strang, City Chamberlain, noted that ‘we cannot sufficiently deprecate the taste of individuals who reconverted the lower portion ... into a burying place ... the walls have been daubed over with the most disgusting emblems of grief’. Between 1836 and 1857, the public use of the cathedral and the Lower Church changed again and apparently some of the later burials were removed.¹¹⁶

Stephen Driscoll’s excavations in 1993 concluded ‘in total 77 burials were excavated [in the Nave and Lower Church]. In the Lower Church no features relating to the site of St Mungo’s tomb were found and most of the burials date to the early 19th century.’¹¹⁷ While no remains from 19th-century burials are extant (they were removed c.1840), this survey has identified approximately twenty memorials embedded in the Lower Church’s slabs. These are mainly in the form of brass plaques, although some familial details are carved into the flooring slabs. Four memorials relate to two families (Gray of Dalmarnock and the family of Robert Dennistoun), while some provide details of family plots (suggesting multiple members of families were once buried there). Some are clearly marked. For example, ‘Underneath is deposited the remains of Richard Dennistoun, died 11 May 1833’, as well as his wife and family. It is unclear, however, if all memorials in the Lower Church mark the site of actual burial plots. Some, such as James Dunlop of

110 John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (Glasgow: James Maclehoose, 1878), ‘Scotstoun’.

111 David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

112 John McUre, *The History of Glasgow: A New Edition* (Glasgow: Hutchison & Brookman, 1830), p. 170.

113 Eric Graham and Sue Mowat, ‘The Slaving Voyage of the Hannover of Port Glasgow 1719–1720’, *History Scotland*, 3:5 (2003), p. 33.

114 *The Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition 1894* (Glasgow: Institute of the Fine Arts, 1894), p. 35.

115 Andrew Cochrane and James Dennistoun, *The Cochrane Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, M.DCC.XLV–VI* (Glasgow: n.p., 1806), p. 132.

116 Alistair R. Gordon, ‘Excavation in the Lower Church of Glasgow Cathedral’, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 7 (1980), pp. 85–6. See also

Stephen T. Driscoll, *Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988–1997* (Leeds: Historic Scotland / Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, 2002); James Pagan, *History of the Cathedral and See of Glasgow* [Followed by] *Descriptive Catalogue of the Painted Glass Windows* (Glasgow: Francis Orr and Sons, 1883), p. 74.

117 Canmore, ‘Glasgow, Glasgow Cathedral, 70 Cathedral Square, Cathedral of St Mungo’, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/45002/glasgow-glasgow-cathedral-70-cathedral-square-cathedral-of-st-mungo>, accessed 4 August 2022.

Garnkirk's, provide details of families only. While they take the form of a gravestone engraved into the slab, the information does not confirm that remains were ever present.

The period during which burials were allowed within the Lower Church (1798/1801–36) spans an important chronology. Glasgow's classical age of sugar began after the American Revolutionary War (1775–83) which effectively ended the city's tobacco monopoly and endured to the end of Caribbean slavery (finally abolished 1834–8). Throughout this era, a group of merchants that collectively became known as the 'sugar aristocracy' (many of whom were direct descendants of their commercial predecessors, the 'tobacco lords') came to prominence in the city. They acquired fortunes derived from Caribbean slavery, which were often invested in Scottish industry, commerce and landed enterprise, affording them a high social status in the local society. Importantly, many of Glasgow's West India elite were heritors in the Barony parish, and it is now apparent that some were buried in Glasgow Cathedral's Lower Church.

Richard Dennistoun of Kelvingrove (d.1833) was apparently buried in a plot in the Lower Church alongside his family. Another plot seemingly contained his brother, 'Beneath lie the Remains of Robert Dennistoun, Second son of James Dennistoun of Colgrain', and an adjoining plaque reads: 'With those of Robert Dennistoun are also here interred, the remains of Anne Penelope, his wife'. Robert Dennistoun died in 1815 (and so fits with the chronology of the Barony burials), although Anne Penelope Dennistoun died in 1863 and so was apparently afforded the special privilege of interment in the family plot after Lower Church burials ceased. Therefore three separate enslavers were buried very near St Mungo's tomb (and their remains once lay there).

Other colonial merchants had some form of memorialisation in the Lower Church. The 'tobacco lord' James Dunlop of Garnkirk (1741–1816) is commemorated in what looks like a burial plot, although it remains unclear if the family were ever actually interred (see below). James McInroy of Lude (1759–1825) is memorialised in a brass plaque. It seems possible that 'In Memory' plaques were mounted to commemorate the burial places of remains relocated after 1836. According to one 19th-century account, Kirkman Finlay was buried in Blackadder's Aisle in the Lower Church: 'In Memory of Kirkman Finlay, Esq. of Castle Toward, who died on the 4th March 1842, in the 70th year of his age and was Buried in this aisle'.¹¹⁸ Kirkman Finlay was a partner in the family firm James Finlay & Co., the leading cotton manufacturers in late 18th- and early 19th-century Scotland. The firm were initially financed by West India merchants, and sourced the raw produce from the region, although Kirkman Finlay shifted commercial focus to the East Indies after 1813.¹¹⁹ However, while it is possible his remains still lie there, there is no trace of Finlay's memorial in the Lower Church.

Individuals with connections to the British Empire are also memorialised in various other forms in the Lower Church. George Stewart Burns was Chaplain to the 4th Battalion of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) from 1865 to 1896, a period when the regiment served in India and in the first Boer War.¹²⁰ Robert Thom (1807–1846) was a representative of Jardine, Matheson & Co. and although he was buried in Russia, an 'In Memory' brass plaque remains in the Lower Church. James Corbet of Tollcross (1749–1818), the son of a 'tobacco lord', has a brass plaque in memory of him.

118 John M'Ure (ed. J. F. S. Gordon), *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow; or, An Account of its Origin [&c.] by J. M'Ure. mdccxxxvi. Comprising also every history hitherto published* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), p. 715.

119 Roger Jeffery, 'Merchant Capital and the End of Empire: James Finlay, Merchant Adventurers', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17:7 (1982), p. 241.

120 S. H. F. Johnston, *The History of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles): 26th and 90th: Vol. I, 1689–1910* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1957).

The Material Forms of Memorialisation: Plaques

James McInroy of Lude, and Family

James McInroy (1759–1825) was born near Pitlochry and was active in the Dutch/British colony of Demerara in 1782. He operated in Grenada in the south-east Caribbean, ultimately establishing a merchant firm in Glasgow with co-partners Charles Stuart Parker, George Robertson and Samuel Sandbach. The original firm, McInroy Parker & Co., was established in Glasgow around 1790, and a successor firm in Liverpool in 1804.¹²¹ James McInroy lived in his estate Lude in Perthshire in Scotland. He died in 1825, worth £172,912, ranking him among the most super-wealthy of Glasgow's 19th-century West India elite.¹²² McInroy's only connection to Glasgow was his status as a co-partner in the West India firm. It seems possible that he worshipped in the Barony parish, and his date of death fits with the chronology of Barony burials (1801–36), but this looks like an in-memory plaque, likely placed by his family after his death.

Robert Thom

Robert Thom (1807–1846) was a representative of Jardine, Matheson & Co. Established by Scots, this became one of the largest opium trading firms operating between India and China. Thom was present in Canton from 1833. According to historian John King Fairbank, he became an interpreter for the British Government in 1843, around the period of the First Opium War (1839–42). He was the 'author of the Supplementary treaty' (which provided Great Britain with 'favoured nation status'). Thom served in Ningpo until his death in 1846.¹²³

Robert Dennistoun of Colgrain

A plaque marks the burial spot of Robert Dennistoun of Colgrain (1770–1815). Robert Dennistoun was a partner in prominent Glasgow West India firm George and Robert Dennistoun & Co.¹²⁴ This firm initially focused on the island of St Kitts, and latterly Trinidad.¹²⁵ Robert Dennistoun was one of the founder members of pro-slavery lobbying group the Glasgow West India Association.¹²⁶ He was almost certainly an owner of enslaved people in light of the fact that among his assets he held a share in 'Paradise Estate' (valued at £837).¹²⁷ After his death in 1815, his estate was valued at £47,294. Robert Dennistoun, therefore, was at once a West India merchant, planter and pro-slavery propagandist. A second plaque confirms that his wife, Anne Penelope Dennistoun (née Campbell), is also buried there. Anne Penelope (d.1863) was the daughter of Glasgow West India merchant Colin Campbell of Jura. She took over the trusteeship of her husband's affairs on his death in 1815 (including partnership in West India firm George and Robert Dennistoun & Co.). This explains why Anne Penelope Dennistoun claimed £12,544 compensation for 253 enslaved people in Trinidad when the British Government abolished plantation slavery in 1834.¹²⁸ This was equivalent to £11.3 million (relative to the worth of average earning in 2020).¹²⁹ This plot therefore contains the remains of at least two separate enslavers, who lie very close to St Mungo's tomb, regarded as the heart of Glasgow.

121 David Alston, 'James McInroy', *Slaves and Highlanders*, available at: <https://www.spanglefish.com/slavesandhighlanders/index.asp?pageid=552969>, accessed 1 August 2022.

122 NRS, Perth Sheriff Court, SC49/31/15, 'Inventory of the personal estate of James MacInroy esq., of Lude', 8 July 1826.

123 John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 118, 162.

124 'Robert Dennistoun', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146635336>, accessed 4 August 2022.

125 See, for example, *Glasgow Herald*, 8 November 1813, p. 4; *Glasgow Herald*, 15 January 1827, p. 3.

126 Glasgow City Archives (GCA), TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the West India Association, 1807–1853', fo. 7.

127 NRS Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, SC36/48/10, 'Inventory of the personal property of Robert Dennistoun, esq. merchant in Glasgow', 24 February 1816, p. 535.

128 'Anne Penelope Dennistoun (née Campbell)', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28579>, accessed 1 August 2022.

129 Measuring Worth, available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1834&amount=12544&year_result=2020, accessed 1 August 2022.

Corbett Family

James Corbett of Tollcross (1749–1818) is not included in T.M. Devine's *The Tobacco Lords*. But he was related to two 'tobacco lords' John Corbett of Tollcross (1729–1815) and Cunninghame Corbett (b.1776).¹³⁰ James Corbett, son of John Corbett of Tollcross, matriculated with the Merchants House of Glasgow in 1790, and was almost certainly the recipient of slavery-derived wealth.¹³¹ This is a memorial plaque, rather than a burial spot.

The Orrs of Barrowfield

The Orrs of Barrowfield in Glasgow owned estates and enslaved people in Tobago, in the south-eastern Caribbean. Tobago was a 'ceded island', subsumed into the British Empire after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Land in ceded Tobago was sold off to private investors. After the Union of 1707, Scots were especially prominent in the new territories of the British Empire, and nowhere more so than the Ceded Islands. John Orr of Barrowfield – named on the burial plot, and likely buried there at some point – was the owner of King's Bay estate and enslaved people. In 1796, he lobbied Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for War, to indicate his opposition to ceding Tobago back to the French.¹³² The Legacies of British Slavery project suggests that the Orr purchase of Tobago estates was 'an effort to restore the family fortunes after collapse of their Glasgow mercantile concerns in the mid-1750s'.¹³³

The Material Forms of Memorialisation: Stained-glass Windows

Another example of the Empire's presence in the cathedral takes the form of stained-glass windows commissioned by some of the city's leading commercial, financial, industrial and legal families. As a result, of 27 stained-glass memorials (most of which are replacements), almost 20 per cent commemorate individuals with strong connections to the British Empire. The original windows are gone, but the replacements extant today continue to project the image of genteel and respectable pillars of Glasgow society.

These windows underline one of the most important messages to be drawn from exploring how cultures of memorialisation evolved over time. They were designed to project highly selective public representations of those they remembered. Their effect was to disguise earlier histories of involvement in British colonies and economies of enslavement. The windows can be seen as part of a much wider effort by Glasgow civic society to downplay its pre-1838 history of profiteering from, and widespread consumption of, commodities such as tobacco, sugar and cotton produced by enslaved people.

Stained-glass Memorial (Replacement), Alexander Campbell of Hallyards

Placed by the children of Alexander Campbell of Hallyards (1768–1817). Campbell was a founder partner in one of Glasgow's most prominent West India firms, John Campbell senior & Co. (established in 1787). Alongside his cousin John, the firm focused on two separate slavery economies in the British West Indies: Grenada, and after 1795, Demerara (which became part of British Guiana in the 1830s). The firm specialised in the import of sugar and especially cotton, as well as extending credit to planters and providing manufactured goods for their estates. The firm's partners themselves became owners of estates and resident enslaved people.¹³⁴ Dying in 1817, Archibald Campbell was very wealthy, owning the landed estate of Hallyards in Peebles, and worth £34,432 on his death.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975), p. 179.

¹³¹ *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant's House* (Glasgow: MacCorquodale & Co., 1858); J. Anderson (ed.), *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751–1846* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1935), p. 11.

¹³² NRS, GD51/1/522, 'Letter from John Orr to Henry Dundas', 26 November 1796; J. W. Dickson et al. (eds), *The Scottish Jurist*, Vol. 3 (Edinburgh: Michael Anderson, 1831), p. 54.

¹³³ 'John Orr', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632773>, accessed 18 December 2022.

¹³⁴ Stephen Mullen, 'The Great Glasgow West India House of John Campbell senior & Co.', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 124–45.

¹³⁵ NRS, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, SC36/48/17, 'Inventory of the personal property of Alexander Campbell of Hallyards, merchant in Glasgow', 16 April 1822.

**Stained-glass Memorial (Replacement),
Robert Denniston**

Placed by Anne Penelope Dennistoun (d.1863), in memory of her husband Robert Dennistoun (1770–1815). As per the information in the above entry regarding their shared burial plot, this stained-glass window was funded by a woman enslaver to commemorate her husband, a West India merchant, enslaver and leading pro-slavery lobbyist.

**Stained-glass Memorial (Replacement),
James Reddie**

Placed by children of James Reddie, advocate in Glasgow (1773–1852). This is almost certainly the same James Reddie who (in a Trustee role) claimed £574 compensation for 30 enslaved people in Shooter’s Hill in Jamaica when the British Government abolished slavery in 1834.¹³⁶

**Stained-glass Memorial (Replacement),
James Dunlop of Garnkirk**

Placed by Mary Buchanan, spouse of James Dunlop of Garnkirk (1741–1816). James Dunlop of Garnkirk was named as a ‘tobacco lord’ by T. M. Devine.¹³⁷ He was involved with his father’s Virginia firm, Colin Dunlop & Sons, before its bankruptcy in 1793. The family estate of Garnkirk was sold at this point, although James Dunlop retained the superiority over Carmyle, which allowed diversification in coal-mining. He became wealthy enough to purchase the landed estate of Tollcross in 1810.¹³⁸ Virginia commerce was instrumental to the accumulation of the family fortune: James Dunlop salvaged assets from the bankruptcy which allowed diversification into Scottish industry and landed enterprise.

**Stained-glass Window and Memorial,
Robert Burn Anderson**

This stained-glass window and memorial commemorate Robert Burn Anderson: ‘In memoriam Robert Burn Anderson, Lieutenant 1st Bombay Fusiliers, Brigade Major Hodson’s Horse, Adjutant Fanes Irregular Cavalry’. Hodson’s regiment had been prominent in the suppression of the Indian Rising. He died in China in 1860.

**The Material Forms of Memorialisation: Burial Plots
Richard Dennistoun of Kelvingrove**

Richard Dennistoun (1762–1833) was the fourth son of the second marriage of a ‘tobacco lord’, James Dennistoun of Colgrain. Brothers George, Robert and Richard were co-partners in the family merchant firm, George and Robert Dennistoun & Co., which traded with St Kitts and Trinidad.¹³⁹ In 1806, Richard owned a townhouse at 31 Miller Street (which adjoins Virginia Street). In May 1807, Dennistoun purchased Woodcroft and Berriedyke estate in Glasgow’s west end, which was renamed Kelvingrove estate.¹⁴⁰ Dennistoun was therefore part of the very wealthy Glasgow West India elite who maintained both a townhouse and landed estate on the outskirts of the city. However, he experienced financial difficulties in the late 1820s, leaving a modest personal estate on his death in 1833.¹⁴¹ Even so, the family were able to retain the landed estate in Glasgow, thus protecting their elevated social position, until the 1840s.¹⁴² Although Dennistoun died in 1833, technically before slavery was abolished in the British West Indies, the Legacies of British Slavery website lists Dennistoun as a claimant of compensation: £2,559 17s 1d for 50 enslaved people resident on Belvidere estate in Trinidad.¹⁴³ As such, Dennistoun remained a West India merchant and enslaver until his death in 1833 and was buried in Glasgow Cathedral in the era of abolition when chattel slavery was widely regarded as an anachronistic evil. The Dennistoun plot is in the closest proximity to St Mungo’s tomb, revealing the high esteem in which the family, and by extension colonial merchants, were held by Glasgow society.

¹³⁶ ‘James Reddie’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42315>, accessed 1 August 2022.

¹³⁷ T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975), p.180.

¹³⁸ J. G. Smith and J. O. Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1878), ‘Tollcross’.

¹³⁹ *Cases Decided in the House of Lords: On Appeal from the Courts*, Vols 6–7 (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 247.

¹⁴⁰ Glasgow City Archives, T-SA 5/1/1, Barony, 1781–1808, sasine 6376.

¹⁴¹ NRS, SC36/48/24, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, ‘Inventory of Richard Deenistoun esq, of Kelvingrove’, 16 December 1833.

¹⁴² Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, ‘Kelvingrove’.

¹⁴³ ‘Trinidad 1749 (Belvidere)’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28440>, accessed 4 August 2022.

Burial Plot (Apparently), James Dunlop Late of Garnkirk

This appears to be the burial plot of the Dunlop of Garnkirk family. As noted above, James Dunlop of Garnkirk (1741-1816) was a 'tobacco lord' who later diversified into Scottish industry and landed enterprise. This plot is very close to St Mungo's tomb, in the lower church of the cathedral.

The Material Forms of Memorialisation: Military Memorialisation

Alongside the commercial elite, the other most obvious focus is monuments to military officers and regiments. That of Brigade Major Robert Burns Anderson, who was born in Glasgow in 1836 and killed in 'Peking' (present-day Beijing) during the Second Opium War (1856-60), reveals the global careers of those in empire service. It also exhibits the world view generated by imperialist ideologies both abroad and in Glasgow.

Commemoration of this military element takes different forms. Regimental standards have already been noted in relation to the central nave, but they are also present in the chapter house. They remember imperial campaigns such as Egypt (1801), Seringapatam (1799) and the Battle of Assaye (1803).¹⁴⁴ Through these artefacts the Empire is represented at key parts of the building's spiritual architecture.

Among the 57 memorials and non-grave plaques in the main body of the building, military themes are conspicuous: no fewer than 19 different military units are commemorated. Some of these, such as the 26th regiment (the Cameronians) or the 71st and 74th Highland regiments (which were combined into the Highland Light Infantry) had strong associations with the city. They identified with the city and vice versa. The civic culture of memorialising military service was more than just unreflective local pride or jingoism. It worked to embed and normalise the Empire and its ideologies at home and among the general population.¹⁴⁵ Many historians argue that this process of making the Empire 'mundane' and part of everyday life

was crucial to the shaping of British society in the 19th and early to mid 20th centuries.¹⁴⁶ While the precise extent of this domestic influence remains a matter of debate, its presence in the cathedral is striking. The role of military monuments in this key socio-cultural development can be tracked with an unusual level of detail and nuance at this PiC.

These acts of remembrance naturally reflect the prevailing cultural priorities and perspectives of their time. Placing them in the wider context of Britain's empire history – that is, in the events occurring around the time of their creation – can facilitate a holistic understanding. For example, in the late 1940s the Scots Guards were engaged in counter-insurgency actions in Malaya (present day Malaysia). In mid-December 1948, the unit was accused and later investigated for the killing of twenty-four unarmed civilians. On 14 April 1956, a stained-glass panel commemorating the Scots Guards was unveiled by the Duke of Gloucester in the west front of the Cathedral.

This review of Glasgow Cathedral points toward a range of additional lines of research into the role of memory, memorialisation and Empire in the city.¹⁴⁷ The cathedral's post-Reformation function as the main civic forum for memorial performances requires deeper investigation. The role of spaces in the building associated with certain families, and the function of plaques for actual (or former) burials, point to the need to better understand the overlap between religious piety and recreational practice. There is also the issue of how the cathedral sat in a wider cityscape of remembrance and civic ceremony and the ways in which its status changed in response to the emergence of new spaces such as the Necropolis or the 1924 War Memorial in George Square. All of these questions will cast new light on the cultural place of the Empire in Glasgow's spiritual and civic life.

¹⁴⁴ Authors Site Visit, 4 February 2022.

¹⁴⁵ MacKenzie, *A Cultural History of the British Empire*, pp. 178-9.

¹⁴⁶ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire', in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 13-14, 32-4, 51-2.

¹⁴⁷ For new scholarship on memory in Glasgow civic and popular society, see Craig Lamont, *The Cultural Memory of Georgian Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

CASE STUDY 2: Edinburgh Castle

Edinburgh Castle [PiC222]

(empire connections: memorialisation and production)



Edinburgh Castle is a national and international Scottish heritage icon and is the most visited PiC.¹⁴⁸ Physical location, scale and centuries of association with Scotland's medieval, early modern and modern history account for this high-profile status. The location's military tone is a striking feature. In many ways the castle is a prime example of how cultures of memorialisation embedded and normalised the British Empire's presence in Scottish society.

Yet this PiC is also a prime example of how a site can exhibit more than one type of empire connection. In common with the other major castles, Edinburgh acted as a site of 'imperial production', meaning it facilitated the marshalling, housing and dispersal of military personnel across the Empire. However, given HES's brief to explore the question of memorials, the focus of what follows is on this aspect.

As with Glasgow Cathedral, Edinburgh Castle provides an especially rich location for better understanding how PiCs are multi-layered sites of imperial memorialisation. A fascinating aspect of the castle's 19th- and 20th-century history is the way in which it became a forum or space to remember and project Scottish society's distinctive contribution to the Empire's military complex.¹⁴⁹

The Esplanade, designed specifically as a venue for public military displays, exemplifies this development arguably more so than any other space. It is flanked by eleven monuments, nine of which are military in character. The case of the 25th Regiment has been discussed previously. Some of the earliest of these monuments of remembrance remaining on the site were for prominent military officers. However, in a sign of changing social attitudes, the emphasis from the 1880s onwards (coinciding with the third Reform Act) was on entire regiments and lost rank and file. Five imperial memorials (45 per cent of the total) form a central part of this public space. These include one to the 72nd Highlanders (2nd Afghan War) [1882]; the Scottish Horse (South Africa) [1905]; the 92nd Highlanders (South Africa) [early 1900s?]; 78th Highlanders (Indian Rising) [1861]; Col. Kenneth D. MacKenzie (92nd Highlanders - Ireland, Malta, Crimea, India, China, Canada) [1875].¹⁵⁰

As with Glasgow Cathedral, there are monuments which demonstrate not only the Empire's enduring profile in 20th-century Scottish society but also how its character was reconfigured in response to decolonisation.¹⁵¹ The plaque erected in 1953 commemorating the Nova Scotia baronets can be interpreted as either a late imperial act of remembrance or a manifestation of the desire to project a new sense of the Commonwealth under a new 'Elizabethan' age. If this plaque is allocated an imperial designation, it means over half the monuments at the defining introductory public space to the castle are directly linked to the Empire. To this could be added the statue of Field Marshal Douglas Haig, which was originally located on the Esplanade, but now stands in Hospital Square, next to the National War Museum. In 2009 it was transferred into the confines of the castle to facilitate the safe movement of people entering and exiting the military tattoo.¹⁵² Haig is best known for his command of British forces on the Western Front during the First World War. His imperial experience is far less well appreciated, a fact that is of relevance to this report given that he is commemorated/remembered at two PiCs - Edinburgh Castle and Dryburgh Abbey [PiC141]. As with most of the British Army's senior officer cadres in that conflict, Haig's early career involved tours of duty across the Empire.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9fbc23c6-dce4-4dec-921e-a57000cf8ff7>, accessed 23 February 2023.

¹⁴⁹ Robert J. Morris, 'The Capitalist, the Professor and the Soldier: the Re-making of Edinburgh Castle, 1850-1900', *Planning Perspectives*, 22:1 (2007), pp. 55-78.

¹⁵⁰ The date in square brackets indicates the known date of the memorial's creation. The information in round brackets indicates the individual or imperial conflict being remembered.

¹⁵¹ Bryan S. Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), pp. 3-19.

¹⁵² <https://www.scotsman.com/news/after-85-years-haigs-statue-finally-retreats-inside-edinburgh-castle-2443703>, accessed 28 September 2022.

¹⁵³ Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, 'Haig, Douglas, First Earl Haig', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 15 December 2022.

The equestrian statue of Frederick, Duke of York (1763–1827), commander in chief of the British Army between 1798 and 1809, showcases the ambiguous and always partial messaging imparted by such monuments. The statue projects his royal status and his position as head of the army. However, during his tenure as commander in chief, major expeditions were launched to maintain or expand the country's imperial interests. These included Egypt (1801) and the early planning for assaults on key French possessions in the Caribbean, which were effected after York's resignation. The statue is not included here as 'imperial', although a strong case could be made for so doing.¹⁵⁴

Looked at as a whole, it is surely significant that six of the eleven monuments were commissioned between 1861 and 1905. This chronology corresponds with an era that historians have identified as the age of 'popular imperialism'.¹⁵⁵ It was also an era that witnessed more general societal trends towards memorialising the past. Whether the cluster of memorials at Edinburgh Castle reflected this wider trend, actively influenced it or was a combination of both dynamics is a question that is worthy of deeper research.

CASE STUDY 3: Balfours of Trenabie

There are five PiCs (listed below) that have some association with the Balfours of Trenabie (who also owned various other estates including Shapinsay).

[Broch of Gurness \(Aikerness Broch\) \[PiC277\]](#)
[Stones of Stenness \[PiC321\]](#)
[Maeshowe, Chambered Cairn \[PiC305\]](#)
[Ring of Brodgar \[PiC313\]](#)
[Tormiston Mill \[PiC336\]](#)

The Balfours of Trenabie: Imperial Connections

From the mid 18th century, the fortunes of this branch of the Balfours were infused by East India capital. According to architectural historian Nicholas Kingsley, *The eldest, John Balfour (1750–1842), secured a post with the East India Company thanks to the influence of Sir Lawrence Dundas, and made a fortune before his return to Britain in 1790, which he is said to have then doubled by successful investments. He succeeded his father at Trenabie, and was MP for Orkney & Shetland, 1790–96 and again in 1820–26, but he seems to have lived chiefly in Edinburgh and London. He was married, but had no issue, and when he died the bulk of his wealth passed to his great-nephew, David Balfour (1811–87).*¹⁵⁶

154 H. M. Stephens, revised by John Van der Kiste, 'Frederick, Prince, Duke of York and Albany', *Oxford History of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 13 March 2023.

155 Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland', pp. 13–21.

156 Nicholas Kingsley, 'Balfour of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay', *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, available at: <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/09/346-balfour-of-balfour-castle-shapinsay.html>, accessed 27 September 2022.

Douglas Barker's study 'Shapinsay: The Transformation of an Island Society, 1830–1875' (2004) concurred that John Balfour was 'one of the creditors of the Rajah of Tanjore ... [and] is estimated to have collected £60,000 from his claims before returning to become MP for Orkney and Shetland'.¹⁵⁷ As an official of the East India Company operating on the financial, diplomatic and military frontiers of southern India, Balfour's fortune was more imperial in character than those of the colonial and commercial fortunes acquired by Glasgow's tobacco and sugar merchants. On his death in 1842, John Balfour's wealth was recorded as £180,852 (the vast bulk of which was held in England), which placed him among the richest men in Victorian Britain (an era when £100,000 was regarded as nationally significant).¹⁵⁸

Douglas Barker also noted that the origins of this branch of the Balfour family's wealth lay in involvement with the East India Company, and the importance of the intergenerational transmission of such wealth to David Balfour, who *Invested much of his inherited wealth, and government grants, in converting the subsistence-based agriculture of Shapinsay into a 7,500 acre 'floating farm', complete with 160 new farms and a network of square, ten-acre, fields. Shapinsay is a microcosm of the nineteenth century agricultural improvement.*¹⁵⁹

According to architectural historian Nicholas Kingsley, a portion of the estate was sold in 1875 within the family to Colonel James William Balfour (1827–1907), who *Moved to Orkney and threw himself into the role of being one of the county's leading landowners, becoming Colonel of the local Artillery Volunteers, and Chairman of the County Council.*¹⁶⁰

By 1879–80, Colonel Balfour of Shapinsay was in possession of Aikerness, among other properties in Orkney.¹⁶¹ On his death in 1907, he was succeeded by his son Colonel William Edward Ligonier Balfour (1855–1934), who *Retired from the army and moved to Orkney, but unlike his predecessors he seems to have had no desire to play an active part in the public life of the islands and became something of a recluse. He disentailed the estate and sold most of the estate farms.*¹⁶²

The Balfours and Properties in Care in Orkney

It is impossible to trace just how much of the empire-derived wealth percolated down the generations, especially with a family handover in 1875, although East India wealth served to preserve Orkney's ancient heritage in the mid 19th century. In the 1860s, the antiquarian Dr E. Charlton visited Orkney and took part in work already started by MP James Farrer in 1861. Charlton and Farrer were assisted by *One of the most extensive proprietors in Orkney, Mr Balfour of Trenabie [who] has also readily co-operated in the good work. It is on this gentleman's estate that Maeshoe is situated, and through his liberality the chamber within the mound has been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition.*¹⁶³

Given the post-1861 dating of these improvements, this was none other than David Balfour (1811–1887), who, as noted above, was the great-nephew of John Balfour of Trenabie. He had inherited the 'bulk' of his great-uncle's East India fortune on the latter's death in 1842.¹⁶⁴ David Balfour took much interest in Maeshowe. In July 1861, Farrer 'made all the requisite arrangements for a thorough examination', only with the 'sanction and encouragement of Mr Balfour of Balfour and Trenabie'.¹⁶⁵ This context provides an extremely strong case for arguing that a second-generation East India fortune helped preserve Maeshowe, which, as will be outlined below, is regarded

¹⁵⁷ Douglas Barker, 'Shapinsay: The Transformation of an Island Society, 1830–1875' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2004), p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ NRS, SC70/1/63, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventories, Inventory, Last Will and Testament of John Balfour, 22 April 1843, p. 759.

¹⁵⁹ Barker, 'Shapinsay: Abstract', available at: <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/24897>, accessed 27 September 2022.

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Kingsley, 'Balfour of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay', Landed Families of Britain and Ireland, available at: <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/09/346-balfour-of-balfour-castle-shapinsay.html>, accessed 22 February 2023.

¹⁶¹ Scotland's People, OS1/23/5/76, Ordnance Survey Name Books: Orkney, 1879–1880, Volume 05, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/orkney-os-name-books-1879-1880/orkney-volume-05/76>, accessed 22 February 2023.

¹⁶² Nicholas Kingsley, 'Balfour of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay', Landed Families of Britain and Ireland, available at: <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/09/346-balfour-of-balfour-castle-shapinsay.html>, accessed 22 February 2023.

¹⁶³ E. Charlton, 'The Orkney Runes', *Archaeology Aeliana*, 7 (1865), pp. 127–47 at p. 128.

¹⁶⁴ Nicholas Kingsley, 'Balfour of Balfour Castle, Shapinsay', Landed Families of Britain and Ireland, available at: <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/09/346-balfour-of-balfour-castle-shapinsay.html>, accessed 27 September 2022.

¹⁶⁵ J. Stuart, 'Notice of Excavations in the Chambered Mound of Maeshowe, in Orkney, and of the Runic Inscriptions on the Walls of its Central Chamber', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 5 (1865), pp. 247–79.

by Historic Environment Scotland as the ‘finest Neolithic building to survive in north-west Europe’.¹⁶⁶ Later generations of Balfours actively contributed to the heritage assets of the state, with monuments in the Stenness area (Maeshowe, Ring of Brodgar, Stones of Stenness) taken into guardianship in 1906.¹⁶⁷ The breaking up of the estate by Colonel William Edward Ligonier Balfour after 1907 preceded excavation work at Broch of Gurness in the 1930s. The Balfours of Trenabie became major landowners via the accumulation of East India wealth, and the commitment of some of the family to antiquarianism served to preserve Orkney’s ancient heritage and set the precedent for later phases of site investigations.

Broch of Gurness (Aikerness Broch) [PiC277]

(empire connection: property)



The Broch of Gurness is an Iron Age broch located near Evie in Mainland Orkney. According to HES, ‘the site was excavated during the 1930s and taken into State care in 1931 under a Guardianship agreement’.¹⁶⁸ This broch was located on the Aikerness estate, once owned by the Honeyman family, which by 1874 was owned by Colonel Balfour.¹⁶⁹

Maeshowe, Chambered Cairn [PiC305]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by HES, ‘Maeshowe, a monumental chambered tomb, is the finest Neolithic building to survive in north-west Europe. Built around 5,000 years ago, it is a masterpiece of Neolithic design and construction.’¹⁷⁰ The *New Statistical Account* (1845) recognised Maeshowe, alongside the Stones of Stenness, as important sites of antiquity: ‘in the parish of Stenness, are several large erect stones, some standing single, but the greater number arranged in a circular ... this last is distinguished by the name of Mesow or Mese-howe’.¹⁷¹ As noted above, David Balfour, inheritor of an East India fortune, had a major role in the preservation and restoration of Maeshowe in the early 1860s.¹⁷²

Ring of Brodgar [PiC313]

(empire connection: property)



The Ring of Brodgar is described by HES as ‘one of the most spectacular prehistoric monuments in the British Isles. The Ring of Brodgar Stone Circle and Henge is an enormous ceremonial site dating back to the 3rd millennium BC’ (consisting of a stone circle and burial mounds).¹⁷³ Canmore reveals the proximity to other monuments around the lochs of Harray and Stenness on land owned by the Balfours. Collectively, these form part of the World Heritage site of the Heart of Neolithic Orkney.¹⁷⁴ The monuments in the Stenness area (Maeshowe, Ring of Brodgar, Stones of Stenness) were taken into guardianship together in April 1906, after discussion with Colonel James William Balfour (1827–1907).¹⁷⁵

166 ‘Maeshowe Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9c5786c0-ec08-49b1-9a56-a57000d89587>, accessed 25 May 2023.

167 J. Ritchie and E. W. Marwick, ‘The Stones of Stenness, Orkney’. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 107 (1976), pp. 1–60.

168 ‘Broch of Gurness Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=6de0d572-4093-42ca-936a-a74500aff447>, accessed 22 February 2023.

169 *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, Vol. 6 (Edinburgh, 1874), p.48.

170 ‘Maeshowe Chambered Cairn’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/maeshowe-chambered-cairn/history/>, accessed 22 February 2023.

171 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy. Firth and Stenness, Orkney*, Vol. 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 68.

172 E. Charlton, ‘The Orkney Runes’, *Archaeology Aeliana*, 7 (1865), pp. 127–47 at p. 128.

173 ‘Ring of Brodgar Stone Circle and Henge’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/ring-of-brodgar-stone-circle-and-henge/>, accessed 22 February 2023.

174 ‘Ring of Brodgar’, Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/search/result?NUMLINK=2094&view=map>, accessed 22 February 2023.

175 J. Ritchie and E.W. Marwick, ‘The Stones of Stenness, Orkney’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 107 (1976), pp. 1–60.



Stones of Stenness [PiC321]

(empire connection: property)



As summarised by HES, the ‘Stones of Stenness are part of the Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site, a series of important domestic and ritual monuments built 5000 years ago in the Orkney Islands’.¹⁷⁶ The stones were recognised as significant in 1885 when Inspector of Ancient Monuments General Pitt-Rivers visited in his role as Inspector of Ancient Monuments. By 1905, Colonel James William Balfour (1827–1907) was approached by MP Cathcart Wason and Hon. John Abercromby with regards to preserving the site and, with others in the immediate area, they were taken into guardianship in April 1906.¹⁷⁷

Tormiston Mill [PiC336]

(empire connection: property)



Tormiston Mill is a ‘late example of a Scottish watermill, built around the 1880s with the waterwheel and most of the machinery surviving’.¹⁷⁸ According to HES, Tormiston Mill was built in 1884–5, by ‘Colonel Balfour of Shapinsay for the convenience of the surrounding estate tenants and crofters/farmers from the neighbouring parishes as a mill for preparing animal feed’.¹⁷⁹ The chronology of its construction – that is, after the 1875 handover within the Balfour family of the extended properties – is significant. While Colonel James William Balfour (1827–1907) purchased family estates that were developed by East India wealth, it is unknown if he inherited any capital derived from East Indies activities. It is probable the construction of Tormiston was funded by sources unrelated to British imperialism.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Stones of Stenness Circle and Henge’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/stones-of-stenness-circle-and-henge/>, accessed 22 February 2023.

¹⁷⁷ J. Ritchie and E. W. Marwick, ‘The Stones of Stenness, Orkney’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 107 (1976), pp. 1–60

¹⁷⁸ ‘Tormiston Mill’, Canmore, Available at: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2150/tormiston-mill#details>, accessed 20 December 2023.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Tormiston Mill – Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0469cf39-ab1c-45ee-9694-a8b800f92f4c>, accessed 22 February 2023.

CASE STUDY 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch

The acquisition by the Malcolms of Poltalloch of transformative slavery-derived wealth in Jamaica in the colonial era turned them into major landowners. The Poltallochs (notably Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm) subsequently placed many historic sites into state care in the 1920s and 1930s:

[Achnabreck Cup and Ring Marks \[PiC048\]](#)

[Ballygowan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks \[PiC052\]](#)

[Baluaichraig Cup and Ring Mark Rocks \[PiC053\]](#)

[Cairnbaan Cup and Ring Marks \[PiC056\]](#)

[Carnasserie Castle \[PiC058\]](#)

[Dunadd Fort \[PiC062\]](#)

[Dunchraigaig Cairn \[PiC064\]](#)

[Eilean Mor \[PiC068\]](#)

[Kilmartin Crosses \[PiC082\]](#)

[Kilmartin Glebe Cairn \[PiC083\]](#)

[Kilmartin Sculptured Stones \[PiC084\]](#)

[Kilmichael Glassary Cup and Ring Mark Rock \[PiC085\]](#)

[Nether Largie Mid Cairn \[PiC096\]](#)

[Nether Largie North Cairn \[PiC097\]](#)

[Nether Largie South Cairn \[PiC098\]](#)

[Ri Cruin Cairn \[PiC099\]](#)

[Temple Wood Stone Circles \[PiC103\]](#)

The Malcolms of Poltalloch: Jamaica and the Atlantic Slavery Economy

The Malcolms of Poltalloch were a minor Highland family transformed into major arriviste landholders in over two generations through their connections to West India commerce and chattel slavery in Jamaica. While in some ways they were returning to a locality they originated from, the Malcolms' empire-derived wealth enabled them to manage their estates and populations without the financial constraints that motivated the eviction policies of many other Highland landlords in this period. This enabled the family to clear their properties in order to create an aesthetically pleasing landscape.

Allan Macinnes traced the Malcolms of Poltalloch's wide-ranging transatlantic business: as absentee owners of estates and enslaved people in Jamaica as well as West India merchants with shares in firms in Glasgow and London. Dugald Malcolm was operating as a merchant in Jamaica from 1750.¹⁸⁰ On his death in 1785, he was succeeded by Neil Malcolm (1769–1837), who was resident in Jamaica from 1760 and London from 1771 but retained a partnership share in Glasgow West India firm Somervell, Gordon & Co. from 1790.¹⁸¹ The *Edinburgh Gazette* confirms that Neil Malcolm was a partner in the Glasgow firm Stirling, Gordon & Co. in 1828.¹⁸² The Legacies of British Slavery website shows that when slavery was abolished in 1834, Neil Malcolm collected almost £40,000 compensation for over 2,000 enslaved people on various estates in Hanover in Jamaica in 1835.¹⁸³ A recent study of Glasgow's sugar aristocracy surveyed over 100 fortunes generated by merchants with shares in Glasgow West India firms (that is, fortunes derived through Caribbean slavery). The two largest fortunes were left by Neil Malcolm (1769–1837) and his son, Neil Malcolm junior (1797–1857).¹⁸⁴ West India commerce, and chattel slavery, provided the source of wealth for several generations of the Malcolm family, and they invested heavily in land.

¹⁸⁰ Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom from Clanship to Commercial Landlordism, c.1600–c.1850', pp. 162–90 at p. 174.

¹⁸¹ Macinnes, 'Commercial Landlordism and Clearance in the Scottish Highlands: The Case of Arichonan', p. 52.

¹⁸² *Edinburgh Gazette*, 17 June 1828, Issue 3656, p. 159

¹⁸³ See 'Neill Malcolm 12th of Poltalloch', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23187>, accessed 17 July 2022.

¹⁸⁴ Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, p. 309.

The Malcolms of Poltalloch: Argyllshire Estates and Properties in Care

Allan Macinnes noted that, by 1802, Neil Malcolm (1769–1837) had extended the family’s landholding from the parishes of Kilmartin and Glassary into Knapdale in Mid Argyll and the Cowal peninsula.¹⁸⁵ The Register of Sasines, which records all land transfers in Scotland, provides details on this pattern of land acquisition that allow identification of dates of purchase, and, where possible, facilitates cross-referencing with PiCs. There are very many Malcolm transactions recorded, and a few examples suffice. In 1787, Neil Malcolm (1769–1837) succeeded to Poltalloch estate in Ardskeodnish (modern Kilmartin).¹⁸⁶ With his son, Neil Malcolm junior (1797–1857), they were granted, in liferent and fee, the lands of Duntroon (also Kilmartin) in October 1792.¹⁸⁷ Neil Malcolm seized Achagerran in Glassary in 1800.¹⁸⁸ Father and son continued with the aggressive strategy of land acquisition into the 19th century. In 1816, they seized, in liferent and fee, Over Shirvain and Middle Shirvain, and superiority over, among other locations, Dunadd in Glassary.¹⁸⁹ In 1817, father and son ‘seised in liferent and fee ... the land of Ardchonnell and Coulchonnell’ containing ‘the two Largies in Ardskeodnish’.¹⁹⁰ In May 1830, they ‘seised for their respective interests ... the £5 land of Kilmartin’, which contained multiple smaller estates such as Dalavich and the ‘2 merk land of Carnaserrybeg’.¹⁹¹

All these properties contained sites which would become PiCs. As noted by antiquarian David Christison in a 1904 article on the standing stones of Argyll: ‘Perhaps no district in Scotland contains so many interesting remains of antiquity as the part of Argyle between the south end of Lochawe and the Mull of Kintyre, especially the part comprised in the parishes of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary, and North Knapdale.’¹⁹²



¹⁸⁵ Macinnes, ‘Commercial Landlordism and Clearance in the Scottish Highlands: The Case of Arichonan’, pp. 53–2.

¹⁸⁶ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. i, 1780–1820), sasine 363.

¹⁸⁷ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. i, 1780–1820), sasine 679.

¹⁸⁸ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. i, 1780–1820), sasine 1175.

¹⁸⁹ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. i, 1780–1820), sasine 2582.

¹⁹⁰ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. i, 1780–1820), sasine 2726.

¹⁹¹ Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. ii, 1821–50), sasine 1420.

¹⁹² D. Christison, ‘On the Standing Stones and Cup-marked Rocks, etc., in the Valley of the Add and Some Neighbouring Districts of Argyle’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 38 (1904), pp. 123–48 at p. 123.

The Malcolms of Poltalloch invested in land in parishes where ancient landmarks were located, explaining why the family are associated with seventeen separate PiCs currently under the care of Historic Environment Scotland. The process of turning landmarks on the Poltalloch estates into sites of historic and archaeological interest apparently began in 1904–5 when David Christison and Joseph Anderson were given permission by the proprietor, Colonel E.W. Malcolm, to excavate forts on his land, most notably Dunadd. This process uncovered many artefacts which were sent to the National Museum.¹⁹³

Achnabreck Cup and Ring Marks [PiC048]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, the site came into guardianship in 1932.¹⁹⁴ Many sites on the Poltalloch estates came into ownership or guardianship at the same time. The Ordnance Survey name book (1868–78) recorded this site's special significance in the later Victorian era: 'STANDING STONE [Achnabreck]: A Standing Stone having all the appearance of one of the ancient monumental Standing Stones and considered to be such by the authorities quoted', while Achnabreck was described as a 'farmhouse with offices attached property of J. Malcolm Esqr. Poltalloch'.¹⁹⁵

Ballygowan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC052]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, the 'site came into Guardianship in 1932 as one of several prehistoric monuments on the Poltalloch Estate taken into state care'.¹⁹⁶

Baluachraig Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC053]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, the 'site came into Guardianship in 1932 as one of several prehistoric monuments on the Poltalloch Estate taken into state care'.¹⁹⁷

Cairnbaan Cup and Ring Marks [PiC056]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, the 'site came into Guardianship in 1932 as one of several prehistoric monuments on the Poltalloch Estate taken into state care'.¹⁹⁸

Carnasserie Castle [PiC058]

(empire connection: property)



Carnasserie was built for the Bishop of Argyll, who was noted for making the first Gaelic translation of the Bible. The HES Statement of Significance for Carnasserie reveals that the castle was purchased by Neil Malcolm of Poltollach from the Duke of Argyll in 1829, 'cleared as a settlement' to become a 'designed landscape' for the Malcolms' mansion at Callton Mor (completed in 1853).¹⁹⁹ The purchase of Kilmartin, including Carnaserrybeg, around 1830 represented a direct flow of colonial wealth from Jamaica into the lower Highlands.²⁰⁰

193 D. Christison, J. Anderson and T. Ross, 'Report on the Society's Excavations of Forts on the Poltalloch Estate, Argyll, in 1904–5', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 39 (1905), pp. 259–322.

194 'Achnabreck Cup and Ring Marks Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=6451e3fd-1abc-492c-83d8-a6c90112dbec>, accessed 23 January 2023.

195 Scotland's Places, OS1/2/16/36, Ordnance Survey Name Books Argyll, 1868–1878 Argyll volume 16, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/argyll-os-name-books-1868-1878/argyll-volume-16/36>, accessed 11 February 2023.

196 'Ballygowan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9f6f27b1-2107-4b69-97a7-a74400d7df19>, accessed 23 January 2023.

197 'Baluachraig Cup and Ring Mark Rocks Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=def1d18a-6da9-49d0-9eeb-a86500e73c93>, accessed 23 January 2023.

198 'Cairnbaan Cup and Ring Marks Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=883able9-403d-438b-8a15-a7de00d9c0dd>, accessed 23 January 2023.

199 'Carnasserie Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=a72fe295-c0d9-4027-9492-a6cc00995097>, p. 13. See too: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB11494>.

200 Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, T-SA 1/1 Argyll (vol. ii, 1821–50), sasine 1420.

Dunadd Hill Fort [PiC062]

(empire connection: property)



In 1930, James Hewat Crow excavated at Dunadd and other locations on the Poltalloch estates in Argyll. The present proprietor apparently took active involvement in joint activities: 'Excavation was carried on at Dunadd this summer by Sir Ian Malcolm of Poltalloch, K.C.M.G., and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.'²⁰¹

Dunchraigaig Cairn [PiC064]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, 'In 1932, Dunchraigaig Cairn, along with a number of other prehistoric sites on the Poltalloch Estate, came into State care. The cairn was scheduled on 7th July 1994.'²⁰²

Eilean Mor [PiC068]

(empire connection: property)



Eilean Mor, in Loch Sween in South Knapdale in Argyll, was a noted place of pilgrimage. Three separate sites on the island are within the PiC (St Cormac's Cave, St Cormac's Chapel and St Cormac's Cross).²⁰³ The island was under the ownership of the Malcolms of Poltalloch. In 1927, Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm 'requested the Second Parties [Commissioner of Works] to become guardians of said Ecclesiastical Remains' and the Commissioner of Work 'being of the opinion that the preservation of said Ecclesiastical Remains is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic traditional and artistic interest attaching thereto'.²⁰⁴

Kilmartin Crosses [PiC082]

(empire connection: property)



Kilmartin Sculptured Stones [PiC084]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



Slavery-derived wealth enabled land acquisition, which increased the social profile and status of the Malcolms of Poltalloch, facilitating family burials in prominent churchyards. Kilmartin Church in Kilmartin, Argyll, is situated on the (now mostly ruined) Poltalloch estate. The PiC encompasses only certain parts of the churchyard, including the Poltalloch Enclosure, along with the 'lapidarium'. The Poltalloch Enclosure houses two medieval effigies, three medieval grave-slabs and two post-Reformation monuments. There were three crosses displayed in the church, one early medieval, the others later medieval. The two smaller ones have been moved to the new museum as part of their display. The family are memorialised in various forms in the church itself as well as in the churchyard, notably in the Poltalloch Enclosure. For example, there are memorials dedicated to the enslaver Neill Malcolm of Poltalloch (1769-1837), as well as his grandchildren, Reginald Neill (1833-1835) and Isabella Lucy (1834-1835). Moreover, medieval grave-slabs appear to have been reinscribed with 'the 19th-century inscription POLTALLOCH'.²⁰⁵ The sculptured stones are in Kilmartin Church in Kilmartin Glen and are situated in three locations (one inside the church and others in the graveyard). Seven memorials lie in what is described as the 'Poltalloch Enclosure', which was 'built for the Malcolms of Poltalloch in the 1700s. All but one are inscribed "POLTALLOCH"'.²⁰⁶ This appears to be the family's attempts to permanently inscribe their post-1750 status into Kilmartin's ancient history, thus manufacturing a permanent marker of the Malcolms' improved standing.

201 J. Crow, 'Excavations at Dunadd and at other Sites on the Poltalloch Estates, Argyll', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 64 (1930), pp. 111-46.

202 'Dunchraigaig Cairn - Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e1f4158c-3a98-4a5b-ad01-a75300e746ea>, accessed 23 January 2023. See too: <https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/SM90111>.

203 'Eilean Mor', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/eilean-mor/>, accessed 3 March 2023.

204 Historic Environment Scotland, Archives and Collections, MS AM/091, 'Minute of Agreement by Sir Ian Zachory Malcolm and the Commissioners of Works for Eilean Mor, St Cormac's Chapel'.

205 West of Scotland Archaeology Service (WoSAS), Site Name: Kilmartin Churchyard, available at: http://www.wosas.net/wosas_site.php?id=4116, accessed 3 August 2022. See also Argyll: *An Inventory of the Monuments: Mid Argyll & Cowal, Medieval and Later Monuments*, Volume 7 (Edinburgh: Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1992), pp. 129-43.

206 'Kilmartin Glen: Kilmartin Stones', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kilmartin-glen-kilmartin-stones/history/>, accessed 23 January 2023.

Kilmartin Glebe Cairn [PiC083]

(empire connection: property)



This line of cairns were noted as sites of interest in the New Statistical Account (1845): 'Along the valley of Kilmartin, and in some other parts of the parish, there are a number of large circular cairns of stones. Some of them have been explored and found to contain stone coffins.'²⁰⁷ This was 'situated on the glebe land of Kilmartin 180m NW of the parish church', which was Malcolm of Poltalloch lands. Artefacts removed from the cairns (e.g. a necklace) were lost in a fire at Poltalloch house.²⁰⁸

Kilmichael Glassary Cup and Ring Mark Rock [PiC085]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, 'The site came into Guardianship in 1932 as one of several prehistoric monuments on the Poltalloch Estate taken into Guardianship.'²⁰⁹

Nether Largie Mid Cairn [PiC096]

(empire connection: property)



Nether Largie North Cairn [PiC097]

(empire connection: property)



Nether Largie South Cairn [PiC098]

(empire connection: property)



The HES Statement of Significance for Nether Largie North Cairn reveals that Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm placed 'a number of other prehistoric sites on the Poltalloch Estate' and (given their proximity) was referring to the 'Linear Cemetery' (Largie South, Mid and North Cairns alongside Kilmartin Glebe Cairn and Ri Cruin Cairn).²¹⁰ The HES Statement of Significance for Nether Largie South Cairn reveals it was excavated in 1864 by a Rev. Grenwell, who received 'permission and help' from John Malcolm Esq, who owned Largie farm.²¹¹ The Malcolm family continued to use Largie farm and thus were directly involved in the excavation and preservation.

Ri Cruin Cairn [PiC099]

(empire connection: property)



The HES Statement of Significance notes 'Ri Cruin Cairn came into State care / Guardianship in 1932, along with a number of other prehistoric sites on the Poltalloch Estate'. According to the author of the statement, these landmarks were historically integrated as special features on the Poltalloch estate: *Archaeological features such as the Linear Cemetery and other prominent monuments in Kilmartin Glen, including the nearby Temple Wood Stone Circles, were integrated into the designed landscape of the Poltalloch Estate. It is possible that the track known as the 'coach road' was deliberately designed so that the cairns and other monuments could be viewed when passing along this route.*²¹²

207 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Kilmartin, Argyle, Vol. 7 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 560.

208 'Kilmartin Glebe', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/39537/kilmartin-glebe>, accessed 1 February 2023.

209 'Kilmichael Glassary Cup and Ring Mark Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=966ba8db-0119-4801-b15e-a8b800b39cc2>, accessed 1 February 2023.

210 'Kilmartin Glen: Nether Largie North Cairn', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kilmartin-glen-nether-largie-north-cairn/>, accessed 21 November 2022. See also J. Craw, 'Excavations at Dunadd and at Other Sites on the Poltalloch Estates, Argyll', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 64 (1930), pp. 111-46.

211 'Kilmartin Glen: Nether Largie South Cairn', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kilmartin-glen-nether-largie-south-cairn/>, accessed 21 November 2022.

212 'Ri Cruin Cairn - Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=09d7ee06-bee0-4dcd-b17c-a8b800eaae27>, accessed 21 November 2022.

Temple Wood Stone Circles [PiC103]

(empire connection: property)



Between 1974 and 1980, D.J. Breeze, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and J.G. Scott excavated around Temple Wood:

The two stone circles at Temple Wood form part of a remarkable series of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments on the Poltalloch estate, Kilmartin, Argyll, now part of the Argyll and Bute District of Strathclyde Region (fig. 1). Several of these monuments, including Temple Wood (NR 826978), are under the guardianship of Historic Buildings and Monuments (Scottish Development Department), by agreement with the Poltalloch estate and the proprietor, Mr R L Malcolm, whose help in 1974, 1975 and 1976 is gratefully acknowledged.²¹³

CASE STUDY 5: Matheson of Lewis

In 1844, Sir James Nicolas Sutherland Matheson, 1st Baronet (1796–1878), purchased Lewis, after a highly lucrative career in India, the China trades and Hong Kong. In 1832, he co-founded the firm Jardine, Matheson and Company, and it became one of the leading players in the opium trade.²¹⁴ He is associated with:

[Arnol Blackhouse No. 39 \[PiC272\]](#)

[Arnol Blackhouse No. 42 \[PiC273\]](#)

[Calanais Standing Stones \[PiC280\]](#)

[Dun Carloway \[PiC288\]](#)

[Steinacleit Cairn and Stone Circle \[PiC320\]](#)

In 1882, Dame Mary Jane Matheson, the widow of Sir James Matheson, '[did] nominate constitute and appoint the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings to be the Guardians' of Calanais Stones.²¹⁵ This was a standard legal agreement which marked the entry into state care. Patrick Ashmore noted that the Calanais Stones were listed on the Schedule of Ancient Monuments and claimed the state purchased the site afterwards for a 'nominal sum' (Calanais was taken into guardianship in 1929 and later into ownership).²¹⁶ Thus, the Matheson family's commitment to the preservation of Scotland's historic environment ensured the state took responsibility for Calanais. There is no guarantee that subsequent owners of Lewis would have had the same approach to preservation. This was a decisive intervention by wealthy imperialists at a critical juncture in the development of Scotland's historic environment, and one that has preserved Calanais in perpetuity. Lady Matheson undertook a similar process for Dun Carloway [PiC288] in August 1887.²¹⁷

²¹³ J. G. Scott, E. N. Campbell, D. D. Harkness, M. J. Stenhouse, Camilla A. Dickson, Dorothy A. Lunt, A. Young and I. D. Máté, 'The Stone Circles at Temple Wood, Kilmartin, Argyll', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 15 (1988), pp. 53–124 at p. 53.

²¹⁴ Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

²¹⁵ Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/033a, 'Deed of Appointment of the Commissioners to be Guardians of the Stones of Callernish'.

²¹⁶ Patrick Ashmore, *Calanais: Survey and Excavation 1979–88* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011), p. 7.

²¹⁷ Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/037, 'Deed of Appointment of the Commissioners to be Guardians of The Pictish Towers of Carloway in the Island of Lewis'.

Arnol Blackhouse No. 39 [PiC272]

(empire connection: property)



Arnol Blackhouse No. 42 [PiC273]

(empire connection: property)



The HES Statement of Significance notes that the Isle of Lewis' Arnol Blackhouse (No. 42) – a traditionally conserved thatched blackhouse was built in 1875 and taken into care in 1965. Arnol Blackhouse (No. 39) is a consolidated, formerly ruined edifice and, with a whitehouse that replaced it, is restored and furnished to a mid 20th-century style.²¹⁸ As noted in this report's section on Calanais, the Isle of Lewis had three successive owners with major connections to the British Empire. Francis Humberston Mackenzie (Lord Seaforth) owned the island from 1783 until his death in 1815 (trustees held it in care to 1844). Sir James Matheson, 1st Baronet, owned the island from 1844 until his death 1878. And William Lever, 1st Viscount Leverhulme, purchased Lewis in 1917 and owned it until his death in 1925. Given the date of establishment of Arnol Blackhouse (No. 42) in 1875, this dwelling was established during the ownership of James Matheson. However, beyond Matheson's ownership of the estate upon which they were built, the Arnol Blackhouses' connection to the Empire was, in all likelihood, relatively slight. On the one hand, Matheson's clearances involved the construction of some houses in linear settlements to encourage the kelp industry, and thus provided space for housing (the date of the Blackhouse establishment confirms it was built in the late Matheson era). Matheson's 'Rules of the Lews Estate' in 1847 also set the tone for construction of new dwellings. On other hand, as Catriona Mackie notes, James Matheson's instructions 'amounted to nothing more than "a gracious permission to the tenants to build themselves a house at their own expense"'.²¹⁹

The Arnol Blackhouses were likely funded and constructed by tenants themselves, although the timing of their creation, their locations and style was shaped by the policies of James Matheson, a colonialist whose imperial wealth transformed the island.

Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280]

(empire connection: cultural)



The Calanais Standing Stones on the west coast of the Isle of Lewis in Na h-Eileanan Siar were taken into guardianship in 1885, and, unusually, into outright ownership in 1939.²²⁰ In 1610, the Crown granted Lewis to Kenneth Mackenzie by Royal Charter (and made him Lord Mackenzie of Kintail the same year). According to historian Finlay McKichan, Mackenzie took 'complete control' by 1613.²²¹ In 1780, a subsequent Kenneth Mackenzie sold what was then known as the Seaforth estate to his cousin, Thomas Frederick Humberston Mackenzie. The Humberston Mackenzies had multiple connections across the British Empire. Thomas Frederick was a British Army officer in India from 1781, dying there two years later. The Seaforth estate, including Lewis, ultimately passed into the hands of his brother, Francis Humberston Mackenzie (1754–1815, Lord Seaforth from 1797). The Seaforth estate was heavily indebted in the 1780s, although Lewis was viewed as 'potentially profitable', mainly due to kelp production. In 1789, the East India Company settled Frederick's Indian estate, providing £23,000 which 'averted immediate crisis' for the Seaforth estates.²²² £23,000 in 1789 is equivalent to £39.3 million in modern values.²²³

218 'The Blackhouse, Arnol', available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/the-blackhouse-arnol/>, accessed 29 August 2022.

219 Catriona Mackie, 'Social Reform and Segregation: Tenant Housing in the Isle of Lewis, 1795–1900', *Vernacular Architecture*, 45:1 (2014), pp. 58–60, at p.70.

220 'Calanais Standing Stones – Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=daf72741-0f80-4d90-8034-a57000c6b0c5>, accessed 17 August 2022.

221 Finlay McKichan, *Lord Seaforth: Highland Landowner, Caribbean Governor* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 3.

222 McKichan, *Lord Seaforth*, pp. 17–18, 29.

223 The amount relative to the worth of average earnings in 2021. 'Measuring Worth', available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1789&amount=23000&year_result=2022, accessed 17 August 2022.

Francis Humberston Mackenzie chose Lewis as his principal residence, encouraging infrastructure development such as roads. According to Finlay McKichan, he opted against clearing Lewis of its people – which would have encouraged sheep farming – instead recruiting for the 78th Regiment, which secured state income. As well as his brother, Francis Humberston Mackenzie also had an imperial connection: in administration and plantation ownership in the British West Indies. He was the Governor of Barbados from November 1800, and an absentee owner of an estate and enslaved people in Berbice in South America from 1801 until his death in 1815. Between 1801 and 1803, Seaforth's attorney purchased over 100 enslaved people on his behalf.²²⁴ Seaforth's biographer, Finlay McKichan, claims that the Berbice estates were never profitable, and this contributed to the loss of the ancestral estates in Scotland after 1811. It seems unlikely that the profits of Caribbean slavery (if any) had any implications for the development of Lewis, or any real effect on its standing stones, before 1815. Perhaps Lewis' highly profitable kelp industry meant the 'agricultural development' of the island, and clearing of people, was delayed.²²⁵

The Isle of Lewis' imperial connections did not end with Mackenzie's demise (and in fact the island was managed by Seaforth trustees throughout the 1830s). When James Matheson purchased Lewis in 1844, the importance of the stones was already known:

*At Callernish, on the east coast of Loch Roag, there are the very entire remains of a Druidical place of worship; some of the stones in which are so very large, that it is inconceivable by what means they could have been brought to the place. They all stand on end, at the distance of five and six yards from each other, and are in a rough natural state, as taken from the shore.*²²⁶

As a Highland laird, Matheson embarked on land 'improvement' schemes (1844–50), ultimately removing the Lewis tenants from the land under the process described as the Highland Clearances (indeed, in terms of scale of removals, Matheson was second only to the Duke of Sutherland). He spent major sums on 'improvement', including development of roads. In 1854, he appointed Donald Munro as his factor, who expedited displacements of tenants from the peat lands where they resided.²²⁷

Matheson's clearances of Lewis were themselves enabled by empire-derived wealth, and the subsequent agricultural strategies stimulated the family's antiquarian interest in the island's archaeological remains. In 1844, Matheson part-funded the first survey of the area around Calanais. In 1857, tenants living close to the stones were cleared and relocated to a northern settlement on Lewis; the area was stripped, while a bequest from Lady Matheson funded a path.²²⁸ In 1862, James Matheson authored two articles on the Calanais stones in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Named as first author in a 'Notice of a Chamber recently excavated in the Stone Circle of Callernish in the Lewis' (1862), Matheson and Stuart described the 'removal of peat moss from the Druidic circle at Callernish ... under the immediate superintendence of Mr Donald Munro who took every precaution necessary for noting any particulars that might be interesting'.²²⁹ A second article that same year described 'the discovery of two sepulchral chambers, found near the central stone of the great circle of Callernish'. Matheson sent sketches, specimens and casts. The article with co-author John Stuart, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, noted that the 'members are indebted to Sir James Matheson'.²³⁰ P. J. Ashmore, the modern authority on Calanais, also acknowledges the 'valuable information' provided by Matheson while noting the rudimentary nature of the excavation work and doubting Matheson's claims in the article that the chambers were untouched in the 1850s.²³¹

224 Finlay McKichan, 'Peter Fairbairn: Highland Factor and Caribbean Plantation Manager, 1792–1822', in Lowri Ann Rees, Ciarán Reilly and Annie Tindley (eds), *The Land Agent: 1700–1920* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 121–5.

225 Finlay McKichan, *Lord Seaforth: Highland Landowner, Caribbean Governor* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 260–3.

226 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Uig, Ross and Cromarty, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 153.

227 Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), pp. 308–35.

228 Patrick Ashmore, *Calanais: Survey and Excavation 1979–88* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011), pp. 7, 29.

229 J. Matheson and C. Innes, 'Notice of a Chamber recently excavated in the Stone Circle of Callernish in the Lewis', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3 (1862), pp. 110–12.

230 J. Stuart and J. Matheson, 'Note of Incised Marks on One of a Circle of Standing Stones in the Island of Lewis' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3 (1862), pp. 212–14.

231 Patrick Ashmore, *Calanais: Survey and Excavation 1979–88* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011), pp. 37, 58.

The ‘discoveries’ of the Calanais stones in the 1840s and 1850s provides a clear link regarding imperial wealth, the preservation of archaeological remains and antiquarian knowledge production. Sir James Matheson cleared people from the land (contrasting with his predecessor, Lord Seaforth) and subsequently subsumed and developed knowledge already known in local communities. Imperial wealth and status helped to advance knowledge and enabled Matheson to become a published antiquarian. Matheson and his wife helped establish Calanais as a site of special interest which soon afterwards passed to the state. On Matheson’s death in 1878, he left a remarkable £169,685 in personal property in Scotland.²³² In 1882, the Calanais stones were listed on the Schedule of Ancient Monuments and, according to Patrick Ashmore, the state purchased the site afterwards for a modest fee.²³³ The imperial story did not end there. In 1917, William Lever, 1st Viscount Leverhulme (1851–1925), purchased Lewis. His wealth was partially based upon what his biographer described as ‘aggrandizing African interests’: the import of palm oil and palm-kernel oil from west Africa.²³⁴

Dun Carloway [PiC288]

(empire connection: property)



Dun Carloway is an Iron Age broch located on the Isle of Lewis. It was ‘taken into State care through a guardianship agreement with the landowner in 1887’ by Lady Matheson (Mary Jane née Perceval, 1820–1896), the wife of deceased owner James Matheson (1796–1878).²³⁵ The influence (if any) of the MacKenzie and Matheson family’s imperial wealth on the preservation of Dun Carloway does not seem to have been transformative (unlike Calanais). Dun Carloway was described in the *Old Statistical Account* (1797) as follows: *At Carlaway there is a Danish fort, or doune, with a double wall of dry stone; it is, perhaps, the most entire of any of the kind in Scotland; it is very broad at the base, and towards the top contracts in the form of a pyramid; the height of the wall is 30 feet; the fabric is perfectly circular.*²³⁶

In 1845, the year after James Matheson acquired Lewis, it was described in the *New Statistical Account* as still in its original state: *This antiquity is a fortification of circular form. It was and is, still covered with turf, and lined with a remarkably strong stone wall, which is, however, suffering decay. The lower part of the interior of this edifice was a place of residence, to which there was a subterraneous passage from an adjacent hill or brae. There was also an interior wall of stone, enclosing the more elevated habitable part of the edifice; between which and the outer wall, there was a winding flight of stone steps from the top to the bottom, over which, there was a parapet four feet high. The interior of this fortification or doon (as it is named in Gaelic) is now in a state of dilapidation. Its height when entire was about twenty feet.*²³⁷

²³² Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), p. 333.

²³³ Patrick Ashmore, *Calanais: Survey and Excavation 1979–88* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011), p. 7.

²³⁴ Richard Davenport-Hines, ‘Lever, William Hesketh, first Viscount Leverhulme (1851–1925), Soap Manufacturer and Philanthropist’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004; accessed 19 August 2022.

²³⁵ ‘Dun Carloway Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e97beda5-d547-46c5-8618-a57000cd4fea>, accessed 4 September 2022

²³⁶ John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Uig, Ross and Cromarty, Vol. 19 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1797), p. 288.

²³⁷ J. Gordon (ed.) *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Lochs, Ross and Cromarty, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 163.

In 1891, F. W. L. Thomas doubted aspects of this description (notably the view that it had been covered with turf), although it is obvious its importance was well known at least from 1792 and seemed to have been retained in an original state up to 1845.²³⁸ When James Matheson purchased the island in 1844, he implemented a policy of peat removal (which helped uncover Calanais) and clearance of the people. His strategy towards Dun Carloway remains unclear but F. W. L. Thomas noted that Matheson prevented the ‘further destruction’ of another on Lewis (Dun Bhragair, Loch an Duna, Bragair, Barvas) in the same period.²³⁹ It is inconceivable that he was unaware of Dun Carloway and it is possible he advocated a similar policy. When James Matheson died in 1878, Lady Matheson took over the estate and she retained the family’s keen interest in island heritage. It may be that the decline of family’s vast imperial wealth meant they had to place sites of special interest into state care in order to avoid upkeep costs. After the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, Dun Carloway was among the earliest (but not the first) properties placed in state care. As Dun Carloway is an ancient monument, empire-derived wealth obviously had no role in its establishment. Yet its preservation after 1844 was ensured, or at least its destruction was prevented, by a landowner whose vast fortune acquired in opium trading in China provided the capital to purchase an estate which he cleared and then managed in particular ways. While clearing the island of its people, Matheson simultaneously contributed to the preservation of unique aspects of Scotland’s ancient heritage.

Steinacleit Cairn and Stone Circle [PiC320]

(empire connection: property)



Steinacleit is a series of pre-historic stone constructions on a wide area of ground on the island of Lewis. The site was uncovered during peat-digging in 1920, at which point the estate was owned by Lord Leverhulme. It was entrusted into state care in 1934. As noted in HES’s Statement of Significance, the site is relatively undisturbed and, as such, is not regarded as a major heritage site like Calanais.²⁴⁰ As noted in various other entries in this report, the Isle of Lewis had a long history of owners rich with empire-derived wealth. C. Mackenzie’s ‘An Account of Some Remains of Antiquity in the Isles of Lewis, One of the Hebrides’ published in *Archaeologia Scotica* suggests that Steinacleit was already known in 1792: *In many other parts of Lewis the remains of these circles are seen. Between Garbert and Shader, on a rising ground, there are the remains of a very extensive double circle. Some of the stones about the inner circle, which are pretty large, appear to have been thrown down by violence.*²⁴¹

Therefore the uncovering of Steinacleit c.1920 involved the removal of peat around a site already known. This was relatively later than similar structures on Lewis with tangible connections to imperial processes covered elsewhere in this report. Calanais was ‘uncovered’ during James Matheson’s initiatives (1844–50), which also involved the removal of peat, while Dun Carloway was possibly preserved in the same era. By contrast, Steinacleit remained relatively untouched until after Matheson’s death and was not treated as a site of antiquarian and archaeological interest like Calanais. It was not entrusted into state care until after the death of Lord Seaforth, Sir James Matheson and Viscount Leverhulme. As such, in contrast to Calanais, Steinacleit was relatively untouched by the same cultural processes made possible by colonial-derived wealth, other than its location on an island whose owners were inextricably connected to the British Empire.

238 F. W. L. Thomas, ‘On the Duns of the Outer Hebrides’, *Archaeologia Scotica*, 5 (1891), p. 386.

239 *Ibid.*, p. 375.

240 ‘Steinacleit Cairn and Stone Circle – Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e82d145f-b4b3-4311-99da-a86600d042e1>, accessed 29 November 2023.

241 C. McKenzie, ‘An Account of Some Remains of Antiquity in the Island of Lewis, One of the Hebrides’, *Archaeologia Scotica*, 1 (1793), pp. 283–4.

CASE STUDY 6: Maxwell of Monreith

The PiCs below were closely associated with Sir Herbert E. Maxwell Bart. (1845–1937), a major landowner in late Victorian Scotland.²⁴²

[Barsalloch Fort \[PiC180\]](#)
[Big Balcraig and Clachan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks \[PiC181\]](#)
[Druchtag Motte \[PiC190\]](#)
[Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marked Rocks \[PiC192\]](#)
[Drumtroddan Standing Stones \[PiC193\]](#)
[Kirkmadrine Stones \[PiC199\]](#)
[Laggangairn Standing Stones \[PiC200\]](#)
[Monreith Cross \[PiC207\]](#)
[Rispain Camp \[PiC211\]](#)
[Wren's Egg \[PiC221\]](#)

Maxwells of Monreith: Intergenerational Transition of Slavery-derived Wealth

The Maxwells of Monreith had major imperial connections, as reported in the *New Statistical Account* (1845). Sons of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith were in the Royal Navy. Sir Murray Maxwell was commander of the ship *Alceste* which transported Lord Amherst to China as Ambassador. Maxwell was later nominated an aide-de-camp to King William IV and was appointed Governor of Prince Edward's Island in 1831 (although he died in London before he could take up the governorship).²⁴³

Through Sir Herbert E. Maxwell's maternal line, there was also a familial connection to Caribbean slavery. He was the eldest surviving son of Sir William Maxwell 6th Bart. (d.1877) and Helenora, daughter of Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart, 5th baronet of Greenock and Blackhall (1766–1825).²⁴⁴ Shaw-Stewart was the owner of 'extensive estates in Renfrewshire, including property in the port of Greenock, along with plantations in Trinidad and Tobago' which passed to his son on his death in 1825.²⁴⁵

Helenora Maxwell, née Shaw-Stewart, was a plantocracy heiress, although assessing to what extent this enriched the family, and how much it brought to her later marriage, has proven impossible. As noted by Katie Barclay in a study of marriage in Scotland 1650–1850, it was 'expected that both men and women would bring economic resources to the marriage'.²⁴⁶ But evidence is elusive. The Shaw-Stewart papers in Glasgow City Archives hold marriage contracts for some of the family, although these are from an earlier period (1624–1727) and none appear to relate to the marriage between William Maxwell 6th Bart. and Helenora Shaw-Stewart around 1833.²⁴⁷ Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart's testament lodged in Paisley Sheriff Court in 1826 refers to 'sums of money therein contained from him to and in favour of ... Helenora

242 H. W. Meikle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Maxwell, Sir Herbert Eustace, Seventh Baronet (1845–1937), Politician and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 27 March 2023.

243 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, Mochrum, Wigton, Vol. 4 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 63.

244 H. W. Meikle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Maxwell, Sir Herbert Eustace, Seventh Baronet (1845–1937), Politician and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 27 March 2023.

245 Terry Jenkins, 'Shaw Stewart, Sir Michael, 6th bt. (1788–1836), of Ardgowan; Blackhall, Renfrew and 14 Carlton Terrace, Mdx', available at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/shaw-stewart-sir-michael-1788-1836>, accessed 19 September 2022.

246 Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, p. 80.

247 Glasgow City Archives, T-ARD/1/6/28, Marriage contracts of the Ardgowan family (1624–1727).



Stewart, my younger children'.²⁴⁸ It is certain that Helenora Shaw-Stewart's marriage to Sir William Maxwell 6th Bart. came with a substantial tocher (dowry), and she inherited wealth from her father, although it is impossible to assess how much this boosted the Maxwell of Monreith fortunes.

Sir Herbert E. Maxwell of Monreith's later commitment to the pursuit of antiquarianism, and preservation of local heritage in Dumfries and Galloway, had major implications for several sites now among Historic Environment Scotland's Properties in Care. There are ten PiCs of interest, including Barsalloch fort, while another five were preserved directly a 'result of Sir Herbert Maxwell's involvement' (Druchtag Motte, Drumtroddan Standing Stones, Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marked Stones, Rispain Camp and the Wren's Egg).²⁴⁹

Maxwells of Monreith: Transition into State Care

On 26 July 1888, Sir Herbert Maxwell, as owner of Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC192], Drumtroddan Standing Stones [PiC193], Druchtag Motte Hill [PiC190] and Barshalloch Fort [PiC180] 'by virtue of the powers in that behalf conferred upon me as such Owner by the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882 nominate constitute and appoint the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings to be the Guardians of such ancient monuments'.²⁵⁰ A similar process was undertaken for the 'Standing Stones at Blairbowie known as the Wren's Egg' on 10 April 1890.²⁵¹ Another for the 'early sculptured Cross' at Monreith [PiC207] in 1923, when the Commissioner of Works responded to Herbert Maxwell's request to them to be guardians of Monreith Cross, 'in order to the preservation and maintenance of the same'. The agreement stipulated that Maxwell of Monreith should allow 'access to the public to his private grounds for the purpose of viewing the said Cross'.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ NRS, SC58/42/2, Paisley Sheriff Court, 'Testament of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart', 6 February 1826, pp. 53-4.

²⁴⁹ 'Barsalloch Fort Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, p. 18, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f532461b-ca5d-4caa-b0bf-a78c00e4d5ec>, accessed 19 September 2022.

²⁵⁰ Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/06, 'Deed of Appointment of the Commissioners to be Guardians', 26 July 1888.

²⁵¹ Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/022, 'Deed of Appointment of the Commissioners to be Guardians of the Standing Stones known as the Wren's Egg at Blairbowie, Glasserton, Wigtown'.

²⁵² Historic Environment Scotland: Archives and Collections, MS AM/156, 'Minute of Agreement between The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, and the Commissioners of Works', 1923.

Barsalloch Fort [PiC180]

(empire connection: cultural)



When Barsalloch Fort was brought into 'informal guardianship' in the 1880s, Sir Herbert E. Maxwell Bart. (1845–1937) was the resident landowner.²⁵³ The remains of Barsalloch Fort, near Monreith in Dumfries and Galloway, are presumed to be those of an Iron Age farm which survives as an unexcavated D-section enclosure. It was 'one of the first monuments in Scotland to be protected under the provisions of the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act'.²⁵⁴ In the 'Plans of Monreith Estate, lying in the parishes of Mochrum, Glasserton and Kirkinner – the property of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith' (1777–8), surveyor John Gilrone identified a 'camp' in West Barsalloch.²⁵⁵ The camp was located on land described as 'arable', suggesting it was afforded no special status amid the late 18th-century agricultural improvement of the estate.

Maxwell also notified General Pitt-Rivers regarding the existence of Barsalloch Fort, which he subsequently visited and examined in the 1880s.²⁵⁶ As previously outlined, Pitt-Rivers was also heavily involved in the British Empire, including in the Grenadier Guards (1845). A family inheritance allowed him to pursue his archaeological interests.²⁵⁷ To what extent the profits of Caribbean slavery influenced the preservation of Barsalloch Fort is uncertain. It is very likely that the marriage between William Maxwell 6th Bart. and Helenora Shaw-Stewart brought a substantial dowry – derived, at least in part, from plantation and enslavement wealth – although what proportion of this was transmitted to Sir Herbert E. Maxwell when his father died in 1877 remains unknown.

Big Balcraig and Clachan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC181]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance (for Drumtroddan Standing Stones), this site 'came into care from Sir Herbert Maxwell in 1931 as part of a group that included the Drumtroddan and Big Balcraig cup and ring marked stones'.²⁵⁸ This is supported by the close proximity of the sites, as evidenced by Canmore.²⁵⁹

Druchtag Motte [PiC190]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, Druchtag Motte was taken into state care in 1888 (alongside Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marks and Drumtroddan Standing Stones).²⁶⁰

Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marked Rocks [PiC192]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, 'this site came into care from Sir Herbert Maxwell in 1931'.²⁶¹

253 'Barsalloch Fort Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f532461b-ca5d-4caa-b0bf-a78c00e4d5ec>, accessed 19 September 2022.

254 'Barsalloch Fort Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f532461b-ca5d-4caa-b0bf-a78c00e4d5ec>, accessed 19 September 2022. See too <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/SM90030>.

255 John Gilrone, 'Plans of Monreith Estate, Lying in the Parishes of Mochrum, Glasserton and Kirkinner – the Property of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith' (1777–8), available via National Library of Scotland maps: <https://maps.nls.uk/estates/monreith/rec/4024>, accessed 19 September 2022.

256 'Barsalloch Fort Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f532461b-ca5d-4caa-b0bf-a78c00e4d5ec>, accessed 19 September 2022.

257 Mark Bowden, 'Rivers, Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt- (1827–1900), Anthropologist and Archaeologist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 19 September 2022.

258 'Drumtroddan Standing Stones Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=776c1a07-ec3d-4425-a07f-a86500eabf9d>, accessed 11 October 2022.

259 'Big Balcraig', Canmore, <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/60307/big-balcraig>, accessed 11 October 2022.

260 'Druchtag Motte Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=36c22669-d5fc-4385-9f47-a75300e05b19>, accessed 11 October 2022.

261 'Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Marked Rocks Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=3d7203d2-bab1-48a0-95f7-a8b900aef62a>, accessed 11 October 2022.

Drumtroddan Standing Stones [PiC193]

(empire connection: property)



According to the HES Statement of Significance, Drumtroddan Standing Stones 'came into care from Sir Herbert Maxwell in 1931'.²⁶²

Kirkmadrine Stones [PiC199]

(empire connection: property)



The Kirkmadrine Stones (eight in total) include 'three of the oldest Christian memorials in Scotland, dating to the 500s AD. The remaining memorials date from the 700s to 1100s AD and demonstrate the growth of the Scottish church in this time'.²⁶³ Herbert Maxwell authored a perceptive antiquarian article on the stones.²⁶⁴ Correspondence from Maxwell to General Pitt-Rivers in October 1888 noted the latter's role in preservation of at least some of them: 'the three crosses at Kirkmadrine, which I think you took under your protection two years ago'.²⁶⁵

Laggangairn Standing Stones [PiC200]

(empire connection: cultural)



The Laggangairn Standing Stones are reputedly the 'last remnants of a circle that may have once had 14 stones. The two remaining stones are carved with Christian crosses of a style ascribed to between AD 600 and 800'.²⁶⁶ According to the HES Statement of Significance, the 'monument was first scheduled by General Pitt-Rivers and given into State care in 1882, following advice from Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith. The stones were sketched by the General on 28th Oct 1886'.²⁶⁷ As described elsewhere in this report, General Pitt-Rivers had major connections to the British Empire, and Maxwell of Monreith had familial connections to Caribbean slavery. In an

opening address to the British Association in October 1888, Pitt-Rivers discussed the 'monuments that I have been the means of obtaining by the consent of their owners ... [including] the inscribed stones at Laggangairn, New Luce [which] have been included by Lord Stair; they are at a great distance from any road or habitation and the protection afforded them, beyond the powers contained in the Act, must be regarded as nominal'.²⁶⁸ The family of John Dalrymple (1848-1914), 11th earl of Stair, have no known connections to British imperialism, which suggests limited connections between Laggangairn Standing Stones and imperialism. However, General Pitt-Rivers' status ensured the stones were among the first sites in Scotland brought under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882.²⁶⁹

Monreith Cross [PiC207]

(empire connection: property)



Monreith Cross is a 'free-standing wheel-headed cross', that stands 'in the grounds of Monreith House'. It had formerly 'stood on Court Hill at the Mower, the old Mansion House of the Barony of Monreith', and thus on lands owned by the Maxwells of Monreith. Sir Herbert Maxwell reminisced in his 'Evening Memories': 'When Sir William Maxwell moved his residence from Dowies to Monreith in 1684 he decided to move the cross that stood beside the old house of Ballingreen on an elevation known as the Mowr. In transporting it, the shaft was broken in two, and it was replaced on the Mower, where it remained until Sir Herbert's father set it up at Monreith House'.²⁷⁰ The cross was moved to the museum at Whithorn Priory in 1973.

262 'Drumtroddan Standing Stones Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=776c1a07-ec3d-4425-a07f-a86500eabf9d>, accessed 11 October 2022.

263 'Kirkmadrine Stones', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kirkmadrine-stones/>, accessed 13 March 2023.

264 H. Maxwell, 'The Crosses of Kirkmadrine', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 51 (1917), pp. 199-207.

265 Pitt-Rivers Museum, Pitt-Rivers Papers, Box 1 / M2 'Letter from Herbert Eustace Maxwell to Pitt-Rivers dated 24 October 1888', available at: <https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/pitt-rivers-museum-papers-0>, accessed 18 March 2023.

266 'Laggangairn Standing Stones', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/laggangairn-standing-stones/>, accessed 13 March 2023. See too: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/SM90199>.

267 'Laggangairn Standing Stones - Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=b4e0d7f3-01f6-4638-80e9-a86600adf8e8>, accessed 13 March 2023.

268 'The British Association. Section H: Anthropology. Opening Address by Lieutenant-General Rivers', *Nature*, 4 October 1888. For a good discussion of Pitt-Rivers' involvement, see Christopher Chippindale, 'The Making of the First Ancient Monuments Act, 1882, and Its Administration Under General Pitt-Rivers', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 136:1 (1983), 1-55.

269 Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 [45 & 46 Vict. CH. 73].

270 'Monreith, Cross', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/62773/monreith-cross>, accessed 1 February 2023.

Rispain Camp [PiC211]

(empire connection: property)



Herbert Maxwell had a particular interest in the preservation of Rispain Camp (although it was located on the estate of his nephew, Mr R Johnston Stewart of Glasserton). Maxwell provided £50 in 1901 to fund a Society of Antiquaries excavation. However, although he ensured several landmarks were covered under the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act, Rispain Camp was not one of these. Rispain Camp was taken into state care in 1890 (under a guardianship agreement) and became a scheduled monument in 1921.²⁷¹

Wren's Egg [PiC221]

(empire connection: property)



Herbert Maxwell's landed portfolio, matched with antiquarian interests, ensured that some of the sites highlighted at the start of the Transition into State Care section (above) passed into state care with no cost to the taxpayer. When discussing Wren's Egg, General Pitt Rivers was recorded to have said: 'It cannot certainly be said to be an important monument in its present state but Sir Herbert Maxwell wishes to place it under the Act and it will entail little or no expense.'²⁷² In 1887, General Pitt Rivers sketched Wren's Egg and added it to the schedule of Ancient Monuments. It was taken into state care three years later (1890).²⁷³

CASE STUDY 7: Stanley Mills

Stanley Mills [PiC043]

(empire connections: technological and production)



Historic Environment Scotland's Statement of Significance for Stanley Mills in Perthshire has been carefully revised in recent years, identifying the importance of Caribbean slavery to cotton textile production.²⁷⁴ As noted by Anthony Cooke, the partners of Glasgow West India firm Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. invested an extraordinary £160,000 in Stanley Mills in 1823. Prominent Glasgow West India merchant James Buchanan of Dowanhill retained £40,000 in Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. on his death in 1844, suggesting that this group provided much of the capital themselves.²⁷⁵ Even so, much remains to be understood about the operations of Stanley Mills; as HES acknowledges, there are major gaps in understandings of the business (since many of the records were destroyed in a fire in 1825). Moreover, while a second revised edition of Anthony Cooke's important book *Stanley: From Arkwright Village to Commuter Suburb, 1784-2015* briefly acknowledged the importance of Caribbean slavery, this was not a central feature of the text.²⁷⁶



Stanley represents the global impact on Scotland's developing manufacturing sector arising from both hemispheres of the Empire.

271 J. Barbour, 'Notice of the Excavation of the Camp or Earthwork at Rispain in Wigtonshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 36 (1902), pp. 621-6; 'Rispain Camp Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=4d40e9e9-a513-4f05-aa6d-a7ca00dba4e4>, accessed 12 October 2022.

272 'Rispain Camp Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=4d40e9e9-a513-4f05-aa6d-a7ca00dba4e4>, accessed 12 October 2022.

273 'Wren's Egg - Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=015d347c-65bd-4955-a456-a6cc009cd744>, accessed 19 October 2022.

274 'Stanley Mills Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=4c28ae95-f593-41fe-9b3a-a57000db4011>, accessed 6 June 2022.

275 Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32:2 (2012), p. 145; Anthony Cooke, *The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Cotton Industry, 1789-1914: 'The Secret Spring'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 113.

276 Anthony Cooke, *Stanley: From Arkwright Village to Commuter Suburb, 1784-2015* (Ochertyre: Grace Note, 2015), p. 127.

A broader approach examining the owners and the firm over a timeframe sensitive to empire influences provides fresh insights into the significance of colonialism to Stanley Mills. While the influence of capital derived from enslavement-based economies would shape the site's development in the early to mid 19th century, the Asia hemisphere of the Empire also played a role in its creation. The mill was established in the mid 1780s. A central figure in these early years was George Dempster of Dunnichen. An Angus laird and MP, Dempster was a major investor in the English East India Company from the 1760s to 1780s.²⁷⁷ He served as an influential director in the later 1760s and early 1770s and began benefiting from income from that part of the world: for example, in 1774 he received monies totalling £1,300 from associates in Madras (modern-day Chennai, in India).²⁷⁸ Dempster reveals how the Empire's different geographic sectors came together in places like the Stanley Mills. Although a prominent 'East India' figure, his wealth also sprang from Scottish landed rentals, linen ventures, and his marriage in 1774 to Rose Heming, the heiress of a Jamaican plantation owner.²⁷⁹ This mixture of wealth helped to sustain Dempster's influence politically, inside the corporate politics of the English East India Company, and in Dempster and Co. – otherwise known as the Dundee Banking Company. This latter organisation acted as a major source of credit for the construction of the Mill in the 1780s. In this way Stanley represents the global impact on Scotland's developing manufacturing sector arising from both hemispheres of the Empire. Dempster and Co. remained central to the Mill's early history until on 19 May 1808, when they sold the complex to the Glasgow manufacturer James Craig.²⁸⁰

When the Mill was established in the 1780s, the West Indies was the main source of cotton during the first phase of the Scottish Industrial Revolution (1778–1800). Mainly due to after-effects of the American War of Independence (1775–83), American supplies were of limited significance up to 1800.²⁸¹ Afterwards, the cotton was supplied from a diversity of sources. Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. were one of the top seven West India firms in Glasgow in 1807, evidenced by their subscriptions to the pro-slavery lobbying group, the Glasgow West India Association. In 1827, the partners were James Buchanan, James Dennistoun, David Laird, Alex Stevenson, Benjamin Buchanan, William Calder, George Wilson, Archibald Buchanan, James Buchanan and W. McP. Christie.²⁸² The Dennistoun Buchanan conglomerate's truly global reach was unusual among Glasgow West India firms. In 1823 (around the same time as the purchase of Stanley Mills), Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. focused on Nassau, New Providence, through a partner firm (William Duff & Co.), and in Jamaica through Jas and Ben. Buchanan & Co.²⁸³ The firm sourced slave-grown cotton from the American south (Charleston) in 1826.²⁸⁴ After the purchase of Stanley Mills in 1823, the firm's partners adopted a global approach, shifting from the West Indies to cotton sourced in the East Indies and South America. In 1825, a partner firm, William Duff & Co., in New Providence in the Bahamas, was discontinued.²⁸⁵ A number of firms were associated in 1827: David Laird & Co. (New Orleans), Calder Brock & Co. (New York), Buchanan, Brown & Co. (Glasgow), Buchanan, Mann and Co. (Calcutta), Brown, Watson & Co. (Rio De Janeiro), Brown, Buchanan & Co. (Buenos Aires).²⁸⁶ The shift from West India to East India cotton very likely explains why James Buchanan of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. was on the General Committee of the Glasgow East India Association.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the firm remained involved in Jamaica in 1840, and in Buenos Aires in 1836.²⁸⁸ Slavery was finally abolished in Buenos Aires in 1861 (the final zone in Argentina to abolish the system). In 1852, Stanley Mills was sold to Samuel Howard.

277 Cooke, *Stanley*, pp. 69–70; Mackillop, *Human Capital*, p. 272.

278 British Library, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, India Office Records, B80, p. 85; B89, p. 325.

279 Andrew M. Lang, 'Dempster, George, of Dunnichen (1732–1818), Agriculturist and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 27 September 2022.

280 NRS, Printed Abridgement of Sasines, Perth (6598).

281 Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), Appendix, VII.

282 *London Gazette*, 27 February 1827, Issue 18339, p. 476.

283 *Edinburgh Gazette*, 2 September 1823, Issue 3156, p. 461.

284 'Clyde Commercial List', *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1826, p. 4.

285 *Edinburgh Gazette*, 4 October 1825, Issue 3374, p. 187.

286 *London Gazette*, 27 February 1827, Issue 18339, p. 476.

287 Yukihiisa Kumagai, 'The Lobbying Activities of Provincial Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests against the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter, 1812–1813 and 1829–1833' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008), p. 77.

288 University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS. Murray 605, 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806–42', p. 4.



Stanley Mills is among the most conspicuous legacies in Scotland that illustrate the connections between slavery-derived capital and modern built heritage. Alongside Glasgow's Merchant City and Edinburgh's New Town, the surrounding environs were dramatically shaped by colonial merchants. While residences built by merchants in Glasgow were generally small-scale (except for a handful of Palladian mansions such as the Cunninghame Mansion, built at a cost of £10,000 in the 1770s), cotton mills were enormous manufactories with conjoined urban layouts. As noted by Cooke, Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.'s extraordinary investment of £160,000 in Stanley Mills in 1823 established three new mills, a new street and a gasworks.²⁸⁹ This was a major investment compared to contemporary West India mercantile interest in cotton mills. In 1810–12, West India merchants Robert Dennistoun, Alexander Campbell and Colin Campbell invested £70,000 in New Lanark Company, in a partnership with Robert Owen.²⁹⁰ West India merchants – notably John Gordon and Archibald Smith – invested £22,000 in James Finlay and Co. in 1792 (including cotton mills at Ballindalloch, Catrine and Deanston). This rose to £28,000 in 1800²⁹¹ (although it should be noted that Finlay and Co. were major recipients of East India capital). Modern comparisons further underline the enormity of the Stanley Mills investment. £160,000 in 1823 is worth £152 million in modern values (compared to the relative worth of average earning in 2020).²⁹² Except for the University of Glasgow, Stanley Mills and its environs are perhaps the most dramatic example of extant built heritage in modern Scotland funded by the profits of Caribbean slavery.

289 Cooke, 'Elite Revisited', p. 145; Cooke, *Scottish Cotton Industry*, p. 113.

290 NRS GD64/1/274/13, Contract of Copartnership, 5 October 1810, p. 3.

291 University of Glasgow Archives [GUA], UGD91/1/4/1/3/1, Ledger of James Finlay and Co., 1792–1800, pp. 27, 105–6.

292 Measuring Worth, available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1823&amount=160000&year_result=2020, accessed 21 December 2023.

APPENDIX 2:

LIST OF PROPERTIES IN CARE WITH EMPIRE CONNECTIONS

Aberdour Castle [PiC001]

(empire connection: property)



Aberdour Castle was the domain of the earls of Morton, who were in possession of the Castle from the 14th century, gradually expanding and developing it.²⁹³ James Douglas (1702-1768), 14th earl of Morton, was a famous natural philosopher. He was elected to the council of the Royal Society in 1763 and became its president soon thereafter. Morton was also a leading member of Board of Longitude, established in 1714 to advance understandings around longitude to improve maritime capabilities. He was involved, as a commissioner of longitude, in gathering funding to support what became Captain James Cook et al.'s expedition to monitor the transit of Venus from Tahiti in 1769.²⁹⁴ As noted by W. Orchiston, James Cook's 'first expedition to the South Seas was primarily undertaken as a voyage of science, and it was only after the transit of Venus was successfully observed that it became a voyage of exploration'.²⁹⁵ As is well known, Cook's first voyage on the *Endeavour* - which departed Plymouth on 26 August 1768 - opened the way for the settler-colonisation of Australia and New Zealand. Although the earl of Morton advanced colonial knowledge and helped gather funding for what was ostensibly a scientific expedition, he died on 12 October 1768, so his, and by extension Aberdour Castle's, imperial connection is relatively minor. Nevertheless, it is an example of the need to think about the intellectual and educational underpinnings of empire and how such activities can connect sites like Aberdour to the Empire in ways that may not be immediately obvious.

293 'Aberdour Castle - Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=83919c22-baed-4a01-bc96-a74400bbdbfc>, accessed 21 December 2023.

294 Anita Guerrini, 'Douglas, James, Fourteenth Earl of Morton (1702-1768), Natural Philosopher', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 7 September 2022.

295 W. Orchiston, 'James Cook's 1769 Transit of Venus Expedition to Tahiti', *Proceedings of the International Astronomical Union* (2004), pp. 52-66.

296 Antonine Wall Bantaskine Statement of Significance, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=fb909e5b-4a18-4e47-a45b-a86500e31016>, accessed 21 December 2023.

297 Glasgow City Archives, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association (GWIA)', pp. 6-8

298 Anon., 'The Rise of Glasgow's West Indian Trade, 1793-1818', *Three Banks Review*, 51 (1961), pp. 34-44.

299 Neville A. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St Thomas, St John and St Croix* (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1992), pp. 3-5.

300 NRS, Stirling Sheriff Court, SC67/36/2, 'Inventory of Charles Hagart esq, of Bantaskine', 10 January 1814, pp. 284-5.

Achnabreck Cup and Ring Marks [PiC048]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Antonine Wall – Bantaskin [PiC167]

(empire connection: cultural)



The HES Statement of Significance notes that a section of the Antonine Wall lies in Bantaskine, Falkirk, 'formerly within the grounds of the Bantaskin estate'.²⁹⁶ This estate was purchased by Glasgow West India merchant Charles Hagart around 1804. His firm, Charles Hagart & Co., were one of the leading firms of their types in early 19th-century Scotland, subscribing to pro-slavery group the Glasgow West India Association.²⁹⁷ The firm itself traded with St Thomas in the Danish West Indies.²⁹⁸ The British occupied the island in 1801 and 1807-15. Although the nature of Hagart's connections throughout this period cannot be verified, St Thomas was a slavery society. While the Danish abolished the trafficking in enslaved people in 1792 and plantation slavery in 1848, St Thomas' enslaved population was 25,452 in 1792, declining to 16,706 in 1846.²⁹⁹ Charles Hagart Esquire of Bantaskine died in September 1813, worth £41,342.³⁰⁰ His substantial personal wealth and landed estate passed to his son Thomas Campbell Hagart, who also became a West India merchant (involved with the firm Robert Hagart & Co., which traded with Jamaica). In 1844, the *New Statistical Account* noted his ownership of the sprawling estate:

*Bantaskine House, the residence of T. C. Hagart, Esq., is an elegant and substantial mansion of modern architecture. It stands on an elevated spot, half a mile southwest of the town, and partakes of the fine prospect which has already been adverted to. The grounds are encircled by luxuriant plantations.*³⁰¹

Around the same time, Thomas Campbell's Bantaskine garden was acclaimed in the local press, indicating the Antonine wall's historic significance was well understood at the time: 'Bantaskine Garden ... lies finely sloping down to the south from the Roman Wall ... it truly is a flower garden! ... the cultivated taste of Mrs and Miss Hagart contribute essentially to maintain this beautiful galaxy'.³⁰² Thomas Campbell Hagart died in England in 1868 worth a remarkable £73,142, a fortune which allowed his family to retain the estate into the later 19th century.³⁰³ In 1873, his son, Major Charles Hagart, was still in possession of the 323-acre estate.³⁰⁴ Professor Donald E. Meek noted in 2016 that Bantaskine was purchased by Provost James Wilson of Govan in 1879. He maintained the luxurious surroundings. As a resident in Trinidad from 1845, James Wilson himself was involved with the West India trades in the post-emancipation era. Colonial exploitation continued in post-slavery Trinidad, and the sugar industry remained vibrant only due to a large influx of indentured Indian immigrants.³⁰⁵ In 1880, the Antonine remnants continued to attract interest when North Bantaskine was described as one of the 'most notable estates in Stirlingshire ... together with a fine fragment of the Roman wall'.³⁰⁶ Bantaskine remained in the Wilson family until 1914.

Antonine Wall – Croy Hill [PiC171]

(empire connection: property)



This section of the Antonine Wall is situated at Croy Hill in Cumbernauld, North Lanarkshire (although this was previously in the boundaries of the county of Dunbartonshire).³⁰⁷ The Croy estate in Dunbartonshire was purchased in 1810 by Alexander Garden, although it has proven impossible to define the boundaries of the estates in the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁰⁸ Garden was a West India merchant with multiple empire interests. His father, Francis, operated the prominent firm of the same name in early 19th-century Glasgow. This firm made several voyages from the Clyde to Demerara in the early 1800s.³⁰⁹ Alexander became involved with West India commerce as a result of his father but was prominent enough in his own right as a subscriber to the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association, which was established in 1807.³¹⁰ However, it seems that he left his father's business in 1813.³¹¹ He married cotton master Henry Monteith's daughter, and Garden still held shares in his in-laws' cotton firm when he died in 1847.³¹²

One later 19th-century account described a Nethercroy estate in Dunbartonshire and noted Roman remains:

*A Superior dwelling at the foot of 'Croy Hill' having offices, Ornamental grounds & garden attached. There are two approaches to this house – one from 'Auchinstarry Drawbridge', & the other from the Parish Road at 'Over Croy'. (Trace 2 & 3 25–3) In the lawn south of the house is a Roman Altar said to have been found in the vicinity, on the line of the Roman Wall; & in the south wall about 30 links from the west corner there are two sculptured Roman stones built in about 15 feet from the ground. Nether Croy is the property of the Carron Company.*³¹³

301 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Falkirk, Stirling, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh, 1845), p. 13.

302 *Stirling Observer*, 4 July 1844, Vol. 8, No. 410, p. 1.

303 NRS, Stirling Sheriff Court, SC67/36/56, 'Inventory; Ext. Reg. Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement; Codicil of Thomas Campbell Hagart esquire of Bantaskine', 23 November 1868.

304 *Scotland: Owners of Land and Heritages, Return 1872–3* (Edinburgh, n.p., 1874), p. 128.

305 Donald E. Meek, 'North Bantaskin', available at: <http://meekwrite.blogspot.com/2016/04/>, accessed 14 July 2022.

306 William Nimmo, *The History of Stirlingshire*, 3rd edn, Vol. 2 (Glasgow: Hamilton, Adams, 1880), pp. 282–3.

307 'Antonine Wall, Croy Hill Roman Fort', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/45875/antonine-wall-croy-hill-roman-fort>, accessed 3 October 2022.

308 T. M. Devine, 'Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land, 1770–1815', in J. T. Ward and R. G. Wilson (eds), *Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), p. 254.

309 See, for example, *Glasgow Herald*, 7 January 1809, p. 4.

310 GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', p. 7.

311 'Notice', *London Gazette*, 6 March 1813.

312 NRS SC65/34/5, 'Inventory of Alexander Garden', 23 December 1847, p. 153.

313 Scotland's Places, *Dunbartonshire Ordnance Survey Name Books*, OS1/9/5/6, Dunbartonshire volume 05, p. 6, available at: <https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/dunbartonshire-os-name-books-1860/dunbartonshire-volume-05/6>, accessed 4 October 2022.

It cannot be verified either way if the 'Nethercroy' was within the perimeters of Alexander Garden's 'Croy' estate in 1810. Neither the *New Statistical Account* (1845) nor Lawrence Keppie's more recent map illustrate the location of the wall relative to the Croy estate.³¹⁴

Antonine Wall – Kirkintilloch [PiC174]

(empire connection: property)



The HES Statement of Significance notes that the section of the Antonine Wall in Kirkintilloch raises potential questions around the 'destruction of Roman remains during the activities of the Industrial Revolution'.³¹⁵ Situating Scotland's commercial (from 1730 onwards), agricultural (from c.1760s onwards) and industrial revolutions (from c.1770s onwards) in wider empire context underlines that the influx of colonial wealth could help preserve Scotland's ancient heritage (as at Bantaskine) and simultaneously contribute to its destruction. Sections of the Antonine Wall were situated in the Cadder estate, owned by the Stirlings of Keir. The family were in possession of the Cadder estate as early as 1487.³¹⁶ The artefacts were well known at the time. Writing about the Cadder area in 1710, Hamilton of Wishaw noted 'very lyvely vestiges of ane Roman incampment and its fortifications'.³¹⁷ When surveying Cadder in the *Old Statistical Account* (1793), Sir John Sinclair acknowledged that the 'Roman Wall, or Graham's Dike, is almost the only antiquity we have in this parish'.³¹⁸

The Stirling family were also owners of estates and enslaved people in Jamaica. In the early 18th century, younger sons went to the island and took possession of the Frontier estate in St Mary's in 1748, the Hampden in St James's in 1757, and the Content estate in St Andrews.³¹⁹ In the early 19th century, the estate passed to Glasgow West India merchant Charles Stirling (1771–1830), a noted improver.³²⁰ Improvements at Cadder (c.1813–16) unearthed ancient artefacts, although these were pilfered:

*When Cadder pond was cleaned and repaired in 1813, a coin or medal of Antoninus Pius was found in an excellent state of preservation, but with a little piece broken or worn off. It was supposed to be of gold. It was given to the late Charles Stirling, Esq. In the following year, when levelling the lawn in the front of Cadder House, part of the foundations of the old tower were discovered, and a vessel full of gold coins, which the workmen carried away with them. A few of them were recovered in Glasgow. They were generally about the size of a shilling. The number found must have been at least 350; they bore the inscription Jacobus.*³²¹

But not everything was destroyed. In 1845, 'part of the Roman wall, built by Lollius Urbicus, forms the north boundary of the present glebe'; it remained part of the landscape.³²² It may be there was a change of approach to preservation under later members of the Stirling family. In 1851, Alexander Young, factor on Keir Estate, replied to William Stirling: 'I have just received your letter and have written to stop Craigs operations at filling up the Fosse [a moat] of the old Roman Wall.' The factor promised to inspect the wall on his next visit.³²³ It may be that William Stirling sought to retain the features of the Roman Wall, instructing his factor to prevent reburial. Overall, however, the Stirlings became synonymous with its ruination. In 1854, James Buchanan claimed the family's improvements had contributed to the destruction of the wall:

314 L. Keppie, 'A Walk Along the Antonine Wall in 1825: The Travel Journal of the Rev John Skinner', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 133 (2004), pp. 205–44; see also J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Cumbernauld, Dumbarton, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 141.

315 Antonine Wall Kirkintilloch Statement of Significance, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=fb909e5b-4a18-4e47-a45b-a86500e31016>, accessed 21 December 2023.

316 W. Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers* (Edinburgh: printed privately, 1858), p. xxvii.

317 William Hamilton of Wishaw, *The Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew, Compiled about 1710* (Glasgow: Dillon and Fullerton, 1831), p. 32.

318 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Cadder, Lanark, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), p. 481.

319 Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 72–4.

320 W. Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers* (Edinburgh: printed privately, 1858), p. 78.

321 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Cadder, Lanark, Vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 407.

322 *Ibid.*, p. 407.

323 T-SK/29/34/16, Alexander Young, Factor at Keir to William Stirling on the Roman Wall at Cadder, 25 April 1851.

*In consequence, however, of the improvements which, for a very long time past, have been made by the Keir family on this portion of their extensive domains, no satisfactory vestiges of the precise site of this Cadder Wall-Fort are now visible.*³²⁴

The influx of West India profits helped improve Keir and Cadder – like many other landed estates across the west of Scotland in the same period³²⁵ – which accelerated the dismantling of Roman remains.

The construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal also contributed to its removal, since it ‘criss-crosses the line of the Wall five times’ around Shirva and Cadder.³²⁶ The Forth and Clyde Canal traversed Scotland, connecting east to west. Glasgow’s ‘tobacco lords’ John Glassford and John Ritchie were involved in the early stages from 1768 – and other colonial merchants sat on the committee – up to the canal’s completion in 1790.³²⁷ The ‘sugar aristocracy’, the commercial successors to the ‘tobacco lords’, were behind a ‘Glasgow takeover’ of the Forth and Clyde Canal after 1815.³²⁸ The Forth and Clyde Canal attracted significant colonial investment for good reason: it promoted the transport of produce and manufactured goods between Europe and the Americas. The march of agricultural and industrial progress, underpinned by colonial commerce, had a deleterious effect on Scotland’s Roman remains.

Antonine Wall – Seabegs Wood [PiC176]

(empire connection: property)



The HES Statement of Significance notes that Seabegs Wood contains the ‘best surviving section of the Military Way along the whole line of the Antonine Wall’ and lies adjacent to a Roman fortlet and medieval motte.³²⁹ In 1732, the Rev. John Horsley traced the frontier through Seabegs Wood, noting that ‘the military way is sometimes obscure’ and the ditch ‘which was very large and deep, is for the most part hereabout filled with water’. The wall extended beyond the wood and passed ‘the mansion house of Seabeg, where the ditch still appears very deep, and full of water. The military way seems to have gone through the gardens on the south side of the house, tho not visible now.’³³⁰ In 1847, Seabegs mansion was owned by Thomas Dundas, 2nd earl of Zetland.³³¹ The Dundas family of Fingask and Kerse benefited from slavery-derived wealth across several generations.³³² His great-grandfather was Lawrence Dundas (1712-1781), an absentee planter and enslaver who owned ‘two slave estates in the West Indies – in Dominica and in Grenada’ in the 1770s.³³³ Thomas Dundas’ father, Lawrence Dundas, 1st earl of Zetland (1766-1839) claimed compensation for enslaved people in the same two colonies on the abolition of slavery in 1834.³³⁴ The upkeep of Seabegs House in the 1840s appears to have benefited from inherited wealth derived from slavery, although to what extent this preserved the remnants of the Antonine Wall, if at all, is open to debate.

³²⁴ James Buchanan, ‘Notice of Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains at Cadder, on the Antonine Wall’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1 (1854), pp. 170–4.

³²⁵ T. M. Devine, ‘Glasgow colonial merchants and land, 1770–1815’, in J. T. Ward and R. G. Wilson (eds), *Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), p. 260.

³²⁶ ‘Antonine Wall Kirkintilloch Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=fb909e5b-4a18-4e47-a45b-a86500e31016>, accessed 21 December 2023

³²⁷ T. J. Dowds, *The Forth and Clyde Canal: A History* (East Linton, 2003), pp. 9–10.

³²⁸ D. A. R. Forrester, ‘Early Canal Company Accounts: Financial and Accounting Aspects of the Forth and Clyde Navigation, 1768–1816’, *Accounting and Business Research*, 10 (1980), pp. 109–23, at p. 119.

³²⁹ ‘Antonine Wall – Statements of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=fb909e5b-4a18-4e47-a45b-a86500e31016>, accessed 14 February 2023.

³³⁰ J. Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (London, 1731), p. 171.

³³¹ ‘Plan of the Estate of Seabegs, Stirlingshire’, Scotland’s Places, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/record/nrs/RHP6129/plan-estate-seabegs-stirlingshire/nrs>, accessed 1 February 2023.

³³² R. P. Fereday, ‘Dundas Family of Fingask and Kerse (per. 1728/9–1820), Landowners and Politicians’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 3 March 2023.

³³³ ‘Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113>, accessed 1 February 2023.

³³⁴ ‘Lawrence Dundas, 1st Earl of Zetland’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11279>, accessed 1 February 2023.

On the other hand, the onset of the Industrial Revolution, and the evolution of firms with an empire focus, appear to have contributed to the destruction of some aspects of the wall. In 1934, antiquarian Samuel Smith described an ‘artificial mound at Bonnybridge’ situated in the Barony of Seabegs, on land that belonged to Messrs. Smith and Wellstood, Ltd (the firm were supportive of Smith’s excavations). The mound was on the north side of the Antonine ditch.³³⁵ Smith & Wellstood’s iron foundry’s produced stoves and portable ranges for export to the British Empire, notably South Africa. In 1894, the firm took action against the Carron Company for infringement of their Trade Mark: racialised imagery of Black people, which they claimed served as an identifier of their ‘good reputation’.³³⁶ The Falkirk Local History Club has noted that roads added when a new foundry was built in 1934 traversed the Antonine Wall.³³⁷ Hence, dual narratives emerge: passive preservation of the frontier on the slave-gentry’s landed estates, and destruction of aspects of the wall as Scottish industrialisation and urbanisation continued into the later Victorian era.

Ardchattan Priory [PiC049]

(empire connection: property)



Ardchattan Priory was built in 1220 and passed into parochial use towards the end of the 16th century.³³⁸ Afterwards, part of the priory became a residence for the Campbell family (a cadet branch of the House of Argyll). In 1793, it was noted that the ‘present proprietor’s dwelling house was formerly a part of the monastery, and his offices occupy a great part of the ground upon which it stood’.³³⁹ From the mid 18th century, Patrick Campbell was Prior of Ardchattan. Campbell had 13 children, and many of his sons were involved with the British Empire. Charles (1756–1780) was killed at the battle of Catawba during the American War of Independence.³⁴⁰ G. J. Bryant cites the Campbells of Ardchattan as a prime example of patronage networks securing appointments in the East India Company. Patrick Campbell’s brother, Alexander, was a junior merchant in Madras and secured cadetship positions for four of his nephews.³⁴¹ On Patrick Campbell’s death in 1801, he was succeeded by his son and heir Robert Campbell (1765–1840).³⁴² Robert Campbell was based in Bengal; he rose from cadet in 1791 to ensign in 1783, to lieutenant in 1789, to captain in 1801 (the same year he assumed Chiefship of Campbell). He was back in England by 1805 and requested leave to retire in February 1807. He was therefore simultaneously a captain in the East India Company and the prior of Ardchattan.³⁴³ When he died in 1840, Captain Robert Campbell appeared to be in debt and his estate was valued at a modest £1,576.³⁴⁴ His brother, Captain Alexander Campbell, inherited Ardchattan Priory.³⁴⁵

335 S. Smith, ‘Notes on an Artificial Mound at Bonnybridge’. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 68 (1934), pp. 59–68. For a summary of modern archaeological study, see David J. Breeze and William S. Hanson, *The Antonine Wall: Papers in Honour of Professor Lawrence Keppie* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2020).

336 John Cutler (ed.), *Reports of Patent, Design, Trade Mark, and Other Cases*, Vol. 13 (London: HMSO, 1896), p. 108.

337 ‘Columbian Stove Works’, Falkirk Local History Society, available at: <https://falkirklocalhistory.club/around-the-area/industry/ironfounding/a-brief-history-of-ironfounding-in-the-falkirk-area/columbian-stove-works/>, accessed 1 February 2023.

338 ‘Ardchattan Priory Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=7163b5ba-5f4d-4786-a270-a74400d61b1f>, accessed 21 December 2023; ‘Campbell of Ardchattan’, *The Scottish Antiquary, or, Northern Notes and Queries*, 8:29 (1893), pp. 3–8.

339 John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Ardchattan, Argyle, Vol. 6 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), p. 179.

340 Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, Pall Mall, 1858), p. 173.

341 G. J. Bryant, ‘Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 64: 177 (1985), pp. 22–41.

342 Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, Pall Mall, 1858), p. 173.

343 Duncan Campbell, *Records of Clan Campbell in the Service of the Honorable East India Company* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1931), p. 244.

344 NRS, SC51/32/4, Dunoon Sheriff Court, Wills and testaments, Trust Disposition and Inventory of Robert Campbell of Ardchattan, 5 December 1840, p. 361.

345 ‘Campbell of Ardchattan’, p. 7.

Ardclach Bell Tower [PiC326]

(empire connection: property)



Ardclach Bell Tower in Ardclach, Nairn, was established in 1655. It came into guardianship in 1963 and has been in ownership since 2006.³⁴⁶ It is situated on the estate of the Brodies of Lethen, who purchased the estate in 1634.³⁴⁷ This edifice was not deemed noteworthy enough to attract attention in either the *Old Statistical Account* (1792) or the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845). The Brodies of Lethen connection with the British Empire relates to modern warfare. In 1908, Ewen James Brodie succeeded to the Lethen estate. Brodie was a captain in the 1st Battalion of the Queens Own Cameron Highlanders. He fought in the Boer War (1899–1902) and was killed at the first battle of Ypres on 11 November 1914, during the First World War.³⁴⁸

Ardoch Roman Camp, Blackhill [PiC054]

(empire connection: property)



The Roman camp at Ardoch, Perthshire, was excavated by David Christison in 1895–6 with the permission of the proprietor, Colonel George Stirling Home Drummond of Blair Drummond and Ardoch. This antiquarian also noted previous proprietors, the Stirlings of Ardoch.³⁴⁹ In the late 18th century, the proprietor of Ardoch was Sir William Stirling (d.1799). He was succeeded by his brother, General Sir Thomas Stirling 5th Bart. (1738–1808). The latter was an army officer who was active in the American War of Independence and in the West Indies, including the capture of Martinique in 1759 and Havana in 1762. After his return to Scotland, he bought the Strowan estate, and Ardoch estate passed to his niece and her husband.³⁵⁰

There were familial connections to Caribbean slavery. According to one antiquarian source, the 'Ardoch Stirlings' were cousins of the famous Scottish plantocracy family the Stirlings of Keir.³⁵¹ One modern family history claims Charles Stirling, the brother of Sir William and Thomas Stirling, settled in Jamaica (likely from c.1775) and that William and Thomas Stirling funded Ardoch Penn in Jamaica for their youngest brother in the hope of a return on investment from slavery-derived enterprise.³⁵² Charles Stirling's correspondence from Jamaica in the late 18th century elucidates the process. In April 1787, Charles wrote to Sir William from Glasgow as he prepared to return to Jamaica: 'I received Letters from Jamaica by the last Packet, & every thing on Ardoch is doing tolerable well ... I understand that I am to Settle wt. Mr. Erskine for £4000 which will make your Interest £200 pr Annum, & you may rest Ashured it shall be sent you punctually'.³⁵³ A letter from Charles in Jamaica to Sir William in 1794 refers to conditions in the island and the process of repatriating annual profits to Scotland via West India merchants in London and Glasgow:

*I was sorry to find that you had not got the £200 Sterg. for the discharge of the Int[eres]t. I owed you, as also another Bill I sent to discharge Mr Murrays debt but I make no doubt but you have received both before now ... we have had a great mortality throughout this Island & particularly among our troops, & Seamen, it is consider'd Dangerous to visit the Towns, from the Pestilential disorders that Reigns there, last week there were 6 White people died on one Estate adjoining Hampden called Green Park.*³⁵⁴

346 'Ardclach Bell Tower Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=2af4c280-9f33-4475-bb7a-a6c901155ce3>, accessed 21 December 2023.

347 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Ardclach, Nairn, Vol. 13 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 30.

348 'Ewen James Brodie', available at: <https://www.westernfrontassociation.com/world-war-i-articles/private-memorials-on-the-western-front/ewen-james-brodie/>, accessed 21 December 2023.

349 D. Christison, 'Account of the Excavation of the Roman Station at Ardoch, Perthshire, undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1896–97', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 32 (1898) 399–435.

350 E. M. Lloyd and Roger T. Stearn, 'Stirling, Sir Thomas, of Strowan, Fifth Baronet (1733–1808), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 1 February 2023.

351 Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, LIII Kenmure.

352 Sarah Harrison (ed.), *The Life of William Stirling, and his Account of the Wreck of the Ship, 'Tiger', and the Two Months Spent on Anstove Island in the Seychelles*, in 1836. For detail on Charles Stirling and Jamaica, see 'Charles Stirling also given as Sterling', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648939>, accessed 1 February 2023.

353 NRS, GD24/1/459/5, 'Letters to Sir William Stirling of Ardoch from Alexander Dundas, Patrick Stirling and Charles Stirling': Charles Stirling to William Stirling, 13 April 1787. Transcriptions of this correspondence are in: S. Harrison, *The Stirlings of Ardoch and the Grahams of Airth - new edition* (2017). In Apollo - University of Cambridge Repository Macfarlane, available at: <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.8444>, accessed 2 February 2023.

354 NRS, GD24/1/459/7, Charles Stirling to William Stirling, 20 July 1794.

On Sir William's death in 1799, his brother Sir Thomas Stirling assumed ownership of Ardoch in Jamaica.³⁵⁵

Throughout the 1790s, Sir William Stirling of Ardoch was a landed proprietor in Scotland, receiving the profits of slavery repatriated from a Jamaica plantation, while being committed to preserving remnants of Roman Scotland's ancient heritage. The *Old Statistical Account* (OSA, 1793) described the 'camp at Ardoch, as being the most complete of any in Scotland, or perhaps in Great Britain'.³⁵⁶ Perhaps this was not a coincidence, for, as described in the OSA, Sir William Stirling invested to protect the heritage from tenants who were by then implementing revolutionary agricultural processes: *When the Ardoch Family returned to the country, the camp was used as pasture ground, for cattle; and, by Sir William Stirling, the present proprietor, has been inclosed with a high stone wall, that it may never again suffer by a ploughshare. He has also prohibited the tenants from plowing up, or otherwise demolishing, any part of the remaining lines or ramparts round the two larger camps.*³⁵⁷

The *New Statistical Account* (1845) noted the continuing preservation of the site, describing the general area as a site of special interest for antiquarians interested in the Roman era: *Any historian can go for information, regarding the monuments, and transactions of that great commander, who came to subject the hardy tribes of Caledonia to the Roman sway. And certainly from that Life, we are as much entitled to fix upon Ardoch, and its neighbourhood, as the scenes where Agricola abode and repulsed Galgacus.*³⁵⁸

This provides a prima facie case for how an 18th-century Scottish gentry family with connections to Jamaica and the Atlantic slavery economy helped preserve Scotland's Roman heritage. However, since Black Hill camps comprise a large complex of the remains of Roman military sites, it is impossible to pinpoint the effects of the Stirling family strategy on the specific property in care.

Arnol Blackhouse No. 39 [PiC272]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 5: Matheson of Lewis.

Arnol Blackhouse No. 42 [PiC273]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 5: Matheson of Lewis.

Ballygowan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC052]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Baluachraig Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC053]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Barsalloch Fort [PiC180]

(empire connection: cultural)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

Big Balcraig and Clachan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC181]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

³⁵⁵ 'Ardoch [Jamaica | St Ann]', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2176>, accessed 1 February 2023.

³⁵⁶ John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Muthill, Perth, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), p. 493.

³⁵⁷ John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Muthill, Perth, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), p. 495.

³⁵⁸ J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Muthill, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 322.

Blackfriars Chapel, St Andrews [PiC010]

(empire connection: property)



This property in care is a remaining fragment of a Dominican friary of St Andrews (commonly called Blackfriars), which was established in the mid 1400s. The remains were part of a new building established in 1514, which is, of course, prior to British colonialism, c.1603.³⁵⁹ However, as noted in Canmore, the 'remaining portion of the church lies within the grounds of Madras College' which was established later.³⁶⁰ The Madras College system was established in Scotland due to the bequest of the Rev. Andrew Bell, a minister with the East India Company who spent time in the Americas and Asia. On his death in January 1832, St Andrews received £60,000 (compared with £10,000 each for Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, Leith, and the Royal Naval School).³⁶¹ Whether by accident or design, the establishment of the Madras College, itself funded by profits via the East India Company, served to preserve the fragmentary remains of Blackfriars Chapel (as evidenced by late Victorian photographs).³⁶²

Blackness Castle [PiC129]

(empire connection: production)



Blackness Castle is situated in the Firth of Forth, on a spot of land that extends into the river. It comprises the remains of a medieval castle (established in the 15th century, with sections altered and added in later centuries). It was commandeered as a royal castle in 1453. The location of the castle on the Forth made it a strategic point of defence as early as the French Revolutionary Wars (1793–1815). French prisoners of war were held in the castle, which was heavily fortified. As noted by Ron Morris and Gordon J. Barclay, the military function was extended post-1860, when it became one of the major ammunition dumps in Scotland. Control of the site was transferred to the Office of Works as an ancient monument, but it was once again utilised by the British Army during the First World War.³⁶³

Bonawe Iron Furnace [PiC055]

(empire connections: production and technological)



Bonawe Iron Furnace was established in 1752–3 by a company based in Cumbria. The HES Statement of Significance describes it as 'an ironworks, pure and simple, producing humble pig-iron for a market increasingly-hungry for iron products'. The Statement of Significance also reveals a connection with Lord Nelson; Bonawe was reputed to have provided cannonballs for the British Navy during the American War of Independence (an example is said to be preserved at the site exhibition). In return, a memorial to Lord Nelson was erected at Taynuilt in 1805 as part of a wider process of memorialising the Royal Navy's decisive victory at the Battle of Trafalgar.³⁶⁴

In the latter part of the 18th century, the main markets for pig-iron were America up to 1776, and the West Indies from 1780 to 1815. The American War of Independence (1775–83) was followed by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815). Substantiating Bonawe's exact connection is problematic, beyond the Nelson connection. Historians have noted that the furnace produced cannonballs during the Napoleonic Wars, although the only records of the firm that seem to have survived in the National Records of Scotland are modern.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁹ 'Blackfriars Chapel, St Andrews Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=b0c21f05-7160-4ce2-83a4-a78c00e688fc>, accessed 22 February 2023.

³⁶⁰ 'St Andrews, South Street, Dominican Monastery', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/94440/st-andrews-south-street-dominican-monastery>, accessed 22 February 2023.

³⁶¹ John Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests* (Glasgow, 1861), p. 31.

³⁶² 'Blackfriars and Madras College', University of St Andrews, available at: <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/blackfriars-and-madras-college/81413>, accessed 22 February 2023.

³⁶³ Ron Morris and Gordon Barclay, 'The Fixed Defences of the Forth in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1779–1815', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 23 (2017), pp. 109–33.

³⁶⁴ 'Bonawe Iron Furnace Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=2199045b-0a16-4d6b-8219-a8b8008dc923>, accessed 21 December 2023.

³⁶⁵ Michael Fry, *A Higher World: Scotland 1707–1815* (2014); NRS, DD27/2812, Bonawe Iron Furnace, Taynuilt, Argyll (1959–1980).

Bridge of Oich Suspension Bridge [PiC327]

(empire connection: technological)



The Bridge of Oich is a 19th-century suspension bridge that crosses the River Oich at Aberchalder in the Scottish Highlands. As noted, it was the work of famous English bridge builder James Dredge (1794–1863), who also designed bridges throughout the British Empire.³⁶⁶ Research by D. McQuillan quantifies the importance of Dredge's connections to the British Empire. He produced four bridges for the Indian Government between 1843 and 1846 (two near Jessore, another near Calcutta and another at Kidderpoor Docks). Moreover, he produced the two Trelawney bridges (1851) near Falmouth in post-emancipation Jamaica. Overall, however, the empire component of Dredge's outputs was relatively minor (5 of 35 bridges: 14 per cent). While these bridges were constructed before the Bridge of Oich, and it is possible Dredge accumulated wealth by constructing bridges that furthered British imperial expansion, the connection with the Bridge of Oich is slight.³⁶⁷

Broch of Gurness (Aikerness Broch) [PiC277]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 3: Balfours of Trenabie.

Broughty Castle [PiC013]

(empire connection: defence)



Broughty Castle is situated on the banks of the Tay in Dundee, Angus. As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, it is 'an imposing stronghold situated on a promontory at the mouth of the Tay estuary, unusually combining elements of medieval and Victorian military architecture'.³⁶⁸ As noted by Gordon Barclay and Ron Morris, 'gun defences were planned near the mouth of the estuary during the Crimean War, in 1854, when Broughty Castle was bought by the government. Work on adapting it for modern guns was undertaken in 1860–1'.³⁶⁹ While envisaged as an important part of Britain's home naval defence, the Crimean War ended in 1856 before Broughty saw any conflict. The main phases of later works were in the 1860s and the 1880s when the focus for defences shifted to submarine attack.

Burleigh Castle [PiC014]

(empire connection: property)



Burleigh Castle is located near Kinross, in Perth and Kinross, Scotland. The remains consist of a late medieval tower-house with 16th-century front and tower.³⁷⁰ According to architectural historian Nicholas Kingsley, Burleigh was initially owned by the Balfours but sold by Hon. Margaret Balfour in 1747.³⁷¹ The *Old Statistical Account* (1798) described it as follows:

*This ancient castle was formerly a place of great strength, when family feuds so much prevailed. It is a square, surrounded by a wall of 10 feet in height, a deep ditch, and a redoubt. It is surrounded, as already mentioned, with a great number of trees, many of which are very large, and boss and hollow with age ... This old castle, with the lands annexed, was purchased 30 years ago by General Irvin, and sold by him to Mr Graham of Kinross, the present proprietor. This castle is entirely a ruin; some part of its wall is fallen to decay, and the ditch that surrounded it is in many places filled up.*³⁷²

366 'Bridge of Oich Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=1fcc7d01-c26e-41dd-b4fc-a74400e026cf>, accessed 21 December 2023.

367 D. McQuillan, 'From Brewer to Bridge Builder: Reflections on the Life and Work of James Dredge', *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers - Civil Engineering*, 102:1 (1994), pp. 34–42.

368 'Broughty Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=70e63731-db8c-4dcb-b62a-a8b8008e58e7>, accessed 22 February 2023.

369 Gordon J. Barclay and Ron Morris, 'The Anti-invasion Defences of the Forth and Tay Estuaries, Eastern Scotland: 1900 to 1919', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 148 (2018), pp. 283–331 at p. 298.

370 'Burleigh Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0f341df2-f131-4432-9093-a74500b1cc77>, accessed 21 December 2023.

371 Nicholas Kingsley, 'Balfour of Burleigh Castle, Fernie Castle and Kindrogan, Barons Balfour of Burleigh', *Landed families of Britain and Ireland*, available at: <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/search?q=balfour>, accessed 22 February 2023.

372 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Orwell, Kinross, Vol. 20 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1798), pp. 132–3.

As noted by J. W. Anderson, in 1798, Mr Graham of Kinross was Thomas Graham (1752–1819) a shareholder and writer (lawyer) in the East India Company. He had multiple interests in administrative roles and banking (including Graham, Mowbray and Skirrow of Calcutta).³⁷³ As Andrew Mackillop shows, the Grahams were connected to the most powerful East India Company networks in London and across the corporation’s territories in Asia.³⁷⁴

J. W. Anderson notes that Graham was back in Scotland by 1809, although the *Old Statistical Account* suggests Graham had already purchased Kinross and Burleigh by 1798. However, it seems that his imperial wealth was not central to the improvement of the tower during his period of ownership. By 1845, it was described in the *New Statistical Account* as still in a ruinous state.³⁷⁵

While the *New Statistical Account* reported a generation after Graham’s death, the comparison with the earlier account does not indicate that Graham substantially improved Burleigh Castle although, on the other hand, the frontage and towers were evidently retained across his life.

Cairnbaan Cup and Ring Marks [PiC056]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Calanais Standing Stones [PiC280]

(empire connection: cultural)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 5: Matheson of Lewis.

Cardoness Castle [PiC185]

(empire connection: property)



Cardoness Castle was built in the late 15th century for the McCulloch family. It passed through various family ownerships (e.g. Gordon, Maxwell, Murrays of Broughton and Maxwell again) before 1927 when it came into state care.³⁷⁶ It has not been possible to identify specific chronologies, although the *New Statistical Account* (1845) suggests Cardoness was owned by the Maxwell family in the mid 19th century: ‘the land-owners are Sir David Maxwell of Cardoness, Bart.; Alexander Murray of Broughton, M.P.’³⁷⁷ Both these families had connections with the West Indies. Sir David Maxwell (1773–1860) married Georgina Maxwell née Martin, daughter of Samuel Martin of St Antigua.³⁷⁸ Martin was a large-scale planter and enslaver, owning 304 enslaved people on the island of Antigua in 1768.³⁷⁹ It is very likely that any marital dowry saw a transfer of slavery-derived wealth from Antigua to the Maxwell coffers.

The Murrays of Broughton – also named in the *New Statistical Account* in 1845 – were prominent landowners with lands contiguous to Cardoness. Alexander Murray’s (1789–1845) illegitimacy did not prevent him inheriting ‘considerable estates’ in Wigtonshire on the death of his father James in 1799. He was also an absentee West India planter and enslaver: on 13 June 1836, he collected £1,199 compensation for 121 enslaved people on the Whim estate in Tobago.³⁸⁰ One account in 1876 suggests that Alexander Murray of Broughton had some role in improving the lands around the castle: *Cardoness Castle rears its grim head above the foliage and the well-wooded grounds around Ardwall, Cardoness House, and Boreland of Anwoth, add much to the beauty of the scene. The greater part of the level tract of ground on this side of the river was at one time within the tide mark, but through the enterprise of the late Mr Murray of Broughton, who constructed a large bank about*

373 J. W. Anderson, ‘Graham, Thomas II (1752–1819), of Kinross House, Kinross’, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/graham-thomas-ii-1752-1819>, accessed 21 December 2023.

374 Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690-c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p. 211.

375 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Orwell, Kinross, Vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 59.

376 ‘Cardoness Castle Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=c0a45dde-c4c8-411d-a225-a57000c79e90>, accessed 21 December 2023.

377 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Anwoth, Kirkcudbright, Vol. 4 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 375.

378 Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage and Baronetage (Knighthood & Companionship) of the British Empire* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861), p. 746.

379 Richard B. Sheridan, ‘Samuel Martin, Innovating Sugar Planter of Antigua 1750–1776’, *Agricultural History*, 34:3 (1960), p. 130.

380 ‘Tobago 34 (Whim Estate)’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/27698>, accessed 11 September 2022.

a mile in length, and deepened, and otherwise improved the course of the canal for the free run of the tide, a large amount of good alluvial land was reclaimed, which now yields abundant crops.³⁸¹

While one of the Maxwell family married a daughter of the plantocracy, there is no clear evidence that the profits of Caribbean slavery had any effect upon the castle itself, although it seems very likely that slavery-derived capital contributed to the development of the *environs* of Cardoness Castle, notably the canal infrastructure, which retained the edifice as a site of special interest.

Carn Liath (Broch) [PiC281]

(empire connection: property)



Carn Liath is an excavated broch, situated in Golspie, Sutherland.³⁸² During the early 19th century, the land was in possession of the Duchess of Sutherland, leading proponent of the Highland Clearances.³⁸³ According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Elizabeth Leveson-Gower [née Lady Elizabeth Sutherland], duchess of Sutherland and suo jure countess of Sutherland (1765–1839)' was the 'youngest and only surviving child of William Sutherland, 18th earl of Sutherland (1735–1766) and his wife, Mary (c.1740–1766), daughter and coheir of William Maxwell'.³⁸⁴ Mary Maxwell was a wealthy colonial heiress, inheriting £5,000 in 1741 from her father William Maxwell, whose fortune was based upon 'trade, and plantations in Jamaica'. This inheritance was enormous; worth £11m in contemporary terms (relative the worth of average earnings in 2021).³⁸⁵ As Andrew Mackillop and Iain

Mackinnon note, the Maxwell lineage had important implications for the Sutherland family, as it allowed them to thrive at a time when other traditional landed families were forced to give up their estates.³⁸⁶ The Duchess of Sutherland's grandson, the 3rd Duke of Sutherland, George Granville William Sutherland-Leveson-Gower (1829–1892) was a keen antiquarian. Around 1868, the 'broch of Carnliath ... [which] stands about a mile to the eastward of Dunrobin' was 'explored by His Grace the Duke of Sutherland'.³⁸⁷

Carnasserie Castle [PiC058]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Carsluith Castle [PiC186]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, 'Carsluith Castle is typical of the L-shaped tower houses built throughout Scotland during the 1500s'.³⁸⁸ It is located in Kilmabreck in Wigton in Dumfries and Galloway, and James Broun of Carsluith was the last of his ilk to own the castle. Operating as a merchant in London, he sold the castle in 1748 to fund a trip to India.³⁸⁹ It is possible Broun was operating as a colonial merchant in London while possessing ownership of the castle although this remains unverified. Although there is a slight empire connection – the castle's sale funded an empire-related venture – this would have had no effect on the structure or its preservation.

381 Malcolm M'Lachlan Harper, *Rambles in Galloway: Topographical, Historical, Traditional, and Biographical* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1876), p. 96.

382 'Carn Liath Broch Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=c873802a-5e9a-4e3e-91d0-a74500bbf674>, accessed 21 December 2023.

383 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Golspie, Sutherland, Vol. 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 29.

384 Eric Richards, 'Gower, Elizabeth Leveson- [née Lady Elizabeth Sutherland], Duchess of Sutherland and suo jure Countess of Sutherland (1765–1839), Landowner', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 20 September 2022.

385 Measuring Worth, available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1741&amount=5000&year_result=2023, accessed 13 October 2022.

386 Scottish Court of Session (1747), available at: <https://www.casemine.com/judgement/uk/5a8ff80a60d03e7f57eb86e8#>, accessed 20 September 2022; I. MacKinnon and A. Mackillop, 'Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands ...', available at: <https://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/resources/plantation-slavery-and-landownership-the-west-highlands-and-islands-legacies-and-lessons/>, accessed 27 March 2023, p. 13. Modern estimates of wealth are taken from Measuring Worth, available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1741&amount=5000&year_result=2020, accessed 13 October 2022.

387 J. M. Joass and T. Aitken, 'The Brochs or Pictish Towers of Cinn-Trolla, Carn-Liath, and Craig-Carril, in Sutherland, with Notes on other Northern Brochs. With Report upon the Crania Found in and About Them', *Archaeologia Scotica*, 5 (1891), pp. 95–130. See also Christine MacLagan, *The Hill Forts Stone Circles and Others Structural Remains of Ancient Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875), p. 67; Paula Love, 'Recent Excavations at Carn Liath Broch, Golspie, Sutherland', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 15:1 (1988), pp. 157–69.

388 'Carsluith Castle', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/carsluith-castle/history/>, accessed 22 February 2023.

389 'Carsluith Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=034e344e-330e-4166-8b6a-a74500bcb4e6>, accessed 22 February 2023. See also J. S. Fleming, 'Carsluith Castle', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 5:1 (1905), pp. 113–23.

Castle of Park [PiC187]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, 'Castle of Park (also Park Hay or Park House) is prominently situated on a hill ... overlooking, the village of Glenluce [in Wigtonshire]. The L-plan tower house, dated 1590 and built for Thomas Hay of Park and his spouse Janet McDowall, stands four storeys and an attic high. It was abandoned as a noble residence c.1830.³⁹⁰ The Hays of Park, Wigtonshire, were recorded as baronets of Nova Scotia: a settler colonisation scheme established by King James VI and I (1566-1625). Scottish landowners who encouraged settlers to emigrate were rewarded with swathes of land in Nova Scotia ('New Scotland') in modern Canada.³⁹¹

Castle Semple Collegiate Church [PiC116]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



The HES Statement of Significance for Castle Semple Collegiate Church in Renfrewshire establishes a prima facie case for further investigation. As noted, Castle Semple estate was 'sold to Col William McDowall, a wealthy sugar-plantation owner from the Caribbean' around 1735.³⁹² Historian Stuart Nisbet's work reveals that McDowall made his fortune in St Kitts and Nevis, two neighbouring Leeward islands in the eastern Caribbean. Arriving in Nevis in the 1690s, he rose from overseer to planter, owning large numbers of enslaved Africans and sugar estates in St Kitts.³⁹³ Returning to Great Britain in 1724, he became one of Glasgow's pioneering 'sugar lords' in the post-Union era. In 1726, the extremely wealthy

McDowall purchased the premier city townhouse the Shawfield Mansion, and the Castle Semple estate in Renfrew.³⁹⁴ In 1735, McDowall demolished the old Castle Semple to build a new mansion in the Palladian style.³⁹⁵ The family used the estate as collateral in financial dealings in the late 18th century.³⁹⁶ The McDowall family helped establish Scotland's premier West India merchant firm, Alexander Houston & Co., which failed spectacularly in the 1790s and was liquidated in the early 19th century.³⁹⁷ With the demise of the firm, the family's wealth and political influence declined. In 1814, Castle Semple was sold to another enslaver, John Rae Harvey. Harvey's will (proved in 1821) reveals he was an owner of multiple estates in Grenada (which were bequeathed to family), while other parts of the Grenada property and the Castle Semple estate were bequeathed to his children. Harvey's post-mortem strategy was typical of many planters who burdened sugar estates (and, by extension, enslaved people) with annuities designed to support the elite lifestyles of children in Great Britain (in this case in Castle Semple).³⁹⁸ John Rae Harvey's daughter, Margaret Harvey, was a claimant of the British Government's compensation on the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834, collecting £8,462 for 304 enslaved people on the Lower and Upper Conference estates in Grenada.³⁹⁹ A legal document containing her will (proved in 1849), describes her as 'of Castle Semple'.⁴⁰⁰ The Castle Semple estate remained in the Harvey family until 1908, and was sold on the bankruptcy of James Shand Harvey. The Castle Semple estate, therefore, was owned for almost two centuries by successive generations of two families with multi-various connections to Caribbean slavery: absentee planters, West India merchants, enslavers, claimants of compensation in 1834 and those who benefited from inherited

390 'Castle of Park Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=c5a428e6-1130-4259-a3c6-a8b80093c2f4>, accessed 22 February 2023.

391 William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation Or, The Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Fullerton and Co., 1863), p. 453.

392 'Castle Semple Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=a85e256e-244d-44a1-8a4d-a74400bd16e9>, accessed 21 December 2023.

393 Stuart Nisbet, 'Early Scottish Sugar Planters in the Leeward Islands, c.1660-1740', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 65.

394 Stuart Nisbet, 'Sugar and the Early Identity of Glasgow: Glasgow Planters in the Leeward Islands, c.1650-1750', *Scottish Archives*, 19 (2013), p. 76.

395 Stuart Nisbet, 'Early Glasgow Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 31:1-2 (2009), p. 117.

396 For example, Glasgow City Archives (GCA), T-SA 7/1/1, Renfrewshire, 1781-1807, sasine 1109.

397 D. Hamilton, 'Scottish Trading in the Caribbean: the Rise and Fall of Houston & Co.', in N. C. Landsman (ed.), *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), p. 119.

398 'William McDowall the Younger of Castle Semple', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1060>, accessed 12 May 2022; 'John Harvey ne Rae of Castle Semple', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633127>, accessed 14 May 2022. The National Archives of the UK, PROB 11/1639/244, 'Will of John Harvey of Castle Semple, Renfrewshire', 1821.

399 'Margaret Harvey', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42078>, accessed 12 May 2022.

400 The National Archives, PROB 11/2094/333, 'Will of Margaret Harvey, Wife of Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire'.

wealth. The Collegiate Church, however, was established in 1505, before the era of English/British colonialism in 1603, and two centuries before the McDowall and Harvey residences.⁴⁰¹ It remains unclear if the church was improved by slavery-derived wealth between 1726 and the later 19th century. Nevertheless, as noted by local historian Elizabeth West, subsequent generations of the Harvey family (through Margaret Harvey's marriage to James Lee) are buried within the church.⁴⁰²

Castle Sween [PiC060]

(empire connection: production)



Castle Sween is located on the west coast of Argyllshire, Scotland. Its location on the eastern shore of Loch Sween provides convenient access to the North Channel and the northern coast of Ireland. The HES Statement of Significance tells us that in 1646 Castle Sween 'was used as a centre for the import of meal from Ireland for distribution to Government forces'.⁴⁰³ The plantation of Ulster began in 1606 and was made official three years later. Scholars such as Gerard Farrell have recently illuminated the process of conquest and colonisation in Ulster. In 1608–9, the English Crown confiscated six counties in Ireland (Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone) and distributed vast swathes to Scottish and English 'undertakers ... on condition ... [they] expel the native population'. The status of the Ulster Irish worsened in the 1630s with high levels of immigration from England and especially Scotland. Extraction of resources was a key feature of the colonisation of Ulster, a process which was noted from the 17th century.⁴⁰⁴

Chesters Hill Fort [PiC132]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, 'Chesters Hill Fort was probably built in the first millennium BC and was occupied into the Roman occupation of Britain in the early centuries of the first millennium AD.' It is situated in Athelstaneford in East Lothian⁴⁰⁵ (and so should not be confused with Chester Hill Fort in Covington and Thankerton in Lanarkshire).⁴⁰⁶ The 'Chesters' (as it was referred to in one antiquarian publication) was situated on the property of the earl of Hopetoun.⁴⁰⁷ John Hope, 4th earl of Hopetoun (1765–1823), was an army officer, commanding regiments in the British West Indies, taking 'part in the capture of the French and Spanish West Indies in 1796–7'.⁴⁰⁸ John Hope, 5th earl of Hopetoun (1803–1843), acted as an executor of Francis Grant, a Scottish planter with a Jamaica estate. John Hope was close enough to the process in 1834 to initially make a claim for compensation for enslaved people on Blackness estate in Westmoreland, although he ultimately did not receive any compensation.⁴⁰⁹ John Adrian Louis Hope, 7th earl of Hopetoun (1860–1908), was the 'first governor-general of the newly federated commonwealth of Australia'.⁴¹⁰ The earls of Hopetoun had multiple sustained connections with the British Empire, although to what extent this impacted their landed property, and the Chester Hill Fort site in particular, remains open to debate.

401 *The Topographical, Statistical, and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1845), p. 217.

402 Elizabeth West, 'The Harveys of Castle Semple, Part 2: The Later Years (c.1815–1908)', *Renfrewshire Local History Forum*, 17 (2013).

403 'Castle Sween Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=a080c4be-5c26-430e-affb-a75300c339ba>, accessed 21 December 2021.

404 Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570–1641* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 4, 6, 209.

405 'Chesters Hill Fort', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/chesters-hill-fort/>, accessed 23 February 2023.

406 'Chester Hill', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/47463/chester-hill>, accessed 23 February 2023.

407 J. Cunningham, 'Notes on the "Chesters", a Fort near Drem', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 30 (1896), pp. 267–9.

408 H. M. Chichester and S. Kinross, 'Hope, John, Fourth Earl of Hopetoun (1765–1823), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 23 February 2023.

409 'John Hope, 5th Earl of Hopetoun', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1302535754>, accessed 23 February 2023.

410 Christopher Cunneen, 'Hope, John Adrian Louis, Seventh Earl of Hopetoun and First Marquess of Linlithgow (1860–1908), Governor-general of Australia', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 23 February 2023.

Crookston Castle [PiC119]

(empire connection: cultural)



The origins of the Crookston Castle in Pollok, Glasgow, go back to the 12th century, and the present edifice likely to the 15th century.⁴¹¹ In 1757, the lands were added to the considerable Pollok estates owned by the Maxwell family. The year before he died, Sir John Maxwell (1720–1758) purchased the lands of Crookston from the Duke of Montrose for £12,000.⁴¹² In 1762, Sir James Maxwell (1735–1785) succeeded to the baronetcy and the Scottish estates. As a young man, James Maxwell was ‘determined the push his fortune abroad’ and ‘resolved on going as a planter to the Island of St Christopher’, one of the Leeward Islands in the Lesser Antilles in the eastern Caribbean.⁴¹³ The island had a strong Scottish contingent on the mid 18th century. In the *Memoirs of the Maxwell Family* (1863), William Fraser noted that Maxwell trained as a carpenter before he went to St Christopher. While he would have found employment on sugar estates on the island (potentially training enslaved people and exploiting their labour), it is impossible to assess how much wealth he acquired from the slavery economy. Around 1762, Maxwell returned to Scotland and inherited his ancestral estates. After his return, he maintained an open account with, and sometimes received payments from, Glasgow West India merchants Cross & Bogle, suggesting he retained planting interests in St Christopher.⁴¹⁴ Soon after his return, he married Frances Colhoun, the daughter of Robert Colquhoun, a rich Scottish planter on St Christopher.⁴¹⁵ This marriage brought a ‘tocher’ (a dowry) of £5,000. This was enormous: £5,000 in 1762 is equivalent to £10.2 million in modern values (relative to the worth of average earnings in 2021).⁴¹⁶ However, he was also bound

to pay £450 a year in jointure to his wife. To what extent Caribbean slavery boosted the family’s wealth, or was invested in productive enterprise, is beyond the scope of this study but it could have been relatively slight compared with the wealth generated by the family’s extensive landed and industrial interests. The family certainly improved Crookston Castle into the 19th century. Sir James Maxwell’s grandson, Sir John Maxwell (1791–1865), ‘restored several rooms’ in Crookston Castle.⁴¹⁷ The West of Scotland Archaeology Service suggests a ‘parapet may have been added for Queen Victoria’s visit to Glasgow in 1847’.⁴¹⁸ The direct influence of the profits of Caribbean slavery generated almost a century earlier, however, was likely negligible to these improvement plans.

This was not the only influx of slavery-derived wealth into the Maxwell family. In 1815, Elizabeth Maxwell (1793–1822), second daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok (1768–1844) and granddaughter of Sir James Maxwell (1735–1785), married Archibald Stirling of Keir (1768–1847).⁴¹⁹ As noted above, the Stirlings of Keir were a noted Scottish landed family who became absentee Jamaica planters. Archibald Stirling was resident on the island from 1789 to learn the planting business and remained on the island for nearly 25 years.⁴²⁰ He married Elizabeth in 1815.⁴²¹ They had four children before her death seven years later, including his son and heir, William (1818–1878), Hannah-Ann (1816–1843) and Elizabeth (1822–1845). Archibald Stirling died in 1847, worth £72,991.⁴²² William Stirling succeeding to the Maxwell baronetcy in 1865 and took on the name William Stirling Maxwell. Thus, he succeeded to families with connections to Caribbean slavery on both the paternal and maternal lines.

The key issue in assessing the relative importance of empire-derived wealth to built heritage like Crookston is (a) ascertaining the scale of the

411 ‘Crookston Castle Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9df85dad-b65d-4657-b558-a75300cdc9d6>, accessed 17 August 2022; W. D. Simpson, ‘Crookston Castle’, *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeology Society*, 12 (1953), pp. 1–14.

412 William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok* (Edinburgh: printed privately, 1863), p. 106.

413 Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, p. 108.

414 GCA, T-PM 129/30 ‘Cash Book belonging to Sir James Maxwell, 1762–1763’, pp. 2–3. For details on John Cross, see ‘John Cross of Glasgow’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146665037>, accessed 24 August 2022.

415 ‘Robert Colhoun or Colquhoun of St Kitts’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21466651957>, accessed 24 August 2022.

416 Measuring Worth, available at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1762&amount=5000&year_result=2022, accessed 17 August 2022.

417 Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, pp. 7, 115.

418 WoSAS, Site Name: Glasgow, Crookston Castle, available at: http://www.wosas.net/wosas_site.php?id=8890, accessed 17 August 2022.

419 Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, pp. 7, 115.

420 William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir, and their Family Papers* (Edinburgh: printed privately, 1858) p. 81. See also GCA, T-SK 11/3, ‘Bound Volumes of Letters, Vol. 3’, April 1789, ff. 119, 121, 122. For the history of the Stirling family, see Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*.

421 GCA, T-SK/9/9/4, Contract of marriage between Archibald Stirling of Hampden, Jamaica, and Elizabeth Maxwell, daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, 1815.

422 GCA, T-SK/9/9/9, Testament testamentar and inventory of Archibald Stirling of Keir, 1847.

family's slavery-derived income at the time, and (b) the significance of slavery-derived wealth to the establishment, improvement and preservation of edifices. Crookston was likely built in the 15th century and so its establishment has no empire connection. It was three centuries old before a family with connections to Caribbean slavery purchased it. And the 18th-century influx of slavery-derived wealth to the Maxwell family – James Maxwell in St Kitts and his substantial tocher from a colonial heiress – was likely to have been incidental to the wealth generated by the family's considerable landholdings. The Maxwells of Pollok were a 'gentry capitalist' family: their wealth was based on landed enterprise in Scotland, with diversification into Caribbean slavery via a younger son.⁴²³ The Stirlings of Keir and Cawder were also 'gentry capitalists', although had a far more substantial connection to the British Empire over a longer period. In fact, East India profits (acquired by a younger brother) primed the Stirling initial investments in Jamaican estates.⁴²⁴ A study of the profitability of the Stirling's Jamaica estates (Hampden and Frontier) is beyond the scope of this study, but the family owned enslaved people from the mid 18th century, claimed compensation on the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834 and retained the estates afterwards.⁴²⁵ While Caribbean slavery might not have been decisive to the accumulation of either family's wealth, it was a permanent feature of the Stirling post-1750 lifestyles. Thus, while Caribbean slavery had no role in the establishment of Crookston Castle it contributed to the wealth of families who latterly owned it and were noted improvers of Scottish estates. Improvements to Crookston were made during each family's ownership. Perhaps the greatest effect was the unintended preservation: the family were wealthy enough to retain their landed estates when Glasgow was being transformed via urbanisation; this green space was ultimately gifted to the city. The consolidation of the Stirling and Maxwell fortunes preserved the Pollok estate (and by extension, Crookston Castle) into the 20th century and beyond. In 1931, John Stirling-Maxwell of Pollok,

himself the inheritor of a family fortune infused with the proceeds of slavery, 'gifted' Crookston Castle as the first donation to the National Trust for Scotland. He later ensured the preservation of the Pollok estate with a conservation agreement.⁴²⁶

Cubbie Row's Castle [PiC286]

(empire connection: property)



See St Mary's Chapel, Wyre, for details [PiC315].

Culross Abbey [PiC020]

(empire connections: property and memorialisation)



The origins of Culross Abbey in Fife date to 1287. Not all of the abbey is in care (parts in care: 'the south wall of the nave, the cloister garth, the surviving southern half of the cloister's west range and the lower parts of the east and south ranges. The 17th-century manse now occupies the NW corner of the cloister, with the garth forming the manse's garden').⁴²⁷ The church at the east end of the abbey is not in care and continues to be used as a place of worship for parishioners. The HES Statement of Significance provides a detailed ecclesiastical history of the church up to 1637, noting that it was given over for parochial use in 1633 and restored in 1824.⁴²⁸ In this gap in the chronology, the abbey became the property of the Earls of Dundonald. As reported in 1793 in the *Old Statistical Account*:

*The Abbey of Culross (so called from being situated in the neighbourhood of the old abbey or monastery), built by Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloss. It has a magnificent front to the south, and a turret on each end, which, with the hanging gardens declining towards the Forth, give it a very noble appearance. The house, and grounds adjacent, came by marriage into the possession of the family of Dundonald, whose seat it now is.*⁴²⁹

423 For an explanation of 'gentry capitalism' see S. D. Smith, *Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–4.

424 A. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 72.

425 See, for example, GCA, T-SK/9/9/6, Legal opinion on the resettlement of Frontier Estate, Jamaica, 1840. 'Archibald Stirling the younger', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18902>, accessed 18 August 2022.

426 W. D. Simpson, 'Crookston Castle', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeology Society*, 12 (1953), p. 2. Emma Inglis, 'This Lad o' Pairs', available at: <https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/this-lad-o-pairs>, accessed 17 August 2022.

427 'Culross Abbey Statement of Significance' Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=a51cb775-d1c8-41a6-aa79-a75300d1d52a>, accessed 21 December 2023.

428 Ibid.

429 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Culross, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794), p. 136.

However, the family's fortune was insecure. Thomas Cochrane, 8th earl of Dundonald (1691-1778), began the process of improvement and exploitation of mineral resources (coal and ironstone) but the estate was heavily indebted on his death. His son and heir, Archibald Cochrane, 9th earl of Dundonald (1748-1831), had a relatively modest career in the Dragoon Guards and Royal Navy but returned to Scotland in 1770 after being denied promotion. It seems very unlikely he acquired much, if any, wealth from military or naval service. The family fortunes were chaotic, and amidst the wider sale of family estates, Archibald Cochrane borrowed £10,000 in 1776 from Arthur Cuthbert, an East India merchant, which was secured upon Culross.⁴³⁰ This was very likely invested in Culross estate, especially industrial enterprise and maritime infrastructure. In 1793, the estate was prepared for sale and a detailed description provides insights. Archibald Cochrane was heavily indebted by this point – owing £20,000 – and placed the estate of Culross with coal and ironstone works up for sale. The advertisement noted: *The magnificent and beautiful situation of Culross Abbey and Gardens is too well known to need any description. In short, so valuable and desirable a purchase has not been offered for sale for many years; and nothing but the Proprietors pecuniary inability to proceed farther, could make him wish to part with a property, on which he had expended so much money to render productive, and struggled so hard to retain.*⁴³¹

This almost certainly refers to a harbour and colliery, and while there is no record of church restoration between 1776 and 1793, it remains a possibility. Around 1810, the Culross estate with abbey was sold to Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield, Bart. It was still in the family possession in 1845.⁴³²

If the significance of Cochrane's empire-derived wealth on the 18th-century development of Culross Abbey remains open to debate, there is far less ambiguity after Preston's purchase in 1810. Preston was a major part of the East India shipping interest as a commander and part owner of seven vessels in 1783-4.⁴³³ The imperial provenance of his wealth is obvious, and he had the means to improve Culross in a way that Cochrane did not. On Preston's death in 1834, he was worth £159,791, in an era when £100,000 ranked individuals among the richest men in Great Britain.⁴³⁴ According to Canmore, major improvements were made to Culross Manse during Preston's lifetime:

*The West wing was added in 1824 by William Stirling [an architect], who also carried out alterations to the Abbey Church at about this time. It may have been at this time that the stairtower was altered internally and the original door to the S blocked up as the stair within the West wing gave access to the whole building.*⁴³⁵

East India profits were invested in a major improvement of Culross Manse (which is currently in state care) and Culross Church (which is not). This provides a prime example how empire-derived profits directly shaped Scotland's ancient heritage, remnants of which remain extant today.

430 J. Sugden, 'Archibald, 9th Earl of Dundonald: An Eighteenth-Century Entrepreneur', *Scottish Economic & Social History*, 8:1 (1988), pp. 8-27.

431 *Description of the Estate and Abbey of Culross, particularly of the mineral and coal property ... Together with a description of the coal mining field, on the Frith of Forth; shewing that the Frith coal owners cannot receive the smallest injury by a repeal of the duty on coals, etc.* [By Archibald Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald.] (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 7.

432 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Culross, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 600.

433 Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire*, p. 211.

434 NRS, SC44/44/3, Dunblane Sheriff Court Wills and testaments, Robert Preston Testament Dative, 1834, p. 316.

435 'Culross Manse', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB23963>, accessed 3 September 2022.

Deer Abbey [PiC237]

(empire connection: property)



As noted on Canmore, Deer Abbey was founded in 1219. However, the 'abbey fell into disrepair in the late 16th century, being partially dismantled from c1590. In 1809 the ruins were cleared of rubbish and repaired by James Ferguson of Pitfour with the S range being partially rebuilt.⁴³⁶ James Ferguson of Pitfour (1735–1820) was part of a family group with interests in Castara estate in Tobago. He was close enough to ownership to be named in the Legacies of British Slavery website (although his exact role remains unclear).⁴³⁷ However, the Ferguson family had ownership of land in Tobago from 1769, his brother Patrick Ferguson (d.1780) having acquired 'the Castara estate for the family when serving with the 70th Foot in Tobago'.⁴³⁸

Druchtag Motte [PiC190]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

Drumtroddan Cup and Ring Mark Rocks [PiC192]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

Drumtroddan Standing Stones [PiC193]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

Dryburgh Abbey [PiC141]

(empire connections: property and memorialisation)



Dryburgh Abbey (now ruined) is located near Dryburgh in the Scottish Borders. The ruins date to 1150. It was purchased in 1786 by the 11th earl of Buchan, David Steuart Erskine (1742–1829). Founder of the Society of Antiquaries, he improved the mansion house and ruins, turning the site into a place of memorialisation. For example, he converted a house into a 'Temple of Caledonian Fame' and erected a stele in memory of his ancestors (including King James I and King James II).⁴³⁹ No evidence has been found that Buchan commissioned any major works on the ruin. It is through the process of memorialisation that tangible links to the Empire can be established. Notables buried in Dryburgh Abbey include Sir Walter Scott and Douglas Haig, 1st earl Haig (1861–1928). Haig was an officer in the British Army and had a long military career across the late 19th and early 20th-century British Empire. In 1898, he was part of the Sudan expedition including at the battle of Omdurman. In 1899, he was appointed Staff Officer in Natal in South Africa, helping plan a defeat of Boer forces. In 1903, he was appointed the British Army's commander-in-chief in India. He was later heavily involved in British planning for the First World War (1914–18), including as commander of First Army and later commander in chief. He died in 1928 in London and was buried in Dryburgh Abbey. While the abbey's imperial connection is relatively slight, Haig did rise to the commanding heights of the military that supported the expansion and perpetuation of the British Empire.⁴⁴⁰

Dumbarton Castle [PiC120]

(empire connection: production)



In 1747, Jacobite prisoners were held at Dumbarton Castle for deployment to South India, matching the definition of a site of 'production' which gathered and then distributed men or materiel across the Empire.⁴⁴¹

436 'Deer Abbey', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/20582/deer-abbey>, accessed 23 February 2023.

437 'James Ferguson of Pitfour', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636942>, accessed 23 February 2023.

438 'Patrick Ferguson', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632181>, accessed 23 February 2023.

439 Nigel Leask, *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, vol.1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 344.

440 Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson. 'Haig, Douglas, First Earl Haig (1861–1928), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 1 September 2022.

441 NRS, Edinburgh, Seafield Muniments, GD248/413/1, pp. 3–4; NRS, Grant of Monymusk, GD345/1195, 'Accompt of Men Enlisted for HM's service in Captain Grant's Independent Company'.

Dun Carloway [PiC288]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 5: Matheson of Lewis.

Dun Struan Beag [PiC329]

(empire connection: property)



Dun Struan Beag is an excavated Iron Age broch, located close to Struan, west Skye. It was taken into state care in 1980.⁴⁴² Skye was long associated with the MacLeods of Dunvegan. In 1266, Norway ceded the Western Island to the Scottish Crown. The origins of the MacLeods of Dunvegan lay with Leod, son of Olave. He was ‘one of the most powerful Chiefs in the Islands’ at the cession, in possession of Glenelg and Gairloch, much of Skye, North Uist, Harris and parts of Lewis.⁴⁴³ In 1772, Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (1754–1801) succeeded his grandfather as chief of clan MacLeod. An army officer and politician, he saw active service in America and made a colonial fortune in India. In 1785 he was appointed second in command of the Bengal army (which was reputedly worth £6,000 per annum).⁴⁴⁴ James Hunter also noted that MacLeod was granted a share of war spoils taken during fighting in Mysore, and that he had acquired a fortune of £100,000 by the 1780s (equivalent to £161 million in 2020, relative to worth of average earnings). However, Hunter claims that MacLeod squandered much of the wealth before he returned to Dunvegan in 1789. He was unable to rectify the issues in the family finances and instead pursued a political career.⁴⁴⁵ However, as Andrew Mackillop shows, MacLeod refurbished Dunvegan Castle.⁴⁴⁶ Perhaps not unrelated, the

MacLeod estates were encumbered with debts of £33,000 by 1801. Dunvegan remained in the family longer-term, unlike Glenelg (see below).⁴⁴⁷ Even with some attention devoted to the ancestral estate, the MacLeods seem to have had no bespoke strategy to preserve the broch. In the 1770s, it was visited by Dr Johnson and, separately, by the Welsh antiquarian Thomas Pennant. Their descriptions led one early 20th-century commentator to conclude that it was in a ‘ruinous condition’ by that point. More damage occurred in the mid 19th century when lintels were removed. Substantial excavations took place in the 20th century, led by Countess Vincent Baillet de Latour.⁴⁴⁸ In 1980, Dun Struan Beag was taken into state care.

Dun Telve [PiC330]

(empire connection: property)



The Dun Telve broch (and neighbouring Dun Troddan – see below) is in Gleann Beag, Kyle, in the Western Highlands (close to the village of Glenelg).⁴⁴⁹ The *New Statistical Account* (1845) described these as follows:
*Under this head the parish can boast of the most entire specimens, in the southern parts of the Highlands, of the ancient Beorgs, Burghs, or Dunes, usually called Pictish Towers. They are two in number, and situated near each other in Glenbeg, the smaller of the two valleys to which the name Glenelg belongs in common.*⁴⁵⁰

The ownership of Glenelg estate changed in the 19th century. In 1795, ‘Glenelg, where the church and manse are situated, the property of Colonel Macleod of Macleod’.⁴⁵¹ On his death in 1801, the MacLeod estates were encumbered with debts of £33,000, and Glenelg was later sold

442 ‘Dun Struan Beag Statement of Significance, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=d25087cb-becf-42d7-aa71-a6c900ff0a04>, accessed 21 December 2023.

443 Rev. Canon R. C. Macleod, *The Macleods: Their History and Traditions* (Edinburgh: Clan Macleod Society, 1929) pp. 1–2.

444 J. D. Brims, ‘MacLeod, Norman, of MacLeod (1754–1801), Army Officer and Politician’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 9 October 2022.

445 James Hunter, *Scottish Exodus: Travels Among a Worldwide Clan* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 117.

446 Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690–c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p. 239.

447 Margaret Escott, ‘MacLeod, John Norman (1788–1835), of Dunvegan Castle, Skye, Inverness and Great Cumberland Street, Mdx.’, *History of Parliament*, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/macleod-john-1788-1835>, accessed 9 October 2022.

448 J. Callander, ‘Report on the Excavation of Dun Beag, a Broch near Struan, Skye’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 55 (1921), pp. 110–31.

449 ‘Dun Telve and Dun Troddan Statements of Significance’, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=be23e05f-a58c-403e-8063-a75300e3e4db>, accessed 22 December 2023.

450 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, Glenelg, Inverness, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 132.

451 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Glenelg, Inverness, Vol. 16 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1795), p. 265.

(while Dunvegan remained within the family).⁴⁵² By 1845, the landowner of the parish was 'Right Honourable Baron Glenelg of Glenelg, present Secretary of State for the Colonies, proprietor of Glenelg Proper'.⁴⁵³ Both owners had major connections with the British Empire. As noted above, Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (1754-1801) was an army officer and politician (although to what extent this was invested beyond Dunvegan castle in Skye is open to debate). Charles Grant, 1st baron Glenelg (1778-1866), also had military connections with India. A Scottish politician and colonial administrator, he was born at Kidderpore in Bengal: his father was the chairman of the British East India Company. Grant led a distinguished political career: as MP for Inverness-shire, Lord of Treasury (1813-19), President of the Board of Trade (1823-7, 1827-8) and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (1834-9). He was created baron of Glenelg in 1835.⁴⁵⁴ The expenses of running for political office affected his personal finances, and he was compelled to sell the estate in 1837.⁴⁵⁵ As noted above, the estate was sold to an enslaver, James Evan Baillie (1781-1863), for £77,000.⁴⁵⁶ Although James Evan Baillie died without issue, the estates remained in the family over the long term after his death in 1862.⁴⁵⁷ According to architectural historian Nicholas Kingsley, the estates passed to his nephew, Evan Baillie of Dochfour (d.1883), whose son, James Evan Bruce Baillie of Dochfour, sat as Inverness MP from 1895.⁴⁵⁸ The HES Statement of Significance notes that 'in 1885 the landowner passed the Glenelg Brochs into State care under a Guardianship agreement' confirming that the successors of enslavers ensured that Dun Telve came into state care.⁴⁵⁹

The decline, or lack thereof, can be traced in commentaries over the centuries. In 1720 Alexander Gordon visited Glenelg when Dun Telve was said to be in a 'very ruinous state', and there was further ruination up to 1772. However, in 1914, Alexander Curle, Director of the National Museum of Scotland, noted there had been no deterioration in the broch from an antiquarian's description in 1772 (a period which spans the ownerships of MacLeod, Grant and Baillie).⁴⁶⁰

Dun Troddan [PiC331]

(empire connection: property)



Dun Troddan is 500 metres to the east of Dun Telve (see above), and therefore was situated on Glenelg estate owned by individuals with multiple connections to British imperialism: MacLeod, Grant and Baillie. Alexander Curle's assessment of Dun Troddan (similar to Dun Telve) in 1914 was that there had been a lot of destruction of the Broch between 1720 and 1772, but remained almost unchanged from that period onwards.⁴⁶¹ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, 'Duns Telve and Troddan were both taken into State care in 1885 under a Guardianship agreement'.⁴⁶² Like Dun Telve, this was due to the co-operation of James Evan Bruce Baillie of Dochfour, the inheritor of a fortune derived from Caribbean slavery.

Dunadd Fort [PiC062]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

452 Margaret Escott, 'MacLeod, John Norman (1788-1835), of Dunvegan Castle, Skye, Inverness and Great Cumberland Street, Mdx.', *History of Parliament*, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/macleod-john-1788-1835>, accessed 9 October 2022.

453 Gordon, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Glenelg, Inverness, Vol. 14, p. 130.

454 Complete *Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, Or Dormant*, Vol. 4 (1892), p. 35.

455 Ged Martin, 'Grant, Charles, Baron Glenelg (1778-1866), Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 21 September 2022.

456 'James Evan Baillie', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8570>, accessed 10 October 2022; Kenneth Morgan, 'Baillie, James Evan (1781?-1863), Merchant, Banker, and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 6 October 2016, accessed 10 October 2022.

457 NRS, RHP6559, Plan of estate of Glenelg and part of Glenshiel (Glensheal), Inverness-shire (1862).

458 Nicholas Kingsley, Baillie of Dochfour and Redcastle, Barons Burton, available at: [https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/02/321-baillie-of-dochfour-and-redcastle.html#:~:text=Hugh%20Duncan%20Baillie%20\(1777%2D1866\)%2C%20who%20bought%20the,of%20his%20life%20in%20Bristol](https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/02/321-baillie-of-dochfour-and-redcastle.html#:~:text=Hugh%20Duncan%20Baillie%20(1777%2D1866)%2C%20who%20bought%20the,of%20his%20life%20in%20Bristol), accessed 10 October 2022. See also *Debrett's Illustrated House of Commons, and the Judicial Bench* (London, 1896), p. 7.

459 'Dun Telve and Dun Troddan Statements of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=be23e05f-a58c-403e-8063-a75300e3e4db>, accessed 10 October 2022.

460 A. Curle, 'An Account of the Ruins of the Broch of Dun Telve, Near Glenelg, Excavated by H.M. Office of Works in 1914', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 50 (1916), p. 241

461 A. Curle, 'The Broch of Dun Troddan, Gleann Beag, Glenelg, Inverness-shire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 55 (1914), 83-94.

462 'Dun Telve and Dun Troddan Statements of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=be23e05f-a58c-403e-8063-a75300e3e4db>, accessed 10 October 2022.

Dunblane Cathedral [PiC063]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



Dunblane Cathedral was established in the 12th century, and rebuilt after 1237, long before the colonial era.⁴⁶³ In more recent years, war memorials were erected in the grounds, to commemorate 'the residents of Dunblane who were killed or missing in World War I (98 names) and World War II (32 names)'.⁴⁶⁴

More explicitly imperial connections on this site can be found in the building in the form of a memorial window to Lieutenant Colonel Wilson, who had fought in South Africa as a young officer before being killed during the Gallipoli campaign. The graveyard contains four headstones which reveal a military officer and his wife who died in India⁴⁶⁵ in the 1890s, and migrants (all men) from local families who passed away in Melbourne (1886), Canada (1913) and East Africa (1913).⁴⁶⁶

Dunchraigaig Cairn [PiC064]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Dunglass Collegiate Church [PiC142]

(empire connection: property)



According to HES, Dunglass Collegiate Church in East Lothian was established in the 1440s, and was a 'point of strategic importance during the "Wars of the Rough Wooing" in the 1540s, fell out of religious use at the Reformation in 1560, and was converted into a farm building in the early 1700s'.⁴⁶⁷ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, Dunglass estate was acquired in 1685 by John Home, an

Edinburgh merchant.⁴⁶⁸ Home was immediately elevated as Sir John Hall of Dunglass, 1st baronet (1650–1695). To what extent his mercantile business in Edinburgh was colonial-focused is unclear, but he was also created a baronet of Nova Scotia in October 1687.⁴⁶⁹ As noted elsewhere in this report, Nova Scotia ('New Scotland') in modern Canada was a settler colonisation scheme established by King James VI and I. Scottish landowners who encouraged settlers to emigrate to Nova Scotia were rewarded with land.

Dunkeld Cathedral [PiC025]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, Dunkeld Cathedral is a 'partly ruined structure whose ownership is shared between Historic Environment Scotland and the Church of Scotland. The ruined nave, south porch, north-west tower and surrounding grounds are in guardianship, while the roofed choir remains in the care of the Church of Scotland and is used for worship during part of the year'.⁴⁷⁰ In 1872, the Officers of the 42nd Highlanders erected a monument to the 'memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regiment who fell in war from the creation of the regiment to the close of the India Mutiny'. This was the 'largest mural monument ever erected in Scotland'. However, it seems that this memorial may currently lie within the Church of Scotland's care, since in 1872 it was 'placed in the vestibule of the Cathedral, at the east of the choir'.⁴⁷¹

463 'Dunblane Cathedral Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=315265dd-b723-411c-b087-a57000cb69fd>, accessed 11 October 2023

464 'War Memorial Dunblane', available at: <https://www.tracesofwar.com/sights/19733/War-Memorial-Dunblane.htm>, accessed 23 February 2023.

465 <https://www.warmemorialsonline.org.uk/memorial/129258>, accessed 15 February 2023.

466 Authors: site visit, 18 March 2023.

467 'Dunglass Collegiate Church', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/dunglass-collegiate-church/>, accessed 3 March 2023.

468 'Dunglass Collegiate Church Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9dd869d7-a315-438d-b0d2-a57000cea0f1>, accessed 3 March 2023.

469 John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, Volume 1 (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1833), p. 562.

470 'Dunkeld Cathedral Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e4366bd6-c3a3-49fc-a113-a8b800a58bdc>, accessed 3 March 2023.

471 'Inauguration of the Monument at Dunkeld to the 42d Highlanders', *The Scotsman*, 3 April 1872, p. 8. For wider context of memorialisation, see E. W. McFarland, 'Commemoration of the South African War in Scotland, 1900–10', *Scottish Historical Review*, 89:2 (2010), pp. 194–223.

Dundonald Castle [PiC194]

(empire connection: property)



Dundonald Castle was built in the 13th century. According to Historic Environment Scotland, it was 'bought by William Cochrane [in 1638] who became the first earl of Dundonald in 1669, and abandoned in favour of his new house at Auchans'. The castle was left to ruin in the 18th and 19th centuries, before it was 'given into State guardianship by the earl of Dundonald' in 1953.⁴⁷² Dundonald Castle, therefore, was in possession of the earls of Dundonald for three centuries. Many had roles across the British Empire. Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane (born Alexander Forrest Cochrane) (1758–1832) was the son of the 8th earl of Dundonald and was the 'owner of Good Hope estate in Trinidad'.⁴⁷³ Thomas Cochrane, 10th earl of Dundonald (1775–1860) was a naval officer (who was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland). He saw active service in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and was commander in chief in the British West Indies in 1848.⁴⁷⁴ While many of the earls of Dundonald were involved in roles across the British Empire, this had no discernible effect on the ownership or preservation of the castle since it was allowed to become ruinous between 1669 and 1953, when it was taken into guardianship.

Dunfallandy Stone [PiC022]

(empire connection: property)



The Dunfallandy Stone is a 'Pictish upright cross-slab of Old Red Sandstone' located near Pitlochry in Perth and Kinross.⁴⁷⁵ J. Dixon's analysis of the stone in 1921 noted that it was located on the 'ancestral estate' of the Fergusons of Dunfallandy.⁴⁷⁶ Some of the Fergusons of Dunfallandy were involved in the East India Company. One obituary noted that Major General Archibald Ferguson was appointed a cadet in the Bengal Establishment in 1776 and rose to major general in 1814. He returned to Scotland soon after and became the clan chief until his death aged 79 in 1834. His brother, Henry Ferguson, was also in the East India Company's service.⁴⁷⁷ The stone was described in the *New Statistical Account* (1845) as follows: *We have many stones, either single or ranged in circles, and burial-grounds of great antiquity; but I have discovered nothing remarkable except the stone of Dunfallandy, which was long the object of much superstitious attention to the natives ... There is, at Dunfallandy, another stone still more celebrated, though presenting nothing to the eye but a rude block, marking the bloody eminence from which the locality derives its name-the scene of a dreadful scene of murder and usurpation.*⁴⁷⁸

Canmore notes that the Dunfallandy stone was 'recorded close to the site of an old chapel' by Skene in 1832.⁴⁷⁹ The significance of the stone being recorded in at this time, while the clan chief was a former major general in the East India Company, appears to be coincidence. The available evidence suggests that the relationship with imperialism and the discovery of the stone was relatively incidental, other than it was located upon an ancestral estate whose owner was involved in imperial service.

472 'Dundonald Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f945ebde-9579-46d8-9a1b-a75300e80a81>, accessed 23 February 2023.

473 Stephen Howarth, 'Cochrane, Sir Alexander Inglis (1758–1832), Naval Officer and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 23 February 2023; 'Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630297>, accessed 23 February 2023.

474 Andrew Lambert, 'Cochrane, Thomas, Tenth earl of Dundonald (1775–1860), Naval Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 23 February 2023.

475 'Dunfallandy Stone Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=cc1db25d-aa15-4d87-8f4a-a75300e89cde>, accessed 22 December 2023.

476 J. Dixon, 'The Balvarran Cupped Stone, the 'Bloody Stone' of Dunfallandy, and a Cup-marked Stone in Glen Breracha', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 55 (1921), pp. 95–9.

477 James Ferguson and Robert Menzies Ferguson (eds.), *Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson, Ferguson and Fergus* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1895), p. 75; V. C. P. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Army of Bengal, 1754–1834*, vol. 2 (London: Constable, 1927), p. 172.

478 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Logierait, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 690.

479 Canmore, 'Dunfallandy', available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/26295/dunfallandy>, accessed 7 September 2022.

Earl's Palace, Birsay [PiC292]

(empire connection: property)



Earl's Palace, Birsay, comprised the 'remains of a 16th- and 17th-century palace of the Stewart Earls of Orkney'.⁴⁸⁰ However, it was in decline from the mid 1650s, and roofless and largely abandoned by 1700. In 1766 the Dundas family of Fingask and Kerse took over. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, in 1766, Lawrence Dundas (1712–1781) 'acquired the Earldom estate, Orkney, and the lordship of Shetland for £63,000. Two years later he purchased Burray and its associated lands on other Orkney islands for £16,500. All these acquisitions made him one of the great landowners of the United Kingdom'.⁴⁸¹ In the 1770s, Lawrence Dundas (1712–1781) was an absentee planter and enslaver who owned 'two slave estates in the West Indies – in Dominica and in Grenada'.⁴⁸² There are interwoven narratives of property acquisition in Scotland and the West Indies; the Dundas family's purchase of the Earldoms of Orkney and Lordship of Shetland from 1766; ownership of estates and enslaved people in the West Indies from 1773, and the decline of Earl's Palace apparently under family control.

Edinburgh Castle [PiC222]

(empire connections: memorialisation and production)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 2: Edinburgh Castle.

Eileach an Naoimh [PiC067]

(empire connection: property)



The uninhabited island of Eileach an Naoimh lies north of Jura in the Firth of Lorne between Mull and Argyll on the west coast of Scotland. A monastery was noted in AD 542, and although largely abandoned in AD 800s, it later became an important site of pilgrimage and for burials.⁴⁸³ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, 'following the Reformation, ownership passed to the duke of Argyll and tenant farmers are known to have occupied the island for at least part of the 17th century, although by the early 18th century Eileach an Naoimh was being used as pasture'. It was taken into guardianship in 1928.⁴⁸⁴ Between the Reformation (c.1517) and the 20th century, the earls and dukes of Argyll had intermittent connections with Atlantic slavery. A research study already underway in Inveraray Castle archives titled 'Addressing our connections with historic slavery' acknowledges that the 1st duke of Argyll purchased clothing for two Black people, likely enslaved servants. In 1754, the duke of Argyll evidently had a servant from the East Indies, titled William Campbell, who was baptised. There are others familial connections to planting families although the implications for the island is unclear, and probably had little effect on its development and preservation.⁴⁸⁵

Eilean Mor [PiC068]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

480 'Earl's Palace, Birsay', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/earls-palace-birsay/>, accessed 3 March 2023.

481 R. P. Fereday, 'Dundas Family of Fingask and Kerse (per. 1728/9–1820), Landowners and Politicians', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 3 March 2023.

482 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113>, accessed 1 February 2023.

483 'Eileach an Naoimh', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/eileach-an-naoimh/>, accessed 8 March 2023.

484 'Eileach an Naoimh Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=ec98ba03-2a26-41fd-b099-a81501027097>, accessed 8 March 2023.

485 'Addressing our Connections with Historic Slavery', Inveraray Castle, available at: https://www.inveraray-castle.com/images/Slavery_and_the_Argylls.pdf, accessed 8 March 2023.

Elcho Castle [PiC069]

(empire connection: property)



Elcho Castle (built around 1560) is a fortified mansion, and 'one of Scotland's best-preserved 16th-century tower houses'. As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, it was owned by Sir John Wemyss of Elcho (1586-1649), who was 'raised to the peerage in 1628 and created earl by Charles I in 1633'.⁴⁸⁶ In 1625, Sir John Wemyss was 'created a baronet of Nova Scotia ... and had a charter of the barony of New Wemyss in that province'.⁴⁸⁷ As noted elsewhere in this report, Nova Scotia ('New Scotland') in modern Canada was a settler colonisation scheme established by King James VI and I. Scottish landowners who encouraged settlers to emigrate to Nova Scotia were rewarded with land.

Fort Charlotte [PiC245]

(empire connection: defence)



As noted in the Historic Environment Scotland Statement of Significance, Fort Charlotte in Lerwick, Shetland, 'originated during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-7), when it was built to protect the naval anchorage in Bressay Sound', at a time when this stretch of water was used as a 'safe anchorage by Dutch East Indiamen'. It was rebuilt during the American War of Independence (1775-83), when it was garrisoned by the Orkney and Shetland Fencibles. Following the Peace of Amiens (1802), it was again garrisoned by an Invalid unit.⁴⁸⁸ Thus, as noted by Anna Ritchie, the purpose of the fort was to counter 'Dutch aggression in the 17th century' and again in 1781 as a 'result of hostilities with Holland during the American War of Independence'.⁴⁸⁹ The British Government reused the fort for military purposes, including as barracks for the Territorial Army and in the Second World War. Unusually, it retains a military role today.

Fort George [PiC332]

(empire connection: production)



Fort George in Arderseir, Inverness, was used as a recruitment and garrison centre by the British Crown. In 1790, for example, 'several independent companies' were raised in the Highlands and marched to Edinburgh Castle. In June 1791, Fort George was their headquarters.⁴⁹⁰ Fort George thus served as a site of British military service, producing regiments for warfare (in this case, to combat the threat of Spain). By contrast, it also acted in the late 1790s to early 1800s as a political prison, housing United Irishmen accused of seditious activity against the Crown.⁴⁹¹

A surprising aspect of this PiC is the lack of memorialisation to the many regiments associated with the site, perhaps due to its remote location. The fort chapel does, however, contain plaques to officers associated with the fort who saw active service in Empire locations.

Glasgow Cathedral [PiC121]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 1: Glasgow Cathedral.

Greenknowe Tower [PiC147]

(empire connection: property)



Greenknowe Tower (built c.1581) is a tower-house apparently incorporating an older building. In 1620, it was purchased by the Pringles of Stichel, who extended the tower in the later 17th century.⁴⁹² In 1683, Robert Pringle of Stichell was baronet of Nova Scotia.⁴⁹³ As noted elsewhere in this report, Nova Scotia ('New Scotland') in modern Canada was a settler colonisation scheme established by King James VI and I. Scottish landowners who encouraged settlers to emigrate to Nova Scotia were rewarded with land.

486 'Elcho Castle', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/elcho-castle/>, accessed 8 March 2023.

487 'Wemyss', Scottish Nation, available at: <https://electricscotland.com/history/nation/wemyss.htm>, accessed 8 March 2023.

488 'Fort Charlotte Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f9d74ed7-ec2d-4ff7-8a91-a57000d142a0>, accessed 9 March 2023.

489 Anna Ritchie, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Orkney and Shetland*. (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1985), p. 19.

490 David Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, Volume II (Edinburgh: Constable, 1825).

491 <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/news-analysis/disunited-irishmen-what-happened-when-plotters-of-1798-fell-out/35416264.html>, accessed 14 October 2023.

492 'Greenknowe Tower', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/greenknowe-tower/>, accessed 8 March 2023.

493 Joseph Foster, *Members of Parliament, Scotland, Including the Minor Barons: The Commissioners for the Shires, and the Commissioners for the Burghs, 1357-1882* (London: Hazel, Watson and Viney, 1882), p. 289.

Grey Cairns of Camster [PiC297]

(empire connection: property)



The Grey Cairns of Camster in Caithness are two separate monuments. According to Aaron Watson and Ronnie Scott, the ‘circular cairn of Camster Round overlies a single passage and chamber, while nearby Camster Long is a composite long cairn enclosing two discrete passage tombs’.⁴⁹⁴ In 1842, Camster estate was apparently owned by Thomas Brown, although in 1871–3, a ‘large heap of “Ruins” considered to have been a pict’s residence’ at Camster was the property of Leonard Strong of Kent.⁴⁹⁵ Neither Thomas Brown nor Leonard Strong had any known empire connections, although Brown’s son, Robert Brown (1842–1895), was a geographer and botanist with multiple roles across the late Victorian British Empire. Thomas Seccombe and Elizabeth Baigent’s *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Robert Brown notes that ‘in 1861 he visited Svalbard, Greenland, and Baffin Bay, and in the next two years he visited the Pacific and travelled in North and South America. He was botanist to the British Columbia expedition in 1863 and led the Vancouver Island exploration of 1864, when the interior of the island was charted for the first time under his supervision. His report on Vancouver was published in 1865.’ He relocated to London where he died in 1895, leaving a fortune of £4,438 2s 2d.⁴⁹⁶ Even if Brown’s modest wealth on death was principally derived from his roles across the British Empire, the effect on his homeland, and especially Camster, was likely to have been slight.

Hackness Battery and Martello Tower [PiC306]

(empire connection: defence)



The establishment of the Hackness Battery and the Martello Tower in South Walls, Orkney (1813–15), must be viewed in the context of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15) and with the United States of America (1775–83; 1812–15). Given the threat to merchant shipping in those conflicts in the English Channel and elsewhere, Britain’s Baltic fleet instead opted for the safer route of Long Hope Sound near North Ness and South Walls in the Orkney Islands. Construction of the Hackness Battery and Martello Tower was intended to provide protection for ships in the sound while they waited for convoy on the way to the Baltic. However, the Treaty of Ghent ended hostilities between Great Britain and America, and Long Hope Sound was no longer a contested seaway. Hackness Battery and its tower were never used in warfare.⁴⁹⁷ Even so, this edifice is broadly related to the Empire due to the centrality of shipping and coastal defence to the projection of British power.

494 Aaron Watson and Ronnie Scott, ‘Materializing Light, Making Worlds: Optical Image Projection within the Megalithic Passage Tombs of Britain and Ireland’, in Costas Papadopoulos and Holley Moyes (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Light in Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 550.

495 Ordnance Survey Name Books Caithness, 1871–1873, volume 06, Scotland’s Places, available at: <https://scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/caithness-os-name-books-1871-1873/caithness-volume-06?display=transcription>, accessed 9 March 2023.

496 Thomas Seccombe and Elizabeth Baigent, ‘Brown, Robert (1842–1895), Geographer’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 9 March 2023.

497 Stuart Halliday, Colm Molony and John Guy, ‘A Reassessment of Hackness Gun Battery: the Results of Excavations 1997–2001’, *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 24:2 (2002), pp. 121–45.

Holm of Papa Westray Chambered Cairn [PiC300]

(empire connection: cultural)



Holm of Papa Westray Chambered Cairn is located on the island Holm of Papa Westray, near Papa Westray in Orkney. As noted by HES, the site was 'opened [excavated] in 1849 by Captain F. W. L. Thomas, of the HM cutter Woodlark, who was surveying Orkney for the Royal Navy'. The site remained open to the elements, although the famous antiquarian George Petrie provided drawings which have proven invaluable given later deterioration of the site.⁴⁹⁸ In 1859, George Petrie published a description of the site in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*.⁴⁹⁹ As noted elsewhere in this report, George Petrie (1818–1875) was the factor of the Graemeshall estate, located on the eastern half of Mainland (about 35 miles from Papa Westray). Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1805–1894) came into ownership of Graemeshall estate in 1818, after the death of the 16th Laird (a distant relation who died without issue). He remained an absentee owner of the Orkney estate for life (visiting only three times).⁵⁰⁰ His father, William Sutherland, was a Jamaica planter who owned 200 enslaved people as well as cattle on the neighbouring pen.⁵⁰¹ Alexander Sutherland Graeme's privileged colonial background allowed him to reside outside Orkney while delegating the operations of Graemeshall estate to the Petrie family. Working for an absentee landlord provided agency that was derived, at least in part, from colonial wealth, which allowed George Petrie to pursue antiquarian interests at a time of dramatic agricultural change on Orkney.

Holyrood Park [PiC224]

(empire connection: cultural)



Holyrood Park in Edinburgh has a long connection with the royal family, especially Queen Victoria (Empress of India from 1858) and her husband Prince Albert. As noted by Richard Rodger, Holyroodhouse was Queen Victoria's second most favoured overnight location in Scotland (after Balmoral Castle) between 1842 and 1903.⁵⁰² It is perhaps no coincidence that Victoria and Albert shaped their surroundings. As noted by the HES Statement of Significance, 'the influence [of Victoria and Albert] consolidated the boundaries as we see them today and also brought about the change in management direction to that of public recreation'.⁵⁰³

The English/British royal family have long connections with Atlantic slavery. The Royal African Company, the premier English firm trafficking enslaved people, was established by the Duke of York (James II from 1685). After 1672, the Royal African Company held a virtual monopoly over trafficking of enslaved people from English ports, Africa and the Americas. The scale of any wealth accrued to the royal family and its significance to later generations remains to be quantified, although Dr Brooke Newman's ongoing study is currently examining the 'evolving policies and attitudes of the British Crown and prominent members of the royal family toward imperial rule, slave trading, and colonial slavery between 1660 and 1860'.⁵⁰⁴

498 'Holm of Papa Westray Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=3adbcf1f-dabb-4b4d-aec9-a8b800ac6b1a>, accessed 10 March 2023.

499 George Petrie, 'Description of Antiquities in Orkney Recently Examined, with Illustrative Drawings', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 2 (1856), pp. 60–1. For the importance of Petrie's other work on Papa Westray, see C. Lowe, 'George Petrie and the "Brochs" of Papa Westray', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 124 (1995), pp. 173–87.

500 Gilbert Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827–1888* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1995), pp. 12–29.

501 'William Sutherland', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644561>, accessed 8 September 2022.

502 Richard Rodger, 'Queen Victoria, Edinburgh and a Sense of Place', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club – Journal of Edinburgh History*, 15 (2019), pp. 29–44 at p. 37.

503 'Holyrood Park Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e1a38947-6fa5-4f6a-887a-a57000d19aa0>, accessed 10 March 2023.

504 Brooke Newman, 'Uncovering Royal Perspectives on Slavery, Empire, and the Rights of Colonial Subjects', available at: <https://georgianpapers.com/2019/01/21/uncovering-royal-perspectives-on-slavery-empire-and-the-rights-of-colonial-subjects/>, accessed 30 March 2023.

Huntingtower Castle [PiC071]

(empire connection: property)



Huntingtower Castle (known as the ‘Place of Ruthven’ before 1600) was built in stages, likely in the 15th century. According to HES Statement of Significance, it was inherited by John, 2nd earl of Atholl (marquis from 1676, died in 1703) in 1670.⁵⁰⁵ As noted by Douglas Watt in *The Price of Scotland* (2007), John Murray, marquis of Atholl, was one of the major investors in the Company of Scotland in 1696. The Company of Scotland was established in June 1695 by the then sovereign Scottish Parliament under the ‘Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies’. This resulted in a failed attempt at settler-colonisation. Commonly known as the disastrous Darien Scheme, this episode is generally recognised as a failed attempt at a ‘Scottish Empire’ on the Isthmus of Panama even before the Union of 1707. Douglas Watt noted that 14 per cent of the capital came from the Scottish nobility, especially the marquis of Atholl.⁵⁰⁶ However, given the Darien scheme’s economic losses and the marquis of Atholl’s death in 1703, before the ‘Equivalent’ recompensed subscribers to the Company of Scotland as set out in Article XV of the Treaty of Union, it seems unlikely that these investments had any material effect on Huntingtower. Atholl’s widow remained in the castle until her death in 1767, by which time the castle was dilapidated and effectively abandoned as an elite residence.

Huntly Castle [PiC247]

(empire connection: property)



Although no longer a primary residence by the time the Gordons became substantively involved in British imperial affairs in the 1750s to 1790s, the site of Huntly Castle was part of the landed estate which formed the key property resource underpinning the family’s regional prestige and political standing. It was this status which explains why the Crown offered the ducal house of Gordon the opportunity to recruit the 89th and 92nd Highland Regiments in 1759 and 1794 respectively. The first of these units was among the earliest British regular regiments deployed to South Asia. The latter regiment, with a long service history, was deployed throughout the Empire, including Jamaica in the later 1810s, Barbados, Gibraltar, the suppression of the Indian rising of 1857–9 and the second Afghan War.⁵⁰⁷

Inchcolm Abbey [PiC028]

(empire connection: defence)



Inchcolm island lies just off the coast of Fife – one of several small islands situated in the Firth of Forth. While the entire island is leased to Historic Environment Scotland, it is the abbey that is the Property in Care. While largely abandoned for its original purposes in the 17th century, the island and abbey became the sites of military defence. During the tensions in the aftermath of the American War of Independence (1775–83), the island was shored up. In 1794, the ‘abbey, whose vaulted roof and solid construction [meant] that it [was] still habitable, [was] modified to accommodate the garrison – a Royal Artillery detachment, small enough to be commanded by a sergeant rather than a commissioned officer’. Later, the island and abbey (which was used for accommodation and storage) housed military defences during the First and Second World Wars.⁵⁰⁸

505 ‘Huntingtower Castle Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0845840c-2900-4440-b71f-a86500f593b9>, accessed 10 March 2023.

506 Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2007), p. 56.

507 David Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland: With Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1822), pp. 82–6; James Browne, *The History of Scotland, its Highlands, Regiments and Clans*, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh, Boston, MA: F. A. Nicolls & co., 1909), pp. 106–7.

508 ‘Inchcolm Abbey Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9d5595b8-f4a3-4036-8b6a-a78c00dee98a>, accessed 10 March 2023.



Inchmahome Priory [PiC073]

(empire connection: cultural)



Inchmahome Priory is situated on the island in the Lake of Menteith. It was established c.1238. The Reformation ended the priory's monastic role. In 1694, the 'Menteith estates [including Inchmahome] pass[ed] to the Graham Earls of Montrose'. In 1926, the 6th duke of Montrose agreed that the priory should be placed in state care.⁵⁰⁹ Between 1694 and 1926, some of the dukes were involved with the British Empire. For example, Lord Sir James Graham (1715–47), son of the 1st duke of Montrose, may have been a personal enslaver. As noted by David Alston, William Hogarth's grand portrait of Lord Sir James Graham aboard HMS *Lark* shows him beside a 'well-dressed black servant'.⁵¹⁰ Another James Graham, 3rd duke of Montrose (1755–1836), was Commissioner for Indian Affairs between 1791 and 1803.⁵¹¹

Innerpeffray Chapel [PiC074]

(empire connection: cultural)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, Innerpeffray Chapel near Crieff, Perthshire, was 'built as the private chapel for the local noble family, the Drummonds. By 1542 it had become a collegiate church.' As noted in the Statement of Significance, in the post-Reformation period, the 'chapel continued to act as a mausoleum with memorials and painted burial hatchments to the Drummond/Drummond-Hay family remaining in situ. In 1965 the chapel was taken into State care.'⁵¹² Robert Hay Drummond, Archbishop of York, played an important role in the ecclesiastical colonisation of America and the British West Indies. In 1763, alongside Archbishop Thomas Becker, they petitioned the king and the Ministry to procure bishops for both regions.⁵¹³ According to biographer Richard Sharp, Hay Drummond was heir to Innerpeffray. In 1739 'Hay assumed the name and arms of Drummond, as heir to his great-grandfather William Drummond, first viscount of Strathallan, who had entailed the estates of Cromlix and Innerpeffray, Perthshire, on the younger son of the Kinnoull family.'⁵¹⁴ Thus, the heir of George Hay, 8th earl of Kinnoull, was in possession of Innerpeffray while playing an important cultural role in the forced Christianisation of the Americas.

509 'Inchmahome Priory Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=10e79fc0-79b6-41fb-b8b6-a78c00df913b>, accessed 10 March 2023.

510 David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), p. 267.

511 Philip Carter, 'Graham, James, Third Duke of Montrose (1755–1836), Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 12 March 2023.

512 'Innerpeffray Chapel', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/innerpeffray-chapel/>, accessed 10 March 2023.

513 Frederick V. Mills sr, 'Bishops and Other Ecclesiastical Issues, to 1776', in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Role (eds), *A Companion to the American Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 180.

514 Richard Sharp, 'Drummond, Robert Hay (1711–1776), Archbishop of York', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 12 March 2023.

Inverlochy Castle [PiC075]

(empire connection: property)



Inverlochy Castle was 'built in about 1280 by the "Red" Comyns, lords of Badenoch and Lochaber', although the castle was abandoned in 1654.⁵¹⁵ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, in 1860 'Sir John Scarlett, later 1st Lord Arbinger, purchase[d] the lands of Inverlochy, and in 1863 buil[t] the nearby Castle of Inverlochy as a residence (now a hotel)'. In 1880 he funded 'conservation works at the old castle, giving the ruins a suitably romantic appearance for the passing of the royal train'.⁵¹⁶ However, there is a genealogical error in the Statement of Significance at the time of writing. The *New Statistical Account* (1845) notes that the Hon. Robert Campbell Scarlett of Inverloc was one of the major landowners in Kilmonivaig, County of Inverness, in 1845.⁵¹⁷ Robert Campbell Scarlett (1794–1861) was 2nd baron Abinger, and it seems likely it was he who purchased Inverlochy. On 24 June 1861, the Hon. William Frederick Scarlett (1826–1892) of Inverloch Castle 'succeeded his father as 3rd Baron [of Arbinger]' and it must have been he who improved the old Inverlochy Castle in 1880.⁵¹⁸ Robert Campbell Scarlett and William Frederick Scarlett were the son and grandson respectively of James Scarlett, 1st baron Abinger (1769–1844), who was awarded compensation for enslaved people in the Spring Grove estate in Jamaica on emancipation in 1834.⁵¹⁹ It seems possible that inherited slavery-derived wealth contributed, at least in part, to Robert Campbell Scarlett's purchase of the lands of Inverlochy and the Hon. William Frederick Scarlett's subsequent improvement of the old castle in 1880.

Iona Abbey [PiC076]

(empire connection: property)



Iona Nunnery [PiC077]

(empire connection: property)



MacLean's Cross, Iona [PiC091]

(empire connection: property)



Iona is a holy isle located in the Inner Hebrides, off the western coast of Scotland. Historic Environment Scotland have some PiCs there, which comprise 'the Benedictine Abbey, which was rebuilt in the 20th century from its medieval ruins, and the wider site around it, which contains the early Christian monastery associated with Columba'. A number of carved stones, 'principally High Crosses and West Highland Grave slabs, are collected within the site museum or remain outside in their original locations'. The Augustinian Nunnery is also in Historic Environment Scotland's care. It is noted in the Statement of Significance for Iona Abbey that 'Iona and old abbey and nunnery lands in the Hebrides and west coast passed to Campbell Earl of Argyll' in the 1690s.⁵²⁰

At the same time, the Argyll family invested in the Company of Scotland and so evinced an interest in colonial venture prior to the 1707 Union.⁵²¹ The Argyll's ownership and management of this and other properties intersected periodically with their wider imperial interests. The 7th duke of Argyll, for example, married two heiresses who in turn brought substantial West Indian wealth to his family.⁵²² Between 1874 and 1875, the 8th duke of Argyll 'instructed the consolidation of the church,

515 'Inverlochy Castle', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/inverlochy-castle/history/>, accessed 8 March 2023.

516 'Inverlochy Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0529c71f-f174-4485-80c4-a86500f8eeed>, accessed 8 March 2023.

517 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Kilmonivaig, Inverness, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 510.

518 'Scarlett, the Hon. William Frederick', A Cambridge Alumni Database, University of Cambridge, available at: <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=SCRT845WF&syse=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 12 March 2023.

519 G. F. R. Barker and Elisabeth A. Cawthon, 'Scarlett, James, First Baron Abinger (1769–1844), Judge', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 12 March 2023; 'James Scarlett 1st Baron Abinger', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts.live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1439>, accessed 12th March 2023.

520 'Iona Abbey Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f9bf2f79-def2-4393-8e52-a8b2009c4d>, accessed 10 March 2023.

521 Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, p. 271.

522 I. MacKinnon and A. Mackillop, 'Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands ...', available at: <https://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/resources/plantation-slavery-and-landownership-the-west-highlands-and-islands-legacies-and-lessons/>, accessed 27 March 2023.

then in imminent danger of collapse'.⁵²³ It passed into Historic Scotland care in 1999. Another two PiCs are in the vicinity: 'Iona Nunnery comprises the ruins of an early 13th century Augustinian nunnery dedicated to St Mary the Virgin', while 'MacLean's Cross stands on a rubble base in or near its original position on the west side of the road between the abbey and the nunnery'. The duke gifted the abbey and nunnery to a trust in the 1890s.⁵²⁴

As noted elsewhere in this report, the earls and dukes of Argyll were owners of personal servants/enslaved people and had familial connections to planting families. However, the extent to which family wealth was improved by slavery, and by extension to what extent this effected Iona, it's abbey, nunnery and MacLean's Cross remains unclear (similar to Eileach-an-Naoimh).⁵²⁵

A specific colonial link to the abbey arises from the fact that the 8th duke had a major imperial dimension to his political career, acting as Secretary of State for India from 1868 to 1874, immediately prior to his instructions regarding the building's repair and maintenance.⁵²⁶ There is no suggestion that any income or resources from his time in that office played any role in the renovations. However, this example demonstrates how the Empire bestowed additional political position, public profile and social capital on already well-established landed families. These intangible influences were a cultural background factor in prompting the likes of the Argylls to demonstrate their sense of history, taste and social leadership.

Kilberry Sculptured Stones [PiC079]

(empire connection: property)



As noted in the HES's Statement of Significance, the 'Kilberry Castle carved stone collection comprises 26 pieces of early Christian, medieval and late medieval sculpture housed within a shelter near Kilberry Castle. Most of [these] were formerly held at the Campbell family mausoleum 40m east of the castle, with other pieces of sculpture from around the Kilberry estate.' The stones are generally recognised to have come from the medieval parish church, which was burnt in the 1640s by the Campbells of Kilberry to prevent its use by enemy royalist forces. It fell into disuse by 1780, when some of the stones are taken to the Campbell Mausoleum.⁵²⁷ John Campbell of Kilberry was Commanding Officer of Kilberry's Highlanders in the West Indies (1761-3).⁵²⁸ The preservation of the stones seems to have been the unintended consequences of family destruction of the kirk. The Campbell family – at least one of whom was involved with British imperialism – destroyed rather than preserved the church, although the family also committed to preserving the sculptured stones.

⁵²³ 'Iona Abbey Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=f9bf2f79-def2-4393-8e52-a8b2009cbc4d>, accessed 10 March 2023.

⁵²⁴ 'Iona Nunnery & MacLean's Cross Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=e5dfddbe-5df6-42eb-8cc9-a8b800b1675c>, accessed 10 March 2023.

⁵²⁵ 'Addressing our Connections with Historic Slavery', Inverary Castle, available at: https://www.inveraray-castle.com/images/Slavery_and_the_Argylls.pdf, accessed 8 March 2023.

⁵²⁶ H. C. G. Matthew, 'Campbell, George Douglas, Eighth Duke of Argyll in the Peerage of Scotland, and First Duke of Argyll in the Peerage of the United Kingdom', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 12 March 2023.

⁵²⁷ 'Kilberry Sculptured Stones Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=8979467b-708f-4527-9869-a86500fb27ca>, accessed 11 March 2023.

⁵²⁸ Matthew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 231.

Kilchurn Castle [PiC080]

(empire connection: property)



Kilchurn Castle comprises the ‘remains of a late medieval castle built on a rocky promontory at the north-east end of Loch Awe’. It was ‘substantially altered in the rebuildings of 1690–98. At this time John, 1st Earl of Breadalbane, rebuilt the whole of the north side of the castle as a three-storey barracks with garret. He also added the three corner towers and a new stair to the tower. The building was unroofed by about 1770.’⁵²⁹ The earls of Breadalbane were involved with plantation slavery in Jamaica on emancipation in 1834. As noted by the Legacies of British Slavery project, ‘the “Marquis of Breadalbane” was awarded compensation for the Hope estate in St Andrew, Jamaica, as trustee of a marriage settlement of 1819, almost certainly that of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham (q.v.) with Mary, the daughter of the 1st Marquess of Breadalbane in 1819’.⁵³⁰ There remains ambiguity over whether the claimant was John Campbell, 2nd marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862) or his father, John Campbell, 4th earl and 1st marquess of Breadalbane (1762–1834).⁵³¹ Either way, while the compensation derived from plantation slavery was large-scale (£6,630 5s 6d), it probably had no effect on the preservation of Kilchurn Castle. The earls of Breadalbane owned the castle while simultaneously being involved in Jamaica but the castle was roofless long before the marriage settlement of 1819, and almost 70 years before the slavery compensation was awarded. Detailed archival research is required to assess the finance for preservation of Kilchurn (if at all) between 1834 and 1853 when it passed into state care.

Kilmartin Crosses [PiC082]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4:
Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Kilmartin Glebe Cairn [PiC083]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4:
Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Kilmartin Sculptured Stones [PiC084]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4:
Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Kilmichael Glassary Cup and Ring Mark Rock [PiC085]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4:
Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Kilmodan Sculptured Stones [PiC086]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



The Kilmodan Sculptured Stones are a small, but important, collection now situated in Kilmodan parish churchyard located in the Cowal peninsula, Argyll and Bute. In the mid to late 18th century, a burial aisle was built in the churchyard, and the stones were relocated there. The burial aisle was built ‘possibly for the Campbells of Auchenbreck’, although Historic Environment Scotland acknowledge that this has yet to be verified.⁵³² According to Marie Fraser of the Clan Fraser Society of Canada, Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchenbreck was recorded as a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628.⁵³³ While it might appear that the repositioning of the Kilmodan Stones is a similar process to the Malcolms of Poltalloch (that is, an arriviste imperial family refashioning their identity through the subsuming of ancient heritage), there is no evidence that the Campbells of Auchenbreck had any role in this.

529 ‘Kilchurn Castle Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=92fef8c4-d13c-4d17-a9cd-a865010731e6>, accessed 11 March 2023.

530 ‘John Campbell, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts.live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19525>, accessed 12th March 2023.

531 W. G. Blaikie and H. C. G. Matthew, ‘Campbell, John, Second Marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862), Politician and Courtier’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 12 March 2023.

532 ‘Kilmodan Sculptured Stones Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=88d03add-4a3a-418a-97d8-a866009ff491>, accessed 11 March 2023.

533 Marie Fraser, ‘Baronets of Nova Scotia’, Electric Scotland, available at: <https://www.electricscotland.com/canada/fraser/baronets-novascotia.htm>, accessed 12 March 2023.

Kirkmadrine Stones [PiC199]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6:
Maxwell of Monreith.

Kinneil House [PiC152]

(empire connections: property and technological)



Kinneil Old Church Cross [PiC153]

(empire connection: property)



Kinneil House was held by the Hamilton family from 1320 until the 1930s. However, in 1759, the house was leased to Dr John Roebuck, the founder of the Carron Company.⁵³⁴ Roebuck had multiple imperial interests while resident in Kinneil, 1759–94. First, he was partners with famous Glasgow ‘tobacco lord’ John Glassford in the firm Roebuck & Glassford that leased Bo’ness Colliery in 1760.⁵³⁵ Second, Roebuck was involved with an enterprise with James Watt, the improver of the steam engine, which shipped salt to Greenock to cure herrings. This would have been shipped to the West Indies, where Scottish cured fish was the foundation of the diet of enslaved people.⁵³⁶ Third, the Carron Company itself was an imperial enterprise. As noted by R. H. Campbell, historian of the company, the ‘Glasgow merchants, then trading extensively with America and the West Indies, provided a ready outlet for its products.’⁵³⁷ Although Roebuck was not directly involved with the Atlantic slavery economy, he profited from ancillary enterprise that was dependent on either merchant capital or Atlantic commerce. Nuala Zahadieh has recently demonstrated a similar

process: how the development of the copper industry was dependent on the Atlantic slavery economy, even if coppersmiths had no connections to slavery (part of a wider process that Eric Williams described as ‘commercial capitalism’).⁵³⁸ Roebuck famously sponsored James Watt to live at Kinneil and develop the steam engine, which placed him in financial difficulties (Watt himself had connections to Atlantic slavery with his father’s mercantile business before he departed for Birmingham in 1774).⁵³⁹ However, although the imperial connections of Roebuck and Watt appear to have had little material effect on the house itself, or the associated James Watt cottage, given that both were temporary residents rather than estate owners, Kinneil was a site of intellectual patronage. The Kinneil Old Church Cross is currently on display in Kinneil House but was discovered when Kinneil Old Parish Church was excavated in 1951 (the imperial connections are almost incidental).

Kirkhill Roman Signal Station [PiC089]

(empire connection: property)



Kirkhill Roman Signal Station is located near Auchterarder: it is a ‘Roman signal-station or watchtower of the late 1st century AD. It is situated 40m to the S of a Roman road. The monument forms part of a Roman military system, now termed the Gask Ridge frontier.’⁵⁴⁰ In a Rental Book of Perth (1835), Viscount Strathallan was identified as the proprietor of ‘Easter Gask, Flour Mill and Millands, Farmtown, Kirkhill and pendicle thereof’.⁵⁴¹ Comparison with Canmore Historic Maps OS 1843–1882 suggests the Property in Care was very close to Kirkhill farmhouse.⁵⁴² In 1862, Kirkhill was described as a ‘farm house one story high with suitable offices attached. the whole slated. and in excellent repair’ with the tenant Thomas Campbell,

534 ‘Kinneil House and Old Church Cross Statements of Significance’, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=030d2917-9c02-407c-a58d-a8b800b485b1>, accessed 18 October 2022.

535 Baron F. Duckham, *A History of the Scottish Coal Industry, Vol 1: 1700–1815: A Social and Industrial History* (Plymouth: David and Charles, 1970), p. 175.

536 Richard L. Hills, *James Watt Volume 1: His Time in Scotland, 1736–1774* (England: Landmark, 2002), pp. 154–5; J.R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery: The Process of Amelioration, 175–1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 105.

537 R. H. Campbell, *Carron Company* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), p. 105.

538 Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 210; N. Zahedieh, ‘Eric Williams and William Forbes: Copper, Colonial Markets, and Commercial Capitalism’, *Economic History Review*, 74 (2021), pp. 784–808.

539 Stephen Mullen, ‘The Rise of James Watt: Enlightenment, Commerce and Industry in a British Atlantic Merchant City, 1736–1774’, in Malcolm Dick and Caroline Archer-Parre (eds), *James Watt (1736–1819): Culture, Innovation and Enlightenment* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 39–61.

540 ‘Kirkhill Roman Signal Station Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=5633eb47-e30b-4dac-ad40-a86600a72376>, accessed 13 March 2023.

541 William Gloag (ed.), *Rental of the County of Perth, by Act of the Estates of Parliament of Scotland, 4th August 1649, Contrasted with the Valuation of the Same County, 1st January, 1835* (X), p. 91.

542 Canmore Historic Maps OS 1843–1882, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/search/result?NUMLINK=25988&view=map>, accessed 12 March 2023.

and the '[Proprietor] Sir Thomas Moncrieff Bart. [Baronet] Moncrieff House Bridge of Earn'.⁵⁴³ It seems that the Drummond family were in possession of Kirkhill at one point, as part of wider landownership in the county of Perthshire. The *Old Statistical Account* (1793) described how Viscount Strathallan preserved sections of the Roman Road: 'We have about four miles of the Roman road from the Stormont to the camp at Ardoch in this parish. Two of these are in a dreadful state of disrepair, – in winter indeed totally impassable. The other two, through the active liberality of Lord Strathallan, and other proprietors and tenants, have lately been very much improved, and in a short time will form part of an excellent road to Perth.'⁵⁴⁴

The 6th Viscount Strathallan (although not confirmed until 1824) was James Drummond (1767–1851), of Tullibardine and Strathallan, Perth. He was a writer with the East India Company in Canton in 1786. However, since he was not confirmed as Viscount Strathallan until 1824, it remains unclear if he used imperial wealth to continue the family tradition of preservation and improvement around Strathallan and Kirkhill.⁵⁴⁵

Kisimul Castle [PiC333]

(empire connection: property)



Kisimul Castle (Caisteal Chiosmuil) is located on a 'small island in Castle Bay, at the south end of the island of Barra and a short distance off-shore of the town of Castlebay'. The castle was abandoned by the mid 18th century and was destroyed by fire in 1797.⁵⁴⁶ The island of Barra was sold to Colonel Gordon of Cluny in 1838. John Gordon of Cluny (1776–1858) was an absentee planter and enslaver in Tobago. He collected large-scale compensation (£12,482) for enslaved people across three separate Tobago estates; it is not inconceivable that this compensation at least partially financed the acquisition of Barra.⁵⁴⁷ John Gordon did not

commit to redeveloping the castle, however, and the effects of slavery-derived wealth were deleterious to the landscape. Indeed, the remaining stones of the castle were used for ballast in the mid 19th century. In 1937, Robert Lister Macneil, 45th chief, bought the Barra estate and set about restoring the castle, which was almost complete by the time he died in 1970. The castle was taken into guardianship in 2010.

Laggair Standing Stones [PiC200]

(empire connection: cultural)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

Lauderdale Aisle, St Mary's Church [PiC154]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



The Lauderdale Aisle is a 'burial aisle occupying the former sacristy of the medieval burgh church of St. Mary's, Haddington ...' The sacristy was converted into a burial aisle in the later 16th century by the Maitlands of Thirlestane family, and its most important feature is the Lauderdale Monument, a marble and alabaster monumental tomb probably erected by John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale, c.1675 to the memory of his parents and grandparents.⁵⁴⁸ Ronald Hutton's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* reveals much about John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682); he was a politician 'born at the family seat of Lethington Hall, Haddingtonshire, on 24 May 1616, the eldest surviving son of John Maitland, second Lord Maitland of Thirlestane (d. 1645)'.⁵⁴⁹ However, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry is silent on Lauderdale's connections with the trafficking of enslaved African people.

543 Ordnance Survey, Perthshire OS Name Books, 1859–1862, Perthshire volume 78, Scotland's Places, available at: <https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/perthshire-os-name-books-1859-1862/perthshire-volume-78?display=transcription>, accessed 12 March 2023.

544 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Trinity-Gask, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 338.

545 Margaret Escott, David Fisher, 'DRUMMOND, James Andrew John Lawrence Charles (1767–1851), of Tullibardine and Strathallan, Perth', History of Parliament, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/drummond-adam-1713-86>, accessed 12 March 2023.

546 'Kisimul Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=77c861db-056e-4652-9854-a8b800caacb5>, accessed 13 March 2023.

547 'John Gordon 4th of Cluny', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1301318774>, accessed 13 March 2023.

548 'Lauderdale Aisle, St Mary's Church Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=5db01c01-5cae-4ae0-bb5e-a6c9010833a3>, accessed 13 March 2023.

549 Ronald Hutton, 'Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682), Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

The National Trust website reveals:

*John Maitland (1616–82) was a powerful figure in Charles II's inner cabinet. In 1663, Lauderdale was a signatory to the Royal charter founding the Royal English Merchant Adventurers Company Trading to Africa (later the Royal African Company) which had a monopoly on the trading of ivory, gold and slaves along the west coast of Africa. Lauderdale held official positions which connected him closely to trade and early colonialism, including Commissioner of the Council of Trade (from 1668), Commissioner of the Council of Plantations (from 1671) and when founded in 1675, one of the Lords of Trade and Plantations.*⁵⁵⁰

The Royal African Company, the premier English firm trafficking enslaved people, was established by the Duke of York (James II from 1685). After 1672, the Royal African Company held a virtual monopoly over trafficking of enslaved people from English ports, Africa and the Americas. Maitland's profiteering from English trafficking, and colonial governance more broadly, is yet to be quantified but it is possible that the Lauderdale Monument, erected in 1675 three years after the establishment of the Royal African Company, was subsidised with slavery-derived wealth.

Lindsay Burial Aisle [PiC029]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



The Lindsay Burial Aisle is the 'only surviving part of the old parish church of Edzell. It originated as a chantry chapel before being adopted as a burial aisle ... The burial vault was inserted into the building later, possibly for the 9th earl of Crawford, although the date is not known.'⁵⁵¹ In his article 'Edzell Castle' (1931) W. D. Simpson provides a clearer chronology, noting that the aisle was established by the 9th earl of Crawford (1542–1558). Presumably the Lindsay family's use of the aisle aligned with their ownership of Edzell Castle, which was sold in 1715 owing to economic hardship.⁵⁵²

The castle's date of sale is potentially significant, for subsequent generations of the Lindsay family were heavily involved with colonial governance and ownership of enslaved people. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Alexander Lindsay 'sixth earl of Balcarres and de jure twenty-third earl of Crawford (1752–1825) [was an] army officer and colonial governor'.⁵⁵³ In 1794, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Jamaica which opened up possibilities to exploit labour of enslaved people for military purposes. According to the Legacies of British Slavery project, 'while Governor, he entered into an arrangement with the partnership that became Atkinson & Hozier under which he retained an apparently undisclosed one-third interest in the hire of enslaved people to the British army as "Pioneers" in Jamaica'.⁵⁵⁴ These connections likely eased the next generation into deeper connections with Caribbean slavery. James Lindsay, 7th earl of Balcarres (1783–1869), was a large-scale claimant of compensation when slavery was abolished in 1834.⁵⁵⁵ It is possible that some of the Lindsay family with imperial connections were buried in the family aisle after 1715. However, the 7th earl of Balcarres relocated to Wigan. Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, 25th earl of Crawford and 8th earl of Balcarres (1812–1880), acquired an estate at Dunecht, Aberdeenshire (commissioning a library and chapel), and was buried there.⁵⁵⁶ Fieldwork will clarify the last Lindsay burial. Since imperial wealth had no role in the construction of the Lindsay Burial Aisle, it is possible subsequent Lindsays had connections with the British Empire after the family estate was sold in 1715.

⁵⁵⁰ National Trust Collections, available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1140088.1>, accessed 13 March 2023.

⁵⁵¹ 'Lindsay Burial Aisle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=6c5937f8-348a-41fd-a4ab-a8b100e6a7ef>, accessed 13 March 2023.

⁵⁵² W. Simpson, 'Edzell Castle', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 65 (1931), pp. 115–73 at pp. 118–19.

⁵⁵³ T. F. Henderson and David P. Geggus, 'Lindsay, Alexander, Sixth earl of Balcarres and De Jure Twenty-third Earl of Crawford (1752–1825), Army Officer and Colonial Governor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

⁵⁵⁴ 'Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645055>, accessed 10 March 2023.

⁵⁵⁵ 'James Lindsay, 7th Earl of Balcarres', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21571>, accessed 10 March 2023.

⁵⁵⁶ Hugh Brigstocke, 'Lindsay, Alexander William Crawford, Twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford and Eighth Earl of Balcarres (1812–1880), Book Collector and Writer on Art', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 21 March 2023.



Links of Noltland [PiC304]

(empire connection: property)



Links of Noltland is a 'preserved farming settlement dating from about 3300 BC to 800 BC. Neolithic remains include a dozen buildings and the "Westray Wifie" figurine.⁵⁵⁷ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, the 'site was first discovered by George Petrie, a local antiquarian, in the 19th century. At this time, archaeological remains were noted in exposures created by rabbit burrowing and wind erosion among the dunes.⁵⁵⁸ As noted elsewhere in this report, George Petrie (1818–1875) was employed as the factor of the Graemeshall estate, located on the eastern half of Mainland (about 35 miles from Links of Noltland). His employer, Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1805–1894), came into ownership of Graemeshall estate in 1818 and remained an absentee owner of the Orkney estate for life (visiting only three times). He was the beneficiary of slavery-derived wealth, and his absenteeism provided Petrie with the agency to follow antiquarian pursuits across Orkney.

Linlithgow Palace, Peel and Royal Park [PiC155]

(empire connection: property)



Linlithgow Palace was one of the main royal residences of the Stewarts (and was occupied by Jacobite and Hanoverian forces in 1746). It was used as 'a "pleasure palace" midway between the royal castles at Edinburgh and Stirling'. The 'last building works were carried out for James VI following his "homecoming" in 1617, but Charles I's stay in 1633, during his coronation visit, was to be the last by a reigning sovereign'.⁵⁵⁹ The origins of a large-scale English/British Empire began with the reign of James VI and I (James Charles Stuart, 1566–1625) and the Union of the Scottish and English Crowns on 24 March 1603. This new imperial strategy is exemplified by the plantation of Ulster from 1609. According to Jenny Wormald, the 'Tudors had failed in Ireland, and Elizabeth did not push any Irish policy, religious or secular, hard enough to have much, if any, chance of success'. But James 'did rush into a limited plantation policy, in Antrim and Down, which certainly benefited the Scots, but his plans for Ulster were very different and very striking. Here he applied a notably Scottish solution to the great Irish rebels of the last decade of Elizabeth's reign'.⁵⁶⁰ King James' strategy laid the foundations for the settler-colonisation of Ireland, largely undertaken by Scots.

557 'Links of Noltland', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/links-of-noltland/>, accessed 13 March 2023.

558 'Links of Noltland Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=39be56c3-f71b-4b55-b946-a8b800d471fd>, accessed 13 March 2023.

559 'Linlithgow Palace, Peel and Park Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=ec7b44bc-f5d5-4ad3-aa28-a78c00f8e692>, accessed 13 March 2023.

560 Jenny Wormald, 'A Very British Problem: the Stuart Crown and the Plantation of Ulster', *History Ireland*, Issue 6 (Nov/Dec 2009), available at: <https://www.historyireland.com/a-very-british-problem-the-stuart-crown-and-the-plantation-of-ulster/>, accessed 12 March 2023.

Loanhead of Daviot Stone Circle [PiC255]

(empire connection: property)



The Property in Care known as Loanhead of Daviot Stone Circle in Aberdeenshire comprises the remains of a 'complex prehistoric funerary and ritual monument with a long and varied history of use and reuse. The area in care includes an Iron Age bloomery.'⁵⁶¹ It was taken into guardianship in 1932. An antiquarian noted a spirit of preservation among proprietors in 1935, a critical era in the development of Scotland's heritage: 'the spectacle of degradation, to which many monuments have been reduced, has encouraged a few thoughtful proprietors to take steps for the preservation of those in their own possession'. Helen Kilbrides Jones was offering gratitude to Colonel Seton of Mounie, who had just placed Loanhead of Daviot Stone Circle into guardianship.⁵⁶²

The Setons of Mounie had connections with Caribbean slavery on emancipation in 1834. Alexander Seton, 4th of Mounie (1769-1850), was the son of Margaret Seton, heiress of Mounie, and Dr James Anderson. In 1810, he married Janet Skene, daughter of the minister of Old Machar, Aberdeenshire. Their son was an army officer.⁵⁶³ Alexander Seton, 4th of Mounie, was a partner in London West India firm Colville & Co. from 1810, which explains why he claimed £6,491 compensation for enslaved people across three separate estates in Jamaica and Antigua after 1834.⁵⁶⁴ In short, Seton was a partner in a major London West India merchant house for at least 24 years and claimed large-scale compensation from the British Government on emancipation. Assessing the scale of Seton's West India interests is impossible, as is gauging how significant this was to the development of family wealth. He died in Leamington in Warwickshire,

England, leaving a relatively modest fortune of £7,286.⁵⁶⁵ His eldest son, Alexander, became 5th of Mounie while some personal wealth was bequeathed to other sons David and George.⁵⁶⁶

The colonel to whom Helen Kilbride Jones was referring to was Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander David Seton (1854-1936), 7th of Mounie.

The significance of Loanhead of Daviot Stone Circle was recognised in the years after the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, as noted in the *New Statistical Account* (1845): *On the lands of Mounie, and on the highest ground in the parish, the remains of two Druidical temples are still observable. The remains of a third were to be seen, within the last twenty years, in the graveyard; but the stones were some time ago removed and employed as materials in building the walls of a dwelling-house.*⁵⁶⁷

According to Fred Coles in 1902, Setons of Mounie strategies had preserved the stone circle: 'the gratitude of the antiquary is due to the proprietor who so judiciously planted this hill with trees of various species, yet left a wide margin clear of the Circle, and meddled not with its interior'.⁵⁶⁸

Maeshowe, Chambered Cairn [PiC305]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 3: Balfours of Trenabie.

561 'Loanhead of Daviot Stone Circle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=5b645a02-c374-4793-9c9f-a86600b0356b>, accessed 13 March 2023.

562 H. Kilbride-Jones, 'An Account of the Excavation of the Stone Circle at Loanhead of Daviot, and of the Standing Stones of Cullerlie, Echt, Both in Aberdeenshire, on Behalf of H.M. Office of Works', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 69 (1935), pp. 168-223.

563 Biographical and familial details have been culled from the History of Setons of Mounie; E. I. Carlyle and James Falkner, 'Seton, Alexander (1814-1852), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 14 March 2023.

564 'Alexander Seton', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/40851>, accessed 14 March 2023. For the date of his partnership, see 'Wedderburn, Webster', Legacies of British Slavery, available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-1651782556>, accessed 13 March 2023.

565 NRS SC70/1/70, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventories, Alexander Seton, 1850, p. 684.

566 NRS, SC70/4/8, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Alexander Seton, 1850, pp. 914-36.

567 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Daviot, Aberdeen, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 822.

568 F. Coles, 'Report on Stone Circles in Aberdeenshire (Inverurie, Eastern Parishes, and Inch Districts), with Measured Plans and Drawings, Obtained under the Gunning Fellowship', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 36 (1902), pp. 488-581.

Maybole Collegiate Church [PiC205]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



Maybole Collegiate Church was built in 1371 by Sir John Kennedy of Dunure. It had been repurposed by the end of the 17th century and was being 'used as the burial place of the Kennedy earls of Cassilis and other gentlemen, who contributed to the reroofing "when it was decayed"'. The church was ruined by the 18th century, although it remained the property of the Kennedys of Culzean, earls of Cassilis, before coming into state guardianship in 1948.⁵⁶⁹

The Kennedy family had a long connection with chattel slavery, especially Thomas Kennedy, 9th earl of Cassillis (1726–1775). According to biographer Michael Moss, by 1765 Kennedy was 'probably already engaged in the slave trade through his former smuggling agent Robert Kennedy, who between 1767 and 1774 owned four slave ships called *Lord Cassillis*, suggesting that the earl was an investor'.⁵⁷⁰ Thomas Kennedy also speculated in a rice and cotton plantation (with enslaved people) in East Florida, and apparently a holding in Tobago (presumably cotton or sugar). While these investments were quickly sold, Kennedy invested in East India stock in 1769–71, and also purchased a 16th share in the *Bute*, an East Indiaman, which provided a profit of at least £100 every year until his death.⁵⁷¹ Kennedy had a long-standing association with Scipio Kennedy, a 'freed slave who had previously worked for his father as a personal servant'.⁵⁷² Scipio Kennedy was brought to Scotland from the British West Indies by a ship's captain in 1702; he had been trafficked from Africa as a young child. He went into service with the Kennedy family around 1705, which explains why he took their surname. According to the National Records of Scotland, Scipio 'stayed in this family for an initial 20 years, during which time he was baptised and probably also received some education'.⁵⁷³ But the case of Scipio Kennedy in Culzean prior to 1778 –

when legislators in the Court of Session declared slavery illegal in the famous Joseph Knight case – is a complicated one. Scipio was enslaved as a child in Africa and trafficked to Scotland on that basis, but voluntarily decided to extend his service for 19 years in 1725. He was described in the contract as 'Mr Scipio Kennedy from Guinea, servant to Sir John Kennedy of Cullean', which suggests he was viewed as a servant rather than enslaved and had made a rational economic choice to service on that basis.⁵⁷⁴ However, conditions for most African and African-Caribbean people in 18th-century Scotland were likely to have been grim. While slavery was never legally codified in Scotland, the social reality for many African and African-Caribbean people before 1778 was one of slavery. Legal historian John Cairns described this living reality before 1778 as 'slavery without a code noir'.⁵⁷⁵ Historian Simon Newman agrees, arguing that 'slavery was as real' in 18th-century Britain for people (like Scipio) trafficked as enslaved people from the colonies 'as it was for others in Jamaica or Virginia'.⁵⁷⁶

There remains the possibility that both Sir John Kennedy of Culzean, 2nd baronet (d.1742), and his son, Thomas Kennedy, 9th earl of Cassillis (1726–1775), are buried within Maybole Collegiate Church (although this is unlikely, exactly who is buried could be resolved with further archival research and fieldwork) or that slavery-derived wealth contributed to the preservation of Maybole Collegiate Church before 1750. How much wealth the Kennedys derived from the slave trade, plantation slavery and the East India stock, or from the exploitation of Scipio's labour, remains unclear. However, it did not seem to have had a dramatic effect on the preservation and restoration of Maybole Collegiate Church, since it was ruinous by the 1800s. Either way, it is indisputable that the family had connections with various aspects of the Atlantic slavery economy, at the time the church was in the family ownership.

569 'Maybole Collegiate Church Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=b55cf8fb-f0c9-41cd-a600-a86600b5a57f>, accessed 13 March 2023.

570 Michael S. Moss, 'Kennedy, Thomas, Ninth Earl of Cassillis (1726–1775), Smuggler and Landowner', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 24 May 2008, accessed 13 March 2023.

571 Michael Moss, *The 'Magnificent Castle' of Culzean and the Kennedy Family* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 64–5.

572 Michael S. Moss, 'Kennedy, Thomas, Ninth Earl of Cassillis (1726–1775), Smuggler and Landowner', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 24 May 2008, accessed 13 March 2023.

573 'Slavery and the Slave Trade', National Records of Scotland, available at: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/slavery-and-the-slave-trade>, accessed 13 March 2023.

574 NRS, GD25/9/Box 72/9, Papers of the Kennedy Family, Earls of Cassillis (Ailsa Muniments): 'contract Betwixt Sir John Kennedy and Scipio Kennedy, his servant for 19 years', 1725.

575 John W. Cairns, 'Slavery without a Code Noir: Scotland 1700–78', in Felix M. Larkin and N. M. Dawson (eds), *Lawyers, the Law and History: Irish Legal History Society Discourses and other Papers, 2005–2011* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 148–78.

576 Simon Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves in England and Scotland, 1700–1780', *English Historical Review*, 134:570 (2019), pp. 1136–68.

Monreith Cross [PiC207]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6:
Maxwell of Monreith.

Muir o'Fauld Roman Signal Station [PiC094]

(empire connection: property)



Muir o'Fauld is described by Historic Environment Scotland as 'one of the better-preserved stations along the Gask Ridge, the line of the initial Roman invasion of Britain in AD 79–80'. And today, the 'site consists of a circular mound, ditch and outer bank, with a causeway leading to the ancient Roman road'.⁵⁷⁷ As noted by the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr David Christison, in 1901, the society had undertaken excavation work at 'Ardoch in 1896–97, [when] some notice was taken of the "Roman Road" described by early authorities as running between that station and Dupplin, together with the "Posts, Camps, and Forts" adjoining it'. Permission was granted by 'Mr Samuel Smith, M.P., of Orchill, Sir Robert Moncreiffe, Bart., and Mr Kington Oliphant of Gask, the proprietors of the ground'.⁵⁷⁸ It is impossible to pinpoint the boundaries of the owners in relation to Muir o'Fauld Roman Signal Station.

One of the proprietors, Samuel of Orchill (1836–1906), was a politician and philanthropist.⁵⁷⁹ At least some of his wealth was derived from British imperialism, and specifically the trades in East India and slave-grown American cotton. According to biographers G. Le Grys Norgate and H.C.G. Matthew, the Scottish-born Samuel Smith was 'apprenticed to a cotton broker in Liverpool in 1853 ... In 1860 he visited New Orleans and the cotton-growing districts of North America, of which he published a description. On his return, having made a tour of the leading Lancashire manufacturing centres, he started in business as a cotton broker in Chapel Street, Liverpool ... On 1 January 1864 the firm of Smith, Edwards & Co., cotton brokers, was launched, and three months later Smith also became head of the Liverpool branch of James Finlay & Co.

of Glasgow and Bombay. Cotton spinning and manufacturing were subsequently added to his activities by the purchase of Millbrook Mills, Stalybridge.⁵⁸⁰ To what extent his wealth improved Orchill estate, or contributed to the preservation of Muir o'Fauld Roman Signal Station (or even if it was in his estate boundaries at all) is unclear, but he participated in the general spirit of cooperation among proprietors with regards to local heritage preservation in the late Victorian period.

Nether Largie Mid Cairn [PiC096]

(empire connection: property)



Nether Largie North Cairn [PiC097]

(empire connection: property)



Nether Largie South Cairn [PiC098]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4:
Malcolms of Poltalloch.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Muir o'Fauld Roman Signal Station', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/muir-ofauld-roman-signal-station/>, accessed 13 March 2023.

⁵⁷⁸ D. Christison, 'Excavation Undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland of Earth-works Adjoining the "Roman Road" Between Ardoch and Dupplin, Perthshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 35 (1901), pp. 15–43.

⁵⁷⁹ Donna Loftus, 'Time, History and the Making of the Industrial Middle Class: the Story of Samuel Smith', *Social History*, 42:1 (2017), pp. 29–51.

⁵⁸⁰ G. Le Grys Norgate and H.C.G. Matthew, 'Smith, Samuel (1836–1906), Politician and Philanthropist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 13 March 2023.

Newark Castle [PiC122]

(empire connection: property)



Newark Castle in Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire, has its origins in the 15th century. According to Historic Environment Scotland, the 'land on which the castle is built was acquired by marriage in 1402 by a junior branch of the Maxwells, a powerful southern Scottish family. They remained its lords until 1694'.⁵⁸¹ However, the ownership of Newark Castle changed hands regularly afterwards. According to J.S. Fleming, 'after many transfers through the Hamiltons, Lords of Belhaven, it was sold in 1820 by the eighth lord to Robert Farquhar, banker in London, and in 1825 it returned to the Shaw branch of the Maxwell family, when Mr. Farquhar's only child and daughter married Sir Michael Shaw Stewart'. The castle remained the property of Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart in 1906 (and he entrusted it in state care in 1909).⁵⁸²

Robert Farquhar and Sir Michael Shaw Stewart both had considerable interests in Caribbean slavery. In 1821, Farquhar inherited estates in Grenada and his family owned property in Antigua, resulting in his large-scale compensation awards (£17,930) in both islands on the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834.⁵⁸³ As noted elsewhere in this report, in 1825 Sir Michael Shaw Stewart 'inherited extensive estates in Renfrewshire, including property in the port of Greenock, along with plantations in Trinidad and Tobago'.⁵⁸⁴ His wife, Dame Eliza Mary Shaw Stewart (Robert Farquhar's daughter), also inherited considerable planting interests in Grenada and Antigua, which remained within the family at least until 1851.⁵⁸⁵

It is doubtful whether slavery-derived wealth improved Newark Castle to any great extent, however. In 1845, the *New Statistical Account* noted that while much of the land and Newark Castle belonged to the wealthy Farquhars, the 'Castle of Newark ... has been long in a ruinous condition, and is now interesting only as a venerable monument of feudal grandeur, a memorial of the spirit and character of a barbarous age'.⁵⁸⁶ According to G. Browne in 1882, the 'castle ceased to be inhabited by its owners in the beginning of the 18th century and thus consequently fell somewhat into decay internally. Sir Michael Robert Shaw Stewart, Bart., the present owner, takes some interest in it, however, and keeps it in weather-tight condition; but some much-needed renovation could be effected at a very small cost'.⁵⁸⁷

Quoyness Chambered Cairn [PiC311]

(empire connection: property)



Quoyness Chambered Cairn in Lady, Orkney, is an 'example of a Neolithic chambered tomb ... that was in use from about 3000 to 2500 BC'.⁵⁸⁸ As noted on Canmore, it 'was excavated by Farrer and Petrie in 1867, in the belief that it was a brooch, but was subsequently recognised as a chambered cairn and re-excavated by Childe in 1951-2 for the MoW [Ministry of Works] in whose guardianship it has been placed'.⁵⁸⁹ As noted elsewhere in this report, George Petrie (1818-1875) was employed as the factor of the Graemeshall estate, located on the eastern half of Mainland (about 36 miles from Quoyness Chambered Cairn). His employer, Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1805-1894), was the beneficiary of wealth derived from Jamaican slavery. His colonial wealth subsidised absenteeism which provided Petrie with agency to follow antiquarian pursuits across Orkney. In this case, Petrie made valuable 'drawings of maceheads' which were apparently taken to Stromness Museum.⁵⁹⁰

581 'Newark Castle', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/newark-castle/history/>, accessed 13 March 2023.

582 J. S. Fleming, 'Newark Castle and its Owners', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 5:2 (1906), pp. 68-77 at p. 76.

583 'Robert Farquhar', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11426>, accessed 13 March 2023.

584 Terry Jenkins, 'Shaw Stewart, Sir Michael, 6th Bt. (1788-1836), of Ardgowan; Blackhall, Renfrew and 14 Carlton Terrace, Mdx', available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/shaw-stewart-sir-michael-1788-1836>, accessed 19 September 2022.

585 'Sir Michael Shaw Stewart 6th Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636353>, accessed 19 September 2022.

586 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Port Glasgow, Renfrew, Vol. 7 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 64.

587 G. Browne, 'Notes on Newark Castle, Renfrewshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 16 (1882), pp. 494-504 at p. 504.

588 'Quoyness Chambered Cairn', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/quoyness-chambered-cairn/history/>, accessed 13 March 2023.

589 'Sanday, Quoyness', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/3395/sanday-quoyness>, accessed 13 March 2023. See also V. Childe, L. Wells and F. Zeuner, 'Re-Excavation of the Chambered Cairn of Quoyness, Sanday, on Behalf of the Ministry of Works, 1951-2', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 86 (1954), pp. 121-39.

590 'Drawings of Maceheads from Quoyness Chambered Cairn, Sanday, in Stromness Museum', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/collection/1504233>, accessed 13 March 2023.

Ravenscraig Castle [PiC032]

(empire connection: property)



The building of Ravenscraig Castle in Kirkcaldy, Fife, was started in 1460 although was not completed until William Sinclair, earl of Caithness, took over ownership of the property in 1470. As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, the Sinclairs relocated to Dysart House by c.1650, abandoning Ravenscraig Castle as a main residence. However, it remained the property of the family (by then the Sinclair-Erskines) until 1898.⁵⁹¹ Between 1650 and 1898, some of the family were involved with Caribbean slavery. In 1789, James St Clair-Erskine, 2nd earl of Rosslyn (1762-1837), inherited Rosslyn and Dysart estates and ‘took name of St. Clair before Erskine’.⁵⁹² When slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834, he was ‘awarded the compensation for the enslaved people on Lower and Upper Walrond in Antigua as trustee of his son-in-law Bethell Walrond’.⁵⁹³

It is, however, unlikely that slavery-derived wealth, or compensation, had any effect on Ravenscraig Castle within the era of British slavery. First, the Legacies of British Slavery website suggest that James St Clair-Erskine, 2nd earl of Rosslyn, was the trustee of the compensation, and that he, rather than his son-in-law, kept the award (£3,626 12s 1d).⁵⁹⁴ Secondly, Ravenscraig Castle was ruinous in the late 18th century – when James St Clair-Erskine inherited the estate – and remained so after the abolition of slavery. There was no apparent restoration or preservation of the castle, according to the *Old Statistical Account* (1794):

*The castle of Ravenscraig is situated on a rock, projecting into the sea, at the E. end of Pathhead. It was given by James III. to William St. Clair Earl of Orkney with the lands adjoining to it when he resigned the title of Orkney. It has been ever since possessed by the family of St. Clair. It was inhabited in Oliver Cromwell's time and was fixed upon by a party of his troops. It has, for many years, been uninhabited, and in a ruinous state.*⁵⁹⁵

This situation remained the same over a half-century later, as reported in the *New Statistical Account* (1845): ‘although in a ruinous state now, it was inhabited in Oliver Cromwells time’.⁵⁹⁶ The Erskines move to Dysart in the 1650s suggests there was little maintenance or improvement of Ravenscraig Castle. Although James St Clair-Erskine, 2nd earl of Rosslyn, was in possession of the property while claiming compensation from the British Government for enslaved people in 1834, this had no effect on the preservation of Ravenscraig Castle.

Ring of Brodgar [PiC313]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 3: Balfours of Trenabie.

Rispain Camp [PiC211]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.

591 ‘Ravenscraig Castle Statement of Significance’, Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=9ffa1b41-5a82-408f-88c0-a7b700d26f70>, accessed 13 March 2023.

592 D. G. Henry, ‘St. Clair Erskine (Formerly Erskine), Sir James, 6th Bt. (1762-1837), of Alva, Clackmannan’, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/st-clair-erskine-%28formerly-erskine-%29-sir-james-1762-1837>, accessed 1 March 2023.

593 ‘James St Clair-Erskine, 2nd Earl of Rosslyn’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/40947>, accessed 1 March 2023.

594 ‘Bethell Walrond’, Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44946>, accessed 1 March 2023.

595 John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Dysart, Fife, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794), p. 523.

596 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Dysart, Fife, Vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 133.

Rothesay Castle [PiC123]

(empire connection: defence)



According to Historic Environment Scotland, Rothesay Castle is 'one of Scotland's oldest surviving masonry castles, [and was] built for the hereditary Stewarts of Scotland c. 1200, and still owned by their descendants, the Marquesses of Bute'.⁵⁹⁷ As noted by Denys Pringle, 'during the Napoleonic Wars the gatehouse was used as a powder magazine by the volunteer force raised locally for the defence of Bute'.⁵⁹⁸ There is a minor imperial connection because Rothesay Castle became part of Britain's military defence at home, in preparation for an invasion by imperial rivals (that never came). The Marquis of Bute also sponsored excavations and conservation (here and at St Mary's Chapel, Rothesay, and St Blane's, Bute).

Ri Cruin Cairn [PiC099]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Scotstarvit Tower [PiC042]

(empire connection: property)



According to Historic Environment Scotland, Scotstarvit Tower is 'a roofed tower house ... probably built in the late 15th century by the Inglises of Tarvit. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit remodelled it after he purchased the estate in 1611 and renamed it Scotstarvit.' It appears that the Hill of Tarvit was part of the Scotstarvit estate, but the 'estate was acquired by the Wemyss family [in 1776], who renamed the mansion house as Wemyss Hall'.⁵⁹⁹ The Wemyss estate was purchased in 1904 by Mr Frederick Bower Sharp. The 'estate was bequeathed to the National Trust for Scotland in 1949 following the death of Mr Sharp's daughter, Miss E. C. Sharp'.⁶⁰⁰ It appears that Scotstarvit was also owned by the Sharp family (although Scotstarvit was placed in state care in 1940, and the Wemyss estate in 1949). Frederick Bower Sharp was a major linen and jute mill owner, and while it seems likely his wealth was based on trade with America and the East Indies in the late Victorian era, further research is required to confirm the geographical scope of his business and ascertain the scale of his wealth (he apparently left no will, testament or inventoried wealth in Scottish courts). Either way, it appears he had a destructive effect on Scotstarvit, as noted by Historic Environment Scotland, removing older features and placing them in his new-build mansion. In 1905-7, the 'new owner [of Wemyss Hall], the Dundee jute magnate F. B. Sharp, had his architect, Robert Lorimer, relocate the ornate stone chimney piece, dated 1627, from Scotstarvit's top floor to Hill of Tarvit's smoking room, where it remains to this day'.⁶⁰¹

597 'Rothesay Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=3a8cb6a2-9853-4946-a197-a74400c03646>, accessed 13 March 2023.

598 Denys Pringle, 'Rothesay Castle and the Stewarts', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 151:1 (1998), pp. 149-69 at p. 160.

599 'Scotstarvit Tower Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=1d0172b7-5356-4299-9093-a7b700d49fcd>, accessed 13 March 2023.

600 'Hill of Tarvit (Wemyss Hall)', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00211>, accessed 13 March 2023.

601 'Scotstarvit Tower Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=1d0172b7-5356-4299-9093-a7b700d49fcd>, accessed 13 March 2023.



Skara Brae [Pic314]

(empire connection: property)



Skara Brae is a Neolithic settlement in Sandwick, Mainland, Orkney Islands. It is situated on the Bay of Skail, near Skail House, Breckness estate. The settlement was uncovered around 1850, by the 'wild waves of the Atlantic'. Will Watt, laird of Breckness, retained some artefacts (bone and stone instruments) which were sent to the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. Watt established that Skara Brae was a site of special interest; he excavated some of the mound and contacted the antiquarian George Petrie.⁶⁰² As noted elsewhere in this report, George Petrie (1818–1875) was employed as the factor of the Graemeshall estate, located on the eastern half of Mainland (about 25 miles from Skara Brae). His employer, Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1805–1894), came into ownership of Graemeshall estate in 1818 and remained an absentee owner of the Orkney estate for life (visiting only three times). He was the beneficiary of slavery-derived wealth, and his colonial wealth subsidised absenteeism which provided Petrie with the agency to follow antiquarian pursuits across Orkney. And, in this case, Petrie authored a seminal antiquarian article on the Skara Brae discoveries.⁶⁰³

The owners of Breckness estate also had a long association with the British Empire. John Graham, 5th laird of Breckness, inherited the estate in 1780.

According to historian James D. Irvine, in the 1760s he had 'followed several other Orcadians who had sought their fortunes in Jamaica', although Irvine doubts whether Graham accumulated any slavery-derived capital. In fact, his lack of capital meant the Breckness estate was heavily indebted. By 1782, creditors, including Will Watt, looked to secure their debts on the estate, although by this point John Graham was very likely deceased in Jamaica, but the details remained unknown. His brother, Patrick Graham, inherited the estate. He was a seaman in the Royal navy from 1768, including in Jamaica and India.⁶⁰⁴ By the late 1780s, the Breckness estate was highly indebted and was sold to Patrick Graham's brother-in-law, Will Watt, the 6th laird of Breckness. He was the son of Kirkwall merchant, William Watt senior, who operated the firm William Watt Junior Company. Will Watt junior was active in the business from the 1750s. This was a general merchant firm, whose trade was focused mainly on England and Europe (Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands). Although not a mainstay of the business, the firm traded slave-grown produce in the mid 18th century, especially tobacco and coffee, as well as East India produce (tea).⁶⁰⁵ A third Will Watt (born 1776), 7th laird of Breckness, inherited the estate in 1810. As noted by James D. Irvine, Will Watt made two notable antiquarian discoveries, including Skara Brae in 1850, and made a detailed plan of it around that time.⁶⁰⁶

602 G. Petrie, 'Notice of Ruins of Ancient Dwellings at Skara, Bay of Skail, in the Parish of Sandwick, Orkney, Recently Excavated', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 7 (1867), pp. 201–19 at p. 201.

603 Virginia Zimmerman describes Petrie's article as the 'primary Victorian source on Skara Brae'; see 'Storm and Stone: Accidental Archaeology at Skara Brae in Orkney', *Victorian Review*, 40:2 (2014), pp. 39–43.

604 James D. Irvine, *The Breckness Estate* (Orkney: Orcadian Press, 2009), pp. 97–8.

605 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

606 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

St Clement's Church, Rodel [PiC316]

(empire connection: cultural)



St Clement's Church in Rodel, Harris, was built by the MacLeods, lords of Dunvegan and Harris, in the early 16th century.⁶⁰⁷ In 1778, the chief of MacLeod, Norman, sold the barony of Harris to Alexander MacLeod (c.1715–90). Alexander MacLeod joined the East India Company and was part of an expedition to recapture Calcutta in 1757. Andrew Mackillop describes MacLeod as an 'East Indiaman commander'. MacLeod retired in 1771, purchasing Harris seven years later, and sunk imperial profits into developing the island's fishing industry.⁶⁰⁸ Mackillop contrasts MacLeod's modernisation of the island's economy – which meant clearing tenants from the land – with the commitment to preserving the island's ancient heritage, notably St Clements. However, by 1784, St Clements was ruinous. Alexander MacLeod set about restoring the church including the addition of a new roof and slates. However, due to the 'carelessness of the carpenters', a fire ripped through the church and the new roof was destroyed. A programme of repairs was implemented, and although these were unfinished at MacLeod's death in 1790, the church remained in use. In 1870, the church was in very poor condition and was once again re-roofed, this time by the Countess of Dunmore.⁶⁰⁹ The countess of Dunmore, Catherine Murray [née Herbert] (1814–1886), married the 6th earl of Dunmore, Alexander Edward Murray (1804–1845), in 1836. On his death nine years later, she inherited the Dunmore estate on the isle of Harris and took an active interest in the island's economy (including the famous development of Harris tweed).⁶¹⁰ Previous earls of Dunmore were heavily involved in the British Empire. The 4th earl of Dunmore, John Murray (1732–1809), was a governor in Colonial America (New York, 1770; Virginia, 1771) and the British West Indies (Bahamas, 1786).⁶¹¹

In summary, imperial wealth appears to have been a minor factor in the preservation of St Clements and may have contributed to its ruination. MacLeod's renovations (1784–90) had the opposite effect to the one he intended, owing to the fire that destroyed the roof he funded. Moreover, it is unknown if and to what extent the imperial appointments of the 4th earl of Dunmore improved the Murray family's wealth – which by extension came into the hands of Catherine Murray in 1845 – although it remains a possibility. Overall, improvements based upon imperial wealth seem to have had a mixed effect.

St Machar's Cathedral Transepts [PiC265]

(empire connection: memorialisation)



The transepts are the only section of St Machar Cathedral in Old Aberdeen which are in the care of HES. The now ruined remains of the once prominent east end of the building are an enclosed space that acts as both a burial lot and place of memorialisation. Located within it are monuments to people from a number of local families, including Captain Arthur Newton Forbes of the 79th Highland Regiment. During his time with the unit, it served in Egypt and Sudan.⁶¹² His headstone notes his regimental association but makes no mention of any imperial connections. There are a total of 58 graves or monuments: together with that of Captain Forbes, there are three other plaques with obvious empire dimensions: a Presbyterian minister in Malta in the mid 19th century; a Lieutenant-colonel of the Bombay army; and an Indian civil servant whose involvement in efforts to suppress sati in India are recorded as an especially prominent part of his life and career.

607 'St Clement's Church, Rodel Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=c6345fd2-40b8-4cfc-b094-a7b700d6b6ce>, accessed 2 September 2022.

608 Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690–c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp. 236, 242; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, 'MacLeod, Alexander (c.1715–90), of Harris, Inverness and Theobalds, Herts.', in L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754–1790* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1964), available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/macleod-alexander-1715-90>, accessed 3 September 2022.

609 A. Ross, 'Notice of St Clement's Church at Rowdill, Harris', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 19 (1885), pp. 131–2.

610 Christine Lodge, 'Murray [née Herbert], Catherine, Countess of Dunmore (1814–1886), Promoter of the Harris Tweed Industry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 5 September 2022.

611 John E. Selby, 'Murray, John, Fourth Earl of Dunmore (1732–1809), Colonial Governor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 5 September 2022.

612 Speirs, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire*, pp. 76–8.

St Mary's Chapel, Wyre [PiC315]

(empire connection: property)



The remains of St Mary's Chapel are in Wyre, Orkney. The church was built in the 1100s, but is now roofless and in a ruinous state. However, it is acknowledged that the ruins remain in a good state of preservation 'not only because [the church] is in State care but also because it was partially restored in the late 19th century by General Traill-Burroughs of Trumland House on Rousay'.⁶¹³ Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs (1831-1905) was an army officer. According to biographers Vibart and Lunt, 'he served with the 93rd under Sir Colin Campbell throughout the Crimean War, and was at the battle of the Alma and at Balaklava, when he commanded the left centre company of his regiment, the "thin red line" ... During the Indian Rising Traill-Burroughs was engaged again under Campbell, now Lord Clyde, in the fighting before the relief of Lucknow and in the storming of the sikandarabagh and of the Shah Najaf mosque (both outer defences of Lucknow).'⁶¹⁴ Traill-Burroughs' estates (12,000 acres in Orkney) were heavily encumbered with debts. He was a notorious landlord who behaved appallingly towards tenants, clearing people from the land and raising rents three-fold. His 'improvements' on Orkney, as well as his partial restoration of St Mary's Chapel, were probably subsidised by agricultural enterprise and domestic borrowing, as they were from the profits from his previous military career. Moreover, the Traill-Burroughs restoration of the chapel did not ensure its survival in a complete state although it slowed its decline.

Stanley Mills [PiC043]

(empire connection: technological)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 7: Stanley Mills.

Stanydale Temple [PiC267]

(empire connection: property)



The significance of Stanydale Temple is recognised by Historic Environment Scotland as 'the only truly megalithic structure surviving from prehistoric Shetland. It comprises a wall of large boulders enclosing a wide oval area, which would have originally been enclosed by a great timber roof.'⁶¹⁵ In 1949, the antiquarian Charles Calder excavated the remains and acknowledged 'I was privileged to carry out excavations on behalf of our Society. Permission to dig was kindly given by Mr James M. S. Tait, factor to the Marquis of Zetland, and to him and to the Society, which generously financed the operations, I would here express my grateful thanks.'⁶¹⁶ Thus the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland funded the work, although permission was granted by the marquess of Zetland. In 1949, Lawrence John Lumley Dundas was the 2nd marquess of Zetland (1876-1961). According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, he was an 'administrator in India, politician, and author ... the elder surviving son of Lawrence Dundas, third earl, later first marquess, of Zetland (1844-1929)'.⁶¹⁷ While the 2nd marquess of Zetland had a colonial occupation in his own right, as noted elsewhere in this report, this branch of the Dundas family had a long connection with Caribbean slavery. In the 1770s, Lawrence Dundas (1712-1781) was an absentee planter and enslaver who owned 'two slave estates in the West Indies - in Dominica and in Grenada'.⁶¹⁸ The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* notes that in 1766, Lawrence Dundas (1712-1781) 'acquired the Earldom estate, Orkney, and the lordship of Shetland for £63,000. Two years later he purchased Burray and its associated lands on other Orkney islands for £16,500. All these acquisitions made him one of the great landowners of the United Kingdom.'⁶¹⁹ To what extent the successive generations of individuals with colonial connections, including wealth

613 'Wyre, St Mary's Chapel', Canmore, available at: <https://Canmore.org.uk/site/2656/wyre-st-marys-chapel>, accessed 10 March 2023.

614 H. M. Vibart, and James Lunt, 'Burroughs, Sir Frederick William Traill- (1831-1905), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

615 'Stanydale Temple', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/stanydale-temple/>, accessed 2 September 2022.

616 C. Calder, 'Report on the Excavation of a Neolithic Temple at Stanydale in the Parish of Sandsting, Shetland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 84 (1952) 185-205 at p. 185.

617 Philip Woods, 'Dundas, Lawrence John Lumley, Second Marquess of Zetland (1876-1961), Administrator in India, Politician, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

618 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.wdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113>, accessed 1 February 2023.

619 R. P. Fereday, 'Dundas Family of Fingask and Kerse (per. 1728/9-1820), Landowners and Politicians', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 3 March 2023.

derived from Caribbean slavery, contributed to the preservation of Stanydale Temple can only be surmised. However, the Dundas family's commitment to the preservation of ancient heritage is exemplified by a long collaboration with the Society of Antiquaries. Between 1813 and 1819, Lawrence Dundas, 1st earl of Zetland (1766–1839), was the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (and Honorary President, 1781).⁶²⁰

Steinacleit Cairn and Stone Circle [PiC320]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 5: Matheson of Lewis.

Stirling Castle [PiC111]

(empire connection: production)



Stirling Castle is one of Scotland's best-known landmarks. As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, Stirling Castle 'was always protected by a garrison, but it was the entry of Cromwell's troops into the castle in August 1650 that saw the end of the castle as a royal lodging. From the end of that century the royal buildings began to be divided to provide accommodation for the ever-expanding British army.' Indeed, it is this 'martial role throughout Scottish history gives it [the castle] a particular resonance for Scots'.⁶²¹

A defining aspect of this martial history is the castle's role as a major site of military 'production' at a time when Scottish regiments were exported around the British Empire (see Section 3.5). More specifically, the castle hosts the regimental museum of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (prior to 1881, the 91st Argyll and 93rd Sutherland Highlanders). Both regiments had extensive garrisoning and campaigning histories in regions such as the Caribbean, North America, Britain's Mediterranean territories, Egypt, modern-day South Africa (the 'Xhosa Wars'), the Crimea and India.⁶²² The regiment's post-1881 history included involvement in the Second Boer War

of 1899–1902 (commemorated on the castle esplanade), the Irish War of Independence (1919–21), North Africa (1940–1), Singapore (1942), the Palestine Mandate (1946–8) and Aden (1967).⁶²³

The conspicuous memorial to Argyll and Sutherland personnel lost in the Boer War was part of a noticeable peak in public displays of remembrance at the turn of the 20th century for those lost in what were widely understood to be 'imperial' campaigns.

Stones of Stenness [PiC321]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 3: Balfours of Trenabie.

Temple Wood Stone Circles [PiC103]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 4: Malcolms of Poltalloch.

Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn [PiC322]

(empire connection: property)



The significance of Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn is noted by Historic Environment Scotland: a 'Neolithic chambered cairn, which was constructed about 5,000 years ago. Used for burial over a long period of time, this monument was probably an important focus of ritual for the prehistoric inhabitants of Rousay'.⁶²⁴ As noted in the HES Statement of Significance, it was 'discovered' in 1898 when work was being undertaken for a garden bench on the estate of Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs (1831–1905) – his wife Lady Eliza Burroughs's journal provides an important account of these events. It was fully excavated in the 1930s by William Grant, subsequent owner of Trumland estate.⁶²⁵ As noted elsewhere in this report, Traill-Burroughs was an army officer in

620 A. S. Bell (ed.), *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition: Essays to Mark the Bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1780–1980* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries, 1981), p. 277.

621 'Stirling Castle Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=ccc58e47-48f3-4697-8b73-a8b800ebf353>, accessed 2 September 2022.

622 Gerald L.J. Goff, *Historical Records of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, now the 1st Battalion Princess Louise's Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Containing an Account of the Regiment in 1794, and of its Subsequent Services to 1881* (London: R. Bentley, 1891).

623 The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders Museum, available at: <https://argylls.co.uk/>, accessed 15 May 2023.

624 'Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/taversoe-tuick-chambered-cairn/history/>, accessed 2 September 2022.

625 'Taversøe Tuick Cairn Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=96113997-0c6e-4b03-8cea-a8b800f01c95>, accessed 2 September 2022.

India where he commanded forces during the Indian Rising. He returned to estates (12,000 acres in Orkney) that were heavily encumbered with debts. He was a notorious landlord who cleared people from the land and raised rents three-fold.⁶²⁶ To what extent imperial wealth contributed to the preservation of the estates, and by extension Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn, is open to debate. But antiquarian W. Turner outlines that the Traill-Burroughs claimed credit for its excavation (exemplified by the title of the article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*), preserved some items, and he and his wife apparently made drawings of the finds.⁶²⁷ In summary, the India returnee and his wife ensured Taversøe Tuick Chambered Cairn became a location of special interest, providing materials for antiquarian study, probably ensuring its preservation in the longer-term.

Threave Castle [PiC217]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, 'Threave Castle is situated on an island in the River Dee 1½ miles west of Castle Douglas. The property comprises a roofless but otherwise largely complete rectangular, five-storey tower house built for Archibald "the Grim" on becoming lord of Galloway in 1369. It is one of the best surviving of the new generation of Scottish tower houses built in the aftermath of the Wars of Independence with England (1296–1365).' The castle was largely dismantled by the Covenanters in 1640, although it was marked for use as a prison during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1913, the castle was entrusted to state care by Edward Gordon, owner of Threave estate. In 1948, the Threave estate, including the island in the Dee, was entrusted to the National Trust for Scotland, although the castle remains the responsibility of Historic Environment Scotland.⁶²⁸

The Gordon family of Threave Estate originated with William Gordon (1818–1899), who was described as follows in an antiquarian history: *William Gordon, of Threave, born 1818, was a partner in the firm of M'Kay, Miller & Co., Liverpool and Brazil, and afterwards joined forces with Andrew Steele, Dundee. He spent some years in Rio. He bought the estate of Threave, Castle Douglas, and built Threave House [in 1872].*⁶²⁹

Although slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834 and the United States of America in 1865, the practice continued in South America into the later 19th century. Slavery was not abolished in Brazil until 1888.⁶³⁰ It is almost certain that William Gordon's firm, McKay, Miller & Co., transacted with major Brazilian enslavers. On 15 September 1845, Mackay, Miller and Co. were signatories, alongside other British merchants in Rio De Janeiro, of an open declaration testifying that Senhor Manoel Pinta da Fonseca enjoyed 'unbounded credit here from his well-known means to meet his responsibilities and his correctness in doing so'.⁶³¹ He was later described as the most 'notorious slave dealer in all Brazil'.⁶³² British merchants' endorsement of his financial probity and creditworthiness suggests alignment in business interests. William Gordon's partnership in a firm that traded between Liverpool and Brazil in the later Victorian era was likely to have been highly significant in terms of personal wealth accumulation, although to what extent requires further research. In any case, William Gordon left a major fortune valued at £84,680 on his death in 1899.⁶³³ However, while this fabulous wealth contributed to the development of Threave estate and the construction of a mansion, it is unlikely to have had any effect on Threave Castle itself, which was effectively a decaying site of archaeological interest within the grounds of the estate (and was entrusted into state care just 14 years after Gordon's death in 1899).

626 H. M. Vibart and James Lunt, 'Burroughs, Sir Frederick William Traill- (1831–1905), Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

627 W. Turner, 'An Account of a Chambered Cairn and Cremation Cists at Taversøe Tuick, near Trumland House, in the Island of Rousay, Orkney, Excavated by Lieut. General Traill Burroughs, C.B., of Rousay, in 1898', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 37 (1903), pp. 73–82.

628 'Threave Castle Statement of Significance', *Historic Environment Scotland*, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=c9e8b467-eb09-4861-831d-a7b700da2d3c>, accessed 18 March 2023. See also 'Threave Gardens', Canmore, available at: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00372>, accessed 18 March 2023.

629 John Malcolm Bulloch, *The Gordons in Forfarshire* (Brechin: printed privately, 1909), p. 22. For date of building of Threave House, see Threave Garden and Nature Reserve, National Trust for Scotland, available at: <https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/threave-garden>, accessed 18 March 2023.

630 See Joseph Mulhern, 'After 1833: British Entanglement with Brazilian Slavery' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2018), available at: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/13071/>, accessed 22 December 2023.

631 *House of Commons Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, Vol. 66 (19 January–23 July 1847), p. 159.

632 Lawrence F. Hill, 'The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 11:2 (1931), pp. 169–97 at p. 178.

633 NRS, SC16/41/54, Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Wills and testaments, William Gordon inventory (1899).

Tolquhoun Castle [PiC270]

(empire connection: property)



Tolquhoun Castle in Tarves, Aberdeenshire, comprises the ruins of a medieval castle. Its significance (and ruined state) was recognised in the *New Statistical Account* (1845):
*The Castle of Tolquhon, now in a very ruinous condition, with the exception of a part of it called 'the auld tower,' was built between 1584 and 1589 by William Forbes, laird of Tolquhon, Woodland, Knaperna, &c. It is of considerable extent, being of a quadrangular form, and enclosing a large court yard, the arched gateway of which is defended by two towers, with loop holes to enable those within to use fire arms or arrows against assailants. Great part of it is now roofless, and its walls are fast sinking into shapeless heaps of stones and rubbish. It is nearly surrounded with wood, part of which, especially some fine yews, seems to be coeval with the building itself. The family of Forbes, to whom this castle and the valuable property annexed to it belonged, was among the most ancient and honourable of that surname.*⁶³⁴

As noted by W.D. Simpson in his article 'Tolquhon Castle, and its Builder' (1938), 'Tolquhon ultimately passed to the Earls of Aberdeen [c.1716], and a portion of the castle was inhabited as a farmhouse until well into the last century [1800s]. In 1929 the ruins were handed over by the Earl of Haddo to the custody of the Ancient Monuments Department of His Majesty's Office of Works.'⁶³⁵ Successive owners of Tolquhoun Castle had imperial connections. Alexander Forbes, 10th lord of Tolquhon (1630–c.1702) 'made a bold effort to right himself by participation in the Darien Scheme, whose collapse spelt ruin to the House of Tolquhon'.⁶³⁶ As noted elsewhere in this report, the Darien Scheme was a failed attempt at settler-colonisation and unsuccessful establishment of an embryonic 'Scottish Empire' on the Isthmus of Panama prior to the Union of 1707.⁶³⁷ However, given W. Simpson's claim that the failure at Darien ruined the House of Tolquhon, it seems unlikely that any profits were

invested in the castle (although it remains possible that some of the 'Equivalent', which recompensed subscribers to the Company of Scotland under the terms of the Article XV of the Treaty of Union in 1707, could have been invested).

The Hamilton-Gordons, meanwhile, had sustained connections with the British imperial governance. George Hamilton-Gordon (1784–1860), 4th earl of Aberdeen (who held the courtesy title Lord Haddo from 1791 to 1801), was British foreign and colonial secretary, 1828–35, foreign secretary, 1841–6 and ultimately prime minister.⁶³⁸ Since Tolquhoun Castle was ruined in George Hamilton-Gordon's lifetime, it seems unlikely that he invested in its upkeep although a descendant (also Lord Haddo) entrusted its ruins to the state in 1929.

Tormiston Mill [PiC336]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 3: Balfours of Trenabie.

Trinity House [PiC225]

(empire connection: property)



Trinity House, Leith, has one clear connection with the Empire in the form of the corporation's investment in the mid 1690s of £200 in the Company of Scotland. This institutional commitment linked the organisation to a venture which, after its failure in Darien, endeavoured to profit from the trafficking of enslaved people. The investment strategy also tied Trinity House to the financial compensation package known as the 'Equivalent' agreed under the terms of the Union of 1707. This taxpayer-subsidised injection of replacement capital left a colonial legacy (however minor) embedded in Trinity House's financial affairs for an underdetermined period.⁶³⁹

634 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Tarves, Aberdeen, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 669.

635 W. Simpson, 'Tolquhon Castle and its Builder', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 72 (1938), pp. 248–72 at p. 257.

636 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

637 Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007).

638 Muriel E. Chamberlain, 'Gordon, George Hamilton-, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860), Prime Minister and Scholar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; accessed 10 March 2023.

639 Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, p. 269; Harry M. Lewis, 'Plans for the Company of Scotland's Pivot to Madagascar, 1699–1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, 102:1 (2023), pp. 154–60.

Tullibardine Chapel [PiC106]

(empire connection: property)



As noted by Historic Environment Scotland, Tullibardine Chapel near Auchterarder in Perth and Kinross is 'one of the few Scottish churches that survived the Reformation of 1560 largely unaltered'.⁶⁴⁰ The chapel was built by Sir David Murray before 1452, with enlargements made by Sir Andrew Murray c.1500. In 1816, the Tullibardine estate changed hands and was 'sold to James Drummond, later Viscount Strathallan, by his father-in-law, the 4th Duke of Atholl'. The chapel was scheduled as a 'monument of national importance' in 1920 and entered into state care via a guardianship agreement in 1951.⁶⁴¹ As noted elsewhere in this report, James Drummond (1767–1851) of Tullibardine and Strathallan, Perth, was the 6th viscount Strathallan (confirmed in 1824, after the Tullibardine purchase). He was a writer with the East India Company in Canton in 1786. It is stated that Drummond 'obtained his writership in the East India Company through the influence of his banking kinsmen. He eventually became head of the British settlement at Canton and, from his share in the profits of the official house of agency, made an "ample" fortune'.⁶⁴² To what extent this fortune was invested in the chapel will require further research, although the *New Statistical Account* (1845) suggested it was ruinous in the mid 19th century: 'there are also a few vestiges of antiquity of another description. These are the ruins of two chapels, the one at Gleneagles, and the other at Tullibardine. The date of the one is not ascertained; the other was built in the fifteenth century'.⁶⁴³ According to the HES Statement of Significance, major repairs to the chapel were carried out after the chapel was taken into state care in 1951.⁶⁴⁴

Wanlockhead Beam Engine [PiC128]

(empire connection: technological)



The HES Statement of Significance for Wanlockhead Beam Engine in Dumfries and Galloway reveals that the mine was sold in 1756, and one of the new shareholders was a friend of James Watt, the 'great improver' of the steam engine. His partnership with Matthew Boulton of Birmingham – Boulton & Watt – is widely regarded as a leading influence on the progress of the British Industrial Revolution. In the spring of 1777, a Boulton & Watt engine was erected at Wanlockhead mine.⁶⁴⁵ A second engine followed later. Yet the 1770s, the decade in which the firm was established, was a precarious time for Boulton & Watt: Matthew Boulton was indebted to the London banking firm Raymond, Williams, Vere, Lowe & Fletcher. This merchant bank also loaned to West India merchants, who settled their accounts after ships arrived carrying slave-grown produce such as cotton, sugar and rum. Citing this relationship, the distinguished Caribbean historian Eric Williams argued that the financing of Boulton & Watt was a key example of how West India commerce, and by extension Caribbean slavery, created surplus capital which encouraged British industry.⁶⁴⁶ Boulton & Watt did not undertake any transactions with Caribbean planters directly – their sons who took over the business did so after 1803 – although they had no issues dealing with the East India company. In the 1770s, Boulton supplied the East India Company with reels (for silk) and tobacco boxes.⁶⁴⁷ These were highly lucrative transactions at a precarious time for Boulton & Watt. In 1780, for example, the East India Company paid Boulton £4,000 for an order.⁶⁴⁸

640 'Tullibardine Chapel', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/tullibardine-chapel/>, accessed 18 March 2023.

641 'Tullibardine Chapel Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0e7232e3-a40e-45fe-b2ae-a8b800fb77a0>, accessed 18 March 2023.

642 Margaret Escott and David Fisher, 'Drummond, James Andrew John Lawrence Charles (1767–1851), of Tullibardine and Strathallan, Perth', History of Parliament, available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/drummond-james-1767-1851>, accessed 12 March 2023.

643 J. Gordon (ed.), *The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*. Blackford, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), p. 299.

644 'Tullibardine Chapel Statement of Significance', Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=0e7232e3-a40e-45fe-b2ae-a8b800fb77a0>, accessed 18 March 2023.

645 Eric Roll, *An Early Experiment in Industrial Organisation, Being a History of the Firm of Boulton & Watt, 1775–1805* (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 40.

646 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 102–3.

647 James Watt, 'Memorandum Concerning Mr Boulton: Commencing with my first acquaintance with him. Glasgow, September 17th 1809'.

648 John Lord, *Capital and Steam Power, 1750–1800* (London: Routledge, 1923), pp. 120, 122.

Wideford Hill Chambered Cairn [PiC325]

(empire connection: property)



The Wideford Hill Chambered Cairn comprises the 'excavated, turf-covered remains of a circular Neolithic chambered cairn' and is located in Orkney. As noted, the cairn was first explored by a factor George Petrie in 1849.⁶⁴⁹ George Petrie (1818-1875) was the factor of the Graemeshall estate, located on the eastern half of Mainland – the main island of the Orkney archipelago – which is about ten miles from the Wideford Cairn. His notebooks are held by the National Museums Scotland, and (according to the University of Cambridge's Micropasts transcription project) provide details on his work at Graemeshall.

Gilbert Schrank, who authored the seminal account of the improvements at Graemeshall, noted that the 7th laird was an anglicised Scot, Alexander Sutherland Graeme (1806-1894). Schrank accurately noted the family's imperial connections: one brother was involved in the East India Company, another in the Royal Navy and Alexander Sutherland Graeme himself spent part of his life in Jamaica. Schrank also claimed that Alexander Sutherland Graeme's father, William Sutherland, 'managed an estate named Greenwall for absentee Scottish owners'.⁶⁵⁰ However, this narrow descriptor of the role of a Scot in slavery-era Jamaica has been revised by the Legacies of British Slavery study. The reality is that William Sutherland was the owner (not the manager) of Greenwall estate as well as a neighbouring cattle pen (Palmyra) in St David in south-east Jamaica. He owned the sugar estate and cattle pen from at least 1809 – his son would have been aged 3 at that stage, which is consistent with the claim that he spent his early years in Jamaica – until his death in 1817. Across that time, William Sutherland owned, on average, 200 enslaved people as well as cattle on the neighbouring pen.⁶⁵¹ While not large scale by the standards of early 19th-century Jamaica, this size of estate pen could still generate large fortunes.

Around the same time as his father's death, Alexander Sutherland Graeme also came into ownership of Graemeshall estate in Orkney in 1818, owing to the death of the 6th laird (a distant relation who died without issue). Aged 13, it seems Graeme spent some time in England and remained an absentee of the Orkney estate for life (he visited the estate only three times). He built a house in Sussex and was buried in St Andrews after his death in 1894.⁶⁵² Slavery-derived wealth very likely underpinned Alexander Sutherland Graeme's lifestyle. While there is no trace of his father's inventory on death (and therefore no knowledge of how profitable his period of ownership was), the family's relationship with Caribbean slavery economics was much more significant than acknowledged by Gilbert Schrank. Nevertheless, Schrank did note that Graeme lived a 'profligate' lifestyle in 1820s and 1830s,⁶⁵³ just like many other sons of the plantocracy.

As a result of the absentee lifestyle, the management of Graemeshall was left to factors: the Petrie family. Once Alexander Sutherland Graeme came of age in 1827, he took his role as an 'improving' absentee very seriously. He was initially wealthy enough to speculate in agricultural developments, but by 1834 the estate was indebted and he used rents as security for borrowing.⁶⁵⁴ Over the longer term, agricultural 'improvement' had the desired effect; rentals in 1859 were seven times that in 1850.⁶⁵⁵ Colonial wealth possibly underpinned the initial agricultural improvement of Graemeshall, but the estate ultimately became indebted to support the lifestyle of the absentee owner while retaining the Petries in employment.

649 'Wideford Hill Chambered Cairn Statement of Significance' Historic Environment Scotland, available at: <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=41e0e7ea-2176-44e3-94c8-a8b800fe17bc>, accessed 21 December 2023.

650 Gilbert Schrank, *An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall, 1827-1888* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 1995), p. 12.

651 'William Sutherland', Legacies of British Slavery database, available at: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644561>, accessed 8 September 2022.

652 Schrank, *An Orkney Estate*, pp. 12-29.

653 Ibid., p. 49.

654 Ibid., pp. 29, 49.

655 Ibid., p. 67.

To what extent, if any, did imperial wealth contribute to the discovery of the Wideford Hill Chambered Cairn in 1849? As noted by Nick Card, the collapse of Orkney's kelp industry in the late 1830s promoted the agricultural development of the island. Petrie realised hundreds of sites of important archaeological interest were being lost with little record, and he subsequently became one of the three main influences on the 'heyday of antiquarian investigations in Orkney' after 1850.⁶⁵⁶ The freedom of working for an absentee landlord was derived, at least in part, from Alexander Sutherland Graeme's privileged colonial background which enabled him to reside outside Orkney. The agency of Petrie – and male relatives who also worked for Graeme – was shaped by this colonial influence, which allowed him to pursue antiquarian interests at a time of dramatic agricultural change in Orkney.

Wren's Egg [PiC221]

(empire connection: property)



See Appendix 1, Case Study 6: Maxwell of Monreith.



⁶⁵⁶ Nick Card, 'History of Prehistoric Research', in Jane Downes, Sally M. Foster and C.R. Wickham-Jones; with Jude Callister (eds), *The Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site: Research Agenda* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2005), p. 41.

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