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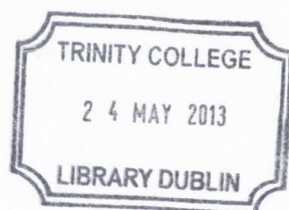
**NATION, EMPIRE AND IDENTITY: MONUMENTAL LANDSCAPES OF THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND, SCOTLAND
AND WALES**

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*Thesis Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College for the Degree of
Doctor in Philosophy*

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2012



Thesis 10076

DECLARATION

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SUMMARY

This work comprises an analysis of the symbolic landscapes created by all the publicly placed, free-standing monuments dedicated to Sir Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Through reconstructing the nineteenth-century life histories of these monuments, it seeks to come to an understanding of their role as facets of the nineteenth-century cultural landscape, conveying particular conceptions of power and employing memory in a selective fashion to assist in the processes of identity formation.

Both a field survey and extensive analysis of primary source archival material were utilised to research the nineteenth-century histories of the monuments, while a combination of further primary source evidence and secondary source reading served to place events in the monuments' lives in social, cultural and historical context on both a local and a national scale in order that they might be linked to wider societal attitudes, trends and developments. The process of interpretation has involved a decoding of the symbolic subtexts of the monuments using a combination of methods advocated by cultural and historical geographers. These methods have included the reading of the landscape as a text and the iconographic interpretation of landscape. The nature of the sources, methods and research questions employed and explored has resulted in a body of work that deals largely with the genesis of the monuments.

Wellington's fame, iconic status and wide range of personal and political associations rendered him an ideal subject through which many different forms of identity could be expressed and defined. Thus it proved in the symbolic landscapes of nineteenth-century Ireland, Scotland and Wales, where the analysis of his monuments revealed themes of local, national and imperial identity formation. Notions of gender roles, class, militarism, religion and party politics all found expression to variable degrees in the forms of the monuments and throughout the various stages in their lifecycles.

An overriding theme, however, was that of British identity. The process of monumentality was found to be centrally concerned with fashioning a "British landscape", a space of consensus celebrating, promoting, reflecting, defining and reproducing a British identity, one which could co-exist with other local, regional and national identities and which came complete with imperial dimensions. The strength and composition of this British identity varied from place to place and over time in accordance with wider societal trends and developments and variations in the historical, geographical, social, cultural and political context.

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CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL AND ACADEMIC CONTEXT

1.1 Preface

This project encompasses a survey of all the monuments dedicated to Sir Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, located in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The study of landscape as a culturally constructed system and work on the interpretation of symbolic landscapes has expanded steadily in the wake of the new cultural geography revolution of the 1980s, and in recent years the study of monumental landscapes has formed an important subsection within this area. Monuments have been analysed as vehicles for conveying and contesting abstract notions of power, memory and identity, in particular national identities. A reconstruction of their life histories may reveal much about contemporary social, cultural and political systems and ideologies.

All the monuments in question were instigated and erected during the nineteenth century, this being the period when Wellington's career reached its apogée and he engaged in the most renowned of his feats. The boundaries of this work have been limited both chronologically, to a consideration of the monuments in the nineteenth century; and geographically, to what has been described by a number of commentators as the three 'Celtic' nations of nineteenth-century Britain.¹ These circumstances will be elaborated on in Chapter Two. The following sections of this chapter detail the historical context of the study and establish the theoretical and conceptual frameworks and comparative studies upon which the work will draw, within which it is situated and to which it seeks to contribute.

1.2 Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington²

Arthur Wellesley (or Wesley as his surname was then styled)³ was born in Ireland in 1769, reputedly in or near the town of Trim, Co. Meath (although there has been some dispute as

¹ Such authors include David Powell, *Nationhood and Identity: The British State Since 1800* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, 'Introduction: A Union of Multiple Identities', in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 1-8.

² Numerous biographies of the Duke have been published. Among the most renowned, informed and comprehensive of them are two volumes by Elizabeth Longford. Much of this account draws on information presented there. See Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: The Years of the Sword* (London: Panther Books Limited, 1972); Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State* (St. Albans: Panther Books Limited, 1975).

to the exact location of his birth, with Dublin being another strong contender).⁴ A member of the Protestant Ascendancy class, he was raised in Dublin and Dangan (the family estate near Trim), and was educated in the diocesan primary school at Trim.⁵ His first brush with politics came with his appointment as aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a position which he held from November 1787 to March 1793. He also became engaged in local politics during this time when he was admitted as a Burgess for Trim Corporation on 29 July 1789. He continued to attend Corporation meetings regularly up until September 1793.⁶ On 30 April 1790 he was elected MP for Trim.⁷ He held this seat in the Irish Parliament up until June 1795. It was around this time that he began his military career in earnest. This was the area of his life that was to win him his greatest renown. He had joined the British army as an ensign on 7 March 1787, but did not see his first action until September 1794 at Flanders. Having learnt the rudiments of battle in Holland, he was prepared for a successful campaign in India, where he served from 1797 until 1805.

After a number of victories that strengthened British power in India, Wellesley returned to Ireland, where he took up the post of Chief Secretary in April 1807. He held this position until his resignation in April 1809. By this time he had made his return to military life in the Peninsular Wars. From 1808 until 1814 he led the British forces across Portugal, Spain and France, gaining many crucial victories over the French. It was after his defeat of the French army at Talavera in July 1809 that he was conferred with the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera by the British crown. Further victories culminated in success at the Battle of Vitoria⁸ in June 1813, which sent the French into retreat over the Pyrenees. This paved the way for ultimate victory in the Peninsular campaign following the Battle of Toulouse in April 1814. With victory he was elevated to the title of Duke of Wellington on 3 May 1814. Napoleon was to rise again in early 1815, but Wellington brought his Hundred Days period of rule to an end when he led the British and allied forces to victory over the French in the decisive battle of the Napoleonic Wars at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.

This brought an end to Wellington's military career in the field, but his political career was soon to undergo a revival. He settled in England and was elected British Prime

³ It was changed from Wesley to Wellesley, a previously held version of the family name, during 1798. Longford, *Years of the Sword*, p. 17.

⁴ For a discussion of this topic see C.C. Ellison, 'Dangan, Mornington and the Wellesleys: Notes on the Rise and Fall of a Great Meath Estate- IV. "The Duke"-Place and Date of Birth?', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 4:1 (1967), pp. 3-9.

⁵ Richard Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002), pp. 3-7.

⁶ National Library of Ireland, Assembly Book for the Corporation of Trim 1760-1841, Pos. 8977, pp. 321-341.

⁷ Noel E. French (ed.), *Wellington: His Irish Connections* (Trim: Meath Heritage Centre, 1992), p. 16.

⁸ Or "Vittoria".

Minister on 9 January 1828, a post he held until November 1830, and took up again briefly during 1834. Perhaps the most decisive act of his term of office (particularly from an Irish point of view) was the passing of the Catholic Relief Act on 13 April 1829, the culmination of a long campaign for Catholic Emancipation. This Act granted Irish Catholics (and those in mainland Britain) a number of freedoms previously denied them, most notably the right to hold a seat in Parliament. Wellington fought a great deal of opposition from many of his MPs and from the Crown in order to bring this legislation into force. He even went so far as to fight a duel against Lord Winchilsea in defence of the matter. This was not the first time that Wellington demonstrated pro-Catholic sentiments either. During his time as Chief Secretary, he expressed a desire “to obliterate, as far as the law will allow us, the distinction between Protestants and Catholics”;⁹ and when invited to join the Orange Order in February 1821, he declined, saying that he “(objected) to belong to a Society from which ... a large proportion of His Majesty’s subjects must be excluded, many of them as loyal men as exist”.¹⁰ Yet as this statement also demonstrates, he believed that Ireland’s rightful place was as a part of the British Empire.

He was a strong believer in the established systems of class and social order. It was essentially his opposition to parliamentary reform which brought about the fall of his government in 1830. Although he sought to preserve the privileged positions of the monarchy and aristocracy, as Beaton has pointed out, many of the virtues he espoused and practised, such as duty, diligence and thrift, endeared him to members of the middle and working classes.¹¹ He continued to hold his seat in Parliament until his resignation in 1846. He lived out his days still actively involved in public life, retaining the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army until his death on 14 September 1852. Such was his fame an estimated one and a half million spectators lined the streets of London on 18 November 1852 to witness his funeral,¹² an event of such magnitude it had few equals in the history of nineteenth-century Britain.¹³

The Duke of Wellington was a complex and ambiguous figure. His identity can be read along a number of (seemingly contradictory) lines: both Irish and British, Protestant and pro-Catholic, loyalist and conservative but sometimes reformist. Recent commentators

⁹ Holmes, *Wellington*, p. 102.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Longford, ‘Wellington and the Irish Connection’, *Riocht na Midhe*, 9:1 (1994-1995), p. 60.

¹¹ Belinda A. Beaton, ‘The Cult of the first Duke of Wellington’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), p. viii.

¹² John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 44.

¹³ For a full assessment of the funeral’s impact see Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, pp. 28-55.

have described him severally as “an imperial icon”¹⁴ and “a metonym for Britishness”.¹⁵ His personality conjures up associations with issues of military and political power, socio-economic divides and religious discrimination. Different memories of him have resulted in different interpretations of his personality and its symbolic implications. Context, both historical and geographical, has often proved a key factor in how people have understood the figure of the Duke. His mark was stamped on the landscape of nineteenth-century Britain in a physical sense through the addition of public monuments and statues dedicated to his name. A consideration of those commemorations in three of the constituent countries of Britain in the nineteenth century forms the basis of this work.

1.3 Nineteenth-Century Ireland, Scotland and Wales: Concepts of Nation and Empire

One of the key questions of relevance to this survey is that of a British identity, its composition and its relative prevalence during the nineteenth century. This section will therefore give a brief outline of some of the notable events in the formation of the nineteenth-century British state and examine some of the recent scholarship relating to the notion of a British national identity. Within this, particular reference will be made to the experiences and treatment of Ireland, Scotland and Wales and to the role and significance of the British Empire.

The outset of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a new phase in the lifespan of the British state, when in 1801 the Act of Union brought about for the first time a formal political union of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The result was the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. England and Wales were the first of these four countries to unite, a circumstance brought about by the passing of an Act of Union in 1536, followed by a further elaboration on this Act in 1543. This period also marked an alteration in England’s relationship with Ireland, with the country being established as a Kingdom reserved to the English Crown in 1541 (it having previously been attributed with the status of a lordship by the English). A series of Plantations followed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when sizeable numbers of English and Scottish settlers moved to Ireland (most successfully during the Ulster Plantation and the Cromwellian Plantations). The Crowns of England and Scotland were united for the first time under the reign of James I in 1603. However, a full and formal parliamentary union between the two countries was not to follow until 1707, when Scotland joined with England and Wales to

¹⁴ Miles Taylor, *Wellington’s World: the Duke of Wellington and the Making of the British Empire* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2003), p. 8.

¹⁵ Beaton, ‘The Cult of the first Duke of Wellington’, p. viii.

form the United Kingdom of Great Britain. With the addition of Ireland in 1801, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was complete.

These acts served to establish a British state. However, this did not necessarily instantly create a British nation. As Keith Cameron has pointed out, the two concepts are not synonymous.¹⁶ A nation is not simply an ideology or form of politics, but a cultural phenomenon.¹⁷ According to Benedict Anderson, it is

an imagined political community... It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. ... It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship.¹⁸

Smith defines the following fundamental features as components necessary for the formation of a national identity: “an historic territory, or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common mass public culture; common legal rights and duties for all members (and) a common economy with territorial mobility for members”.¹⁹ National identity is a complex and multi-faceted concept, and such an identity cannot be quickly or easily generated among a population by artificial means.²⁰

Linda Colley’s thesis posits that a true sense of British national identity originally evolved during the eighteenth century, based primarily on a shared Protestant identity, the conflict of war (with its associated sentiments of uniting against a universal enemy) and a common involvement in the imperial mission.²¹ One of the key concepts she outlines is that of the ‘other’, an exterior force or civilisation such as the French or the colonial peoples the British conquered.²² This ‘other’ was seen as representing everything Britons were not, and everything they felt threatened by, and through opposition to or by contrasting themselves with an ‘other’, they could more easily define themselves and their own national traits and identity. In the words of Peter Sahlins, “like ethnic or communal identity, (national identity) is contingent and relational: it is defined by the social or

¹⁶ Keith Cameron, ‘Introduction’, in Keith Cameron (ed.), *National Identity* (Exeter: Intellect Books, 1999), p. 2.

¹⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p. vii.

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edn, London and New York: Verso, 2006, of orig. edn, 1983), pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ Smith, *National Identity*, p. 14.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Colley, *Britons*.

²² Ibid. Other authors supporting the concept of the ‘other’ include Brockliss and Eastwood, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-8; Mike Crang, *Cultural Geography* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

territorial boundaries drawn to distinguish the collective self and its implicit negation, the other".²³

British national identity has been described as a supranational identity. According to David McCrone, other national, local and regional identities co-existed with it, all waxing and waning in relative strength over time.²⁴ Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood shared similar sentiments.²⁵ They also highlight Ireland's particular status within the union. Unlike the other three countries which have remained joined to the present day, Ireland's membership of the United Kingdom did not persist long beyond the confines of the nineteenth century. Persistent efforts by the Irish to break away from the union culminated in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 which founded Ireland as an independent state with Dominion status. The final cursory ties with the British state and Empire were severed in the late 1940s with Ireland's departure from the Commonwealth in 1948 and the formal declaration of the Republic of Ireland in 1949.

Much recent debate has surrounded the issue of whether Ireland's period of formal integration, mostly within the nineteenth century, led to the development of a sense of British national identity among the Irish populace. The extent to which Ireland should be included in the history of the development of the British nation has also been a subject of debate. Some historians such as Colley²⁶ and Robbins²⁷ have excluded Ireland from their treatment of the subject almost entirely, while others such as Kearney,²⁸ Powell²⁹ and Kumar³⁰ have taken a 'four nations' approach to the course of British history, attributing equal consideration to the roles of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland in shaping and defining the British state and the nature of British identity. Ireland's position in the British Empire has also been the focus of a growing level of modern historiography. Some have cast the whole nature of Ireland's interaction with Britain in a colonial light, viewing Ireland's role largely as another subjugated colony in the British Empire.³¹ Conversely, other historians have pointed out the active and significant role Ireland played as agents of

²³ Peter Sahlins, quoted in Colley, *Britons*, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ David McCrone, 'Unmasking Britannia: The Rise and Fall of British National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 3:4 (1997), pp. 579-596.

²⁵ Brockliss and Eastwood, 'Introduction', pp. 1-8.

²⁶ Colley, *Britons*.

²⁷ Keith Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain: Integration and Diversity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

²⁸ Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

²⁹ Powell, *Nationhood and Identity*.

³⁰ Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*.

³¹ See for example Terrence McDonough (ed.), *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005).

the Empire, assisting in the defence and extension of its boundaries, the administration of its territories, the religious conversion of natives and the populating of its many colonies.³²

One significant consequence of Ireland's long association with Britain and her constituent nations was the creation of a Protestant Ascendancy class in Ireland. The Plantations and land confiscations enforced by English policy on Ireland (largely in the mid- to late seventeenth century) had witnessed the transfer of the majority of Irish land from native Irish and Old English Catholic hands into the ownership of the recently arrived Protestant English and Scottish settlers. The imposition by the English of further laws curbing Catholic rights ensured that this Protestant minority came to dominate Irish politics and society. As commentators such as Ruane and Butler³³ and Kumar³⁴ have observed, the chief concern of this Protestant Ascendancy class was to maintain its powerful and privileged position in Irish life. Britain was traditionally regarded as one potential source of such protection. Therefore it can be seen that the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland approached the union with Britain from very different perspectives.

Though the majority of Scottish and Welsh citizens did not seek a disengagement from the Union in the nineteenth century, Brockliss and Eastwood emphasise that the period brought changes in how they conceived their respective national identities. Prys Morgan argues that a Romantic vision of Welshness based on pride in Welsh history, language, literature and landscape which prevailed at the end of the eighteenth century gradually declined during the nineteenth to be replaced with a utilitarian and urban identity which asserted itself strongly during the period from 1850 to 1870. The mid-nineteenth century was a period when Wales was, for the first time, being truly integrated into Britain politically and economically, and the resultant effect was the emergence of a new form of Welsh identity with a strong emphasis on the prevalent trends of Anglicisation, industrial progress, political involvement and religious non-conformity.³⁵ A revival of Welsh militarism around the same period with a keen response to the launch of the Volunteer Force Movement was also perceived in some respects as a sign of an increasing desire to

³² See for example Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ Joseph Ruane and David Butler, 'Southern Irish Protestants: An Example of De-ethnicisation?', *Nations and Nationalism*, 13:4 (2007), pp. 619-635.

³⁴ Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*.

³⁵ Prys Morgan, 'Early Victorian Wales and its crisis of identity', in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 93-109.

engage more closely with a British identity,³⁶ while the close of the century brought a renewed interest in imperial endeavour, particularly among the south Welsh middle class.³⁷

In Scotland there was no need for an imperial revival: Empire had become a lynchpin of Scotland's unity with Britain during the eighteenth century, to such an extent that Colley has questioned whether the Empire could be referred to as a Scottish one.³⁸ The union with England had offered Scotland the benefits of access to English and colonial markets.³⁹ They responded to the imperial opportunities enthusiastically, and continued to contribute in disproportionately high levels to that area throughout the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ This imperial involvement in some ways helped Scots define their own national identity: as outlined by Withers, "Scotland's economy was 'the Workshop of the Empire', the union with England was understood as 'the imperial partnership'; and the Scots were 'a race of Empire builders'."⁴¹ Scottish militarism and religious identity could both find outlets in this realm. Scottish identity was not without its moments or periods of crisis though. Colin Kidd has argued that the early nineteenth century witnessed fears regarding the extent of Anglicising measures. Trends of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation were also seen as a threat. Rising levels of Irish immigrants were becoming a concern too. By 1851 the census recorded 207,367 Irish immigrants out of a Scottish population of 2,888,742.⁴²

The response to these circumstances saw a renewed emphasis on Scottish Presbyterianism and the role of the Kirk. More extreme reactions included what Kidd has described as "a tidal wave of anti-Catholicism (washing) over Scottish culture in the early 1850s".⁴³ The independence of Scottish legal systems was strongly defended, while Scottish medieval history and Scottish literature were extolled with figures such as Bruce, Wallace and Burns being venerated as heroes. Yet despite this, the prevailing sentiment in Scotland was unionist. Even proto-nationalist movements such as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (which emerged in 1853) did not seek repeal, but

³⁶ Paul O'Leary, 'Arming the citizens: the Volunteer Force in nineteenth-century Wales', in Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams (eds), *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 63-81.

³⁷ John S. Ellis, 'A pacific people- a martial race: pacifism, militarism and Welsh national identity', in Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams (eds), *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 24.

³⁸ Colley, *Britons*, pp. 117-132.

³⁹ Colin Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival: Scottish identities in the aftermath of Enlightenment', in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 110-126.

⁴⁰ Colley, *Britons*, p. 132.

⁴¹ Charles W.J. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 196.

⁴² Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival', p. 116.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

rather sought to highlight what they saw as English indifference towards Scotland's condition.⁴⁴ For Scotland, the union with England was approached as a partnership of equals, and they remained both Scottish and British.⁴⁵ Despite turbulence, "mid-nineteenth century Scotland rested securely within Britain's union of multiple identities."⁴⁶

The issue of the construction of an imperial identity and the examination of the role of the British Empire in shaping people's conceptions of their own national and regional identities at home in the British Isles have been issues that have come to the fore recently in debates on British imperialism.⁴⁷ Here Andrew Thompson emphasises the diverse and pluralistic nature of both the Empire and Britain herself. Positively asserting that the Empire had an important and widespread impact on the peoples of Britain, he cautions that:

the effects of empire on the structure of British society, the development of British institutions and the shaping of British identities were complex and (at times) contradictory. With respect to religion, class structures, women's position in society, or the economy ... imperialism compelled change and restrained it, propelled progress and fortified tradition.⁴⁸

As Thompson himself recognised, one important forum through which identities, imperial, national and otherwise, could be formed and disseminated was in the cultural landscape and through the built environment. These areas will be explored further later in this chapter.

1.4 Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Nineteenth Century: The Socio-Political Context

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as a whole was an élite-dominated society at the outset of the nineteenth century. The aristocracy largely directed the workings of Parliament, providing most of the Cabinet ministers. Their political power was built on the solid base of property ownership, most holding extensive landed estates. Indeed the ownership of property was at that time a pre-requisite for the holding of a seat in Parliament, it having been legislated in 1710 that a candidate for a county must possess

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 110-126.

⁴⁵ Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival', p. 123; Colley, *Britons*, p. 373.

⁴⁶ Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival', p. 123.

⁴⁷ John Gascoigne, 'The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism', *The Historical Journal*, 49:2 (2006), pp. 577-592; Colley, *Britons*; Dana Arnold (ed.), *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005).

⁴⁸ Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?*, p. 5.

an income of £600 a year, while a candidate for a borough must be in receipt of £300 a year, both to be drawn from landed interests.⁴⁹ Aside from their political and economic strength, the aristocracy even directed and influenced cultural and scientific activities through the provision of patronage to preferred writers, artists, architects and innovators.⁵⁰

Parliament itself was an unreformed institution, unrepresentative of the people over which it governed in a number of respects. In the early years of the century, the House of Commons contained 658 members, of which 489 stood for England, 24 for Wales, 45 for Scotland and 100 for Ireland.⁵¹ In terms of population, England and Wales held a combined figure of 9 million residents in 1801, Scotland 1.6 million and Ireland about 5.2 million. These figures increased steadily throughout the early decades to 13.9 million, 2.4 million and 7.8 million respectively by 1831.⁵² The division between English and Welsh residents heavily favoured the English, with Wales possessing a populace of about 0.587 million in 1801, a figure which rose to approximately 0.8 million by 1821 and reached 1.163 million in 1851.⁵³ Clearly, the people of Ireland, Scotland and Wales were disproportionately represented in the House of Commons, with significantly fewer MPs per capita than their English counterparts. Richard S. Thompson has cited ratios of MPs to total population of 1:17,597 for England, 1:22,692 for Wales, 1:35,555 for Scotland and 1:52,000 for Ireland for the year 1801.⁵⁴

Within each country the geographical division of electoral areas was also in urgent need of reform. Many newly expanded urban agglomerations such as Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham did not have their own MP, while in decayed boroughs a small number of voters might have the power to return an MP, the most extreme example of this being Old Sarum where seven voters were empowered to return two MPs.⁵⁵ There were no consistent rules determining who held the right to vote. In some boroughs membership of the town council was the determining factor, in others all freemen had the right to a vote, while in others still the franchise was tied to particular pieces of property, giving the owner the right

⁴⁹ Mark Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, 3rd edn (edited and completed with a memoir by T.F. Tout, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 5.

⁵⁰ Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 90-97.

⁵¹ McCord, *British History*, p. 62.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵³ John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1993), p. 319; Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880', in Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), p. 1; E.T. Davies, *A New History of Wales: Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Dyfed: Christopher Davies (Publishers) Ltd, 1981), p. 48.

⁵⁴ Richard S. Thompson, *The Atlantic Archipelago: A Political History of the British Isles* (New York and Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), p. 297.

⁵⁵ McCord, *British History*, pp. 63-64.

to cast a vote. Bribery and intimidation of voters was common, while the need to appease powerful aristocrats within their local area was upmost in the minds of many voters.⁵⁶

The need for wide sweeping changes to political structures was finally recognised in 1832 with the passing of the Great Reform Act. The Reform Act abolished decayed borough constituencies and assigned greater representation to expanding urban areas. Twenty-two new borough constituencies were assigned two MPs and another twenty were given one.⁵⁷ The impact of the changes legislated for in the Act also varied greatly from country to country within the United Kingdom. Scotland and Ireland were dealt with separately from England and Wales. Changes to the Irish franchise and total number of MPs were relatively negligible, but changes in Scotland were far more significant. Scottish electoral areas were remodelled, eight more seats were assigned to burghs and the total electorate was increased substantially from 5,000 to 65,000.⁵⁸

Whig pro-reform speeches had indicated their desire to conciliate the middle classes of society, a goal which they felt would be achieved by the terms of the Reform Act.⁵⁹ However, according to Norman McCord,

Once the legislation was implemented, and the representative system settled down, it became clear that the Great Reform Act had not effected any revolutionary changes in the distribution of power. The aristocracy still held a dominant position within society and the State; the influence of property and rank was consolidated rather than destroyed.⁶⁰

In an Act which bestowed the right to vote on owners of property exceeding a certain value, those inevitably least served by the changes were society's most socio-economically vulnerable sector: the lowest orders of the working classes. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, Radical campaigns and acts of protest had occasionally served to highlight their plight. One of the most widespread and significant manifestations of working-class discontent was soon to take hold: the Chartist movement.

According to J.T. Ward, Chartism was "the first great working-class political movement in the history of the world."⁶¹ In their policies and actions, Chartists sought to bring about social justice.⁶² Though its antecedents may be traced back many years prior to its emergence and its legacy lingered long after its dissolution, the rise and fall of Chartism

⁵⁶ McCord, *British History*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133, 136.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132; J.T. Ward, *Chartism* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1973), pp. 51-52.

⁶⁰ McCord, *British History*, p. 138.

⁶¹ Ward, *Chartism*, p. 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

may be dated from the founding of the *Northern Star* newspaper in November 1837 to the holding of the last Chartist Convention in February 1858.⁶³ The main peaks of activity occurred from 1838 to early 1840, around the summer of 1842 and from February to August 1848.⁶⁴ One of Chartism's primary goals was the attainment of a 'Six Point' programme. These six provisions stipulated that every adult male should be entitled to a vote, voting should be by ballot, there should be 300 constituencies divided as equally as possible on the basis of each census, Parliament should be summoned and elected on an annual basis, candidates for election should no longer need to be property owners to qualify for a seat and members of Parliament should be paid for their services.⁶⁵

These demands were framed into a National Petition which was signed by members of the public and submitted to Parliament on three separate occasions. The first Petition garnered 1,280,000 signatures and was submitted for consideration on 7 May 1839.⁶⁶ The House of Commons responded with a rejection of the Petition by 235 votes to 46 on 12 July 1839.⁶⁷ The second National Petition raised even greater support, with a total of 3,317,702 signatures being inscribed in support of its clauses.⁶⁸ Yet it was again rejected by the House of Commons, this time by a vote of 287 to 49 on 3 May 1842.⁶⁹ The third and final National Petition was submitted in April 1848 supported by what Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor claimed to be 5,700,000 signatures.⁷⁰ However, a Commons Committee found that the actual total was 1,975,496, of which many were clearly fake, and the Petition was laughed out by the House of Commons.⁷¹ While this was a major blow to the credibility of the movement, as attested by Norman McCord, "there can be no doubt that the Chartist petitions contained the genuine signatures of hundreds of thousands of people."⁷²

Asa Briggs' work on Chartism highlights the local and regional variations which existed in the movement, with differences in local class structure, local grievances, traditions of political leadership and mass agitation, working conditions, relations between employers and employees and the timing and extent of local unemployment being among those factors influencing the nature, strength and prevalence of Chartist activity in a given

⁶³ Ward, *Chartism*; Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists* (London: Temple Smith, 1984), p. 6; Asa Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (reprint, London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1962, of orig. edn 1959), p. 411.

⁶⁴ McCord, *British History*, p. 148.

⁶⁵ Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Ward, *Chartism*, p. 118.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

⁶⁸ Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, p. 254.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 258.

⁷⁰ Ward, *Chartism*, p. 208.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209; Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, p. 292; Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, p. 410.

⁷² McCord, *British History*, p. 148.

area.⁷³ In general, there was a strong correlation between Chartism and prevailing social and economic trends. While throughout the period there existed a core of loyal, idealistic supporters, dedicated to the achievement of democracy and social justice, mass support for the movement coincided with periods of extreme economic and social hardship.⁷⁴

In Scotland, the early decades of the nineteenth century were marked by trends of rapid industrialisation and population growth accompanied by the expansion of urban areas and the concentration of large numbers of people within the boundaries of those growing towns and cities. These trends were especially prevalent around the coalfields of central Scotland.⁷⁵ In the wake of the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, economic slumps and periods of slack trade were common. The resultant unemployment and wage reductions had especially negative consequences for the populace of the newly expanded industrial towns and cities.⁷⁶ Scottish poor laws did little to alleviate the distress of the needy.⁷⁷ Glasgow and Paisley were the worst affected areas. Starvation and poor living conditions led to outbreaks of disease with cholera and typhus fever striking tens of thousands of people in Glasgow during the 1830s.⁷⁸ According to Alexander Wilson,

The discontent which arose from the shock of industrialisation and urbanisation on the social economy of Scotland was aggravated by growing awareness of distress and discomfort on the part of large sections of the people, with the result that periods of large-scale unemployment provided a mass basis for ... Radical agitations.⁷⁹

These Radical agitations were prevalent around the years 1816 to 1817, 1819 to 1820, 1830 to 1832, 1837 to 1842 and 1847 to 1848.⁸⁰ The latter two time brackets encompass the era of the Scottish Chartist movement.

In the early days of Scottish Chartism, leadership was based in Edinburgh. However, following the adoption of resolutions rejecting and condemning the use of physical force at a public meeting at Calton Hill on 5 December 1838, the Edinburgh leaders slipped from grace and in the first half of 1839 Glasgow emerged as the new centre of power and leadership for Scottish Chartism.⁸¹ Glasgow's significance as a Chartist

⁷³ Asa Briggs, 'The Local Background of Chartism', in Asa Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (reprint, London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1962, of orig. edn 1959), pp. 2-4.

⁷⁴ Briggs, 'The Local Background of Chartism', pp. 1-14; McCord, *British History*, p. 148.

⁷⁵ Alexander Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 17-18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-68, 79-81.

stronghold extended even beyond the boundaries of Scotland itself, as “for almost the entire Chartist period, the agitation was more strongly organised in Glasgow than in Leeds, Manchester or any other large Chartist centre.”⁸² One indicator of the strength and relative prevalence of Scottish Chartism in various regions is given by the number of signees to the first National Petition of 1839. Here Edinburgh provided 16,686 signatures, approximately 10 per cent of the city’s total population in 1841.⁸³ Glasgow, meanwhile, supplied 80,000, approximately 29 per cent of that city’s 1841 population.⁸⁴ Beyond such basic and straightforward indications of support, Chartism exerted a much wider influence on the lives of many Scots. At the height of its powers around 1840, the movement was associated with leisure pursuits and religious practice through the organisation of social events such as dances and concerts and the founding of Chartist temperance associations and Christian Chartist Churches, of which there were at least 20 across Scotland at the outset of 1841.⁸⁵

Nineteenth-century Wales shared in contemporary Scottish (and English) trends of rapid industrialisation, population growth and urbanisation. Such trends were particularly apparent in the mining and manufactory districts of the north and south of the country. Blaenau Ffestiniog in Merioneth represented a notable centre of growth in the north,⁸⁶ while in the south the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire expanded in population from 70,879 and 45,568 respectively in 1801 to 231,849 and 157,418 each by 1851.⁸⁷ As in Scotland, poor economic and social conditions gave rise to various protest movements in the first half of the century.⁸⁸ The immediate post-Napoleonic Wars period witnessed a proliferation of workers’ strikes and riots. Such events occurred on a yearly basis at various locations around the country from 1816 to 1827.⁸⁹ From 1822 to the mid-1830s a secret organisation known as the Scotch Cattle held considerable sway among the colliers of Monmouthshire and Breconshire.⁹⁰ According to John Davies, the Cattle were “a reaction to the unrestricted power of the employers and to the uncertainty of employment

⁸² Alex Wilson, ‘Chartism in Glasgow’, in Asa Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (reprint, London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1962, of orig. edn 1959), p. 249.

⁸³ Thompson, *The Chartists*, p. 349.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸⁵ Wilson, ‘Chartism in Glasgow’, pp. 259-261.

⁸⁶ Jones, ‘People and Protest’, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 48.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 5.3.2 *Tredeggar: Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* for further details of the local experience of harsh living conditions and popular responses.

⁸⁹ David J.V. Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, in Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), p. 141; Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 353, 356.

⁹⁰ Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, p. 142.

in the coalfield.”⁹¹ Both employers and employees were subject to threats and attack from the Cattle. Employers were attacked in protest against the working conditions they imposed while employees were subject to similar treatment if they opposed or ignored protest actions decided upon by the Cattle. By this design they sought to maintain unity among the workers.⁹²

The late 1830s witnessed the emergence of two new subversive movements: the Rebecca Riots and Chartism. According to David Williams, “the connection between Chartism and the Rebecca movement is close for both sprang from the same underlying causes.”⁹³ Rebecca was a rural uprising, based largely in south-west Wales. The pressures of poor harvests combined with the onerous demands placed on them by rents, tithes, poor rates, county rates and turnpike tolls drove farmers from the region to dress up as women and destroy toll-gates in a ritual act symbolic of their grievances and discontent. These riots occurred primarily during 1839 and from 1842 to 1843.⁹⁴

The first Chartist demonstration in Wales took place at Newtown in mid-Wales on 10 October 1838 and was attended by 3,000 to 5,000 supporters.⁹⁵ The south-Wales coalfield emerged as a major centre of Welsh Chartism during the months that followed. The National Petition of 1839 garnered 18,884 signatures in Glamorgan,⁹⁶ while in Monmouthshire advocates of physical force gathered in November of that year to partake in what David J.V. Jones has described as “the most serious insurrectionary movement in nineteenth-century Britain.”⁹⁷ This was the Newport Rising of 3 and 4 November 1839. Here 7,000 to 8,000 Chartist supporters from the region, many of them armed, banded together and marched through the night to the town of Newport.⁹⁸ Upon their arrival in the town a skirmish broke out between the Chartists and the municipal authorities, during which a number of men were killed and many more were wounded. The true intention of the Chartists on this occasion has been a matter of some debate among historians. Despite Chartist leader Zephaniah Williams’ writings outlining a plan for a nationwide working-class revolt aimed at overthrowing the government,⁹⁹ David Williams argues that the events which actually transpired at Newport are indicative of a desire merely to enact a

⁹¹ Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 349.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 349, 368; Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, pp. 142-144.

⁹³ David Williams, ‘Chartism in Wales’, in Asa Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (reprint, London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1962, of orig. edn 1959), p. 245.

⁹⁴ David Howell, ‘The Rebecca Riots’, in Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 113-125.

⁹⁵ Williams, ‘Chartism in Wales’, p. 223.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 227.

⁹⁷ Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, p. 148.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Williams, ‘Chartism in Wales’, p. 240; Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 377.

“monster demonstration”.¹⁰⁰ Regardless of intent, the incident represented the peak of militancy in Welsh Chartism and “the biggest single act of political violence in (the Chartist) years”¹⁰¹ throughout the British Isles.

Reactions to the Rising witnessed condemnation of all forms of radicalism and of the use of physical force.¹⁰² Yet Chartism in Wales was far from defeated. The National Petitions of 1842 and 1848 contained more Welsh names than that of 1839 and Chartist meetings were held in the country as late as the 1850s.¹⁰³ However, a shift in the general mentality of the people and in their approach to expressing social and political discontent was underway. According to Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, “of great significance in the development of Welsh society during (the nineteenth century) was the diminution after the 1850s both in intensity, frequency and geographical spread of (disorderly and violent) forms of protest and the shift to more peaceful and constitutional forms.”¹⁰⁴ Jones attributes this shift to developments in politics and religion. He argues that “the moral and cultural values of religion made for debate rather than conflict, for consensus rather than confrontation, and for respect for legality and the constitution in the pursuit of political ends. Thus, religion reinforced the old (Chartist) drive for constitutional reform.”¹⁰⁵

Religion played an extremely important role in the social life of nineteenth-century Wales. The first half of the century witnessed a remarkable growth in adherence to non-conformist denominations. It is estimated that between 1801 and 1851 the building of a Welsh chapel (i.e., a non-conformist place of worship) was completed every eight days.¹⁰⁶ In 1770 only a few districts in the country contained a majority of non-conformist worshippers, while by 1851 eight out of ten Welsh people who attended a religious service did so in non-conformist chapels.¹⁰⁷ Estimates based on the Religious Census of 30 March 1851 suggest that at least 480,000 people attended a place of worship that day, of which approximately 379,200 went to non-conformist chapels.¹⁰⁸ The main non-conformist denominations in Wales at that time in numerical terms were Calvinistic Methodists, Independents, Baptists and Wesleyans.¹⁰⁹

A strong correlation between class and religion developed during the nineteenth century. According to E.T. Davies, “in spite of ... marginal exceptions, it would still be

¹⁰⁰ Williams, ‘Chartism in Wales’, p. 241.

¹⁰¹ McCord, *British History*, p. 150.

¹⁰² Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 377-378; Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, p. 148.

¹⁰³ Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 378.

¹⁰⁴ Jones, ‘People and Protest’, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 359, 423-427.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

true that the social division between landlord and tenant in rural Wales and between industrialist and employee in the iron-coal areas was rigid, and to these class divisions must be added a religious division.”¹¹⁰ The majority of great landlords and industrialists were Anglican, while the majority of their tenants and employees adhered to non-conformist religions.¹¹¹ This association of Anglicanism with the élite undoubtedly influenced Ieuan Gwynedd Jones in forming his assessment that “the massive growth of (Nonconformity) in Wales was itself the most characteristic protest movement of the time.”¹¹² During the first half of the century, non-conformity opposed most radical movements and rarely took an interest in social issues unless they threatened its own quest for freedom of action and equality with the established church.¹¹³ However, according to Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, “by the 1860s the chapels of most of the denominations had become potential political centres devoted to teaching peaceful ways of protest, relying on the pulpit and platform and schoolroom, supporting the press and looking towards parliament for redress of grievances of all kinds.”¹¹⁴ Non-conformists became keen supporters of the Liberal party,¹¹⁵ a party which also drew the backing of many former Chartists.¹¹⁶ The two groups combined to assist in the election of the first non-conformist Liberal MP, Henry Richard, in 1868.¹¹⁷ Other notable features of non-conformity were a strong connection with the Welsh language,¹¹⁸ the provision of basic education through the Sunday School system and its role as a social centre, offering opportunities for literary and musical entertainment to the ordinary people.¹¹⁹

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Ireland shared in the increasing population trend of its neighbouring countries in mainland Britain. However, this increase was not, for the most part, matched by comparable trends of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. By 1841 Ireland was still predominately a rural and agricultural society with seven out of every eight people living in rural areas or towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants. Almost three-quarters of all families were either entirely or primarily dependent on

¹¹⁰ Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 16.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

¹¹² Jones, ‘People and Protest’, p. 6.

¹¹³ Christopher Turner, ‘The Nonconformist Response’, in Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), p. 80.

¹¹⁴ Jones, ‘People and Protest’, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 43.

¹¹⁶ Jones, ‘Scotch Cattle and Chartism’, p. 149.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ E.T. Davies, *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1965), p. 152; Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 42-43.

¹¹⁹ Turner, ‘The Nonconformist Response’, pp. 77-80.

agriculture.¹²⁰ Approximately 80 per cent of the population were Roman Catholic,¹²¹ yet the Protestant Church of Ireland was the established church of the country. Politically, socially and economically Protestants were often to be found occupying powerful and privileged positions while Catholics were placed under many restrictions. This was a cause of considerable discontent among the populace of Ireland and much popular protest during the nineteenth century focused on addressing this imbalance. As the century advanced, significant progress was made in achieving this goal through the passing of two pieces of parliamentary legislation: the Catholic Relief Act 1829, which granted Catholic Emancipation, and the Irish Church Act 1869, which disestablished the Church of Ireland.

A major watershed in Irish history occurred around the middle of the century in the form of the Great Famine, an event triggered by successive failures of the potato crop in the years 1845 to 1849. Approximately 1 million Irish citizens died,¹²² while a further 2.1 million emigrated between the years 1845 and 1855.¹²³ The early decades of the century had already witnessed significant Irish emigration to England, Scotland and Wales: this trend now reached new heights with 0.2 to 0.3 million moving to mainland Britain between 1845 and 1855.¹²⁴ As previously mentioned, Scotland had 207,367 Irish-born residents in 1851,¹²⁵ while Wales had acquired 20,000 by the same year.¹²⁶ It was during the Famine years that the Irish Chartist movement also reached its peak. Chartism in Ireland was thinly supported in comparison to the strength of the movement in Scotland, Wales and England. It also took a distinct form which saw it become closely linked with the more extreme and violent proponents of Irish separatist nationalism.¹²⁷

The first Irish Chartist organisation, the Dublin Chartist Association, was founded in 1839. It collapsed a few months after its establishment, but the movement was revived again in August 1841 with the formation of the Irish Universal Suffrage Association (IUSA). The IUSA declared their aims to be the achievement of the People's Charter and Repeal of the Union. They were committed to moral force means and appealed to the reason of the people. However, their criticism of Daniel O'Connell and his methods aroused the ire of the Repeal Association and the Catholic Church. Membership of the

¹²⁰ S.J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, 2nd edn (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 43.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 259.

¹²² James S. Donnelly, Jr, 'Excess Mortality and Emigration', in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 351.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival', p. 116.

¹²⁶ Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 385.

¹²⁷ Takashi Koseki, *Patrick O'Higgins and Irish Chartism* (Tokyo: Hosei University Ireland-Japan Papers, c. 1992).

IUSA peaked at a few thousand while one of their public meetings in November 1843 drew about 3,000 attendees.¹²⁸ The IUSA fell into a period of dormancy from 1844 to 1848.

In 1848, Irish Chartism took a new turn which brought it closer to the methods of physical force through the establishment of an alliance with some of the leaders of the nationalist Young Irelander association. On 29 July 1848, the Young Irelanders staged an armed rising at Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary. The rising was a failure but some of the rebels managed to evade arrest and were later involved in the founding of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin on 17 March 1858, a group which subsequently led its own rising in March 1867. However, Patrick O'Higgins, "the most influential leader of Irish Chartism",¹²⁹ was arrested two days before the rising for possession of arms and 1848 brought an end to Irish Chartism. According to Takashi Koseki, "it can be safely said that the Irish Chartists did not have great influence over the Irish people ... (but) they did much to have the principle of universal suffrage supported by many leading Young Irelanders."¹³⁰

Another social organisation common to Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the nineteenth century was the Freemasons. Little has been written on the role played by Freemasonry in the political, social and economic history of these countries, though T. Desmond Williams has asserted that its influence in at least the first of these spheres was considerable.¹³¹ A secret society which evolved from guilds of working stonemasons to embrace speculative masons within its ranks, Freemasons employed ritual and symbolism in the performance of their activities and were restrictive in who they admitted to their numbers. According to Terence de Vere White, "in the British Isles ... the Order has always had a strong aristocratic bias."¹³² Donal McCartney further alludes to the power of this élite grouping which was intimately connected with both church and state at the highest levels: "In Britain ... Freemasonry almost from its foundation in the early eighteenth century has had the favour and support of the royal family and of bishops of the Established Church. It was, therefore, one of the great upholders of the establishment in

¹²⁸ Koseki, *Irish Chartism*, pp. 10, 13.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹³¹ T. Desmond Williams, 'Preface', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Limited, 1973), pp. ix-x; T. Desmond Williams, 'Introduction', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Limited, 1973), p. 1.

¹³² Terence de Vere White, 'The Freemasons', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Limited, 1973), p. 47.

Church and state, and was in turn protected by the state.”¹³³ Freemasonry in Ireland has been associated with the Orange Order, whose members took inspiration from Masonry, organising themselves into lodges as Masons did and adopting Masonic titles, practices and oaths of secrecy. However, Terence de Vere White cautions strongly against inferring close connections or ideological links between Freemasonry and Orangeism:

(As) Catholics were specifically excluded from its ranks, a great many Masons must have been Orangemen as well. But the purposes of the two institutions were wholly different. Masons existed for the sake of Masonry; the Orange Order was specifically directed towards the suppression of Catholics and the maintenance of Protestant ascendancy as established by the victory of the Williamite forces at the Battle of the Boyne. Among the aristocracy in Britain, especially in Scotland, there were many in the early days of Freemasonry to whom such events as the Twelfth of July procession would have been deeply repugnant. ... Not every Englishman, much less every Scotsman, was a Williamite.¹³⁴

Nineteenth-century Freemasons traditionally excluded women from membership of their ranks, a gender-based discrimination replicated in many areas of nineteenth-century society. However, when attempting to assess the impact of gender in determining the roles and ways of life assumed by nineteenth-century citizens of the United Kingdom, researchers have found it to be intimately linked with issues of class. According to Dorothy K.G. Thompson,

The nineteenth century saw the development of an ideology of separate spheres of activity for the sexes – public for men and private for women. The public world of politics, the market and the workplace was the location of rough, competitive male activities, while the private world of home and family encapsulated the Christian virtues and the morality of personal relationships. The belief that this was a necessary division was held by many women as well as men...¹³⁵

Yet in reality this public-private division was often traversed by women, many of whom played significant roles in both politics and the workplace, albeit roles consistent with their social standing. For example, working-class women took jobs in factories and mines as well as in domestic service and laundry work, the largest employers of women during the century.¹³⁶ Their impact in the textile sector was particularly notable. During 1838 women

¹³³ Donal McCartney, ‘The Churches and Secret Societies’, in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Limited, 1973), pp. 68-69.

¹³⁴ White, ‘The Freemasons’, pp. 52-53.

¹³⁵ Dorothy K.G. Thompson, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (London: The Historical Association, 1989), p. 8.

¹³⁶ Thompson, *British Women*, p. 14.

comprised almost 70 per cent of workers in Irish spinning mills.¹³⁷ In the political sphere they were strongly involved in the Chartist movement, especially in its early years. Hundreds of female Chartists associations were founded and Chartist women set up Chartist Sunday Schools to provide for the education of their children. Roughly one-third of all signatures to the National Petition of 1839 were those of women.¹³⁸ A small minority of women even gave Chartist lectures and chaired or spoke at mixed-sex Chartist meetings.¹³⁹

Among elite women, work other than household duties tended to take the form of assisting in running the family business or estate and philanthropic or charitable pursuits.¹⁴⁰ In the political realm dowagers or widows could wield considerable influence through the control of patronage and political interests that were attached to the ownership of their estate.¹⁴¹ As attested by Dorothy K.G. Thompson, “political power for most of the nineteenth century resided more with the distributors of patronage than in the electors.”¹⁴² Through the organisation of social events upper-class women could also forge and nurture key alliances among male politicians. While the Great Reform Act of 1832 legally defined voters in England and Wales as male,¹⁴³ from approximately 1869 onwards, female ratepayers could influence electoral outcomes in a direct sense via the establishment of their right to vote in local elections for councillors, school board members and poor law guardians.¹⁴⁴ As this last example illustrates, time and space also impacted on the role and position of women in society. Temporal shifts could bring changes in legislation and mentalities while each local, regional and national milieu offered its own particular set of circumstances. Kathryn Gleadle highlights the agency of geography in women’s experience in her discussion of the role of national identity in shaping women’s activities, outlining how women became heavily involved in both Irish Unionist and nationalist movements.¹⁴⁵

Within and across each class, gender-based power relations were at work. According to Jutta Schwarzkopf,

¹³⁷ Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 15.

¹³⁸ Gleadle, *British Women*, pp. 33-34; David Jones, ‘Women and Chartism’, *History*, 68 (1983), p. 10.

¹³⁹ Gleadle, *British Women*, p. 33.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-69.

¹⁴¹ Elaine Chalus and Fiona Montgomery, ‘Women and Politics’, in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds), *Women’s History: Britain, 1700-1850 - An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 219.

¹⁴² Thompson, *British Women*, p. 23.

¹⁴³ Chalus and Montgomery, ‘Women and Politics’, p. 220.

¹⁴⁴ Thompson, *British Women*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁴⁵ Gleadle, *British Women*, pp. 169-170.

Women, unlike men, experience suppressive conditions of power and domination not only according to their position in the productive process: for them power and domination also become concrete in their relations with men. These relations can be classified as patriarchal. They represent a particular male-dominated organisation of relations between men and women, in the process of which gender differences are produced and defined.¹⁴⁶

In matters of remuneration for work, political rights and legal status women were frequently placed in a subordinate position to their male counterparts and could be subject to extremely exploitative conditions, while tradition and prejudice could also limit the range of occupations and educational provision open to them. Such circumstances have led Dorothy K.G. Thompson to assert that “women in nineteenth century Britain were treated as second class citizens.”¹⁴⁷ Yet Thompson herself also cautions against such generalisations,¹⁴⁸ which may obscure the complexities of women’s experiences. An upper-class woman might technically wield more political influence than a working-class man, while power existed in different forms. Schwarzkopf argues that in the private sphere of home and family women could exert moral influence, “this vestige of their power”.¹⁴⁹ She also contends that “women, just like men, interact with their environment, and in this sense they are agents of their own history”.¹⁵⁰

One other development in the social life of nineteenth-century Ireland, Scotland and Wales of particular relevance to this study is the substantial expansion in and popularisation of the tourism industry in the latter half of the period. At the outset of the century, tourism did exist, but it was an élite activity:

The term ‘tourist’ was originally applied in the seventeenth century to those who made a tour, in Britain or on the Continent, following an established schedule to see the sights of antiquity and scenery. This tourism was cultural in motivation and confined to the elite with money and time to spare. But over time, tourism was to change in numbers, broaden in motivation, and as a term come to cover not just upper-class visitors on a leisure tour, but a much broader constituency.¹⁵¹

The growth of mass tourism and its diversification to embrace those of lower socio-economic standing was fuelled in no small part by the expansion of the railway network.

¹⁴⁶ Jutta Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (Basingstoke and London: MacMillan, 1991), p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Thompson, *British Women*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁹ Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: A History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939* (Phantassie, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p. 6.

The relationship between the railways and tourism was mutual one. According to Alastair J. Durie, “railways fanned tourism through promotion and the provision of facilities. They also fed off it, some lines, particularly in North (Britain), more than others.”¹⁵² A number of lines and stations were opened largely with a view to facilitating potential tourists, while railways companies promoted tours, excursions and low-priced days away.¹⁵³

The passing of the Regulation of Railways Act (or Gladstone Act) of 1844 made it compulsory for every railway company to run at least one train a day in each direction along the full length of a line for which the fare would be no higher than a penny a mile. The carriages had to be protected from the weather and furnished with seats. A minimum average speed of 12 miles per hour was also stipulated.¹⁵⁴ These provisions paved the way for an enormous expansion in third-class travel around the middle of the century, an increase which was maintained throughout the remainder of the century. This boom saw third-class rail journeys in Britain rise from 6.9 million, or 29 per cent of all rail traffic, in the year ended June 1843, to 29 million, or more than 50 per cent of all rail traffic, in the year ended June 1848.¹⁵⁵

Railway connections developed in Ireland, Scotland and Wales at different rates. Stuart Hylton identifies a period of “railway mania” in Britain from approximately 1824 to 1851,¹⁵⁶ at the end of which he states that “large parts of the national network were in place, or in prospect, but there were still significant gaps. Most of Wales and large parts of Scotland were still without rail services. ... The railways in Scotland were not yet connected to those in England. Much had been achieved, but there was still much to be done.”¹⁵⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda and R.V. Comerford attest that Ireland also participated to some extent in this period of “railway mania”,¹⁵⁸ but Comerford asserts that the years 1850 to 1870 witnessed “a dramatic countrywide expansion of the railways”¹⁵⁹ with corresponding increases in the number of passengers travelling via rail to over 14 million per annum in 1870 (more than double the 1850 total).¹⁶⁰ Comerford goes on to state that a “new,

¹⁵² Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, p. 60.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-155.

¹⁵⁴ Stuart Hylton, *The Grand Experiment - The Birth of the Railway Age: 1820-45* (Hersham, Surrey: Ian Allan Publishing, 2007), pp. 93, 122-123.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-188. It appears that Hylton's survey of railway development in Britain is concerned with England, Scotland and Wales alone.

¹⁵⁷ Hylton, *The Grand Experiment*, p. 188.

¹⁵⁸ Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Industry and Communications, 1801-45', in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 149-150; R.V. Comerford, 'Ireland 1850-70: Post-Famine and Mid-Victorian', in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 374.

¹⁵⁹ Comerford, 'Ireland 1850-70', p. 374.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

cheaper, and easier type of tourism (was) made possible by the railways.”¹⁶¹ In Wales, John Davies cites 1840 to 1870 as being a period of major railway development in the country,¹⁶² a development which he links to the birth of a new industry in the country: “it was the railways, in the period 1850-75, which gave rise to tourism as an industry”.¹⁶³ Alastair J. Durie’s work on the history of Scottish tourism discusses how railway expansion and tourism growth became closely connected and accelerated together in Scotland from the late 1830s onwards.¹⁶⁴

Thus the growth of tourism and its connection to railway expansion may in broad terms be taken as a common feature of life in mid- to late nineteenth-century Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Its role in the contemporary society of these countries might be interpreted in a manner that illuminates issues of class and identity. The opening up of tourism to the lower socio-economic strata of society constituted a radical transformation of a once élite domain. This change was facilitated by parliamentary legislation passed in a political climate that was still dominated by those same élites, but that was coming under increasing pressure from popular movements from below such as Chartism. Therefore tourism’s popularisation could be viewed as one example of the effects of shifting social ideologies and mentalities during the period. Examination of the subjects and destinations explored by people partaking in this increasingly popular activity offers the opportunity to further explore the ramifications of class divisions and to divine underlying social values and beliefs.

Katherine Haldane Grenier argues that tourism in Scotland was an activity strongly connected with the expression and definition of national, regional and local identity concepts. Within this, she interprets it as a means through which Britishness was affirmed:

English tourists’ trips to Scotland confirmed their sense of local identification, but ... because visitors found that the image of Scotland contributed usefully to their own sense of the kind of nation they wished to be, journeys north also help(ed) remind that Great Britain was a joint project. ... Meanwhile, by touring their own country, as many did, Scots declared their own uniqueness and sense of national pride, which was not diminished by commitment to a wider Union.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Comerford, ‘Ireland 1850-70’, p. 377.

¹⁶² Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 407-409.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

¹⁶⁴ Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, pp. 59-61, 151-155.

¹⁶⁵ Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 6-8.

Tourism in Wales and Ireland must surely have offered similar potential for the expression and definition of national and local identities and interaction with the concept of a British identity.

1.5 Historical and Cultural Geography

It has been an intention of this study to utilise an interdisciplinary approach, with inspiration being drawn from works in a number of disparate fields, among them history of art and architecture, history and politics. The chief grounding, however, has been in the realms of historical and cultural geography. According to Robin A. Butlin, historical geography may be defined as:

The study of the geographies of past times, involving the imaginative reconstruction of a wide range of phenomena and processes central to our geographical understanding of the dynamism of human affairs, such as change in the evaluation and uses of human and natural resources, in the form and functions of human settlements and built environments, in the advances in the amount and forms of geographical knowledge, and in the exercising of power and control over territories and peoples.¹⁶⁶

The establishment and recognition of historical geography as a distinct scholarly discipline has been a relatively recent phenomenon, traceable in its contemporary appearance to developments and debates engaged upon in the universities, academic geographical associations and scholarly publications of Europe and North America in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁶⁷ However, the use of the concept and term “historical geography” is apparent in many earlier nineteenth-century studies of classical civilization in ancient Greece and Rome, and further back still in the scriptural or biblical geographies of the Old and New Testaments written in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁶⁸ The topics, theories and methodologies of concern to and employed by historical geographers have remained in a continual state of flux over the years, changing in line with broader paradigm shifts in the discipline of geography generally. Among these have been the quantitative revolution of the 1950s to 1970s, which favoured scientific methods of analysis employing models, theories and statistical techniques; the incorporation of Marxist and feminist perspectives (the former focusing on the geographies of capitalism and emphasising the value of Marxist theories and frameworks in forming interpretations of the past, the latter

¹⁶⁶ Robin A. Butlin, *Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Space and Time* (London: Edward Arnold, 1993), p. ix.

¹⁶⁷ Butlin, *Historical Geography*.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

stressing the importance of considering female perspectives in reconstructing and writing historical geographies); and more recently the rise of postmodernism, with its recognition of the multiplicity of meanings inherent in a text or object and the infinite number of different interpretations that an audience may bring to bear on that text or object, as well as its emphasis on issues such as representation, identity and power.¹⁶⁹

Cultural geography has undergone a similar process of evolution and change. Perhaps the greatest source of debate in this discipline has been the challenging of the methods and perspectives of “traditional” cultural geography by devotees of an emergent “new” cultural geography during the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁷⁰ A topic prevalent throughout this time, however, has been the study of landscape, and it is this area which is of particular relevance to this study.

1.6 Landscape

The origins of the term ‘landscape’ can be traced back to Renaissance times, when it emerged to articulate the relationship between people and their environment.¹⁷¹ Over the years, landscape interpretation has been associated with a number of different disciplines such as art history, archaeology and anthropology.¹⁷² Within the field of geography, studies of landscape as a physical entity shaped by human and natural forces defined early approaches to its investigation.¹⁷³ This approach was largely empirically based, and dominated during the Berkeley School of the inter-war period.¹⁷⁴ However, research tended to ignore or downplay symbolic interpretations of the landscape.¹⁷⁵ This imbalance was redressed with the emergence of a new cultural geography in the aftermath of the

¹⁶⁹ Butlin, *Historical Geography*; Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); R.J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt and Michael Watts (eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th edn (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

¹⁷⁰ Marie Price and Martin Lewis, ‘The Reinvention of Cultural Geography’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 83:1 (1993), pp. 1-17; James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson and Richard H. Schein, ‘Introduction’, in James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson and Richard H. Schein (eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), pp. 1-8; Richard H. Schein, ‘Cultural Traditions’, in James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson and Richard H. Schein (eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), pp. 11-23.

¹⁷¹ Denis Cosgrove, ‘Geography is Everywhere: Culture and Symbolism in Human Landscapes’, in Derek Gregory and Rex Walford (eds), *Horizons in Human Geography* (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1989), p. 121.

¹⁷² Susanne Seymour, ‘Historical Geographies of Landscape’, in Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (eds), *Modern Historical Geographies* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd, 2000), p. 193.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Yvonne Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), p. 11.

¹⁷⁵ Seymour, ‘Historical Geographies of Landscape’, p. 193.

quantitative revolution of the 1960s.¹⁷⁶ According to Yvonne Whelan, “the thrust of the new cultural geography has been to show how landscape forms an integral, dynamic part of social, cultural and political systems”.¹⁷⁷ This new approach to the study of geography saw an increased emphasis on unravelling the symbolic aspects of landscape in order to elucidate prevailing social, cultural and political systems. Such analyses may also cast light on contemporary ideologies. Human landscapes are cultural products,¹⁷⁸ and therefore are reflective of the culture that has produced them, its values, beliefs and ideologies.¹⁷⁹

But landscape does not merely reflect culture; it is also constitutive of reality itself.¹⁸⁰ According to Seymour, this means that it must be “understood as enmeshed within the processes which shape how the world is organised, experienced and understood, rather than read as its end product”.¹⁸¹ The shaping of a landscape expresses certain ideologies that are then perpetuated and supported through that same landscape.¹⁸² Landscapes are, therefore, repositories of meaning; an analysis of a landscape can reveal much about notions of power, class, race, religion, gender and national identity that prevail within the society that inhabits it. As Karen Schmelzkopf has shown in her study of a religious community formed in coastal New Jersey, it is traditionally those who wield power and control who have the opportunity to inscribe the landscape with their own ideologies.¹⁸³ But these dominant ideologies can also be contested within the same symbolic landscape that expresses them.¹⁸⁴ Through a process of reshaping or overwriting, the voice of the ‘other’, the voice of those who have been excluded or subjugated, can also be articulated and recorded.¹⁸⁵ Thus a dialogue of inclusion and exclusion, power and resistance can become inscribed onto the cultural landscape.

¹⁷⁶ Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁸ James S. Duncan, ‘The Power of Place in Kandy, Sri Lanka: 1780-1980’, in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (eds), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 186.

¹⁷⁹ Peirce F. Lewis, ‘Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene’, in Donald W. Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 12-19.

¹⁸⁰ Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, ‘Writing Worlds’, in Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (eds), *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 5.

¹⁸¹ Seymour, ‘Historical Geographies of Landscape’, p. 214.

¹⁸² Crang, *Cultural Geography*, p. 27.

¹⁸³ Karen Schmelzkopf, ‘Landscape, Ideology, and Religion: A Geography of Ocean Grove New Jersey’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28:4 (2002), pp. 589-608.

¹⁸⁴ Yvonne Whelan, ‘The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape: Monuments to British Monarchs in Dublin Before and After Independence’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28:4 (2002), pp. 508-533.

¹⁸⁵ Linda Hershkovitz, ‘Tiananmen Square and the Politics of Place’, *Political Geography*, 12:5 (1993), pp. 395-420.

Donald Meinig asserts that all landscapes may be regarded as symbolic and each may be approached as a code to be deciphered.¹⁸⁶ In order to unravel the meanings associated with landscape, geographers have developed various methods for decoding it. One of these methods, put forward by Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, is the treatment of a landscape as a text to be read, from which a range of meanings can then be interpreted, as one would with a literary text.¹⁸⁷ An alternative approach that puts a greater emphasis on the visual nature of landscape involves the application of the concepts of iconography and iconology to a study of the landscape.¹⁸⁸ Traditionally employed in the study of art history, iconography refers to the identification of conventional, consciously inscribed symbols in a painting or sculpture, while iconology involves the interpretation of these symbols to uncover a deeper stratum of meaning indicative of the underlying principles and attitudes that shaped the society in which the work of art was formed.¹⁸⁹ In the iconographic method of landscape interpretation, as first introduced by Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, a whole landscape can be substituted for the work of art and the concepts of iconography and iconology employed to unravel the attitudes and principles of the society that shaped it.¹⁹⁰ The borrowing of methodologies from the various disciplines of art and literature is illustrative of the multidisciplinary approach which Alan Baker argues must be employed in a geographic study of the landscape.¹⁹¹

Landscapes are complex, containing multiple (sometimes conflicting) meanings¹⁹² and subject to a range of different interpretations.¹⁹³ The meanings bound up in a landscape are not fixed and immutable; they are subject to change over time. They may be accumulated, contested, erased, reshaped and overwritten;¹⁹⁴ they are, as attested by Carl Sauer, "in (a) continuous process of development or of dissolution and replacement".¹⁹⁵ The manner in which a person will understand and interact with the landscape is also dependant on their social, historical, economic and political context, and upon such factors

¹⁸⁶ Donald W. Meinig, 'Introduction', in Donald W. Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 6.

¹⁸⁷ Barnes and Duncan, 'Writing Worlds', pp. 5-8.

¹⁸⁸ Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape', in Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 1-10.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹⁹¹ Alan R.H. Baker, 'Introduction: On Ideology and Landscape', in Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger (eds), *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meaning of Some Places in the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 10.

¹⁹² Baker, 'Introduction', p. 9.

¹⁹³ Meinig, 'Introduction', pp. 1-7.

¹⁹⁴ Crang, *Cultural Geography*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Sauer*, ed. John Leighley (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 333, quoted in Crang, *Cultural Geography*, p. 22.

as their gender, race, age and religion.¹⁹⁶ Thus it can be seen that time and context are key considerations when forming an interpretation of the landscape.

Attempts to form an interpretation of a landscape also raise issues concerned with power, memory, identity and heritage, and it is to a closer examination of some of these issues that we will now turn.

1.7 Power, Memory, Identity and Heritage

There are many different terms in which identity may be defined: gender, class, religious, ethnic, familial, local, regional and national are but a few of these.¹⁹⁷ According to Barbara Bender, “landscape ... is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group, or nation-state”.¹⁹⁸ Memory, both collective and individual, is crucial to the formation of an identity.¹⁹⁹ The past may be mapped onto the landscape through the creation of sites of memory and heritage. By linking a group to a sense of shared inheritance, these sites can contribute to the formation and cultivation of various identity constructs.²⁰⁰ But heritage also constitutes a selective memorialization of past events.²⁰¹ According to Robert Shannan Peckham, “heritage as a form of ‘inheritance’ necessarily involves disinheritance of recalcitrant elements and imposing authoritarian readings on the past”.²⁰² Thus notions of heritage are inextricably linked with those of power and control.

Memories are not necessarily representative of reality either.²⁰³ However, as Lowenthal argues, “a false recollection can be as durable and potent as a true one, especially if it sustains a self-image”.²⁰⁴ Memory is neither fixed nor immutable. The remembered past is subject to revision.²⁰⁵ According to Lowenthal, “events ... (are

¹⁹⁶ Barbara Bender, ‘Introduction: Landscape – Meaning and Action’, in Barbara Bender (ed.), *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), p. 2.

¹⁹⁷ Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 3-15.

¹⁹⁸ Bender, ‘Introduction’, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 193-200.

²⁰⁰ Nuala C. Johnson, ‘Historical Geographies of the Present’, in Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (eds), *Modern Historical Geographies* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd, 2000), pp. 258-259.

²⁰¹ G.J. Ashworth and Brian Graham, ‘Senses of Place, Senses of Time and Heritage’, in G.J. Ashworth and Brian Graham (eds), *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 4-7.

²⁰² Robert Shannan Peckham, ‘The Politics of Heritage and Public Culture’, in Robert Shannan Peckham (ed.), *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 12.

²⁰³ Charles W.J. Withers, ‘Place, Memory, Monument: Memorializing the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland’, *Ecumene*, 3:3 (1996), p. 325.

²⁰⁴ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 200.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-210.

reinterpreted) in the light of subsequent experience and present need”.²⁰⁶ Therefore it is “historically conditioned, changing colour and shape according to the emergencies of the moment”.²⁰⁷ Memory may also be a mobilizing force in the present, since “the present is experienced in contexts much influenced by different memories of the past, and that memory may be a means to social and political action”.²⁰⁸ It is also of a highly individual nature and our context- social, cultural, religious, economic, political and historical- will impact significantly on how we interpret the landscape around us.

Those in power may employ history, memory and heritage in a selective fashion in order to form and propagate specific identity concepts, usually ones that legitimate their hold on authority.²⁰⁹ But as Withers has argued, dominant memory is not universally held; it may be resisted through the cultivation of other, different remembered pasts.²¹⁰ Similarly, élite-imposed identity concepts may also be opposed and contested by the less powerful in society.²¹¹ Place can act as the crucible in which constructs of power, memory, identity and heritage find form and interact with one another. Thus an examination of the symbolic landscape can reveal much about these concepts within our society. Public monuments are one element of the symbolic landscape and it is to a consideration of these that we now turn.

1.8 Monuments

According to Martin Auster, “public monuments are of special interest as focal points of meaning in the landscape”.²¹² Studies of monuments have spanned many different disciplines: history, architecture, archaeology, landscape design, anthropology, sociology and geography are among those that have attempted to unravel their mysteries. Monuments may be regarded as sites of cultural heritage.²¹³ They are also symbolic entities consciously inserted into the landscape in order to convey particular messages and thereby cultivate specific notions of power, memory and identity. Consequently, studies of monuments have increasingly been employed by geographers as a means to examine the evolution of these concepts in the cultural landscape.

²⁰⁶ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 206.

²⁰⁷ Withers, ‘Place, Memory, Monument’, p. 327.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁰⁹ Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, pp. 14-15.

²¹⁰ Withers, ‘Place, Memory, Monument’, pp. 325-344.

²¹¹ Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, pp. 16-17.

²¹² Martin Auster, ‘Monument in a Landscape: The Question of ‘Meaning’’, *Australian Geographer*, 28:2 (1997), p. 219.

²¹³ Yvonne Whelan, ‘Mapping Meaning in the Cultural Landscape’, in G.J. Ashworth and Brian Graham (eds), *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 61-62.

In his 1997 article, Martin Auster deals with the foundations of this premise as he examines the potential of a monument to act as a repository of meaning. Bringing an interdisciplinary approach to bear in his treatment of the subject, he proposes utilising the literary concept of allegory as a device through which the potential meanings of a monument may be uncovered. According to Auster, both monuments and allegories often use concrete visual forms to convey moral meanings.²¹⁴ Taking a single monument, the Drummond memorial in New South Wales, as an example, he demonstrates how an allegorical interpretation can unearth multiple layers of meaning even within the most abstract of monuments.²¹⁵

Building on this notion of a monument as being imbued with layers of meaning, other authors have attempted to unravel meaning at particular monumental sites. Brian S. Osborne focuses on the George Étienne Cartier monument in Montréal to demonstrate how the meanings attached to a monument can alter as notions of empire, nation and civil society change around it.²¹⁶ Osborne splits the life of the monument into four phases, from its conception in 1910 up to the present day, tracing how its symbolic meaning has fluctuated repeatedly in line with historical events and societal changes during the period, effectively demonstrating that “symbolic spaces are not static but are dynamic sites of meaning”²¹⁷ in which elite memory can be subverted and displaced.

Despite the durability of their physical form, meaning as preserved in monuments may be transient; subject to loss, alteration and destruction. James E. Young argues that a nation traditionally cultivates a glorious memory of the past in its monuments in order to justify its right to rule.²¹⁸ But these efforts are ultimately futile since the passage of time decontextualises a monument’s original meaning and thus renders it archaic and irrelevant when viewed in subsequent years.²¹⁹ He also argues that all memorials are of an essentially participatory nature; sites of memory depend on passersby to initiate their memory: “the site alone cannot remember, ... it is the projection of memory by visitors into a space that makes it a memorial.”²²⁰

Richard Peet’s study of the Daniel Shays’ Memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts focuses on the monument as a medium through which power may be articulated and

²¹⁴ Auster, ‘Monument in a Landscape’, p. 221.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-226.

²¹⁶ Brian S. Osborne, ‘Constructing Landscapes of Power: The George Etienne Cartier Monument, Montreal’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24:4 (1998), pp. 431-458.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

²¹⁸ James E. Young, ‘The Counter Monument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today’, in W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.), *Art and the Public Sphere* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 52.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

perpetuated in the landscape.²²¹ According to Peet, “by recreating landscapes, filling them with signs carrying ideological messages, images are formed of past and future ‘realities’, patterns of meaning created and changed and, thereby, control exerted over the everyday behaviour of the people”.²²² Thus the Daniel Shays’ Memorial was used to promote a particular reading of history that legitimised the ideals and reinforced the power of the élites who erected it.

David Gordon and Brian Osborne illustrate the role a monument can serve in constructing a national identity in their investigation of the National War Memorial in Confederation Square, Ottawa, Canada. They contend that “monumental sculpture has long served as an appropriate device for rendering allegorical statements of national values and national chronicles”,²²³ and that “if effective, public monuments were consensus builders. They were focal points for identifying with a shared past, representing an agreed upon national chronicle, and served as a record of heroic accomplishments, acts, sacrifices and achievements.”²²⁴

Among the facets of a monument explored by David Atkinson and Denis Cosgrove’s work on the Vittorio Emanuele II monument in Rome is its ability to promote and embody an imperial identity.²²⁵ Subtexts of both imperial power and national identity building were detected by Laragh Larsen in her study of the monuments of Kenya’s capital city Nairobi over a period of almost 100 years as the context shifted from British colonial administration to independent rule.²²⁶

1.9 Monumental and Associated Studies in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Britain

Monumental studies have also been undertaken in the countries focused on by this thesis. In an Irish context, Yvonne Whelan has produced several articles on specific groups of monuments in Dublin city. Casting Ireland’s relationship with Britain in a colonial light, but ambivalently so, her 2001 article portrays Dublin during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a city of contested space where some monuments were erected to express

²²¹ Richard Peet, ‘A Sign Taken for History: Daniel Shays’ Memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86:1 (1996), pp. 21-43.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²²³ David L.A. Gordon and Brian S. Osborne, ‘Constructing national identity in Canada’s capital, 1900-2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), p. 621.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ David Atkinson and Denis Cosgrove, ‘Urban Rhetoric and Embodied Identities: City, Nation and Empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, 1870-1945’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88:1 (1998), pp. 28-49.

²²⁶ Laragh Larsen, ‘Shaping the Symbolic Landscape: Public Monuments in Nairobi, 1899-1992’ (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2007).

loyalty to the British Empire, while others were erected to communicate a spirit of opposition to imperial rule.²²⁷ Using case studies of particular monuments such as Nelson's Pillar and the Daniel O'Connell memorial as examples, she argues that by 1922, "the symbolic fabric of the capital had come to embody and reflect the struggle for superiority, victory and ultimately power, that persisted between Britain and one of its kingdoms, Ireland".²²⁸ While British administration in Dublin wished to convey a picture of union and loyalty, a strongly nationalist Dublin Corporation was attempting to stamp the city's landscape with "a tangible sense of Irish national identity".²²⁹ Thus turn-of-the-century Dublin was left in "something of a schizophrenic position",²³⁰ one resolved by the achievement of independence after 1922.

A second article by Whelan in 2002 takes four statues erected in Dublin to commemorate British monarchs, all of which were subsequently removed or blown up after Ireland had gained independence in 1922. Observing Ireland's political situation following the Act of Union and Catholic Emancipation, she argues that Ireland was "an integrated periphery of the Imperial State",²³¹ but "in many ways ... it retained colonial status."²³² By the turn of the century, "the monumental landscape was dominated by monarchical figures which, in their symbolic sub-text, created a cultural landscape that expressed links with the broader British Empire".²³³ They appropriated the public space and "played an important role in the tangible construction of imperial power".²³⁴ Yet as the political context in Ireland changed over the years, the meaning attached to the monuments became increasingly contentious. Rather than serving as sites of loyalty to the Empire, they increasingly became sites of protest against imperial control, culminating in their removal in the formative years of the Republic when Ireland was attempting to forge and consolidate a distinct national identity.²³⁵

Nuala Johnson brings out another interesting aspect to the study of monuments: that of their depiction of gender roles.²³⁶ She describes how the female form was often used allegorically in monuments to "(represent) concepts such as justice, liberty, purity and the

²²⁷ Yvonne Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space- The Iconography of Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) Before Independence (1922)', *Irish Geography*, 34:1 (2001), pp. 11-33.

²²⁸ Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space', p. 31.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape', p. 511.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 512.

²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 521-529.

²³⁶ Nuala C. Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories: Celebrating the Centenary of the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19:1 (1994), pp. 78-93.

nation",²³⁷ but these female allegorical figures were paradoxical in that "what they personify (was) usually different to the position held by women in society (at the time)".²³⁸ Aside from considerations of gender identity, the main focus of her article is 1798 monuments and their role in "constructing a heroic analysis of the past".²³⁹ Unlike Whelan's work on urban iconography where her subjects are all concentrated within the environs of a single city (Dublin),²⁴⁰ Johnson's monuments encompass a broader scale, taking in numerous towns and villages, mostly in the south-east of the country. Johnson argues that these republican monuments, the first of which was unveiled in 1898, formed a symbolic landscape that stood in opposition to unionist monuments elsewhere and "(acted) as a counter-hegemony to Unionist Ireland".²⁴¹ Johnson further elaborates on the role of monuments in forging a national identity in her 1995 article.²⁴² Here she points to the erection of the Parnell monument on O'Connell Street as a key step in the formation and articulation of an Irish national identity.

In Scotland, Charles Withers' study of three monuments in Highland Scotland also focuses on the mapping of an élite memory of the past onto the landscape through a process of memorialization.²⁴³ But as Withers shows, élite memory may be challenged through the advancement of alternative versions of the past given in local and popular memory and remembered traditions. A later study by Withers on the commemoration of Mungo Park, a Scottish-born African explorer, highlights the constructed nature of memory and how the project to raise a statue to him during the mid-nineteenth century in the town of Selkirk became a vehicle through which the people of the area could assert their local identity and civic pride. It was also set up as a means of civic inspiration for the future by a speech made at its inauguration ceremony.²⁴⁴

Tim Edensor's piece on the Bruce statue and Wallace monument deals with national identity. Originally erected to promote a unionist Scottish identity, with the two heroes being portrayed as embodying the military attributes of imperial adventurers, by the late twentieth century this image of Scottish national identity was a contested one.

²³⁷ Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories', p. 83.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories', p. 78.

²⁴⁰ Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space', pp. 11-33; Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape', pp. 508-533; Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*.

²⁴¹ Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories', p. 92.

²⁴² Nuala C. Johnson, 'Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography and Nationalism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13:1 (1995), pp. 51-65.

²⁴³ Withers, 'Place, Memory, Monument', pp. 325-344.

²⁴⁴ Charles W.J. Withers, 'Memory and the history of geographical knowledge: the commemoration of Mungo Park, African explorer', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), pp. 322-326.

Focusing on their defeats of the English, the two have been recast as “exemplary figures in the campaign for independence”.²⁴⁵

Monumental studies in a Welsh context are much less prevalent, especially from a geographical perspective. As part of a research paper series investigating themes in the literature and history of Wales, John Wilson has written on the public sculpture of the industrial south of the country. Focusing on issues of social power, class and contestation among others, he contrasts the situation in Cardiff with that elsewhere in the region. Covering the period from c.1850 to c.1930, he found that the South Wales Coalfield presented few representations of labour or the industrial experience, while sculpture in Cardiff served as an emblem of civic enlightenment and national aspiration. Ordinary workers from everyday life were largely ignored as subjects, unless as part of war memorials: instead figures chosen were drawn from among powerful landowner-industrialists, politicians, philanthropists and public servants, with Wilson concluding that “the memorialization of history in the form of public sculpture is a political and cultural tradition which has, for the most part, served an exclusive set of class interests”.²⁴⁶

Aside from Wilson, Peter Lord’s broad study of the visual culture of Wales over about 450 years outlines its primary focus as an investigation of how painting, sculpture and other images during that period both expressed and defined Welsh national identity.²⁴⁷ Taking a cue from this study, the Welsh commemorations of Wellington might be explored for hints of a similar drive towards national identity construction and representation.

From a British perspective, Dana Arnold’s compilation work includes monuments as one facet of a broader visual culture constructed to represent empire and national identity. Yet she also recognises these ‘high culture’ forms as élite expressions of Britishness:

The aesthetics of architecture, landscape, painting, sculpture and literature were used, appropriated and re-appropriated in the furtherance of particular social and political aims. In this way aesthetic culture reinforced the culture of the dominant political and social ideologies; and it re-presented and reconstructed the notion of a national identity.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Tim Edensor, ‘National identity and the politics of memory: remembering Bruce and Wallace in symbolic space’, *Environment and Planning D*, 29 (1997), p. 178.

²⁴⁶ John R. Wilson, *Memorializing History: Public Sculpture in Industrial South Wales* (Aberystwyth: The University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1996), p. 22.

²⁴⁷ Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

²⁴⁸ Dana Arnold, ‘Introduction’, in Dana Arnold (ed.), *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 1.

The role of women is also given some consideration, being interrogated in terms of their employment as symbols of national character and national virtue in two novels.

Andrew Thompson's study on the impact the experience of empire had on British people at home on the mainland and on the formation of British identity gives some consideration to how this was conveyed through architectural forms and in the urban landscape. Touching briefly on various memorials and statues as part of this, he concludes that "public architecture and the built urban environment offer some support for the idea that British identities drew meaning and strength from the empire."²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?*, p. 186.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Questions and Aims

The aim of this thesis is to form an interpretation of the symbolic landscape or landscapes created by the erection of monuments dedicated to the Duke of Wellington in Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century being the period during which those three countries were all politically joined with England in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the monuments will be analysed for evidence of a drive to forge and perpetuate a British national identity in and through the cultural landscape. Attention will also be given to discovering what other forms of identity and ideology were constructed and contested in the nineteenth-century landscape(s) of these monuments through evoking memory of the Duke of Wellington in monumental form.

Guided by established approaches and methodologies in the field of symbolic landscape interpretation and by the aim to be as comprehensive as possible in this analysis and to uncover and give full consideration to all forms of identity and ideology being conveyed and contested, as well as the impact of changes in historical context and variations in geographic milieu on this process, an attempt was made to reconstruct the life histories of these monuments from the point of their inception to the end of the century. The sources available detailing their histories dealt largely with the genesis of the structures, few notable events having occurred in subsequent years, been documented, survived in the historical record or been uncovered by this author. In order to properly illustrate and assess contemporary levels of recognition of and adherence to a British identity, as well as other forms of identity and ideology created, conveyed and contested by and through these monuments, the following chapters recount and analyse the nineteenth-century histories of these monuments as presented in the primary source material. Much of this source material being previously unexamined in any published works, this exploration provides the thesis with some of its claim to originality. Further details on the nature and limitations of the primary source evidence and the ramifications attached to its employment are provided in the following section on Methodology.

In the course of the analysis of the symbolic landscapes of these monuments, attempts have been made to determine whether the memory of the Duke evoked in the monuments constituted an élite construction and if the forms of identity and ideology promoted in and through their forms were not in fact shared by the general populace. The presence and relative strength and importance of oppositional ideologies has been gauged

both as it was manifested in and through the creation of the monumental spaces and by placing events in the monuments' lives in social, cultural and historical context on both a local and a national scale in order that they might be linked to wider societal attitudes, trends and developments. This contextualisation is carried out both within the following chapters and through the material presented in Chapter One.

As has also been shown in Chapter One, studies of monuments and identity have been undertaken in both Ireland¹ and Scotland,² while related works have also been produced in a Welsh context³ and on a pan-British scale.⁴ However, the concentrated and comprehensive pursuit of the monumental commemoration of a single, iconic personality stretching across several nations, and the examination of the symbolic landscape or landscapes thus created, appears to represent a fresh departure in the field. The relationship between these three countries in particular is also, as has been highlighted by authors such as Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth,⁵ an area in need of greater scholarly attention. This study will explore that relationship in the cultural landscape by examining and comparing how each country approached and undertook the monumental commemoration of the Duke of Wellington. In connection with this, one concept posited for consideration during the course of this work is that of a unified symbolic landscape: whether such a concept can be said to have existed, and if so, what its nature was. The subject of commemoration being the same in all cases, exploration of this concept and of the monuments individually and collectively should facilitate further development of our theoretical understanding of the role and relative importance of variations in geographical and historical context in forging a cultural landscape.

2.2 Methodology

The research methods which were employed during the course of this project may be divided into two distinct subsections: those relating to the gathering of primary source information concerning the monuments' forms and life histories, and those relating to the analysis and interpretation of the symbolic implications associated with the monuments. In

¹ Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space', pp. 11-33; Yvonne Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape', pp. 508-533; Yvonne Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*; Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories', pp. 78-93; Johnson, 'Cast in Stone', pp. 51-65.

² Edensor, 'National Identity and the Politics of Memory', pp. 175-194; Withers, 'Memory and the history of geographical knowledge', pp. 322-326.

³ Wilson, *Memorializing History*; Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales*.

⁴ Arnold (ed.), *Cultural Identities*.

⁵ Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth, 'Introduction: Crossing the Margins', in Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth (eds), *Across the Margins: Cultural Identities and Change in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1-10.

the former category, it was necessary to locate all the relevant monuments within the designated survey area before proceeding with a field survey of them in order to catalogue details of their physical form. In this respect a number of information sources were utilised. Internet searches were undertaken using carefully selected keywords via a search engine such as Google. This pointed to various tourist or historical websites that mentioned the presence of a monument, a fact which was often verified by an accompanying photo, the widespread reference to such a monument on other websites or by observation of a map of the region. A few online databases were discovered offering inventories of monuments within a given area.⁶ Books surveying various architectural features such as public statuary, follies and obelisks across a designated region were also consulted.⁷ These searches were employed to an exhaustive degree until further discoveries were deemed unlikely. As searches proceeded, the scope of this thesis's interest area became more precisely defined as being concerned with public, outdoor, free-standing commemorative structures.⁸ The eventual result of this process was the discovery of three such structures in Ireland, five in Scotland and three in Wales (Figure 2.2.1). Initially it was thought to include England within the scope of this study also. However, both theoretical and practical considerations militated against this course of action.

The relationship between Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the nineteenth century, when they were all formally politically joined with England for the first time in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is an area comparatively unexplored in the context of British historiography. Various contributors to this field have recognised the distinct historical and cultural links between the three countries through reference to them as the three 'Celtic' nations of nineteenth-century Britain.⁹ The concepts of Celtic identity and Celtic nationalism have been explored by such authors as Victor Edward Durkacz¹⁰ and Peter Berresford Ellis,¹¹ the latter of whom teams Ireland, Scotland and Wales with the

⁶ For example the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association National Recording Project, <http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk/> or <http://vads.ac.uk/collections/PMSA.html>; Coflein, the online database for the National Monuments Record of Wales, <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/>; Canmore, the database for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/>.

⁷ For example Gwyn Headley and Wim Meulenkamp, *Follies, Grottoes and Garden Buildings* (London: Aurum Press, 1999); Richard Barnes, *The Obelisk: A Monumental Feature in Britain* (Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2004); Judith Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture: A History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998); Thomas Llyod, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, in Nikolaus Pevsner (founding ed.), *The Buildings of Wales* series).

⁸ Meaning statues such as a stone carving of Wellington placed in a niche on the exterior face of Falcon Hall house in Edinburgh (as referred to in Chapter 4.5 Falkirk) have been excluded from detailed treatment.

⁹ See Chapter One, footnote 1 for a list of such authors.

¹⁰ Victor Edward Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages: A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1983).

¹¹ Peter Berresford Ellis, *The Celtic Dawn: A History of Pan Celticism* (London: Constable, 1993).

three other Celtic regions of the Isle of Man, Cornwall and Brittany in his study of Pan Celticism. Within the field of Celtic studies Owen Dudley Edwards, Gwynfor Evans, Ioan Rhys and Hugh MacDiarmid have contributed a volume entitled *Celtic Nationalism* which deals with Ireland, Wales and Scotland individually in three separate chapters, but includes no form of introduction or conclusion which attempts to draw the three separate strands together.¹²

Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth are among those who have attempted to address this deficiency through the adoption of an 'archipelagic historiography' approach. While conceding the "contentious"¹³ nature of such an approach, they maintain that "whatever its limitations, such a subject at least acknowledges the inadequacy of earlier paradigms, and recognises that new models need to be developed to engage with the matrix of overlapping identities and practices that have traditionally functioned, and continue to function, throughout what used to be known as 'the British Isles'."¹⁴ Stating their belief that "insufficient attention (has) been placed to the relationship between 'Celtic spaces' and other areas of 'difference'",¹⁵ their study seeks to uncover "lines of connection which do not move from centre to margin, or from margin to centre"¹⁶ and "to hear voices talking 'across' borders and not only to or through an English centre."¹⁷ A study focusing on monuments in Ireland, Scotland and Wales alone has the potential to explore these lines of connection in the cultural landscape. As cautioned against by Norquay and Smyth,¹⁸ a core/periphery relationship between England and the three countries focused on by this study is not presumed from the outset, but rather the cultural landscape of these monuments is approached as a palimpsest upon which many forms of identity and ideology may potentially be found taking form and interacting with one another. By considering Ireland, Scotland and Wales both individually and collectively, with their wide ranging geographical, social, cultural, political and historical variations, many interesting insights on the formation and propagation of British, imperial and other identities through the symbolic landscape should become apparent.

¹² Owen Dudley Edwards, Gwynfor Evans, Ioan Rhys and Hugh MacDiarmid, *Celtic Nationalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).

¹³ Norquay and Smyth, 'Introduction', p. 4.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Norquay and Smyth, 'Introduction', p. 2.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

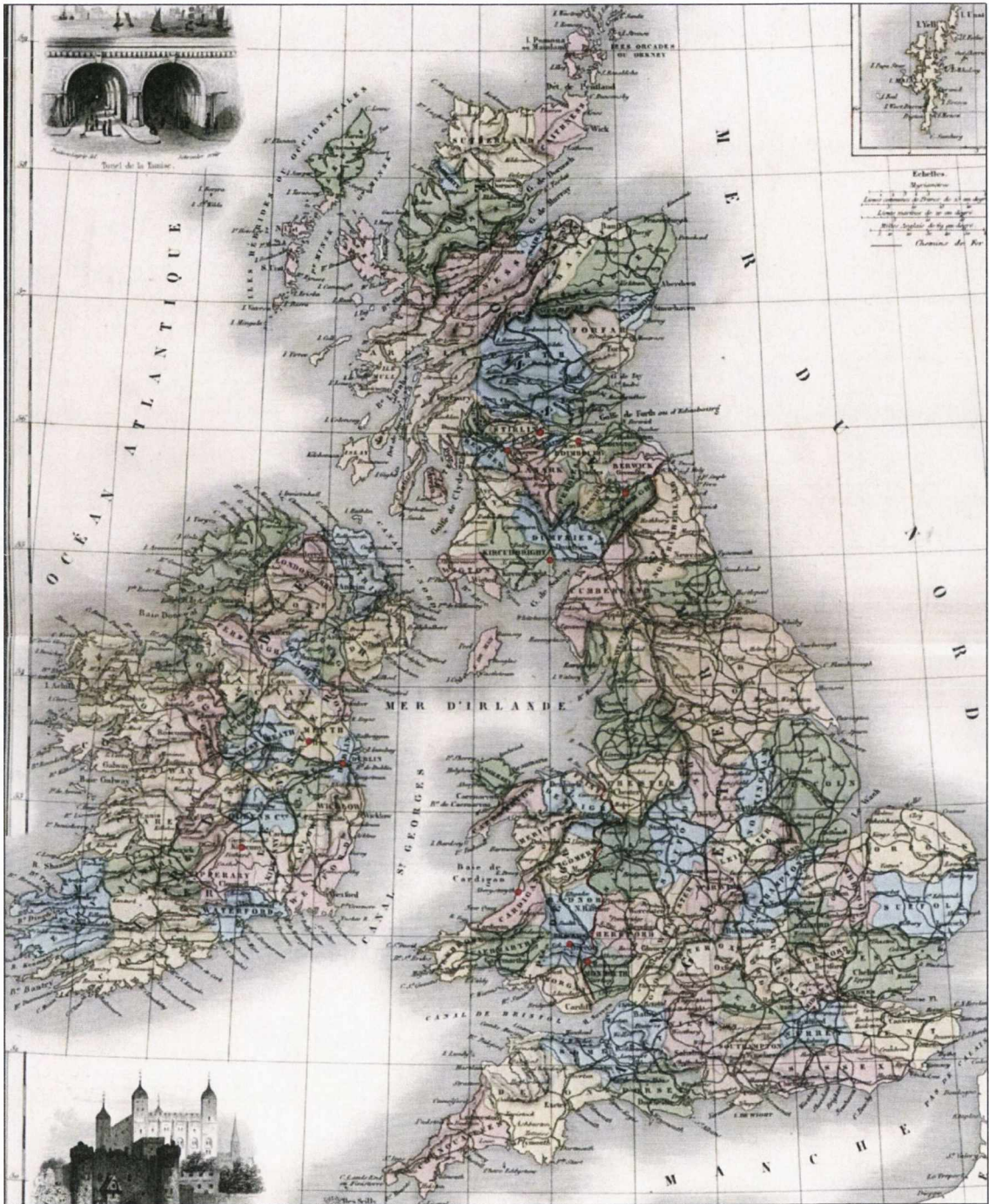


Figure 2.2.1: Map showing the relative locations of the eleven monuments treated in this work, each being highlighted by a red dot. Produced using the map “Îles Britanniques”, scale uncertain, Paris: J. Migeon, c. 1861.

Aside from such theoretical considerations, early attempts to catalogue the monuments in England revealed over 20 such structures within that area.¹⁹ It having been

¹⁹ Beaton has cited a figure of 37 extant monuments to the Duke across Britain, a total reportedly drawn from a survey by the National Monuments Register in Swindon. Beaton, ‘The Cult of the first Duke of Wellington’, p. 190.

deemed desirable to reconstruct a detailed life history of the monuments through archival research, the large volume of material potentially available in that regard for the English monuments rendered their inclusion infeasible given the various constraints (of time, money and other practical considerations) attached to this undertaking. While this difficulty might have been overcome by the selection and study of a sample of monuments from each of the four countries, any method of sampling is by definition either random or subjective. This would have potentially omitted or over- or underplayed the importance of local variations in the commemorative process's intent and impact. The aim of this study being to uncover and consider all forms of identity and ideology being conveyed and contested by and through the Wellington monuments, and to explore the precise nature of each symbolic landscape being created on an individual basis, as well as the relationship between those symbolic spaces both within and across national boundaries, an examination of the full population of Wellington monuments in a given country was deemed necessary. There being only eleven such structures across Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the examination of them all was both feasible and essential. Thus full and unbiased consideration could be given to the interplay of local and national and the potential impact of variations in geographical and political context. The decision to focus on Ireland, Scotland and Wales alone has rendered debatable the inclusion of the town clock in Tredegar in Monmouthshire as a main entry in this work. Monmouthshire, although unquestionably located within the boundaries of Wales today, was slightly more ambiguous in status during the nineteenth century. Further details regarding this circumstance, and the justification for the clock's ultimate inclusion, are outlined at the outset of Chapter 5.3 Tredegar.

Following the establishment of a definitive list of monuments to be considered, all such monuments were surveyed in the field, during which process close visual inspection was made of the structures and data regarding their form, inscriptions, precise location and physical surrounds was recorded. In the course of this phase a number of photographs of various aspects of the monuments were taken, some of which have been used to illustrate this work.²⁰ The use of a field survey with observable data being compiled and recorded and photographs being taken is an approach previously utilised and endorsed by geographers such as Freek Colombijn, who included these techniques as part of a broader

²⁰ All photographs included in this work have been taken by the author unless otherwise stated.

'anthropological tourism' methodology devised by Colombijn to undertake a study of the symbolic landscape of Australia's capital city Canberra.²¹

The field survey having been completed, efforts were then made to reconstruct as complete a picture of the monuments' life histories as possible, an operation performed through examination of contemporary archival material (this approach to monumental studies has been employed in different forms and to variable extents by numerous scholars in the discipline, for example, Whelan²² and Osborne²³). This material included items such as nineteenth-century journals and newspapers, committee proceedings, council minutes, letters, architectural drawings, photographs, design models, scrapbooks, accounts and lists of subscribers held in libraries, archives and private collections across England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland. It was deemed necessary to have a prior knowledge of this material's existence and location before embarking on a fieldtrip with the intention of studying it, therefore online library catalogues and databases were searched extensively, as well as any articles or books which dealt with one or more of the monuments.

In the latter category, published works on the monuments have been in a range of forms. Some have been local history style accounts with little attempt at interpretation of the wider social and cultural processes involved in their erection or attached to their subsequent existence, for example Garrett O'Brien's work on the Wellington monument on Peniel Heugh near Jedburgh.²⁴ Though deficient in many respects from an academic viewpoint (also adopting an informal authorial tone and lacking in a proper referencing system), O'Brien's account did highlight the availability of some obscure archival material detailing aspects of the monument's life history. T.J. Jenkins and Oliver Jones provide histories of the Tredegar town clock.²⁵ Neither seek to undertake any analysis of broader meanings or symbolic subtexts related to concepts of power, memory or identity that might be attached to the structure's form. However, they do highlight the presence of some newspaper accounts relating to the clock's erection; though, in the case of Oliver Jones's piece, some of his references appear incorrect. Judith Hill and Yvonne Whelan provide some valid interpretation of the Trim and Dublin Wellington monuments, but their

²¹ Freek Colombijn, 'Canberra: A sheep in wolf's clothing', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22:4 (1998), pp. 565-581.

²² Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space', pp. 11-33.

²³ Brian S. Osborne, 'Constructing Landscapes of Power', pp. 431-458.

²⁴ Garrett O'Brien, *"Wellington's Pillar" Penielheugh Jedburgh* (Jedburgh: The Crotchet Factory, 1989).

²⁵ T.J. Jenkins, *Town Clock Tredegar: Centenary Souvenir- A Short History* (Tredegar: T. Bendle & Sons, 1958); Oliver Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar* (Newport: The Starling Press Ltd., 1975), pp. 118-124.

treatment of the subject is as part of a much wider survey and is necessarily relatively brief.²⁶

Belinda Beaton undertakes an arbitrary survey of some of the monuments dedicated to Wellington across mainland Britain and Ireland. Viewing them as part of the material culture that fostered a cult of personality around Wellington's name, she argues that: "Monuments were strategic ingredients in the creation of a patriotic social reality that celebrated the Duke and simultaneously made concrete the conception of an enduring nation existing over generations."²⁷ However, much of her information regarding the monuments in question is drawn from published secondary sources and edited primary sources, while some of her references to unpublished primary source material are inaccurate. P.F. Garnett provides a detailed, empirical account of the Dublin testimonial, but his work lacks both interpretation of broader themes and the use of a referencing system.²⁸ Philip Ward-Jackson writes extensively on the Glasgow Wellington statue, approaching the subject as an art historian, an outlook which leads him to include an analysis of the aesthetic merits of the piece and to place the undertaking in the context of the general course of the sculptor's career.²⁹ Accounts such as these at times served to both guide and supplement primary source research, particularly when transcriptions or scans of documents and drawings were provided that proved impossible to locate or view in their original form.

Using these primary source material searches as a starting point, personal interaction with archivists, curators, librarians and other individuals yielded crucial information regarding the location of further, sometimes more obscure, records and information. On-site and non-internet-based library catalogues also proved useful in this respect. On a whole, the availability of primary source material varied greatly from monument to monument, with extensive archival records surviving from some, whereas others were very poorly documented, either due to few records having been compiled at the time of their erection, or to destruction or loss of those records over the intervening years. This is a common challenge when attempting to undertake any study of past events. As Alan Baker asserts, "our geographical knowledge of the past must always be incomplete because of the partial (in all of its senses) nature of historical sources. A complete record of the past was never compiled and only a small portion of the historical

²⁶ Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture*, pp. 65-69; 75-77; 82-83; Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, pp. 50-52.

²⁷ Beaton, 'The Cult of the first Duke of Wellington', p. vii.

²⁸ P.F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial', *Dublin Historical Record*, 13:2 (1952), pp. 48-61.

²⁹ Philip Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti and the Glasgow Wellington Memorial', *The Burlington Magazine*, 132:1053 (December 1990), pp. 851-862.

record which was compiled has survived”.³⁰ Initially it was intended to reconstruct a history of the monuments from the point of their instigation up to the present day. However, it was eventually decided to restrict the study to a consideration of the monuments largely within the nineteenth century alone. Some details of subsequent events have been included, for example in the case of the Falkirk statue a brief account is given of early twentieth-century vandalism to the monument and its subsequent shift to a new site in 1905. Here the acts of vandalism may have been part of a longer-term trend towards abusing the monument which possibly dated back into the nineteenth century and were almost certainly facilitated by the physical milieu in which it was chosen to place the monument during that century. The decision to move the statue had its antecedents in and was motivated by these longer-term trends and circumstances established in the nineteenth century.

Yet the most detailed consideration is given to the monuments within the nineteenth century, both for theoretical and practical reasons. While the volume of records available for the individual monuments may have varied, the total amount of material available was such that some form of limitation became desirable. A consideration of the process of identity formation in the landscape being posited as one of the cornerstones of this study, this process was necessarily at its most obvious at the time of the monuments’ erection, which in all cases was during the nineteenth century. Both the British nation and culture and society within its boundaries underwent huge shifts shortly after the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, and as a full consideration of these changes and their potential reflection in the monumental landscape would not be possible within the prescribed limits of this work, a nineteenth-century focus has been adopted.

In assessing the sources available, it was sought to uncover and reconstruct as accurate and complete a version of events as possible. Where sources offered conflicting points of information, judgment and cross-correlation with other material was employed to attempt to obtain the most accurate account. Some collections of documents, most notably privately held ones, had not been ascribed individual reference numbers.³¹ In these cases, numbers were assigned according to the order in which the documents appeared in a bundle or volume. When the only available account of events was a transcription of a

³⁰ Baker, *Geography and History*, p. 211.

³¹ Numbers were assigned to the documents in National Library of Ireland, Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778; Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Class YDA 1968 W45, Accession Number T60772; National Register of Archives for Scotland, Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Volume 73; National Register of Archives for Scotland, Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353; National Register of Archives for Scotland, Douglas-Hamilton Papers, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon, NRAS2177/Bundle 911; National Register of Archives for Scotland, Douglas-Hamilton Papers, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon, NRAS2177/Bundle 719.

primary source, the accuracy of this transcription was a matter of particular concern. This was most notable in the case of the New Abbey Waterloo monument, when transcribed minutes and subscription lists of those originally drawn up at the time of its erection were employed. A full assessment of these and their potential accuracy is given in footnote 16 of Chapter 4.3 New Abbey. The maps used to illustrate this work, with the exception of that which appears in this chapter, are all extracts from Ordnance Survey first edition maps. They were selected both to give as close as possible a representation of the contemporary surrounds of each monument at the time of its erection and to present a degree of consistency and continuity in map appearance from chapter to chapter.

Aside from considerations of accuracy, it must also be borne in mind that the author of a historical source will always have a specific agenda in mind and be influenced by their own personal background and opinions in what they record and how they record it. Social, economic, political and historical factors will have a bearing, including aspects such as class, race, religion, gender and sexuality. But although the sources studied may be an élite or limited view of the past, this does not necessarily diminish their value. However, an awareness of the circumstances of their origin is essential to their interpretation. Freek Colombijn provides an interesting viewpoint on the use of newspapers as a source, contending that: “newspapers ... provide very precious information on the assumption that newspapers can only survive if they articulate meanings shared by ordinary people.”³² Yet consideration must still be given to the background and agenda of a publication, and it should be borne in mind that although an opinion may be widely held, alternative outlooks and readings of events may still persist, whether they are voiced and recorded or not.

Efforts at primary source research were wound up once most potential sources of information had been mined and sufficient information had been gathered to produce a valid and verifiable thesis on the subject. Following the completion of primary source research, the focus of the project shifted to forming an interpretation of the symbolic landscape fashioned by the monuments’ existence. This process was characterised by a combination of several different approaches. Recourse was made both to contemporary, nineteenth-century publications and modern, secondary source literature in order to locate events in the monuments’ lives within the broader social, cultural and historical context on both a local and a national scale. Thus events in their lives were linked to wider societal attitudes, trends and developments. Such a historical and contextual approach to the study

³² Colombijn, ‘Canberra’, p. 567.

of the symbolic landscape has been advocated by many cultural geographers, among them Denis Cosgrove,³³ Alan Baker³⁴ and Donald Meinig.³⁵

The aforementioned theoretical concepts and methods of Barnes and Duncan, who posited treating the landscape as a text which could be “read” and decoded,³⁶ and Daniels and Cosgrove, who used iconographic methods to interpret the landscape,³⁷ were employed to variable degrees to assist in decoding the symbolic subtexts of the landscape of the monuments. Yvonne Whelan’s ‘lifecycle of a monument’ diagram (Figure 2.2.2)³⁸ also provided a framework for forming an interpretation of the subtextual meanings attached to a monument which served as a useful starting point to guide attempts at interpretation of the Wellington monuments. However, it did need to be adapted to suit the specific circumstances and context of this piece of research and not all the subtexts suggested by Whelan have been relevant to this study. Aside from this, close attention was also paid to any thematic or more tangible links or interconnections between the various monuments, as such commonalities may be indicative of a unified symbolic landscape with an overarching message or subtext. More broadly it has been intended that my interpretations should be informed by the most recent theories in landscape reading and writings on monuments, identity formation, power, memory, nation and empire in cultural and historical geography and other disciplines, a cross section of which have been touched upon in this chapter and in Chapter One.

In producing this work, it is hoped that a suitable balance has been attained between the presentation of factual information and its interpretation. In this the words of Alan Baker have been particularly relevant:

I maintain that both the divide within historical geography and the gulf between it and cultural geography can be bridged by a wider recognition of the interdependence of ‘fact’ and ‘interpretation’, of the necessity to consummate the marriage of empirical and theoretical approaches: in this context, the whole is indeed greater than the sum of its parts.³⁹

It is also intended that this work may conform to Denis Cosgrove’s maxim for all geographical landscape interpretations, whereby “understanding is informed by our own

³³ Cosgrove, ‘Geography is Everywhere’, pp. 118-135.

³⁴ Baker, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-14.

³⁵ Meinig, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-7.

³⁶ Barnes and Duncan, ‘Writing Worlds’, pp. 1-17.

³⁷ Daniels and Cosgrove, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-10.

³⁸ Whelan, ‘Monuments, Power and Contested Space’, pp. 11-33.

³⁹ Baker, *Geography and History*, pp. 211-212.

values, beliefs and theories, but it is grounded in the pursuit of evidence according to the acknowledged rules of disinterested scholarship”.⁴⁰

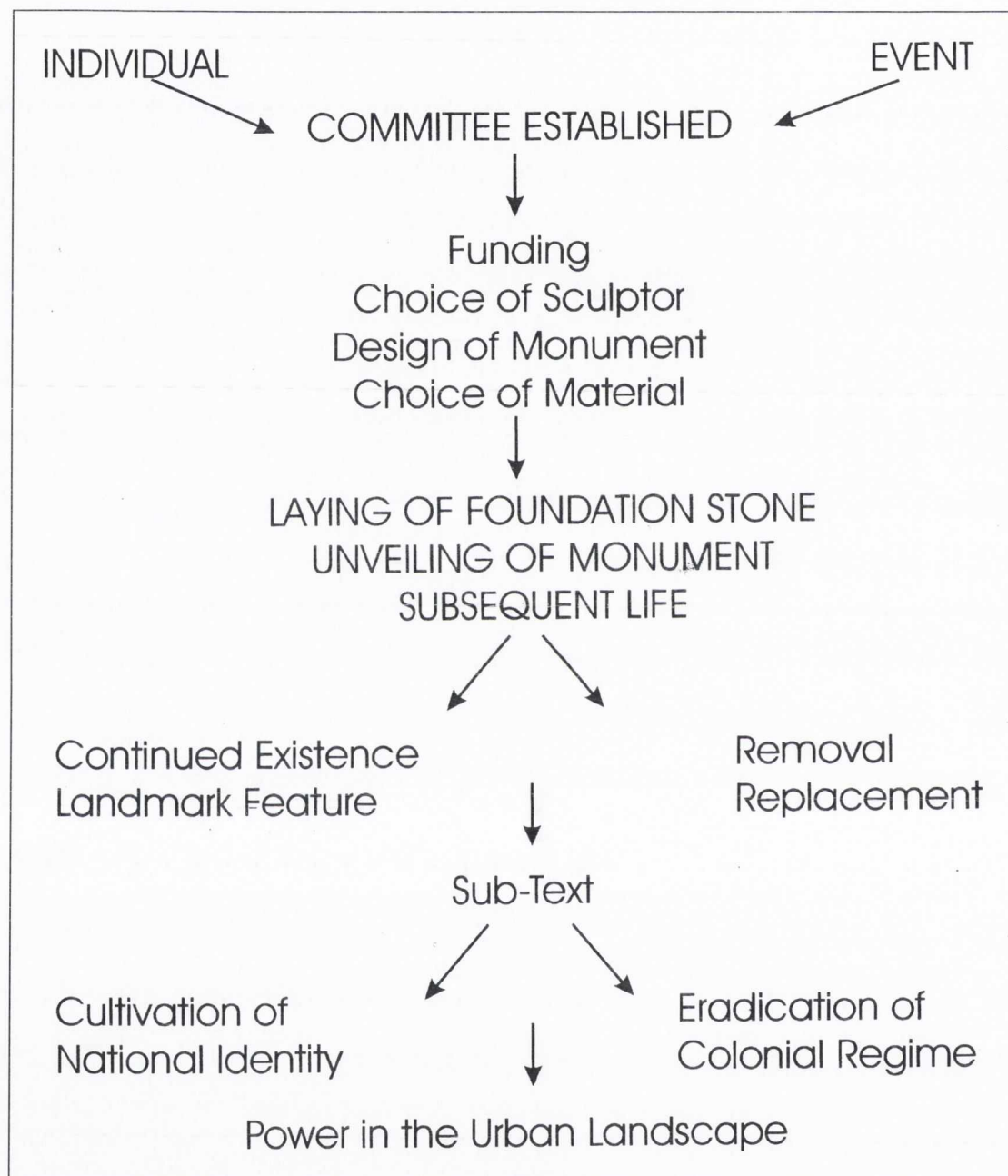


Figure 2.2.2: The lifecycle of a monument. From Yvonne Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space- The Iconography of Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) Before Independence (1922)', *Irish Geography*, 34:1 (2001), p. 14.

⁴⁰ Cosgrove, 'Geography is Everywhere', p. 127.

2.3 Layout

In the chapters that follow, the monuments to be discussed are grouped geographically according to the country in which they are located, each country forming a separate chapter. Within each chapter the monuments are dealt with in chronological order, with the time of a first reference being made to their instigation being taken as the point of origin for each. The order in which each country is dealt with also follows a chronological progression, the time of a monument first being instigated in a country representing the commencement of monumental commemoration of the Duke in that country. Therefore Ireland appears first as the Dublin testimonial can be dated as far back as at least 20 July 1813; Scotland is placed next as a national testimonial in Edinburgh was considered as early as 27 July 1814; while Wales is the final country to be dealt with as its monumental commemoration of the Duke did not commence until the second half of the nineteenth century, the plan for a statue in Brecon being publicly announced during the last week of October 1852.

While alternative layouts or grouping of the monuments would have been possible, for example according to architectural type, such a method of grouping was not chosen as the forms of the monuments presented a wide degree of variation, with even all the statues or columns differing quite significantly from one another, ranging from equestrian statues to non-equestrian, and from a solid Corinthian column with a statue of the Duke on top to hollow columns with internal staircases leading to a viewing area at the summit. A country by country division was also chosen for thematic reasons, an investigation of concepts of national and other regional and local identities having been established at the outset as one of the key research questions to be investigated during the course of this project.

CHAPTER THREE: IRELAND

3.1 Dublin

3.1.1 Early Origins: Testimonial for a Peninsular Hero

Standing at an imposing height of 204 feet,¹ the Wellington Testimonial (Figure 3.1.1) dominates the skyline from its location in Phoenix Park, the largest public park in Ireland's capital city, Dublin. In 1831, the city comprised 265,316 inhabitants, of which 204,155 were within the boundary of the civic jurisdiction.² Designed by Robert Smirke,³ the testimonial is still one of the tallest obelisks in Europe today. Of all the monuments under consideration, this is the one whose origins can be traced back furthest. According to *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, it was the Earl of Roden who first proposed the erection of a monument to the Duke of Wellington in Ireland.⁴ The Earl was particularly staunch in his religious and loyalist convictions, being an active member and grand master of the Orange Order.⁵ He also served as MP for Dundalk from 1810 to 1820.⁶ He organized what was described as "a meeting of several noblemen and gentlemen of the Kingdom of Ireland"⁷ at the Rotunda in Dublin on 20 July 1813 in order to put forward his idea. The result was the adoption of the following resolution, which sets out the impetus for the monument's erection:

Being convinced that the ... successes of that Illustrious Irishman, Field Marshall the Marquis of Wellington, in his campaigns against the French intruders of Spain and Portugal not only reflect honour on the country of his birth, but have eminently contributed to the security, prosperity and glory of the British Empire- and the best interests of mankind- we deem it to be a proud duty devolving on his countrymen to record, by some public National Testimonial, to be erected in the Metropolis of Ireland, the exploits he has achieved, in order that he, who has distinguished himself by great services to his country, may enjoy the gratitude and applause of his contemporaries and that our posterity may be excited by emulation of his fame, to the imitation of his example.⁸

¹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 241, Extract from *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 20 June 1861, written by Thomas Larcom.

² Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate, market, and post towns, parishes, and villages, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume I* (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1837), p. 525.

³ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 13 December 1815.

⁴ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 20 July 1813; Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial', p. 48.

⁵ D.J. Hickey and J.E. Doherty, *A New Dictionary of Irish History from 1800* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2003), p. 420.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 3, Proceedings of the First Meeting on the Subject of the Wellington Testimonial, 20 July 1813, pp. 1-2.

⁸ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.1.1: Wellington Testimonial, Phoenix Park

Clearly, from its first conception, the monument was intended to present us with a glorified image of the Duke as a hero of the British Empire. The figure of the Duke is employed to allude to a message of the military power and might of Britain and her Empire. There is also a conscious effort to merge British and Irish national identities through the character of the Duke. His exploits on the field of battle are described as contributing to the security and glory of the British Empire, but they are also described as “great services to his country”, which happened to be Ireland. This description presents Britain and Ireland as a unified front with a common fate; what benefits Britain and the Empire also benefits Ireland as a member of the Union and a stakeholder in that Empire. However, it was still clear Britain was intended to hold the dominant role in this relationship. There is a slightly threatening tone to the militaristic allusions of the proposal and the planned monument: the Empire is a force to be reckoned with and its opponents will be defeated. The instructive, somewhat preaching tone of the resolution may imply some dissatisfaction on the authors’ parts with some Irishmen’s contemporary attitudes to the British connection. Here, the Duke is held up as a role model to encourage acceptance of and service to Britain and the Empire; Irishmen should “(imitate) ... his example”.

The meeting called for a general subscription to be opened in Ireland to fund the monument. Letters were also to be sent to the High Sheriff and Foreman of every Grand Jury in Ireland and to those residing in England who possessed extensive property in

Ireland in order to inform them of the intentions of the Committee and solicit their assistance in the matter.⁹ This presents a picture of England and Ireland working together to shape the monument: a united effort. However, it was a select stratum of English and Irish society that was called upon to fund and oversee the monument's construction. A list of names of the Committee of Managers reveals that 39 of them were members of the titled aristocracy, 8 were judges, 2 were colonels and 30 others were gentlemen of no particular title.¹⁰ Clearly, the memory preserved at the Testimonial was that of a group of social, political and, to a small extent, military élites. While subscriptions were invited from the general public, the funding of the landowning aristocracy and government institutions was sought in particular. It was largely their message that was to be inscribed onto the symbolic landscape.

3.1.2 *Competition for an Architect*

The next step in the development of the monument was the choice of a suitable design and a site upon which to locate it. A large number of potential designs were submitted by artists from all over the United Kingdom.¹¹ From among these a final six (Figure 3.1.2 and Figure 3.1.3) were selected by the Committee of Managers and models of them were displayed to the public at the Dublin Society's House on Hawkin's Street for a few weeks during November and December 1815.¹² Of the artists, at least two were Irish (Hill and Hamilton),¹³ but it was an English architect, Robert Smirke,¹⁴ whose design was selected by the Committee on 11 December 1815.¹⁵ The vote in favour of Smirke was unanimous.¹⁶ Much debate had surrounded the choice of design, with the Committee initially appearing to be more in favour of a columnar appearance.¹⁷ A letter by one of the Committee Managers, John Leslie Foster, written five days before the selection of the design indicated that although the Committee's taste now lay in favour of an obelisk, Smirke's design was not seen as being particularly preferable to Hamilton's due to any concern of artistic

⁹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 3, Proceedings of the First Meeting on the Subject of the Wellington Testimonial, 20 July 1813, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 1, Extract from Whitelaw Walsh's *History of Dublin*, published 1818.

¹² *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1815; *Freeman's Journal*, 13 December 1815.

¹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 November 1815.

¹⁴ A comprehensive account of Smirke's career may be found in J. Mordaunt Crook, 'The Career of Sir Robert Smirke R.A.' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1962).

¹⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 December 1815.

¹⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 December 1815; *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Volume XIII, January 1814-December 1815*, ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 4752.

¹⁷ Royal Irish Academy, Haliday Pamphlets 1814, No. 1058/6, 'Report of the Committee of Managers of the Wellington Testimonial Appointed on the 6th July, 1814'.

merit.¹⁸ He mentioned that the Commissioners of Stephen's Green (the Committee's preferred site for the monument) had recently opposed the idea of an obelisk being located there, but the Committee still held hopes of persuading them otherwise.¹⁹ He also stated that he believed Smirke's obelisk "(was) considered by the Commissioners of the Green, rather as the more objectionable of the two".²⁰ Yet despite this, the Committee ultimately favoured the design of an Englishman over that of an Irishman. Once again, the monument was consciously inlaid with a message of English superiority.

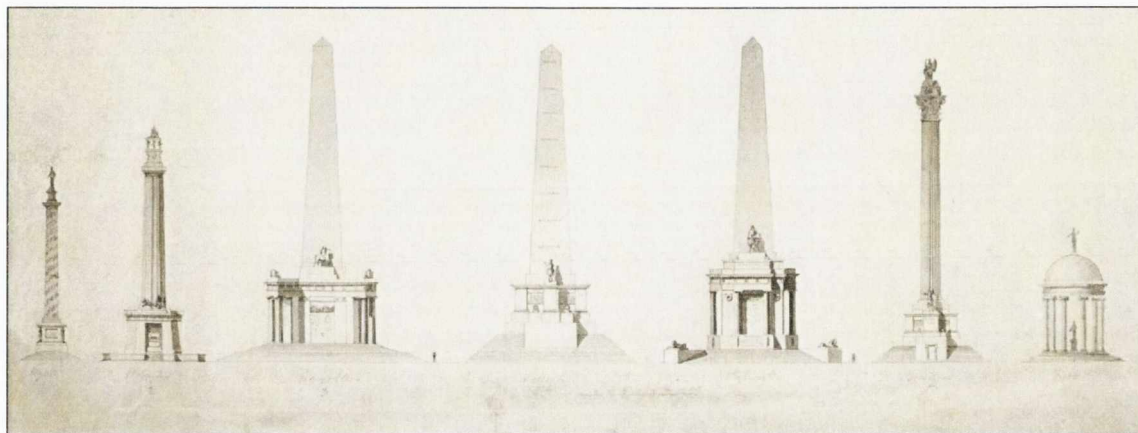


Figure 3.1.2: Architectural drawing of the final seven proposed designs for the Wellington Testimonial. From left to right the artists are: Wyatt, Wilkins, Hamilton, Smirke, Papworth, Bowden and Hill. Papworth, an English born architect resident in Ireland, was excluded from the final shortlist of six. From National Library of Ireland, Architectural Drawings Collection, A.D. 1925, c. 1815.

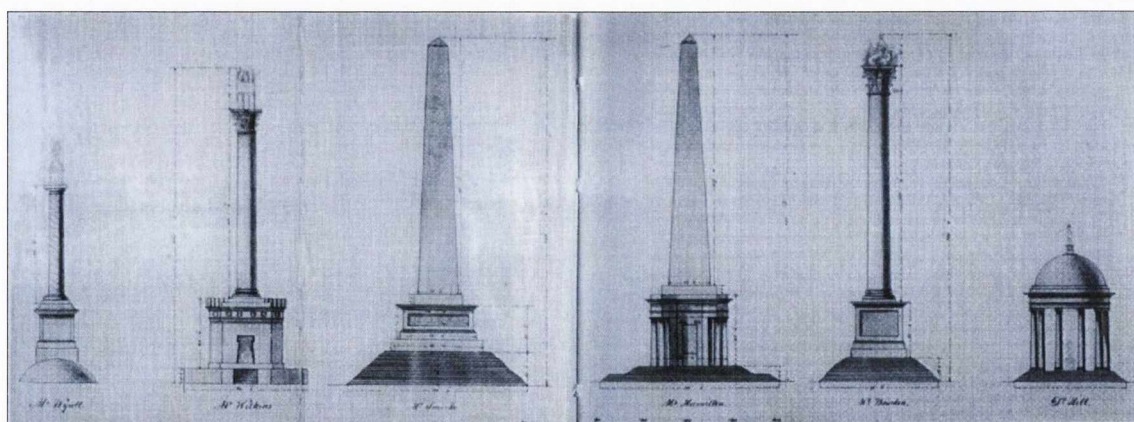


Figure 3.1.3: Ink and wash drawing of the final six proposed designs for the Wellington Testimonial. From left to right the artists are: Wyatt, Wilkins, Smirke, Hamilton, Bowden and Hill. From Judith Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture: A History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), pp. 66-67.

¹⁸ Royal Irish Academy, Haliday Pamphlets 1815, No. 1077/6, 'A Letter on the Fittest Style and Situation for the Wellington Trophy about to be Erected in Dublin', John Leslie Foster to John Wilson Croker, 6 December 1815, pp. 1-31.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 7-27.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

According to Richard Barnes, the obelisk form embodies a subtext of power: “Ancient Egypt’s obelisks demonstrated superhuman strength and the Pharaoh’s supremacy”.²¹ Thus the choice of this form can be seen as another means through which the upper classes, most of whom, like Roden, were members of the Protestant Ascendancy, constructed a landscape of power that served to bolster the position of their social class, and that of the British state and Empire they supported and felt themselves closely connected to, within the Irish landscape.

3.1.3 *Where to Build?*

A number of different sites were considered for the location of the monument, with city-centre locations such as Stephen’s Green and Merrion Square being the initial choices of the Committee.²² Interest in the competition’s progress and the site selection extended even as far as the Scottish countryside, with the *Kelso Mail* of 25 December 1815 reporting on the victory of Smirke’s design and the Committee’s hopes to secure Stephen’s Green or Merrion Square as the location for its erection.²³ The same publication took a keen interest in the Marquis of Lothian’s concurrent efforts to raise a monument to Wellington on his estate in Roxburghshire, thus creating something of a link between the two projects.

However, by 20 November 1816, Phoenix Park had finally been settled upon as the site for Dublin’s Wellington Testimonial (Figure 3.1.4).²⁴ Here the monument was to stand in close proximity to the Royal Barracks and Royal Artillery Barracks, both situated outside the confines of the park. Inside the park it was accompanied by other military-associated structures such as the Royal Military Infirmary, the Magazine Fort, batteries and the Hibernian School for soldiers’ children. The park was also home to several of the residences of the Crown’s key representatives in Ireland, including the Vice-regal Lodge, the Chief Secretary’s Lodge and the Under Secretary’s Lodge.²⁵ The selection of such a politically charged site for the monument served to further reinforce the messages of military power and adherence to British political and imperial institutions already infused in its form.

²¹ Barnes, *The Obelisk*, p. 141.

²² *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 December 1815.

²³ *Kelso Mail*, 25 December 1815.

²⁴ *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Volume XIV, January 1816-December 1817*, ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 4926.

²⁵ Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Dublin, Sheet 18, surveyed 1837; Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. Volume I*, pp. 544-545.



Figure 3.1.4: The Wellington Testimonial (highlighted by a red dot) in Phoenix Park, Dublin. Formed using Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Dublin, Sheet 18, surveyed 1837.

Among those who endorsed the adoption of the Phoenix Park site was John Wilson Croker. Writing from London to one of the Committee of Managers, Croker gave a strong recommendation to the placement of the testimonial in that location on account of “its connexion with the great scene of military exercise ... and its extensive visibility from all points”.²⁶ Croker was an Irish-born politician and a published author on a wide range of topics. He was personally acquainted with Wellington, having been engaged by him to assume the duties of Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1808 during Wellesley’s absence while fighting on the Peninsula. These beginnings led to a life-long friendship between the two.²⁷ Croker also proposed Trinity College as a potential site for the monument, where he suggested it be situated in an expanded and embellished College Park. However, he cited his reservation against this proposal as being “that the College Park is, and must continue to be, enclosed from the public, and that a national trophy ought not to be erected in such an enclosure, where every one would not be at full liberty to approach and examine it.”²⁸ Croker later acted on the Committee for the Wyatt Wellington memorial in London which

²⁶ Royal Irish Academy, Haliday Pamphlets 1815, No. 1077/5, ‘A Letter on the Fittest Style and Situation for the Wellington Trophy about to be Erected in Dublin’, John Wilson Croker to John Leslie Foster, 30 December 1814, p. 19.

²⁷ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. V- Craik to Drake* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), pp. 123-125.

²⁸ Haliday Pamphlets 1815, No. 1077/5, p. 39.

was erected in 1846.²⁹ While engaged with this undertaking he was informed of the Edinburgh Wellington testimonial project and sent his best wishes for its success.³⁰

3.1.4 Lancers and Cannon: From Foundation Stone Ceremony to Early Abandonment

On 18 June 1817, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Whitworth, was called upon to lay the foundation stone for Dublin's testimonial at a ceremony held for that purpose. The *Freeman's Journal* reported on the occasion, saying that:

The Lord Lieutenant ... (was) attended by several officers of distinction and an escort of dragoons... (The ceremony) was attended by a vast concourse of carriages, and of equestrian and pedestrian spectators; the day being particularly favourable there were exhibited considerable beauty, rank and fashion. ... (The Lancers) made a beautiful and warlike appearance... After the ceremony of laying the stone, 21 rounds were fired.³¹

The presence of the Lord Lieutenant (the Crown's senior representative in Ireland) at a ceremony widely attended by the Irish public emphasised the flavour of a united Britain and Ireland intended to surround proceedings. His appearance flanked by a military force added a somewhat ominous undertone to the event. Clearly, their presence and actions alluded to the power of the British state and Empire. Firing their shots, the soldiers laid claim to the monumental space in an aggressive manner, setting it up as a stronghold of Britain and the Empire. Thus in its conception and early existence, the primary role of the monument was to preach an ideology that spoke of the might of the Empire. But alongside this it also sought to naturalise the conception of Ireland as a part of the British state, with a role to play in the advancement of the Empire, and to encourage the Irish public to accept this philosophy as their countryman Wellington has done.

Around 1820, the British government made a grant of brass cannon captured during the Peninsular campaign in order that the metal might be used to mould the bas-reliefs that were to adorn the base of the obelisk, as well as an equestrian statue of the Duke and two statues of lions that were originally intended to stand before it (Figure 3.1.5³²).³³ However,

²⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/2, Rutland to Buccleuch et al, 14 July 1838.

³⁰ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 45, J.W. Croker to Peter, 27 December 1839.

³¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 June 1817.

³² Another early design sketch suggests Smirke may also have been considering the addition of statues of winged Victories at each of the corners of the obelisk's base. Further sketches on the reverse of this design show a Corinthian style column surmounted by a statue in place of the obelisk shaft. This may have been a sketch for another project Smirke was engaged upon, or it may represent an alternative design considered by him for the Wellington Testimonial. Royal Institute of British Architects, 'The Wellington Testimonial, Phoenix Park, Dublin', RIBA21514 or SC93/1(2).

³³ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 17, Arthur Cane to Lord Raglan, 23 February 1853; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 18, Lord Raglan to Arthur Cane, 3 March 1853.

only two of these cannon were claimed³⁴ (being used to inscribe the names of 28 victories in India, Spain, Portugal and France that were associated with Wellington onto the shaft of the obelisk) since funds ran out in 1822 and work on the monument had to be halted.³⁵ The construction of the obelisk alone reputedly cost upwards of £20,000.³⁶ Smirke estimated that over £12,000 more would be required to complete the monument according to his original design specification.³⁷ These figures make the testimonial both the most expensive and the most highly subscribed to of all the Wellington commemorations in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Yet without the additional money required it was to remain incomplete for almost the next 40 years. An unadorned obelisk with an empty pedestal before it, with no name engraved on it other than that of the 28 victories, it stood as a testament to British might and military achievement. But the messages imbued in the Wellington Testimonial would be altered in line with societal changes.

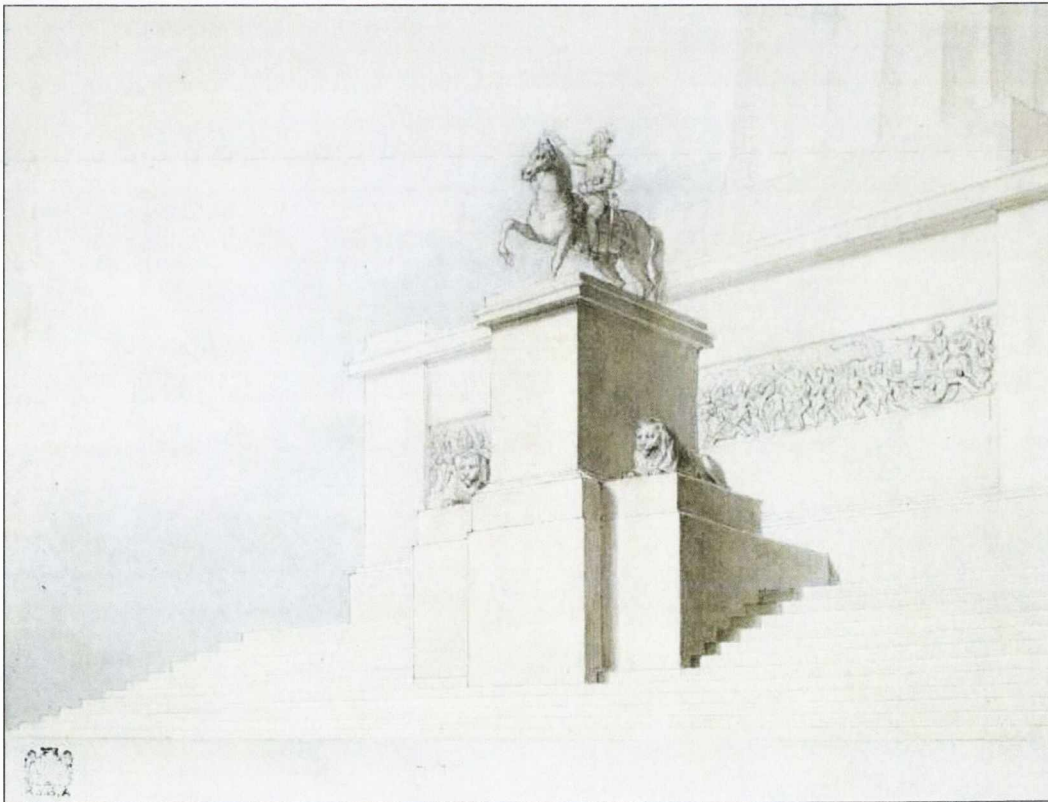


Figure 3.1.5: Early design sketch for the Wellington Testimonial by Smirke depicting two lions and an equestrian statue on the steps at the base of the monument. From Royal Institute of British Architects, 'The Wellington Testimonial, Phoenix Park, Dublin', RIBA21512 or SC93/1(3).

³⁴ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 17, Arthur Cane to Lord Raglan, 23 February 1853.

³⁵ Ibid., Doc. 241, Extract from *Freeman's Journal*, 20 June 1861, written by Thomas Larcom.

³⁶ Ibid., Doc. 17, Arthur Cane to Lord Raglan, 23 February 1853.

³⁷ Ibid., Doc. 16, Robert Smirke to Arthur Cane, 18 January 1853.

3.1.5 Catholic Emancipation and 1850s Revival

On 6 May 1829, a public meeting was held at the London Tavern to organise a voluntary subscription to raise funds for the erection of a statue to Wellington in or near Dublin to commemorate his instrumental role in securing the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in April of that year.³⁸ The meeting was attended by “about 500 respectable persons”,³⁹ and although there was a strong Ascendancy presence, there was also a considerable Catholic and Irish nationalist contingent, led most notably by the active involvement of Daniel O’Connell, the Catholic MP and champion of Emancipation, in the proceedings.⁴⁰ Ultimately, insufficient funds were raised to carry out the project, but in 1858 the money raised was amalgamated with that leftover from the 1813 Committee’s efforts and employed to complete the Wellington Testimonial.⁴¹ This period of the monument’s completion also heralded something of a transformation in the messages instilled in its form. Previously, the monument preached from on high its message of British state and imperial power, but the changes made to the original design in its completion phase resulted in a more conciliatory, less militant message being imparted. Britain and the Empire were still glorified, and Ireland’s inclusion in them was still emphasised, but now more of an effort was made to appease dissenters rather than simply threaten them with the force of Britain’s military retaliation. Thus some military symbols or connotations were rejected or discarded and other symbols and actions with conciliatory overtones were now observable. This may have reflected a British acknowledgement of the rise of separatism and militant nationalism in Ireland at this time (which culminated in a series of Fenian rebellions in 1867)⁴² and the necessity of dealing with it in a less confrontational manner, as this only served to increase Irish dissatisfaction rather than suppress it.⁴³

With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that three Irish artists, John Hogan, Thomas Farrell⁴⁴ and Joseph Kirk, were selected to model the bas-reliefs that were to be inserted into the base of the obelisk. Funds were short, so it was decided to jettison the plan

³⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 11 May 1829.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 32, Duke of Leinster to Lord Carlisle, 14 November 1857; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 61, Duke of Leinster to Thomas Larcom, 9 August 1858.

⁴² Oliver MacDonagh, ‘Introduction: Ireland and the Union, 1801-70’, in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland under the Union, I, 1801-70* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. ix-lxi.

⁴³ These conciliatory sentiments are further reflected in later British attempts at reform through moves such as the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland in 1869 and Gladstone’s Irish land reform act of 1870.

⁴⁴ P.F. Garnett claims the artist in question was Thomas Farrell’s father, Terence Farrell. Garnett, ‘The Wellington Testimonial’, p. 59. However, the *Freeman’s Journal* of 18 May 1859 clearly states Thomas Farrell as being the sculptor of the Waterloo bas-relief. A letter proposing a design for the inscription plate is also signed “Thomas Farrell”, proving he had at least some level of involvement in the work. Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 173, Thomas Farrell to Larcom, 1 February 1860.

for an equestrian statue with accompanying lions in favour of completing the bas-reliefs in the best manner possible.⁴⁵ The hand of the British state and the Protestant Ascendancy in shaping the monumental space was still clear, embodied as it was through the critical role played by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, in the completion of the memorial.

Interest had been revived in finishing the monument after Wellington's death in 1852.⁴⁶ At this point Patrick MacDowell, a Belfast-born sculptor living in England,⁴⁷ was contacted by the secretary to the trustees of the Wellington Testimonial for his opinion on how the monument might be completed.⁴⁸ MacDowell provided cost estimates and design sketches,⁴⁹ but it seems any thoughts of employing him to undertake the work were abandoned.⁵⁰ It was not until Carlisle's term of office began in 1855 that any real progress began to be made. He applied to the British government for a grant to aid in the completion of the monument,⁵¹ resulting in £2,000 being allocated by parliament in Westminster for the purpose.⁵² He was also instrumental in securing the funds from the 1829 Committee, proposing to apply the money to inserting a bas-relief dedicated to the Duke's civil and religious services, most notably through Catholic Emancipation, into the monument.⁵³ He decided that there should also be two military bas-reliefs, and that the fourth side should be devoted to an inscription plate.⁵⁴ He handpicked Irish sculptors to carry out the work, assigning a subject to each of them.⁵⁵ When pressed to devote the fourth side to another military bas-relief (one dedicated to a Peninsular victory),⁵⁶ he insisted on remaining with his original plan, saying: "I must cling to only two military Bas reliefs- Asia and Europe; one licking of the French will be quite enough, especially in these days of close alliance, and I think the inscription very material".⁵⁷ These sentiments indicate that the monument's

⁴⁵ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 21, Carlisle to Cane, 27 August 1855; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 36, Larcom to Carlisle, 4 December 1857.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Doc. 241, Extract from *Freeman's Journal*, 20 June 1861, written by Thomas Larcom.

⁴⁷ Walter George Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists, Volume II: L-Z* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968), pp. 59-60.

⁴⁸ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 8, P. MacDowell to Arthur Cane, 30 October 1852.

⁴⁹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 8, P. MacDowell to Arthur Cane, 30 October 1852; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 10, MacDowell to A. Cane, 11 January 1853; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 11, MacDowell to A. Cane, 21 January 1853; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 12, MacDowell to A. Cane, 31 January 1853.

⁵⁰ However, after Hogan's death in 1858, Cane proposed that the commission for a bas-relief should be given to MacDowell instead, emphasising in his appeal that "he is one of the most eminent sculptors of the day and Irish". Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 46, A. Cane to Larcom, 4 May 1858.

⁵¹ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 24, Arthur Cane to Carlisle, 10 May 1856; Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 25, Lewis to Carlisle, 17 May 1856.

⁵² Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 132, Larcom to Hawes, 22 March 1858.

⁵³ Ibid., Doc. 32, Leinster to Carlisle, 14 November 1857.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Doc. 37, Memo of Interview with Trustees of Wellington Testimonial, Thomas Larcom, 4 December 1857.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Doc. 44, Carlisle to Larcom, 19 December 1857; Ibid., Doc. 241, Extract from *Freeman's Journal*, 20 June 1861, written by Thomas Larcom.

⁵⁶ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 42, Larcom to Carlisle, 16 December 1857.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Doc. 44, Carlisle to Larcom, 19 December 1857.

appearance, and therefore the messages it was intended to convey, were carefully constructed with an awareness of the historical and social context in mind. It also indicates the importance of the inscription in conveying the monument's intentions.

Several potential designs were submitted for the inscription plate, among them one by Kirk (Figure 3.1.6) and one by Farrell (Figure 3.1.7). But ultimately these were rejected, and it was left in the hands of an Englishman, Thomas Potter, both to model and cast the plate (Figure 3.1.8).⁵⁸ The inscription was decided upon by Carlisle personally.⁵⁹ Clearly it was to be those with British interests who would ultimately determine the message the monument was to preach. In Latin and English the following words were inscribed:



Figure 3.1.6: Proposed Design for the Wellington Testimonial Inscription Plate by Joseph R. Kirk. From Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 172.

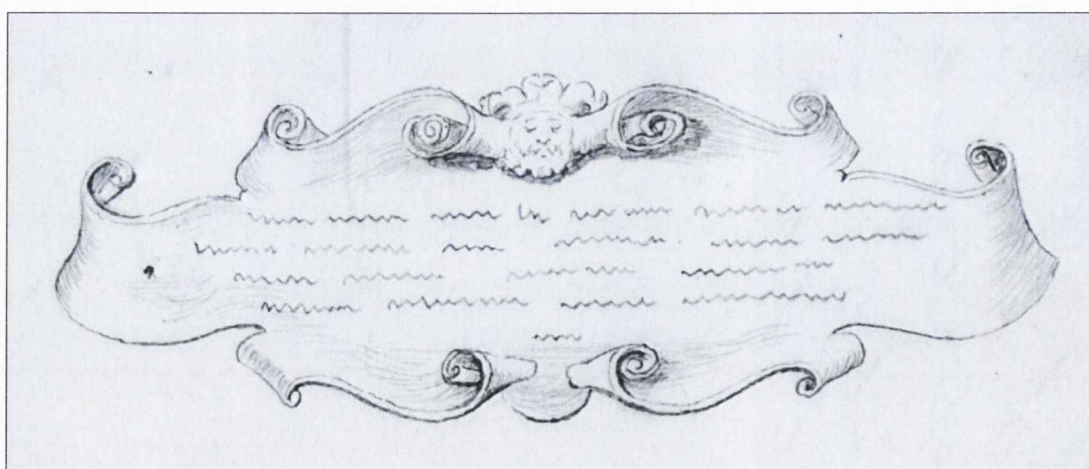


Figure 3.1.7: Proposed Design for the Wellington Testimonial Inscription Plate by Thomas Farrell. From Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 173.

⁵⁸ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 185, Larcom to Potter, 30 August 1860.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Doc. 38, Carlisle to Larcom, 12 December 1857.



Figure 3.1.8: Inscription Plate on the Wellington Testimonial today

ASIA AND EUROPE, SAVED BY THEE, PROCLAIM
INVINCIBLE IN WAR THY DEATHLESS NAME,
NOW ROUND THY BROW THE CIVIC OAK WE TWINE
THAT EVERY EARTHLY GLORY MAY BE THINE

The use of Latin imbues the inscription with classical allusions. Wellington's name appears prominently on the plate also (Figure 3.1.8), linking the messages of the monument inextricably with his personality. The inscription tells us that Wellington, and by extension the British Empire for whom he was fighting, has "saved" Asia and Europe. This reinforces the notion described by many historians, among them James and Kumar, that Britain believed they had a righteous, perhaps even divinely ordained, mission to civilise the rest of the world by means of the expansion and maintenance of their Empire.⁶⁰ The idea of the righteous mission of the Empire is further reinforced through the transcendent terms used to describe Wellington's rewards for his actions on the Empire's behalf: "every earthly glory" will be his and his name has been rendered "deathless". Equally, the Empire is established as a formidable, unbeatable foe, as it and Wellington are both "invincible in war".

A crown and two spears are incorporated into the design of the inscription plate, symbols of military and sovereign power. Two oak branches also appear, reinforcing the image of the "civic oak" referred to in the poem. In later Georgian England, trees were employed symbolically to represent and reinforce conceptions of social order.⁶¹ According to Stephen Daniels, "the oldest, richest and most complex associations adhered to the oak. Like the ideal landed family, oaks were claimed to be venerable, patriarchal, stately,

⁶⁰ Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*.

⁶¹ Stephen Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later Georgian England', in Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 43.

guardian and quintessentially English.”⁶² This connects Wellington to both an English and an upper-class, landed-gentry identity. A further inscription was added to a separate stone tablet beneath the inscription plate. It reads in capital letters:

Testimonial to the services of

Arthur Duke of Wellington

Was erected by the private subscription of his countrymen.

The inscriptions were written in honour of his brother by Richard Marquis Wellesley

The sculptures were executed by Irish artists and cast from cannon taken in battle

Begun in 1817 Earl Whitworth P.R., finished in 1861 Earl of Carlisle P.R.

R. Smirke R.A. Architect

In contrast to the main inscription plate, this tablet links Wellington to an Irish identity, emphasising that it was his fellow Irishmen who funded this commemoration. The wording also further emphasises the role of Irishmen in creating the work, stating clearly that the bas-reliefs were carried out by Irish artists. The artists' names are not given; it is only their Irish identity that matters. This also glosses over the role played by an Italian sculptor, Benzoni, in completing Hogan's bas-relief after his death,⁶³ and ignores the fact that Thomas Potter, the Englishman, cast all three bas-reliefs in bronze from the sculptors' models.⁶⁴ It is an emphasis on Irish participation and inclusion that this portion of the inscription wishes to convey above all else. However, it should not be forgotten that the only artist specifically named here is an Englishman, Robert Smirke. If England and Ireland were to be united under an overarching British identity, it was still England which was to hold the upper hand in this relationship.

A further emphasis on Irish and British unity can be seen in the Emancipation bas-relief (Figure 3.1.9). Here a mixture of Irish and English figures instrumental in gaining Emancipation are depicted standing on either side of the Duke.⁶⁵ The Duke himself stands in the middle ground between the allegorical figures of Hibernia and Britannia (Figure 3.1.10), a point of negotiation between British and Irish national identities, both one and the other. According to Krishan Kumar, “Britannia symbolized not just the unity of Britain but also recalled the glories of classical Greece and Rome, with their associations of

⁶² Daniels, ‘The Political Iconography of Woodland’, p. 48.

⁶³ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 92, Larcom to Carlisle, 10 September 1858.

⁶⁴ Ibid., Doc. 167, Larcom to Potter, 30 January 1860.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Doc. 69, John Hogan to Carlisle, 6 October 1857.

liberty, maritime supremacy, and imperial destiny”.⁶⁶ This celebration of Emancipation also served to legitimise the monument for the broader Irish Catholic populace, as did Daniel O’Connell’s involvement in raising the funds that sponsored it.



Figure 3.1.9: Emancipation Bas-relief designed by John Hogan



Figure 3.1.10: Detail from Emancipation Bas-relief. The Duke stands in the centre, Britannia kneels on his right, Hibernia at his left.

But the military allusions, though tempered by the addition of other layers of meaning and identity, had not vanished either. Kirk (Figure 3.1.11) and Farrell’s (Figure 3.1.12) bas-reliefs depict military scenes, and all three reliefs themselves were cast from cannon captured by the Empire in battle, which Carlisle procured from the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich via a grant from the British government.⁶⁷ Thus the monumental space that was created still spoke of the power and greatness of Britain and her Empire, but also forged links between them and Ireland through the figure of the Duke.

⁶⁶ Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, p. 134.

⁶⁷ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 131, Hawes to Larcom, 5 March 1858.



Figure 3.1.11: Siege of Seringapatam Bas-relief, designed by Joseph R. Kirk



Figure 3.1.12: Waterloo Bas-relief, designed by Thomas Farrell

On 18 June 1861, 44 years to the day after the laying of the foundation stone, the monument was laid open to the public.⁶⁸ Although an inauguration ceremony was intended to be held at a later date to celebrate the event,⁶⁹ no record of such a ceremony has been uncovered. It now stood complete to carry down its message to subsequent generations.

⁶⁸ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 221, Larcom to Potter, 18 June 1861.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Doc. 221, Larcom to Potter, 18 June 1861.

3.2 Trim

3.2.1 *A County Monument in Wellington's Home Town*

The historic town of Trim, Co. Meath is the location of a second Irish monument to the memory of the Duke. Situated in the province of Leinster, it encompassed a population of 3,282 living in about 570 houses around the year 1837.¹ As previously touched upon at the outset of this work, Wellington himself had a number of personal connections with the town. The site chosen for the monument lay to the south of the town at a crossroads with Dublin Gate Street (Figure 3.2.1). A 1909 Ordnance Survey map of the area names the road leading away from the monument to the west as Wellington Place, thereby adding to the commemorative space being created.² An infantry barracks lay immediately to the south, and was designed to accommodate 3 officers and 80 non-commissioned officers and privates.³ A pound right beside the monument and a new county gaol, built in 1834,⁴ to the east of the site establish a military and authoritarian environment. A building adjacent to the Charter School is named Mornington House on the 1909 map of the area⁵ and may have been one of the houses in which Wellington resided for a time during the early part of his career.⁶ It is certainly named in honour of his family, his father having been created the first Earl of Mornington.

Standing at 75 feet high,⁷ the monument comprises a Corinthian style pillar surmounted by a statue of the Duke (Figure 3.2.2). The column was designed by James Bell,⁸ a local architect from Navangate, which was situated just on the outskirts of the town in 1837 (Figure 3.2.1).⁹ The effigy of the Duke (Figures 3.2.3 and 3.2.4) was carved by Thomas Kirk, a Cork-born sculptor of Scottish decent.¹⁰ This combination of Irish and Scottish associations from the outset hints at a sense of unity between the various elements of the British state; an implication that they might all be drawn together under the umbrella of an overarching British identity. A short inscription in raised lettering adorns the base. It reads:

¹ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate, market, and post towns, parishes, and villages, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume II* (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1837), pp. 643-644.

² Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 Series Map, Meath, Sheet 36-7, surveyed 1909, published 1911.

³ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. Volume II*, p. 644.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 Series Map, Meath, Sheet 36-7, surveyed 1909, published 1911.

⁶ French (ed.), *Wellington*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸ National Library of Ireland, Joly Collection 12-13, 'Rambles Northward in Ireland during the Government of the Marquis Wellesley, etc.', Thomas Bell, 1827, p. 316.

⁹ French (ed.), *Wellington*, p. 24.

¹⁰ Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists, Volume I: A-K* (Dublin and London: Maunsell and Company Limited, 1913), p. 587.

THIS COLUMN
ERECTED IN THE YEAR
MDCCCXVII
IN HONOUR
OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS
DUKE OF WELLINGTON
BY THE GRATEFUL CONTRIBUTIONS
OF THE COUNTY MEATH

At first glance, the inscription conveys a sense of inclusiveness. The monument is described as being funded by “the grateful contributions of the County Meath”. No particular person or social grouping is singled out as instigating or financing the work; all inhabitants of the county are attributed with an equal stake in the monument. By extension this may imply that all Irishmen, regardless of class or religion, should join in celebrating the Duke and his achievements. No one act of his is singled out for praise in particular, rather the monument vindicates his personality as a whole, implying that all he has stood for thus far in his life should be held up in esteem. By 1817, the key attributes of his identity would have been his military and political services in advancing the British Empire, and, from a local perspective, his position as a member of the Protestant Ascendancy class and the leading roles he played in local politics and administration as both a Burgess on Trim Corporation and MP for Trim, roles that came about as a consequence of his privileged social position. Therefore the implication intended by the monument may be that all the people of Meath (and even all Irishmen) should follow Wellington’s example in embracing Britain and the Empire, and defer to the current position of the Protestant Ascendancy class.

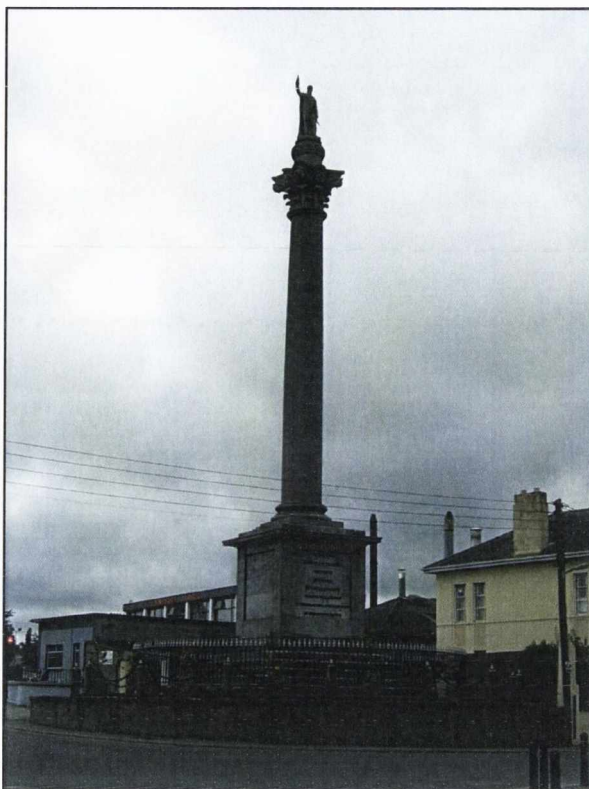


Figure 3.2.2: The Wellington Column as viewed from Emmet Street

3.2.2 *Landscape of an Élite?*

Despite the inscription's implication that all Meath inhabitants shared equally in the formation of the monument, an exploration of its circumstances of origin suggest that the messages imbued in its form may not have had such a universal source but, in fact, may have been largely decided upon by one social grouping in particular: the Protestant Ascendancy class. A ceremony was held on 7 August 1817 to mark the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone for the Column. According to the *Clonmel Advertiser*,

Lord Bective, accompanied by members of the Nobility and Gentry, assembled at the Assizes, laid the first stone of the very beautiful Corinthian Pillar, now erecting in honour of our countryman- the Duke of Wellington.

His Lordship made a very animated and appropriate speech on the occasion- paid a just tribute to the character of that illustrious hero, which was highly gratifying to the assemblage, who gave three most hearty cheers.¹¹

¹¹ *Clonmel Advertiser*, 13 August 1817.

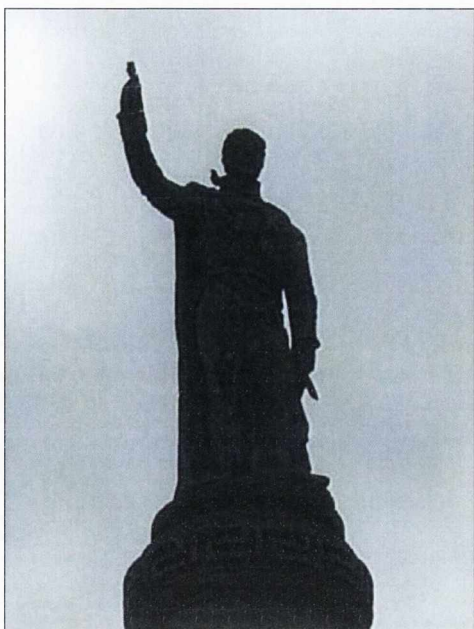


Figure 3.2.3: Statue of Wellington atop Column, Front View

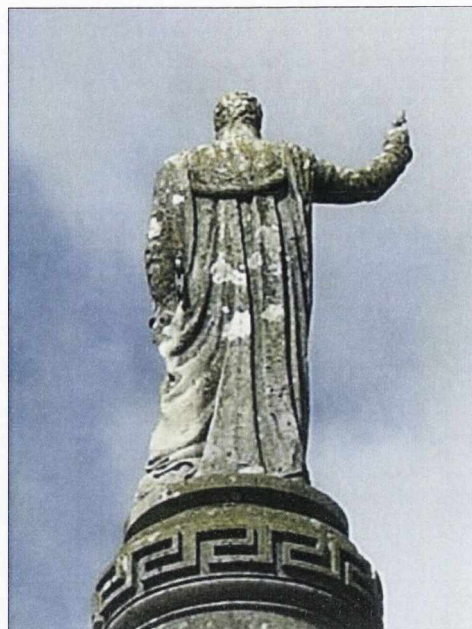


Figure 3.2.4: Statue of Wellington atop Column, Rear View

Lord Bective was the third Earl of Bective. He was an influential figure both in the Meath locality and on a national scale. He served as MP for the County of Meath from his election in 1812 until his succession to the Marquisate of Headfort in 1829.¹² Unlike the man whom he sought to commemorate, however, he was a member of the Whig party.¹³ He held some military connections also, taking over his father's position as Colonel of the Meath Militia upon his resignation in 1825.¹⁴ He was a member of the Protestant religion, but an open supporter of Catholic Emancipation, signing a formal declaration calling for the introduction of legislation on the subject in 1828.¹⁵ Following the achievement of that goal, he became actively involved in the 1829 post-Emancipation efforts to raise a statue to the Duke,¹⁶ the funds from which were subsequently used to erect the civil and religious bas-relief on the Phoenix Park testimonial. Thus the history of the two monuments are interwoven though the figure of Bective. In a further interesting dimension, his family were closely connected to William Barker, instigator of the Grange Wellington monument, thus forming a link between all three Irish Wellington commemoration projects.

¹² *Freeman's Journal*, 17 October 1812; *Freeman's Journal*, 27 October 1812; *Freeman's Journal*, 20 June 1818; *Freeman's Journal*, 22 December 1829.

¹³ Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume I, Abdy-Langrishe*, 106th edn (Crans: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd., 1999), p. 1362.

¹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1825.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1828.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 May 1829.

At the time of the statue's foundation laying ceremony, the Assizes usually took place twice yearly in Trim. The Assizes were sessions of the local courts of criminal trial held on a regular basis in every county around Ireland except for Dublin, which had its own court system. According to S.J. Connolly, "court business was accompanied by a great deal of the work of local government, managed by county grand juries."¹⁷ The grand juries were undemocratic, élitist bodies composed of leading landowners (many of whom would have been of the Ascendancy) who were selected by the High Sheriff of the County (who was in turn appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, although in practice he was much influenced by local or national political magnates in his choice).¹⁸ The monument may even have been constructed through the means of grand jury funding. Certainly the wording on the plaque is sufficiently ambiguous to suggest such a possibility, and Lord Bective was a member of the grand jury of Meath throughout 1817.¹⁹ However, the Grand Jury Presentment Books for the County of Meath make no mention of funds being allocated for the purpose of erecting a memorial to Wellington for the period Lent 1812 up to Summer 1819.²⁰ The County Query Book is also silent on the matter for the period Summer 1816 until Summer 1819.²¹ It should be noted though that these books were the records for the county at large. Individual Presentment Books were also kept on a more local scale for each Barony. Unfortunately though, the Presentment Books for the Baronies of Upper Navan and Lower Moyfenragh, in which Trim was located, are no longer extant. Consequently, it cannot conclusively be determined whether the monument received some manner of funding from grand jury sources.

An obvious alternative to officially sanctioned grand jury funding would have been the circulation of a subscription list, perhaps under the direction of a committee formed for the purpose of erecting the column. However, no records or explicit evidence of any such committee or subscription list have been uncovered. While Halls' survey of Ireland published in 1842 describes the monument as being "erected by subscription in 1817",²² this may simply have been an inference on their part. Whatever the funding source, however, the very form of the monument speaks of the primacy of the landowning

¹⁷ S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 32.

¹⁸ J.L. McCracken, 'The Political Structure, 1714-60', in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds), *A New History of Ireland, Volume IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 67.

¹⁹ National Library of Ireland, Tisdall Papers, List of Grand Juries of Meath 1808-1866, Pos. 4692.

²⁰ National Archives of Ireland, County Meath Presentment Book, Lent 1815-Summer 1819, Ref. No. 1C 33 31, National Archives of Ireland, County Meath Presentment Book, Summer 1809-Summer 1814, Ref. No. 1C 33 30.

²¹ National Archives of Ireland, County Meath Query Book, Ref. No. 1C 33 72.

²² Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall, *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c., Volume II* (London: How and Parsons, 1842), p. 374.

Protestant Ascendancy class. Wellington is chosen as their representative; his local political associations and local upbringing make the choice all the more pertinent. His figure is “illustrious” and remote, elevated high above the streetscape and the houses of the poor that once surrounded it at its location on what was, during the nineteenth century, the Fair Green.²³

The classical style of the monument serves to mythologize or heroify the figure of the Duke through its allusions to ancient Greek or Roman times (Corinthian being both a Greek and Roman order of architecture²⁴). The iron railing that encircles the base of the monument, present from at least 1870 and possibly since the time of the monument’s erection, acts as a further, physical barrier between the monument and the common people who might seek to interact with it (Figure 3.2.5 and Figure 3.2.6). Through glorification of the Duke, the Ascendancy sought to normalise a sense of British and imperial identity and integration among the general populace, thereby maintaining the position of the Crown and British Empire in Ireland. These institutions would in turn preserve their privileged position within Irish society.



Figure 3.2.5: Iron railing around the base of the monument

Writing in 1907, William Bulfin further demonstrated the subtext of Ascendancy supremacy conveyed by the monument. Writing on the monument after having observed it, he declared confidently that the inscription on the base informs the viewer of its erection

²³ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1870; French (ed.), *Wellington*, p. 24.

²⁴ James Stevens Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 201.

by the “Gentry of Meath”.²⁵ Since the inscription on the monument has remained unchanged since at least 1870 (see Figure 3.2.6) up to the present day,²⁶ Bulfin formed this assumption subconsciously based on the column’s appearance in the landscape, or drew on some other account he received of the monument’s history.



Figure 3.2.6: A sketch of the pig fair at Trim. The Wellington Column can be seen in the right of the picture. Its inscription reads as it does today, and there is no sign of a Crimean gun in the vicinity of the monument. From *The Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1870.

3.2.3 The Crimean War Trophy: Failure of a Military Addition

Interestingly, the message of British and Imperial power that could be associated with such a monument is not quite as overt as in the case of Grange or Phoenix Park. There are no direct references to Wellington’s military successes or to Britain or the Empire in the inscription. The figure of Wellington in military uniform²⁷ is far from the sight of the spectator on the top of the column. An attempt to strengthen the military associations during 1857 to 1858 was to end in failure. G.A. Pollock of Oatland, Navan wrote to the Town Corporation on 3 October 1857 to suggest that a Crimean War Trophy be procured

²⁵ William Bulfin, *Rambles in Eirinn Volume I* (reprint, London: Sphere Books Limited, 1981, of orig. edn 1907), p. 68.

²⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1870.

²⁷ Ibid.

to be placed at the base of the column.²⁸ Application was subsequently made to the War Office in London, and a gun used in the Crimean War was dispatched to Dublin on 3 February 1858 in order to fulfil this purpose.²⁹ The fate of the gun after this point is uncertain. Today it stands outside Trim Castle, and pictures of the monument in 1870 (Figure 3.2.6) and around the turn of the century (Figure 3.2.7) show no sign of its presence at its intended location at the foot of the column.³⁰ Clearly this attempt to add a more forceful message of British and imperial might to the layers of meaning attached to the monumental space was abandoned or rejected.



Figure 3.2.7: Photograph of Trim Wellington Pillar, taken 1880-1914. National Library of Ireland, L_ROY_07695.

Perhaps the political climate of rising nationalism influenced this decision. A reporter for *The Illustrated London News* certainly perceived a sense of discontent among the people of Trim in 1870. Reporting on the pig fair, he observed that: “The Irish peasantry, eaten up, as they evidently are, with a thorough hatred of England and

²⁸ National Library of Ireland, Trim Town Commissioners Minute Book 1840-65, Ms. 5819, G.A. Pollock to Commissioners, 3 October 1857, p. 435.

²⁹ Ibid., Principal Military Storekeeper, Woolwich to Chairman of the Town Commissioners, Trim (Harcourt Lightburne), 3 February 1858, pp. 447-448.

³⁰ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1870; Photograph of Wellington Pillar Trim, c. 1900. From French (ed.), *Wellington*, p. 24.

everything English, while guardedly polite to the 'Saxon' stranger who is brought into contact with them, appear to have become the most melancholy of mortals."³¹ The failure of the Crimean Trophy may reflect a discourse of resistance being cultivated within the monumental space of the 'other'. Certainly the potential of the Trim monument to be perceived as a contested space by the nineteenth-century inhabitants of the town, and of Ireland more generally, is clear.

³¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1870.

3.3 Grange

3.3.1 Barker's Land

The final monument to the memory of Sir Arthur Wellesley in Ireland is the most inaccessible of the three. It is situated in the County of Tipperary, but lies just over a quarter of a mile from the border with County Kilkenny, a line which also marks the boundary between the provinces of Munster and Leinster. The nearest site of habitation is the tiny village of Grange, located about a mile from the site of the monument. In 1840, the two main features of that settlement were a constabulary and the ruins of Grange Castle. More broadly, the monument was built on the Kilcooly Estate, which at the time of its erection was the property of Sir William Barker, Baronet. His seat of residence was Kilcooly Abbey and around 1837 his lands covered an area in excess of 1,600 statute acres.¹ The monument was located on the eastern edge of the estate and within two miles of Barker's home (Figure 3.3.1).

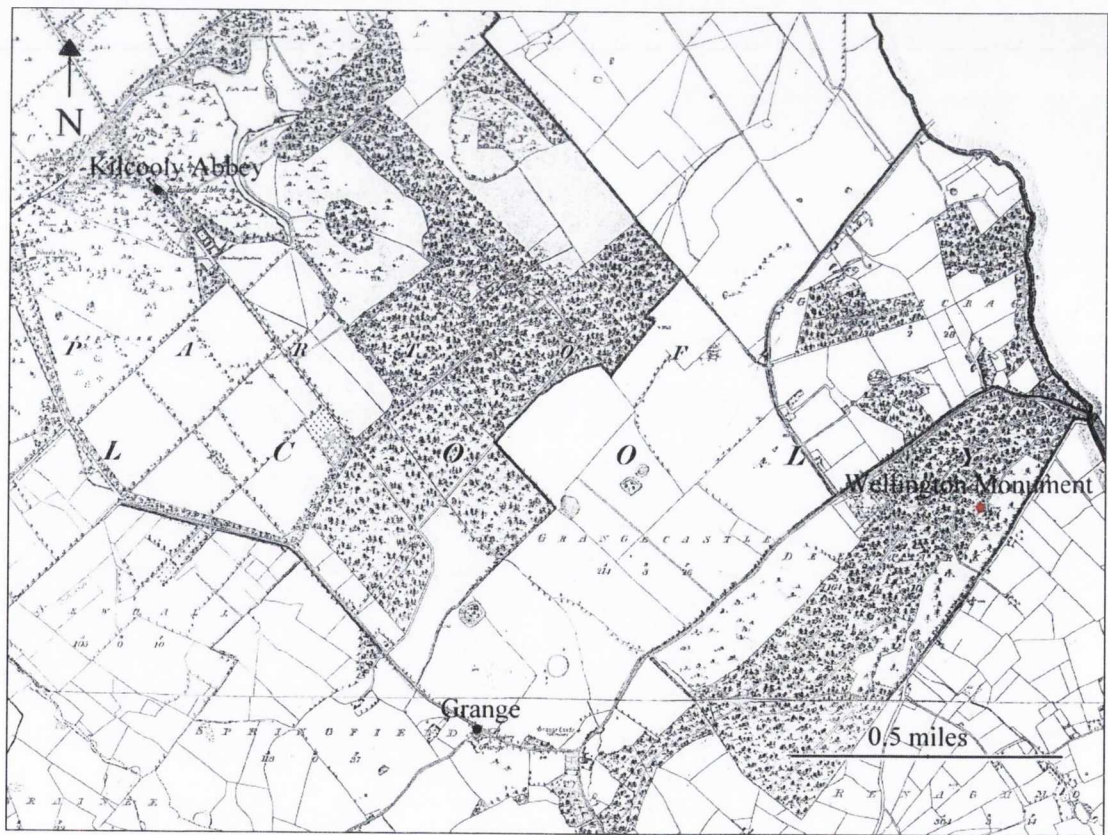


Figure 3.3.1: Map of the Wellington Monument (marked by a red dot) and its surrounds. Formed using Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Maps, Tipperary, Sheet 49, surveyed 1840, published 1843 and Tipperary, Sheet 43, surveyed 1840, published 1843.

¹ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. Volume II*, p. 71.

On a more localised level, it stands on a hilltop in the middle of a forest, a circle of trees obscuring it from the road below. Today the path that leads to it is signposted, but before this a prior knowledge of its existence and location would have been a requirement for its discovery. It may not always have been so secluded, however, as writing in 1837, Samuel Lewis described it as “a tower built to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, which, being on a high hill, serves as an excellent landmark”,² perhaps suggesting that the covering of trees did not conceal it to such a great extent at that time. Reaching about 40 feet in height, the design of the monument is somewhat unusual (Figures 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). The front two walls give it a tower-like appearance, but this illusion is destroyed when viewed from the rear. Here a third, shorter wall acts as a bracing wall for the front two. The front walls are adorned with blind windows. Nearer the top, the walls are inlaid with several cross-shaped indentations; two each on the outward facing sides, one each on the reverse sides, making for a total of six (Figure 3.3.4).

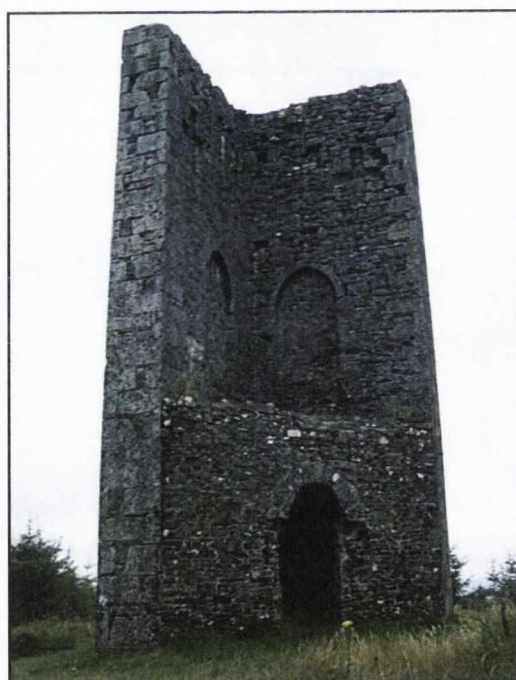
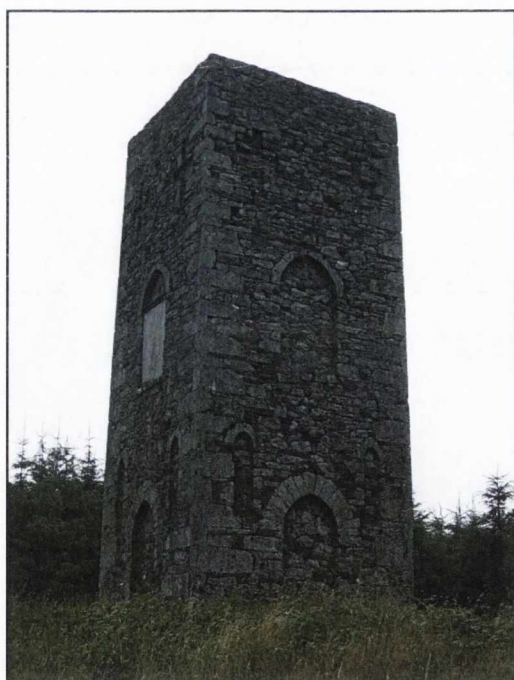


Figure 3.3.2: Grange Monument, Front View Figure 3.3.3: Grange Monument, Rear View

² Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. Volume II*, p. 71.



Figure 3.3.4: Cross-Shaped Indentation on Rear Wall

The unusual design is consistent with the propensity among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landowners for erecting follies and garden buildings. The practice originated in England, and quickly spread to Ireland from there. They were largely constructed for aesthetic reasons, although they often fulfilled some other function also. According to James Howley, “these buildings were the privilege of wealth... One needed land to build on, and sufficient time and money to dispense on projects which, even if functional, were seldom essential.”³ As such, they allude to a system of class distinction and socio-economic differentiation. The English origins of the form suggest a privileging of an English ideal in the landscape.

3.3.2 Messages: *Personal and Political, Military and Religious*

A plaque with an inscription is set into one of the blind windows. It reads:

THIS BUILDING
was Erected by
SIR WILLIAM BARKER BAR.
in the year of our Lord
1817
in the 80th Year of his Age
and dedicated
To His GRACE

³ James Howley, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 3.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
in Commemoration of his Glorious Victory
over the FRENCH at WATERLOO
on June the 18th An. Domi.
1815

As the inscription tells us, the monument was instigated and erected by Sir William Barker. Barker was a member of the Protestant Ascendancy class. He greatly increased the Protestant population of the area by advertising for tenants of that denomination to take up residence on his estate during 1772.⁴ One of the surviving leases drawn up for this Protestant colony indicates that tenants were assigned the land on condition that they not relet it to a Roman Catholic or allow any Roman Catholics to graze animals on it.⁵ Barker also donated £413 10s 9d towards the construction of a new rectory in his parish and displayed a keen interest in plans to enlarge or rebuild his parish church, but died before this undertaking could be carried out.⁶ The cross-shaped indentations on the monument and two references to God in the inscription (“the year of our Lord” and “An. Domi.”) imbue it with an allusion to the religious affiliations Barker wished to promote.

There is a further subtext to be read in the monument too, one of the power of Britain and the Empire and their rightful position in relation to Ireland. The tower-like appearance of the monument’s form and the transcendent terms used to describe the victory at Waterloo speak of the might of the Empire. The space occupied by the monument is being symbolically appropriated for the Crown. Barker also legitimises his own hold over the landscape by reference to his standing as a knight and baronet within Britain’s Empire. Like “His GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON”, Barker is portrayed as an emissary of the Empire, one who should be held in esteem and whose power, control and privileged position in Irish society should be unquestioned. Alternatively, the figure of the Duke may be intended as an example to be emulated, a man of Irish origins whose noble feats in defence of the Empire make him a role model for other Irishmen to imitate. Like the Duke, they should also embrace their role as servants and agents of Britain and her Empire and work towards their best interests rather than struggling against them. The monument wishes its observers to join in the system of values, social structures and political allegiances it both promotes and legitimises.

⁴ W.G. Neely, *Kilcooley- Land and People in Tipperary* (Belfast: Universities Press, 1983), pp. 53-54.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ Trinity College Manuscripts Library, Barker-Ponsonby Estate Papers, P2/5/39, anon. to C.B. Ponsonby-Barker, 4 February 1819; Neely, *Kilcooley*, p. 82.

Acquiescence will bring “Glorious” results such as the victory over the French, an alien culture who sought to overthrow this system, and in which attempt they have rightly been defeated. Opposition will bring similar vanquishment. The implication is both a positive motivator and a negative threat.

Barker’s choice of Wellington as the subject through which to convey his message may also have been due to personal motivations. His nephew and heir Chambre Ponsonby-Barker (whom he raised from infancy as a son)⁷ was second cousin once removed (see Appendix I) of both Sir William Ponsonby, who died fighting at Waterloo,⁸ and Colonel (later Major General) Sir Frederic Cavendish Ponsonby, who also fought at Waterloo and was personally acquainted with the Duke. In the wake of that battle the Colonel was gravely wounded, but recovered miraculously, after which Longford tells us that “the Duke felt bound to keep a friendly eye on him for the rest of his life, which included lending him a large sum of money”.⁹ His own military associations¹⁰ and Chambre’s time in the army¹¹ may also have encouraged his affinity with Wellington.

3.3.3 *Links with Trim and Dublin*

A plaque beside the monument pins down its exact date of erection to August 1817, so Barker may have been influenced by the erection of the Trim and Phoenix Park memorials in his choice of a monument to Wellington as the means by which he would project his message onto the landscape. Further interlinkages between the three monuments are apparent. Barker was a longtime friend of the first Earl of Bective,¹² Chambre having subsequently married Bective’s daughter in 1791 (see Appendix II).¹³ Even after the first Earl’s death in 1795, Barker’s personal correspondence indicates that he was still on friendly terms with his son the second Earl of Bective at the start of 1817 (who by that time had been elevated to the rank of Marquis of Headfort).¹⁴ He was a member of the Royal Dublin Society during 1815 when the proposed designs for the Wellington Testimonial

⁷ Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P3/1/26, Mary Ponsonby to Chambre B. Ponsonby-Barker, (no date).

⁸ John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*, 2nd edn, (London: Harrison, 1883), p. 617.

⁹ Longford, *Pillar of State*, p. 23.

¹⁰ Barker was Colonel of the Kilcooley True Blues Volunteer Company. Neely, *Kilcooley*, p. 59.

¹¹ Chambre rose to the rank of Captain during his service. Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P3/2/17, William Barker to Chambre B. Ponsonby-Barker, c. 1783; Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P3/2/18, William Barker to Chambre B. Ponsonby-Barker, c. 1784; Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P2/5/77, William Despard to Chambre B. Ponsonby-Barker, c. 1798.

¹² Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P3/2/1, William Barker to Chambre B. Ponsonby-Barker, 10 January 1770.

¹³ John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume I: A to L* (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1846), p. 54.

¹⁴ Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P1/11/55, Headfort to Sir William Barker, 18 February 1817.

were displayed in the Dublin Society's rooms on Hawkin's Street.¹⁵ Finally, George Ponsonby, a second cousin of Chambre's, was one of the Committee of Managers formed on 20 July 1813 to organise the erection of the Testimonial.¹⁶ Exposure to the Trim and Phoenix Park projects via these sources may have encouraged Barker to emulate their endeavours in his own landscape.

3.3.4 *Contested Landscape*

The site of the monument also bears some consideration. There was much unrest in that part of Tipperary leading up to the time of construction. Peter Walsh (Barker's agent) wrote to Barker at the end of 1810 of the strife in the area, saying: "there are new atrocities every week- almost every night in some parts of our disturbed counties. The villains are not very sparing of their gun powder for we hear several shots almost every night- for the purpose I suppose of increasing their system of terror".¹⁷ The years 1814 and 1815 brought further reports of violence, which culminated in the area being put under military law to restore order in 1815.¹⁸ Yet despite this, Barker's Protestant tenants were to remain particular targets for attack on and off throughout the rest of the century.¹⁹ Ballingarry, a few miles south of where the monument lies, was even the scene of an abortive Young Irelander rising on 29 July 1848. With the monument occupying an elevated site not far from Barker's residence, its quest to appropriate the contested space (of the estate, the county and the country in general) is clear. According to Lefebvre, monumental spaces are 'social condensers': "each monumental space becomes the metaphorical and quasi-metaphysical underpinning of a society".²⁰ Through this monument, Barker sought to strengthen his position, and that of his class and his religion, in the minds of the people who observed it; to ingrain in their subconscious an acceptance of their values and their dominance.

But unfortunately for Barker, no single meaning remains absolute in a monumental space, especially not in a contested space such as this one. Over the years, people have challenged the dominant message of the monument, and added to it their message of resistance. Observers of the monument have expressed their dissent through acts of

¹⁵ John Watson Stewart, *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin: John Watson Stewart, 1815), p. 195.

¹⁶ Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778, Doc. 3, Proceedings of the First Meeting on the Subject of the Wellington Testimonial, 20 July 1813, p. 3.

¹⁷ Barker-Ponsonby Papers, P2/3/9, Peter Walsh to Sir William Barker, 27 December 1810.

¹⁸ Neely, *Kilcooley*, p. 95.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁰ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 225, in Hershkovitz, 'Tiananmen Square', p. 398.

vandalism (Figure 3.3.5). They have added a further layer of meaning to the monumental space, one that speaks of their opposition to British and imperial association and control, Ascendancy class superiority and perhaps even the Protestant religion. As the years have passed, the social, political, religious and cultural contexts in which the monument was erected have changed greatly. As the nineteenth century faded and moved into the twentieth, resistance to many of the monument's values prevailed: the Protestant Ascendancy lost its dominance and British and imperial links were dismantled and replaced by an independent Ireland.



Figure 3.3.5: Results of Vandalism on Rear Archway

3.4 Conclusion

The three monuments dedicated to the Duke of Wellington in Ireland display a certain unity of themes reflected in the closeness of their origins. All three were initiated within a narrow time bracket towards the end of, or just after, the Napoleonic Wars. As such, they were all most likely undertaken partly in response to Wellington's role in the campaign. This has been proved in the case of the Phoenix Park monument, while it was a definite factor at Grange and certainly must have inspired the Trim column, at least to some extent. It has also been illustrated that the Protestant Ascendancy was a key agent in proposing the monuments, shaping their appearance and funding their erection. Therefore it may be surmised that the monuments were designed to preserve and preach its particular viewpoints and messages in the landscape. Wellington is its chosen subject through which to convey its messages and his choice is especially material. References to his military achievements and various symbolic tropes created an ennobled, glorified image of the Duke which, by association, served to exalt Britain and the Empire for which he had fought, and the Protestant Ascendancy class of which he was a member.

The Ascendancy was acutely aware of its privileged position within Irish society and was ever mindful to guard against potential threats to the continuation of that position. Dual lines of approach are apparent in its attempts to realise this ambition via the symbolic landscape it forged through the Wellington monuments. First, it looked to Britain to act as a potential deterrent to any of its would-be opponents. This was accomplished by allusions to the power and might of Britain and her Empire in the monuments' forms. At Grange and Phoenix Park in particular, the more explicit references to the military achievements of the Crown added an almost threatening dimension to the message, implying that those who decided not to embrace Britain and the Empire would face a formidable enemy. As supporters of Britain and the Empire, the implication was that this protection would also be extended to the Ascendancy. The second way it sought to protect its interests was to normalise the conception of Ireland as a partner in the Union and the Empire. If all Irishmen could be induced to accept the Union, then it was hoped the Ascendancy position would be secure.

The monuments may also be viewed as reflections of the unique identity of the Ascendancy class, one that embraced both British and Irish elements. Kumar is among those who propose that, while retaining a distinctly Irish flavour to its identity, the

Protestant Ascendancy also adopted a British national identity.¹ The evidence of the cultural landscape of the Wellington monuments appears to support this claim. As previously outlined, Smith lists the fundamental features of national identity as: “an historic territory, or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common mass public culture; common legal rights and duties for all members (and) a common economy with territorial mobility for members”.² From the Ascendancy’s perspective, the Union with Britain held all these attributes (to a greater or lesser extent). The melding of Britain, Ireland and the Empire and its presentation as a united front with a common fate in the proposal for the Phoenix Park monument’s erection and in the monument’s subsequent inscription (to take but two examples) indicates that the Ascendancy identified with Britain, Ireland and the Empire together as its historic territory or homeland. The figure of Wellington (a member of the Ascendancy) linked it with the historical memories of the Empire’s military campaigns and with the myth of the Empire’s civilising mission. Finally, the Protestant religion was one major element of mass public culture that it shared with mainland Britain and undertones of this religious affiliation may be detectable at the Grange monument in particular.

The monuments may also be seen as reflective of Irish Roman Catholics’ interaction with the concept of a British identity and their relationship with Britain and the Empire in general. For the most part, it seems that Irish Catholics were largely excluded from the process of shaping the symbolic landscapes of the Wellington monuments, a fact that mirrors their marginal position in British life where they faced discrimination and political exclusion up to and even beyond the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. The one major exception to this exclusion was the Catholic involvement in instigating a proposal and raising funds for a monument to Wellington in the wake of Catholic Emancipation, funds that were later to be employed to insert the Emancipation bas-relief into the base of the Phoenix Park monument. Just as Catholics had something to add to this landscape of British and imperial unity, so too did they contribute strongly to British imperial endeavours, as attested by such authors as Bayly³ and Kenny.⁴ Yet the very necessity of including an Emancipation bas-relief on the monument, of celebrating Catholics attaining what were basic civil rights, highlights the structural flaws in the relationship between Britain and Irish Catholics. As outlined by Colley, British national identity had a strong basis in the shared Protestant religion, which also extended to its defining itself in

¹ Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*.

² Smith, *National Identity*, p. 14.

³ C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989).

⁴ Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire*.

opposition to a threatening Catholic ‘other’.⁵ Their religion meant that Irish Catholics neither shared in an important aspect of “common mass public culture” nor enjoyed the “common legal rights and duties” that Smith perceived as pivotal to a national identity.⁶ These key barriers were crucial reasons behind the failure of Irish Catholics to develop a strong sense of British national identity, despite close and advantageous engagements with British interests on some fronts, particularly in the imperial mission.

The final stakeholder in these monuments to be considered is the British state itself. Notably direct involvement from Westminster or state institutions in Britain in shaping the symbolic landscape of these monuments was relatively sparse and on each occasion it was undertaken only in response to a specific request from local Irish sources. The involvement may be summarised as two grants of cannon metal for the Phoenix Park testimonial, a Crimean gun to be placed in front of the Trim column and a government grant of £2,000 to complete work on the Phoenix Park monument. This involvement reflects some willingness to promote a message of Irish inclusion in British national and imperial identities in the Irish landscape. However, the lack of spontaneity in these endeavours may reflect a certain level of ambivalence in British attitudes towards Ireland. According to Ruane and Butler, “what mattered most to the British government was that Ireland be stable and a secure part of the Empire: who ruled it and how it was ruled was a secondary matter.”⁷ This desire for Ireland to be pacified is reflected in the nature of its largely military themed contributions to the monumental spaces. The uncertain commitment of British state institutions to British identity formation in Ireland is echoed in the unique governing structures established by the British in Ireland in the wake of the Union, which Alvin Jackson has described as “partly ... colonial and partly ... metropolitan”.⁸ Julian Hoppit also sheds doubt on the commitment and potential of the British parliament to forge a British national identity, saying:

Superficially, the parliamentary unification of the British Isles in this period created a unitary state. What this volume shows is how conditional and uncertain that unity was. ... (T)he most important unitary institution, the Westminster parliament, ... remained an institution predicated upon exclusion and difference. It united, but fundamentally it also divided and as such was a major break on the development of national identities.⁹

⁵ Colley, *Britons*.

⁶ Smith, *National Identity*, p. 14.

⁷ Ruane and Butler, ‘Southern Irish Protestants’, p. 623.

⁸ Alvin Jackson, ‘Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800-1960’, in Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 124.

⁹ Julian Hoppit, ‘Introduction’, in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 11.

Ultimately, whether the British state genuinely sought to create a British national identity in nineteenth century Ireland or not, all instances of such identity were to be challenged and overturned by Irish nationalism and the subsequent declaration of an Irish Republic in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER FOUR: SCOTLAND

4.1 Edinburgh

4.1.1 1814 and 1838: Two Attempts to Launch a Scottish National Testimonial

Scotland's capital city was the location selected for a Scottish national testimonial to celebrate the life and achievements of the Duke. Though not the largest city in Scotland during the nineteenth century, it embraced a resident population of 56,330 in 1851 (138,182 including the suburban parishes of St. Cuthbert and Canongate).¹ The monument takes the form of a bronze equestrian statue (Figure 4.1.1).

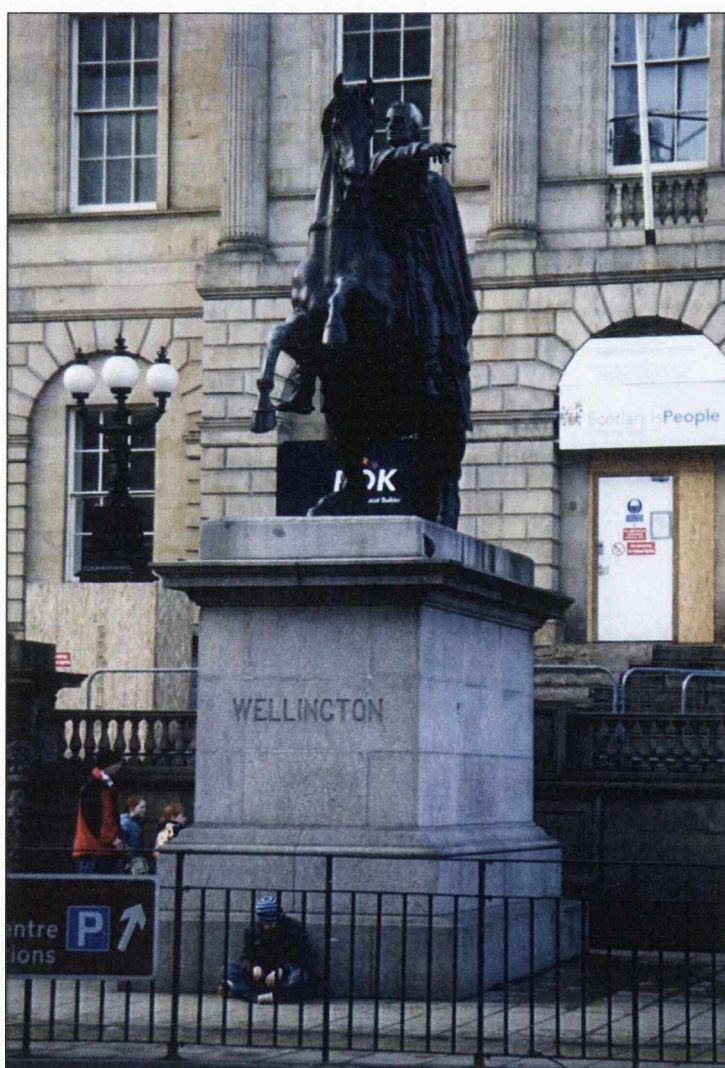


Figure 4.1.1: Wellington Statue in front of the Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh.

¹ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland, comprising the several counties, islands, cities, burgh and market towns, parishes, and principal villages, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume I: From Abbey to Jura*, 2nd edn (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1851), p. 374.

The first allusions to such an undertaking may be traced as far back as 27 July 1814. In a letter to the Duke of Atholl of that date, Sir Alexander Mackenzie wrote:

A plan is in agitation, or rather I should as yet only say in conversation, for erecting a monument of the gratitude & admiration of Scotland to the Duke of Wellington- a bronze equestrian statue if the funds will reach it- the Duke of Buccleugh is disposed to give it every support- to take the chair at the first meeting & to subscribe two hundred pounds. ... The Provost Sir John Hay & some others fifty pounds myself & others 30 & so on. The chief & I may say the only difficulty is the first steps. To succeed it must be made a general, not an Edinburgh object. & tho I am anxious that we should take a lead Party politicks must of course be completely excluded- The Duke of Buccleugh had at view that a few friends should dine together in the first place to make the primary arrangements; & that a more general meeting should then be called- but I believe we must delay for a little, as Edinburgh at present is completely deserted- and so much depends on the first meeting that we must take care that it shall be such as to carry some weight. I hope that your Grace will authorise me to say that the project meets with your approbation- I should be sorry that Scotland was behind ... in a public expression of what we must all feel we owe to that unrivaled (sic) man and as our friends in opposition took the principal merit of the monument to Lord Nelson I think we should not let them have it on this occasion- I have very little doubt that if our first step is well taken- we shall ensure success- but tho every person to whom I have mentioned the subject approves- all agree that much indeed every thing depends on setting out in good style...²

Perhaps due to the intervention of the Battle of Waterloo the following year, or perhaps due to other reasons relating to funding or levels of support, this plan appears to have met with abandonment for a number of years. The next allusion to a national commemoration for the Duke arose in 1838. Whether these plans were a revival of the earlier project referred to by Mackenzie, or an entirely independent scheme, is unknown. While the general objectives of the two plans are notably similar, their principal difference is in the intended form of the commemoration. It was the Earl of Elgin who instigated renewed interest in the venture with an address “to the People of Scotland” dated 20 July 1838:

Address of the Earl of Elgin to the People of Scotland

Broomhall, July 20, 1838.

Fellow Countrymen,

While the blessings are every day more strongly felt of the splendid services of Arthur, Duke of Wellington,- and England has already commenced the manifestation of national gratitude by the simultaneous erection of two Statues in London to his honour, surely the characteristic enthusiasm with which you hail deeds of heroic valour, and the noblest

²National Register of Archives for Scotland, Stewart-Murray Papers, Dukes of Atholl, NRAS234/Box 68/4/176, Alexander Mackenzie to the Duke of Atholl, 27 July 1814.

exercise of patriotism, justifies me in submitting to you whether we also should not hasten to join in this manifestation;- and whether a Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington on the site of Arthur's Seat, on whose summit Nature has so remarkably delineated the Lion of Scotland, would not be a most suitable monument for this country to raise.

From that position some of the chief mountains of the Highlands are visible. The statue placed there would be an object of distinct observation from a vast extent in every direction- and while close to the Scottish Metropolis, would rest on a site the most appropriate throughout the whole country for a National Testimonial from you, the People of Scotland.

A Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington may well stand "alone in his glory;" but still I would venture farther to suggest, whether it might not be represented with one hand placed on the volume of the Duke's Dispatches, a work altogether unrivalled in history, and enhancing incalculably the vast merits of his gigantic achievements, and which, presenting as it does, unquestionable evidence of the rare ability and never failing rectitude of mind, with which he at all times encountered the difficulties and exigencies of his multifarious undertakings, has recently been stamped by high authority as a standard for all the schools of the kingdom, with this motto inscribed to the youth- "Hence learn the true road to honour, virtue, patriotism, your country's good and everlasting renown."

...

(M)y Fellow Countrymen, ... (s)hould (my proposal) meet your favour, an acting committee worthy of your confidence will easily be found to determine the dimensions, materials, and all details of the statue, as also the measures to be adopted for collecting contributions for its execution.

If a national wish were carried to the foot of the Throne for this use of Arthur's Seat, there can be little doubt that our beloved Queen would be graciously pleased to sanction it by her approval, and confer on that favoured spot the right to which, by singularly happy coincidence of name, it has acquired the prescriptive claim of ages.

Elgin & Kincardine.³

In a subsequent note on the subject, Elgin recounted that his proposal had met with "very general goodwill", with the only doubts expressed being as to the appropriateness of the suggested site. He went on to elaborate further details in his vision for the project, which would consist of a statue "not less than 60 or 70 feet high", ideally carved in granite, or alternatively cast from cannon taken by the Duke of Wellington in battle, which could be solicited from the Master General of the Ordnance. He also proposed that subscriptions should be limited from one guinea to either five or ten guineas, and that part of the sum subscribed might be set aside to establish "a permanent station, for two retired Sergeants of our Scottish Regiments, as Guardians of the Monument". He envisaged that these details

³ National Register of Archives for Scotland, Bruce Papers, Earls of Elgin and Kincardine, NRAS3955/20/3/9, Address of the Earl of Elgin to the People of Scotland, 20 July 1838. Similar copies of this document are available at: Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 1; Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/15; Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 911.

would be settled by a committee, “which I have only delayed to solicit because of the benefit of allowing a short time previously to to (sic) elapse for the full and deliberate consideration of the suggestion”.⁴ During October 1838, Elgin approached both the Duke of Buccleuch and the Duke of Hamilton on the subject of forming such a committee, asking Buccleuch to preside over its actions⁵ and Hamilton to take a place among its numbers.⁶ Their response to these petitions is unknown. A further invitation by Elgin to the Marquis of Lothian to be a member of the committee met with a positive response.⁷ However, whether Elgin actually succeeded in forming such a committee is unknown.

4.1.2 December 1839: Setting Underway a Testimonial for All

The subject was revived in a slightly different form yet again towards the end of the following year when a private meeting was held at the Hopetoun Rooms, 72 Queen Street, Edinburgh on 13 December 1839, with the express intention of “considering the propriety of erecting an Equestrian Statue of the DUKE OF WELLINGTON in Edinburgh”.⁸ According to *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, the meeting was attended by “Gentlemen of all Political opinions” and chaired by the Lord Provost.⁹ A letter by Sir George Warrender (later appointed Honorary Secretary of the project) reveals that the meeting was called by “Mr Anderson & Mr McNeil (sic) and others”.¹⁰ It appears likely that this refers to Mr Adam Anderson and Mr Duncan McNeill, two advocates subsequently named as official Committee members and subscribers.¹¹ The attendees resolved that the matter should be brought before a public meeting to be held on 24 December 1839. The proceedings of this meeting were widely reported in both a printed pamphlet¹² and various

⁴ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 2, Proposal for Erecting a Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Elgin, (no date). Similar copies of this document are available at: Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/11-12, Elgin to Buccleuch, 1 October 1838; Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 911, Proposal for erecting a Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington on Arthurs Seat, (no date).

⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/11-12, Elgin to Buccleuch, 1 October 1838; Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/18, Elgin to the Duke of Buccleugh (sic), 18 October 1838.

⁶ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 911, Elgin to Hamilton and Brandon, 18 October 1838.

⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/384, Elgin to the Marquis of Lothian, 19 October 1838.

⁸ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 3, anon. to Sir George Warrender, 12 December 1839.

⁹ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 16 December 1839.

¹⁰ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 12, Sir George Warrender to Lord Melville, 22 December 1839.

¹¹ Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

¹² National Library of Scotland, Pamphlets, 3/2810/14, ‘Proceedings of the Public Meeting held in Edinburgh on Tuesday, Dec. 24, 1839, to Consider the Propriety of Erecting in the Metropolis of Scotland, A National Testimonial to the Duke of Wellington’.

newspaper articles around the country.¹³ According to these, the assembly was gathered to “consider the propriety of erecting a national testimonial to the Duke of Wellington in the metropolis of Scotland”.¹⁴ A number of key points may be noted from these accounts. First, extensive lists of attendees and apologists are recorded. These lists profile an exclusively male and largely upper- to middle-class contingent. There is an obvious element of social ordering in the presentation of the lists, with the most elevated members of the aristocracy being listed first, followed by other peers, nobles, members of parliament, knights of the realm, military commanders, academics and members of the legal profession in a relatively clearly structured descending order of merit. The prioritising of the most elevated members of the aristocracy on the lists, as well as the recounting of large subscriptions promised by several among them, and the allocation of leading roles on the Committee to their charge is indicative of the highly influential role they would play in bringing the object to fruition, both in monetary and organisational terms. Their support and seal of approval was vital to the project’s success: without their political and financial backing a project of such scale and magnitude could not have been undertaken. Similarly, the message inscribed on the landscape through the monument is to a large degree of their construction, their sanction and their intent. However, as later events and wrangling among Committee members would reveal, they did not have exclusive control over the proceedings, and were on occasion overthrown in their preferences by democratic vote of the Committee.

Extracts from some of the speeches given at the meeting are indicative of the symbolic role Wellington was intended to personify on this occasion. The Lord Provost noted his gratification at seeing:

that gentlemen of all political feelings-(Great applause)-were satisfied to meet there on one common ground, to assist each other in the promotion of the same common object-(Cheers). As a statesman and a minister, the character of the Duke of Wellington would be judged variously, and would be blamed and approved, according to the feelings of those who sat in judgment on him; but with regard to his military renown, and his great and heroic exploits, there could be but one opinion from one end of the kingdom to the other-(Loud cheers). He was sure that all, from the highest to the lowest, from the great donations he had just announced, down to the mite of the humblest tradesman, all would unite in forming one common fund to

¹³ See for example *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 26 December 1839; *The Inverness Courier*, and *General Advertiser for the Counties of Inverness, Ross, Moray, Nairn, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness*, 1 January 1840.

¹⁴ National Library of Scotland, Pamphlets, 3/2810/14, p. 3.

show the sense which the country at large entertained of the merits of the Duke of Wellington as the greatest captain of the age-(Great applause).¹⁵

Wellington was to act as a unifying object, a point of negotiation where those across all political and social spectrums could meet and work together in a positive manner to achieve a common goal. The Earl of Rosebery outlined the situation in exalted, occasionally effusive terms:

when I see assembled in this room persons of all parties, and of all opinions on public measures, at a period when political enmities and party spirit prevail but too strongly, burying for a moment all the antagonist feelings which belong, in a free country, to different opinions upon the actions of the public men, and desirous only, in one harmonious and common spirit, to vie with each other in coming forward to do honour to the most illustrious of our fellow countrymen- I cannot refrain from expressing my great gratification at perceiving that there is at least some neutral ground ... upon which men of all parties can assemble, and sink minor though important differences in one common- I was about to say sacred- object, of performing an act of public justice, and expressing national gratitude-(Loud cheers). ... [T]he Duke of Wellington is exhibited unrivalled in military renown. The last competitor he met with was the greatest military commander known in ancient or modern history, and it was his fate finally to meet and entirely to vanquish him- (Cheers). ... However much I and others who may hear me may differ from the Duke of Wellington's views upon many of the most important political subjects ... we are glad of any opportunity ... to state that we consider the Duke of Wellington's character irreproachable in honour, integrity, fairness, and good faith ... [and] that we believe him to have been invariably influenced by a real love for his country. ... I think- and I believe all others think- that, in his political career, he has been the means of doing good service to his country- (Hear)- and that, however strongly we have been opposed to many of his public principles and views, we at least do him the justice of saying, that we believe him actuated even then, by his conception of what he deemed beneficial to his country. In favour of so exalted a person, who has raised the military fame of Great Britain to the highest pitch, and after having so done, has secured to us the most lasting peace, ... relieved Europe from the most despotic thralldom ever endured, and preserved Great Britain from the most imminent danger and hazard- in favour of such an individual, I feel confident that an appeal cannot be made in vain to an ancient and gallant nation like the Scots, who, when their services were required, have been known to come forward as the foremost in military service, as in later times they have been celebrated for their rapid advancement in all the arts and sciences of peace...¹⁶

Among his comments may be discerned frequent allusions to the concepts of country and nation. Rosebery speaks here as both a Scotsman and a Briton. Wellington is a fellow

¹⁵ National Library of Scotland, Pamphlets, 3/2810/14, p. 5.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 6-8.

countryman to him under the unifying umbrella of a British national identity. In his speech the British nation comes across as a solid and powerful entity, with which many identify and to which many subscribe loyalty. The language Rosebery employs, with its positive and negative connotations and associations, both reflects and reproduces identity concepts. Wellington and the British nation are each offset by French counterparts who have threatened their very existence. But opposition to this French “other”,¹⁷ this “despotic thralldom”, has served as a cohesive and defining force for British identity. This idea of Wellington as an embodiment of a British identity in contrast to and conflict with Napoleon and French identity and values is continued in a later speech by Professor Wilson when he says: “it would seem as if the characters of Great Britain and of France had been impersonated in the two commanders who led their mighty armies to battle”.¹⁸ But British identity itself is also complex and multilayered. Scotland and Scottish national identity exist strongly and independently within the British realm. The act of commemoration being undertaken both asserts Scottish strength and independence and Scottish affiliation with and loyalty to a British nation.

4.1.3 Form, Site and Funding

On a practical level, the meeting determined the form of the monument, with an equestrian statue being officially resolved upon. This form was chosen for its military associations, as it was this part of Wellington’s career that was perceived as drawing the greatest unanimity of regard. In this manner, both those who also esteemed his political services and personal qualities and those who opposed some of his actions in these realms might find grounds upon which to be satisfied with contributing a subscription. An architectural accompaniment, such as a triumphal arch, was also proposed if subscriptions would allow of it.¹⁹ Likewise, a “conspicuous situation”²⁰ in Edinburgh was confirmed as the location for the commemoration. The proceedings also revealed the imperial dimension that would be attached to the commission, with the third resolution determining that: “a subscription be opened ... and that the Committee now appointed be instructed to correspond with the counties and burghs of Scotland, with London, Dublin, and generally with all parts of the United Kingdom, the East Indies, and the Colonies, in order to afford to *all* an opportunity of contributing towards this national undertaking”.²¹ A list was drawn up appointing those who were to act as members of the Committee and the first subscription pledges were

¹⁷ Colley, *Britons*. See Chapter One for further discussion on the concept of the “other” in identity formation.

¹⁸ National Library of Scotland, Pamphlets, 3/2810/14, p. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

made. Sir George Warrender, Baronet, was appointed Honorary Secretary for the Committee, and Sir Adam Hay, Baronet, was given the position of Treasurer.²²

4.1.4 James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie

In the days following the meeting, the Earl of Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, was nominated to act as Chairman of the Committee. Through his father, George, Dalhousie was possessed of extensive colonial associations, a network which was to operate to his advantage in attempting to appeal for subscriptions from these quarters. His father was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in 1816. From 1819 to 1828 he served as captain-general and governor-in-chief of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island, while from 1829 to 1832 he was commander-in-chief in the East Indies, before his death on 21 March 1838. He had also established a personal connection with Wellington through his military service as commander of the seventh division of the British army in the Peninsula and France from 1812 to 1814.²³ This paved the way for Dalhousie's own friendship with the Duke, one marked by a series of personal correspondence²⁴ and the Duke's sponsorship of his advancement on a number of occasions such as his promotion to the rank of Colonel in a Regiment of the Militia²⁵ and his appointment as an Elder Brethren of Trinity House during 1845.²⁶ Although Dalhousie's personal feelings towards the Duke cooled slightly after 1847 due to a dispute over the ownership of Deal Castle,²⁷ he reflected in 1852 that:

The Duke's death came upon me more heavily than I could have believed. ... I loved the old man, and retained real gratitude and pride in my mind for the confidence and friendship he long showed... I have heaped every honour on his memory which this Empire and its armies could offer, and shall lament him till I follow him.²⁸

²² National Library of Scotland, Pamphlets, 3/2810/14, pp. 17, 20-21.

²³ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI- Pocock to Robins* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), p. 690.

²⁴ See for example: Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Volume 73; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353.

²⁵ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Volume 73, Dalhousie to Wellington, 9 April 1845, p. 83.

²⁶ Ibid., Dalhousie to Wellington, 24 November 1845, pp. 152-153. Trinity House was a maritime corporation designated by parliament as the foremost authority on the maintenance of lights and seamarks along the English coast, as well as overseeing the training and government of pilots and the regulation of pilotage. The Elder Brethren were part of the governing body of the House. Charles Arnold-Baker, *The Companion to British History*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 1237.

²⁷ *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, ed. J.G.A. Baird (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1910), pp. x, 141, 211, 230.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

Dalhousie was also a Tory politician and a member of the House of Lords from 1838, and in 1839 he was installed as a member of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. He held a leading position among the Freemasons of Scotland, being unanimously elected to the post of Past Grand Master in the Grand Lodge of Scotland in December 1839.²⁹ His most notable public office was probably that of governor-general of India, a position which he held from January 1848 until February 1856.³⁰

4.1.5 Class and the Committee

The appointment of noble men of rank and connections to these key administrative positions was vital to the advancement of affairs, as illustrated by a debate which arose over the filling of the office of assistant secretary. At the outset of the affair, Mr Bell, a man of no particular title or notable connections, was appointed to perform the duties of the role. However, in the lead up to the official appointment, William Burn wrote to the Earl of Dalhousie proposing his brother Henry as an alternative candidate for the position, citing their brother's association with the Duke of Wellington as a rationale for his selection. This brother was a Captain of the Royal Artillery, and according to William, was "much noticed by the Duke ... when at the head of the Ordnance".³¹ Conversely, he portrays Bell as "utterly unknown to the whole body of persons interesting themselves in the matter, ... quite unfit for the situation, and in the absence of Sir George & Mr Adam Anderson would be perfectly useless".³² In a separate communication with Sir George Warrender, with whom, as Honorary Secretary, the assistant secretary would be collaborating, Burn further emphasised the boundaries of class and social propriety underlying the proceedings, the observation of which was deemed to be crucial: "it (is) indispensable as a relief to you, and out of respect to the Committee that the assistant Secretary should be a person well known, both to the members of that body, and the County gentlemen with whom he might come in contact."³³ Ultimately, Bell was retained in the position, but it was clear that these considerations remained, with Sir George stating that: "no doubt I have a very uphill business with Mr. Bell but I look to nothing at present but the success of the thing and am willing to devote my whole time to it. ... I have no interest on earth about (Mr. Bell) but what good nature dictates".³⁴

²⁹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 7 December 1839.

³⁰ Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVI- Pocock to Robins, pp. 691-697.

³¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/46, William Burn to Dalhousie, 25 December 1839.

³² *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/46, William Burn to Dalhousie, 25 December 1839.

³³ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/50, William Burn to Sir George Warrender, 31 December 1839.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/50, Warrender to Burn, (no date).

4.1.6 Initial Design Suggestions

Another matter which was to prove divisive for the members of the Committee was the selection of an artist to execute the work. The public meeting of 24 December 1839 was barely over a few days before ideas and opinions on this topic began to be propounded. On 27 December 1839, Sir James Stuart addressed a letter to Sir George Warrender proposing that Wellington should be solicited to pose for the artist selected in order that he might first craft a bust of Wellington's features before proceeding to produce a statue of the man. Stuart was also keen to stress his belief that the work should be assigned to a Scottish artist: "I do not suppose there can be a doubt that the preference should be given to a native artist- I mean a Scotchman. I have this very much at heart and should like to have some talk with you on the business."³⁵ He went further still in the following days, producing two sketches of potential designs for an equestrian statue (Figure 4.1.2 and Figure 4.1.3). Both incorporate a rearing horse and rider atop a base adorned with relief sculptures of military scenes and surrounded by further statues of soldiers with flagpoles and cannon. The Battles of Vittoria and Waterloo are clearly commemorated in the base sculptures of the former design (Figure 4.1.2), while only Waterloo is visibly depicted in the latter sketch (Figure 4.1.3). The additional soldiers in the first design (Figure 4.1.2) are presented in a seated position, in contrast to the standing attitudes they assume in the second (Figure 4.1.3). The impression of the whole in both designs is of a very overtly military commemoration with little noteworthy allusion to Wellington's personal character or other public and political services.

The Earl of Elgin contributed his opinion in February 1840, giving his approval to the project, and suggesting that the Committee might like to purchase a small bronze copy of an equestrian statue of a Duke of Savoy executed by Carlo Marochetti at Paris, in order that they might consider him as the artist to execute the work.³⁶ However, Marochetti was destined to become engaged in the rival project for an equestrian statue of Wellington that sprang up in Glasgow within a few months of the launch of the national one at Edinburgh. It seems though that Elgin's original suggestion of employing cannon held by the Master General of the Ordnance as raw material with which to craft the memorial may have met with a greater level of approval, as Dalhousie wrote to Sir George Warrender from London

³⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 122, James Stuart to Sir George Warrender, 27 December 1839.

³⁶ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 100, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, 14 February 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/74, Elgin to Lord Dalhousie, 6 February 1840.

at the beginning of the following month expressing a keen desire to meet and speak with the Master General on the topic of gun metal.³⁷



Figure 4.1.2: Design for an Equestrian Statue by Sir James Stuart, 10 January 1840. From National Register of Archives for Scotland, Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/44.

4.1.7 A Scottish Artist for a Scottish Testimonial?

The issue of the selection of an artist was brought to a peak during the summer of 1840. At a meeting of the General Committee held on 22 June 1840, three resolutions were drafted for consideration at the following meeting, to be held on 6 July 1840. These resolutions proposed that the work should “be entrusted to a Native Artist resident in Scotland, if a design can be procured worthy of his GRACE and of the Nation”. To that end, a Sub-Committee was to be appointed, the members of which were to be nominated at the meeting of 6 July, which would solicit a resident Scottish artist or artists to produce a bust

³⁷ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 124, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, 7 March 1840.

of the Duke and model or models of an equestrian statue. These were then to be placed before the General Committee that they might come to a decision regarding the successful candidate's selection. The Sub-Committee were also to enquire as to the potential expense of erecting a triumphal arch and "generally to arrange all the details connected with the execution of the Statue, and to report from time to time, as they shall see fit, to the General Committee."³⁸ However, on the occasion of the meeting of 6 July, these resolutions were to undergo a crucial alteration. Here Sir John McNeill, seconded by Sir James Stuart, proposed several amendments to the effect that John Steell, a young Scottish artist resident in Edinburgh, should alone be requested to produce a model or models of an equestrian statue for the inspection of the General Committee.³⁹



Figure 4.1.3: Design for an Equestrian Statue by J. Stuart, 11 January 1840. From National Register of Archives for Scotland, Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/44.

³⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/26, Statement of Proceedings, 22 June 1840.

³⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/16, Resolutions to be Considered and Extract of Minutes of Proceedings, 6 July 1840.

Steell was born at Aberdeen on 18 September 1804. His family moved to Edinburgh about a year later, and it was there that Steell spent the greater part of his working life. As an apprentice he studied sculpture in Rome for several years, before returning to Edinburgh in 1833. Sir Francis Chantrey, one of the leading British sculptors of the day, urged him to move to London, but he declined this potentially lucrative opportunity in favour of remaining in Scotland to devote himself to the improvement of art there. In 1838 he was appointed sculptor to the Queen for Scotland, and was knighted by Her Majesty in August 1876 following his work on the Scottish memorial to Prince Albert erected in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. He died on 15 September 1891 in Edinburgh. During his career he fashioned works for many locations across the British Empire, including Dublin, Montreal, Calcutta, New York and Jamaica.⁴⁰

The reasoning given for Steell's selection on this occasion was that it was "desirable to ascertain whether the execution of the proposed National Testimonial, may not be made conducive to the encouragement and advancement of Art in Scotland", and that Steell's model should "enable the Committee to decide whether Scotland does not possess within herself the means of producing a work of Art, worthy to communicate her gratitude to that great man."⁴¹ These amendments were opposed by Robert Whigham, advocate, who was seconded by Sir David Dundas. Whigham proposed that Steell's name should be omitted and that no limitation should be made to resident artists. The matter was brought to a vote, which went in McNeill's favour by a margin of twelve to ten, with Lord Dalhousie abstaining from voting due to his position as Chairman. Ten noblemen and gentlemen were then nominated to act as the aforementioned Sub-Committee. These comprised several of the richest and most elevated members of Scotland's gentry, among them the Duke of Buccleuch, three Earls, a Viscount, four Baronets and Sir John McNeill, a holder of a Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath.⁴² It should be noted that of the ten elected members of the Sub-Committee, only four were actually present at the meeting of 6 July,⁴³ and as it transpired several among those selected were extremely dissatisfied with the resolutions they were now being called upon to carry into effect.

The most influential among the disgruntled parties was the Duke of Buccleuch. The Duke was a staunch Conservative and a man of extensive property and great personal

⁴⁰ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVIII- Shearman to Stovin* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), pp. 1027-1028.

⁴¹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/16, Resolutions to be Considered and Extract of Minutes of Proceedings, 6 July 1840.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/19, List of Select Committee Members and Voters For and Against Mr. Steell, (no date).

wealth with a fortune valued in excess of £910,000 at the time of his death in 1884. He held various political and military offices during his lifetime and entertained Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at his residence at Dalkeith in 1842, as well as attending the coronations of both Queen Victoria and her predecessor King William IV.⁴⁴ Apart from his leading rank among the Scottish nobility, he was also among the foremost subscribers to the project with a donation of two hundred pounds to his name.⁴⁵ Buccleuch was decided in his condemnation of the resolutions, stating that:

I am so dissatisfied that I shall withdraw altogether from the Committee,- I will have no hand in carrying into execution that of which I so strongly disapprove.- I cannot understand why an artist resident in Edinburgh should be selected in preference to all other artists, whether native or foreign, whether resident in Edinburgh or not. It is not an Edinburgh memorial, tho' it smacks strongly of a rank Edinburgh job.- Edinburgh is selected for the site as being the metropolis of Scotland, if the site was to be placed in proportion to the amount of subscription, Edinburgh would fall very low in the list.⁴⁶

Buccleuch was careful to emphasise that his objections were not in any way linked to Steell himself, saying, "I am sorry that Steele (sic) has got mixed up in this Job, for I have always taken a great interest in his success, & a circumstance of this kind must to a certain extent do him harm."⁴⁷ By this time Buccleuch had already engaged Steell in a personal capacity to produce for him a crib and sculptures of his bulldog and favourite hunters. He had also assisted Steell's advancement in the public arena when he intervened to support Steell's employment for the statue of Sir Walter Scott intended to form part of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh. Steell had won an open, anonymous competition for this work in 1836. However, it was subsequently suggested that Sir Francis Chantrey would be a more suitable choice for the undertaking. Chantrey had not entered the competition, but declared himself willing to perform the commission if desired. The dispute was resolved in Steell's favour when Buccleuch made a passionate speech supporting the democratic allocation of the work.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVII- Robinson to Sheares* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), pp. 963-964.

⁴⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 68, Buccleuch to Sir George Warrender, 4 February 1840; Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 110, Warrender to the Earl of Dalhousie, 6 February 1840.

⁴⁶ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/34, Buccleuch to Dalhousie, 1 August 1840.

⁴⁷ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/102, Buccleuch to Dalhousie, 8 August 1840.

⁴⁸ Robin Lee Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Sculpture' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 34-36.

Among others who voiced their disapproval were Sir George Warrender, Lord Tweeddale, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Melville, Sir Anthony Maitland and William Burn,⁴⁹ the latter of whom was particularly scathing of the outcome, labelling it an “ill-judged, mischievous and envious motion- the climax of Edinburgh jobbery, and the most insulting to the great mass of subscribers”.⁵⁰ Burn attributed much of the blame for the resolutions to the actions of George Patton, advocate, and David Smith, writer to the signet, another member of the legal profession. He had also cited these two figures as the main actors behind Mr Bell’s appointment as acting secretary, another decision which had met with Burn’s dissatisfaction.⁵¹ According to Burn,

these two are the movers and actors ... taking on themselves the whole charge of directing & controlling the proceedings of the meetings, and dictating as to the employment of funds, they never could have obtained, and measures, which nothing but presumption on their part can in any shape excuse- The County of East Lothian I believe subscribes greatly more than Edinburgh, and the City of Edinburgh does not reach one twelfth part of the sum subscribed, and yet it is some two or three Edinburgh people who presume to direct everything, and deign not even to consult with one of the principal subscribers, or the counties from where the chief funds are sent.

I believe the united subscriptions of three intermeddlers would scarcely exceed one hundred pounds, and the twelve first names on the list, who have not even been consulted exceed £1000!!⁵²

Faced with this level of disapproval and discord, Dalhousie as Chairman was forced to assume the role of peacemaker and wrote to Buccleuch suggesting several avenues of recourse that might be adopted to address his and other Committee members’ and subscribers’ grievances. Of his various suggestions, it was decided that his third and final one would be the most effective.⁵³ This plan was to allow the Sub-Committee to meet, but resolve that the dissatisfaction shown at the resolutions was so great that they could not proceed, and then report back to the General Committee for fresh instructions. In order for this plan to succeed, they first had to prove that the dissatisfaction was widespread and not

⁴⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/28, William Burn Esquire to the Duke of Buccleuch, 15 July 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/99, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 9 July 1840; Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/17, Sir George Warrender to the Duke of Buccleugh (sic), 9 July 1840; Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/20, G. Warrender to the Duke of Buccleugh (sic), 15 July 1840.

⁵⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/22, William Burn Esquire to the Duke of Buccleuch, 10 July 1840.

⁵¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/50, William Burn to Sir George Warrender, 31 December 1839; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/49, William Burn to the Earl of Dalhousie, 2 January 1840.

⁵² Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/28, William Burn Esquire to the Duke of Buccleuch, 15 July 1840.

⁵³ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/29, Earl of Dalhousie to the Duke of Buccleuch, 27 July 1840; Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/34, Duke of Buccleuch to the Earl of Dalhousie, 1 August 1840.

just confined to a few individuals. To this end, Sir George Warrender circulated a requisition to call a meeting of the General Committee for the stated purpose of reconsidering the resolutions adopted on 6 July on the basis that they had been passed by a majority of only 12 to 10 at a meeting where, owing to the time of year, only 23 out of 93 members had attended. This requisition was signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, the Earls of Haddington, Lauderdale, Dunmore and Melville, Sir George Warrender, Baronet and Sir George Sinclair, Baronet.⁵⁴ In response to this request, Dalhousie called a meeting of the General Committee to be held on 22 December 1840.⁵⁵ Despite the objections of these upper-class and highly influential parties, the motion in favour of Steell was yet again carried, illustrating that although the project was an élite undertaking in some respects, the less prominent and wealthy among the Committee also played a crucial role in shaping the outward appearance and symbolic subtexts of the memorial by virtue of the employment of democratic principles. Ultimately, it was intended to be a national memorial, representing the whole spectrum of class and political affiliations.

4.1.8 The Statue and the Duke of Wellington

With Steell now confirmed as the Committee's first, and currently only, choice to produce a bust and model for their inspection, matters now progressed towards the realisation of this goal. One of the few acts of the Sub-Committee during the interim period between July and December had been to obtain an estimate of expenses for his services. In response to this query, Steell stated that he would make no charge for a model, while a bust of the Duke would be priced at 100 guineas if in marble or 50 guineas if in stucco. As to the statue itself, Steell asserted that he could give no definite estimate until the dimensions, site and design were confirmed, but that in general he believed an equestrian statue in bronze of heroic dimensions (meaning the length of the man would be seven to ten feet) could be executed at an expense not exceeding £7,000, while one of colossal dimensions (meaning the length of the man would be above ten feet) could be done at a price of £8,000 to £10,000.⁵⁶ During this time, Steell also found himself the subject of a pressure campaign from William Burn, and to a lesser extent, Sir James Riddell, Baronet. These men urged

⁵⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/110, Requisition for General Committee, 11 December 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/111, Sir G. Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 10 December 1840.

⁵⁵ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/112, Requisition for Meeting of General Committee, 11 December 1840.

⁵⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/105, Thomas Dick Lauder to the Earl of Dalhousie, 19 November 1840.

Steell to decline the commission offered by the General Committee's resolutions of 6 July 1840 on the grounds that, being against the wishes of many of the nobility, it would be harmful to his future career prospects. Burn even went so far as to promise that he would use all his influence to secure the execution of the statue itself for Steell if he would only decline the commission for the bust and model. Steell, however, remained resolute in his determination to follow the stated wishes of the General Committee, which he believed to be "a high honor (sic) and advantage ... , not only the most honourable to me, but also the most legitimate mode in the circumstances, even tho' I had not been the fortunate individual so applied to. ... The resolution of the Committee (is) entirely to my wishes in all respects".⁵⁷ With the confirmation of the resolutions of 6 July at the meeting of 22 December 1840, Steell was released from the dissenters' objections to proceed with the work. In order to do so, however, an appointment with the Duke to pose for the bust was now required.

Shortly after the commencement of the project, a resolution was passed instructing the Earl of Dalhousie, in his capacity as Chairman of the General Committee, to contact the Duke and formally communicate to him their intention "(which has been zealously supported in every County in Scotland) of erecting in this Metropolis of North Britain a Testimonial of National Gratitude for the public services & virtues of his Grace".⁵⁸ The description of Edinburgh in such terms is notable for the emphasis it places on British identity, and hence the contribution the project was intended to make in solidifying and perpetuating that concept. Not only that, but they wished to convey the impression that this intention had been sanctioned by the support of people from throughout the whole of the Scottish nation. Directly following the meeting of 22 December 1840, Dalhousie wrote to the Duke to inform him of Steell's engagement and to enquire when he might be available to sit for the bust, a task which he had given his consent to perform after being officially informed of the project earlier that year.⁵⁹ The Duke replied that his political commitments in London precluded the possibility of his undertaking this duty until the end of summer or the beginning of autumn, when the session of Parliament would have drawn to its conclusion.⁶⁰ The subject was thus postponed for several months until two letters from David Smith, a writer to the signet and member of the General Committee, to the Earl of

⁵⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD371/188, John Steell to Sir John McNeill, 26 December 1840.

⁵⁸ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 111, note by Sir George Warrender, 3 February 1840.

⁵⁹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/116, Wellington to Lord Dalhousie, 29 December 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/68, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 26 January 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/72, Resolution of the General Committee, 3 February 1840.

⁶⁰ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/116, Wellington to Lord Dalhousie, 29 December 1840.

Dalhousie instigated a revival. Smith wrote to inform Dalhousie that Baron Marochetti, the artist for the Glasgow Wellington statue, had recently visited the Duke at his country estate of Stratfield Saye, where the Duke had posed for Marochetti to allow him to fashion a bust and rode out with the artist in order to give him an idea of his character on horseback. In his letters, Smith also alluded to the sense of rivalry and competition between the two projects that had arisen from the outset of the Glasgow project; being launched, as it was, within a few weeks of the official announcement of Edinburgh's national one.⁶¹

Spurred on by this fresh information, Dalhousie wrote to the Duke to enquire whether he might now be available to perform the same task for Steell. The result was an appointment for Steell to visit the Duke at Walmer Castle, his residence in Kent.⁶² Steell arrived there on 7 July 1841 and departed on 12 July 1841, his work having been completed.⁶³ Wellington posed for him two to three times a day, including several sessions mounted on horseback.⁶⁴ Upon the conclusion of the stay, the Duke asserted his strong approval of both Steell's character and the product of his labours, pronouncing that: "He has been indefatigable; and has executed a Work which I hope ... will give satisfaction. Every Body here is satisfied with it; and I must add that it appears to me as far as I can judge of a likeness of myself to be excellent."⁶⁵ The bust (Figure 4.1.4) was transmitted back to Edinburgh for the Committee's inspection, where it met with high admiration. Steell followed this up with the submission of a design model. One contemporary newspaper described the works as follows:

The bust is a master work of art, and is a striking resemblance of his Grace, finished with a severe and classic taste reminding the spectator, as more than one has remarked, of the busts of the Caesars during the Augustine period. The model represents his Grace seated on a powerful and spirited charger, impatient to bound off, but restrained by the vigorous arm of the rider; while, from his extended right hand, he appears to be in the act of communicating some final orders to his attendants. It is impossible adequately to describe the grace and dignity delineated in the group. Both horse and rider are represented in the exercise of the highest qualities peculiar to each- the former in the pride of physical action- the latter in calm and dignified serenity; thus happily realising what has ever been felt to be one of the greatest difficulties of art- the idea of the repose of action. We are happy to observe that the artist has managed to retain all that is essential to modern costume, by the adoption of the military cloak, which admits of all

⁶¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/7, David Smith to the Earl of Dalhousie, 12 June 1841; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/8, David Smith to the Earl of Dalhousie, 16 June 1841.

⁶² Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/10, Wellington to the Earl of Dalhousie, 29 June 1841; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/11, Wellington to the Earl of Dalhousie, 6 July 1841.

⁶³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/16, John Steell to the Earl of Dalhousie, 20 July 1841.

⁶⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/14, Wellington to the Earl of Dalhousie, 11 July 1841.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

the graceful display of Grecian drapery. The combination of the lines of drapery with those of the composition of the horse and rider, are wrought out with a truly antique severity of style, and produce a grandeur of effect which we are glad to hail, as indicating the revival amongst us of the spirit of classic antiquity.⁶⁶



Figure 4.1.4: Marble Bust of the Duke of Wellington by John Steell, 1843. A later version of the original fashioned by Steell during 1841. Held at Colstoun House, current residence of Mr Broun-Lindsay, descendant of the Earls of Dalhousie.

Thus the figure and personality of the Duke was exalted through allusion to the styles used to depict heroic individuals and mythological Gods in ancient Greece and Rome. While Steell was engaged in producing these works, the topic of a source of raw material with

⁶⁶ Scottish National Archives, GD371/188, *The Edinburgh Wellington Testimonial* newspaper clipping, (no date).

which to fashion the statue was again raised, with John Swinton, Esquire, a member of the General Committee, writing to the Earl of Dalhousie to suggest that an enquiry might be directed towards the East India Company regarding any old brass guns they held in storage which might be supplied by them for this purpose,⁶⁷ a move which would have imbued the form of the monument with imperialistic and military connotations.

In January 1842, Steell's efforts bore the hoped-for fruits when he was confirmed by the General Committee as the chosen artist to execute the statue. The vote in favour of Steell was unanimous.⁶⁸ Wellington declared himself "delighted" at the choice upon being informed and offered to perform any further sittings that might be required by Steell.⁶⁹ At the same time, a position in front of the General Register Office building was selected as the site for the work. The subject of the addition of a triumphal arch was also raised, but no decision regarding its employment was resolved upon. Sir George Warrender noted that "there are some who would have liked an entirely architectural memorial rather than a statue. It is fortunate that this matter was closed at the very outset by the vote for an Equestrian Statue; and we have the satisfaction to know that this is most acceptable also to the Duke himself".⁷⁰ At this point, the project entered a phase of considerable delay, primarily due to two factors. These were Steell's attempts to overcome the obstacle of his lack of facilities to undertake bronze casting,⁷¹ and the lengthy negotiation processes and alteration procedures that proved necessary in connection to the chosen site.

4.1.9 Fundraising in Scotland: Efforts to Achieve National Consensus

One essential factor that had been largely resolved by this time was the procurement of the funds necessary to drive the project. These funds were derived from across the spectrum of class and political affiliation, as well as from both genders; from political, military and religious sources; and at local, national and international levels. As previously mentioned, the subscription list was opened at the conclusion of the meeting of 24 December 1839. This comprised a general fund to which subscribers could contribute. Separate subscription lists were commenced in many other locales, which were later added to the general fund. As news of the meeting's outcome and the resolutions adopted spread through the press, in printed circulars and via private communication in the days and weeks following 24 December, large sums were promised by many leading members of the Scottish aristocracy. Sir George Warrender spurred the commencement of fundraising at county

⁶⁷ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/19, John Swinton to Lord Dalhousie, 18 August 1841.

⁶⁸ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/26, John Steell to the Earl of Dalhousie, 23 January 1842.

⁶⁹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/24, Wellington to the Earl of Dalhousie, 20 January 1842.

⁷⁰ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/23, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 12 January 1842.

⁷¹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/33, Sir George Warrender to the Earl of Dalhousie, 9 March 1842.

level by forwarding the following circular to the Convenors of all the counties in Scotland immediately after the meeting:

I am requested by the Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen who have been this day appointed to conduct the Testimonial that is to be erected in the Metropolis of Scotland, as a mark of national gratitude for the services of the Duke of Wellington, to call your attention to these proceedings, and to express their hope that you will think it proper to call together the proprietors, tenantry, and inhabitants of your county, at an early day, to consider the propriety of aiding and supporting this great national undertaking, or to take such other means as may appear to you in the circumstances most conducive to forward the object in view.⁷²

The response to this appeal was swift, and by the end of January 1840, local meetings had been organised in Perth, Ayrshire, Berwick, Roxburgh, East Lothian and Selkirk.⁷³ Aberdeenshire, Morayshire and Lanarkshire were also scheduled to meet,⁷⁴ while Fife had a subscription list in operation by February.⁷⁵ The Convenor of Caithness pledged that “whatever I can do officially or otherwise in furtherance of the object will be willingly & zealously done”.⁷⁶ Indeed it appears there may have been decided opposition to the formal approach in some areas, as William Hay, a Convenor in the Borders region, reported that he could not call a meeting of the county in his official capacity; but acting privately he arranged for meetings to be held at Dunse and Greenlaw, two towns within the region, on 21 and 22 January respectively.⁷⁷ In the county of Ross no such objections prevailed, with the Convenor Colin Mackenzie calling a Special General Meeting of the Heritors, Commissioners of Supply, and Justices of the Peace of the County of Ross to be held at Invergordon on 28 January 1840, for the express purpose of considering the resolutions of the Wellington testimonial meeting of 24 December, along with several other documents that had been conveyed to the Convenor officially.⁷⁸

In the county of Nairn, the object received more exclusive attention with William Mackintosh calling a meeting for 29 January with the sole aim of deliberating how best to aid the advancement of the proposed memorial. Additionally, a subscription paper was left

⁷² *Glasgow Constitutional*, 1 January 1840.

⁷³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/67, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 21 January 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 January 1840; *The Elgin Courier and Morayshire Advertiser*, 10 January 1840.

⁷⁴ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 95, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, (no date); *The Elgin Courier*, 10 January 1840.

⁷⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 101, Lord Elgin to Sir George Warrender, 15 February 1840.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Doc. 55, W.H. Horne to Sir George Warrender, 1 January 1840.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Doc. 59, William Hay to Sir George Warrender, 3 January 1840.

⁷⁸ *The Inverness Courier*, 15 January 1840.

at the British Linen Company's Bank in Nairn for the convenience of all those unable to attend the meeting.⁷⁹ Branches of the same bank in Elgin and Forres were employed in a similar manner to facilitate fundraising efforts in the county of Elgin, following an initial commencement of subscriptions at a special general meeting of the Commissioners of Supply of the county on 27 January 1840. A further subscription paper was left at a Mr Watson's office. Initial subscriptions amounted to the sum of £30, with five men offering their contributions. Two of these men were baronets; the other three, men of no particular title. The newspaper report of the proceedings of the meeting placed particular emphasis on the military and to a lesser extent, the British, aspects of the commemoration, declaring that the statue was intended "in honor of the Duke of Wellington, and to commemorate the distinguished military services he had rendered to his country".⁸⁰ The paper also emphasised and encouraged the potentially unifying aspect of the project, declaring their belief that "the union of all Scotland is necessary to procure the erection of a work of art worthy of the nation".⁸¹ Alluding to a fear apparently held by some that local feelings might hinder the achievement of the desired goal, for example through wishes to have a monument to the Duke erected in their own neighbourhood instead, they expressed a hope that this would not be the case, and "that local feelings and partialities will be made to merge in more exalted and more liberal feelings".⁸²

In Inverness the object seemingly met with particularly keen attention. The local paper printed extensive reports on the 24 December 1839 meeting shortly after its occurrence, and expressed a hope that the work might be entrusted to the hands of Sir Francis Chantrey, an artist linked with several other commemorations of the Duke in England, Scotland and Wales.⁸³ Within the next few weeks a public meeting was arranged to be held in the town on 31 January 1840. Such was the interest from some quarters that subscriptions were launched before the meeting had even taken place, with Mr Macaulay pledging ten guineas.⁸⁴ At the meeting, resolutions in support of the aim were universally adopted and a Committee of more than 32 gentlemen were appointed to seek further subscriptions in Inverness. These men were of the middle class and included six bankers, a doctor, a wine merchant, a solicitor, two Colonels, three Captains, a Sheriff and the Provost and Magistrates of Inverness.⁸⁵ The primary speeches given on the occasion placed

⁷⁹ *The Inverness Courier*, 22 January 1840.

⁸⁰ *The Elgin Courant*, 31 January 1840.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10 January 1840.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *The Inverness Courier*, 1 January 1840.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1840.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 5 February 1840.

notable emphasis on the military achievements of the Duke, with political matters being relegated to a brief and latter consideration. The descriptor of “hero” was frequently attached to Wellington, while reference was also made to his identity as a “British subject”. The events of the day were given an imperial context by an allusion to any public meeting that might be held “in this empire”. Perhaps the most salient statement made during the course of the meeting comprised the following words:

I hope that a sum will be realized worthy of the capital of the Highlands- the capital of that district which, in the days of danger, poured forth from its hills and valleys, hundreds and thousands of its brave sons to assist in fighting those glorious battles which preserved the liberties of Europe, and gave peace to the nations--(cheers)--battles in which the armies of Britain gained honour and renown, and their great commander laurels that will never fade.⁸⁶

Here local, national and international identities may be perceived as interacting with and reinforcing one another via the instrument of military endeavour and success, with Wellington overseeing it all, a focal point in which all these aspects were united and through whose example these ideals might be reproduced on a larger scale. Following the meeting, the Provost contacted Sir George Warrender to inform him of the outcome, saying: “As this is neither a populous nor a wealthy Town, a large subscription need not be looked for, but as the greater part of the most respectable and influencial (sic) citizens, of all political parties, attended the meeting, I trust that a sum will be realized of which we need not be ashamed.”⁸⁷ Following Warrender’s positive response to this communication, the Provost further offered to provide him with a copy of the best speech made upon the occasion,⁸⁸ potentially setting up Inverness as an example to be emulated elsewhere.

East Lothian was another region that received a high degree of attention, perhaps largely due to the personal ties of two of the foremost members of the Committee with the region, namely Sir George Warrender and the Earl of Dalhousie. Both men held estates in the county, Warrender at Lochend through his ancestors, Dalhousie at Colstoun through his mother. Dalhousie also served as MP for East Lothian, being elected to represent that county in 1837.⁸⁹ Warrender was particularly instrumental in setting proceedings in motion, liaising with other prominent gentlemen of the county to call them together for a

⁸⁶ *The Inverness Courier*, 5 February 1840.

⁸⁷ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 120, Alex Cumming to Sir George Warrender, 4 February 1840.

⁸⁸ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 117, Alex Cumming to Sir George Warrender, 15 February 1840.

⁸⁹ *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, ed. Baird, p. x.

preliminary meeting on 1 January 1840.⁹⁰ At this meeting it was arranged that a more general meeting for the “Noblemen, Landed Proprietors, Tenantry, and Inhabitants of the County of Haddington”⁹¹ would be held in the town of Haddington on 10 January 1840. No time was wasted in disseminating notice of this meeting to as wide an audience as possible, with printed advertising posters being produced for distribution on the very same day as the preliminary meeting took place.⁹²

The leading figures present on 1 January further corresponded with one another in the run up to the general meeting to devise a framework for how matters would proceed on the occasion, displaying the importance of this élite grouping in shaping the course of events. Key figures were selected to propose and second resolutions, as well as to give accompanying speeches to set the tone of the affair. Care was taken to ensure these chosen men represented a wide spectrum of political affiliation and social class.⁹³ This inclusive intent was displayed again in the content of the speeches given on the day and in the list of attendees on the occasion. These attendees comprised local nobles of various ranks, members of the military profession, political and religious figures and “a very numerous attendance of tenantry”.⁹⁴ The latter statement appeared at the end of the attendance list, rendering a certain degree of anonymity to the lowest classes present. Although their presence was deemed important and noteworthy, their purpose was to give an air of general approval and consensus to the proceedings, rather than to take prominent individual roles in determining the content of resolutions or speeches.

Similarly to Inverness, a high degree of emphasis was placed on Wellington’s triumphant military career, with his achievements as a statesman being acknowledged in a positive manner but not discussed or dwelt upon in detail. Much attention was also given to the British nature of his identity, with him being described as a “British citizen” and a “countryman” of the assembly present.⁹⁵ In alluding to his military successes, his French opponents were depicted in highly negative terms as an “overwhelming ... force”, who could bring war to mainland Britain, and thereby “(destroy) the cultivation, the beauty, and

⁹⁰ See for example Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 76, Sir George Warrender to Lord Melville, 2 January 1840; Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 81, Tweeddale to Warrender, (no date); Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 84, David Anderson to Sir George Warrender, 1 January 1840.

⁹¹ Scottish National Archives, GD302/42, ‘Advertisement calling meeting of County- to Wellington Testimonial for 10 January’, 1 January 1840. The county of Haddington was another name for the county of East Lothian.

⁹² Scottish National Archives, GD302/42, ‘Advertisement calling meeting of County- to Wellington Testimonial for 10 January’, 1 January 1840.

⁹³ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 88, Eleanor D. Kinloch to Sir George Warrender, (no date).

⁹⁴ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 91, *THE WELLINGTON TESTIMONIAL. COUNTY OF EAST LOTHIAN.*, newspaper clipping, (no date).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants".⁹⁶ Their leader, Napoleon, was "the most overgrown and mightiest despot that ever aspired to the dominion of the world".⁹⁷ Wellington, "the hero of a hundred fights",⁹⁸ stood in opposition to the French threat, embodying British virtues and identity in contrast to French repression and tyranny.

Other notable themes on the occasion were the role the statue would play in immortalising and solidifying the memory of the Duke, "(handing) down to posterity the manner in which Scotland appreciates and honours (him)";⁹⁹ and the personal ties of family, friendship or acquaintance that several of the leading men present held with the Duke, in particular those of the Chairman the Marquis of Tweeddale and the leading speechmaker Sir George Warrender. Four resolutions were forwarded and seconded before being carried. The forwarders and seconders were Sir George Warrender, Sir George Grant Suttie, Sir David Kinloch and General Stuart; and Lord Elcho, Mr Howden, tenant, Lawhead, Mr Walker, tenant of Ferrygate and Provost Lea of Haddington respectively. They encompassed both Whigs and Tories, leading nobles and common tenants, military leaders and public officials. The affair was concluded with a reference to the importance of regional identity and how it might be expressed and reinforced through support of the project: "I have no doubt that East Lothian will show to the whole of Scotland that there is not a county in it that feels more sincerely than we do the debt of gratitude which the country owes to the Duke of Wellington".¹⁰⁰ The response to the meeting's resolutions was swift, with £1,050 pledged by the inhabitants of the county by 21 January alone.¹⁰¹ Warrender was keen to publicise the success of the proceedings, and hold the county up as an example to be emulated elsewhere. However, care was yet again taken by these leading men to carefully control the direction of proceedings and the image to be projected to the general public, with Dalhousie asserting that the list of subscribers should not be published "till a number of tenants contributions (have) been added, as to publish the proprietors separate from the others would have ... an unfavorable effect."¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 91, *THE WELLINGTON TESTIMONIAL. COUNTY OF EAST LOTHIAN.*, newspaper clipping, (no date).

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/67, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 21 January 1840.

¹⁰² Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 95, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, (no date).

To promote the object in Sutherlandshire George Dempster posted a notice in the Inverness papers,¹⁰³ anticipating a favourable response as he perceived “Sutherland folks (to be) ... all great admirers of the great Duke”.¹⁰⁴ A local banker, John Christie, also took an interest in promoting the matter in the county, suggesting that Circulars should be printed and posted to key individuals throughout the region, while an announcement should also be made at local churches, following which “judicious persons” would be sent around the parishes with subscription lists.¹⁰⁵ This suggestion met with the approval of Dempster and is illustrative of the influential role of religious authorities in the lives of the people of the area and consequently in ensuring the success of the commemorative proposal. In the town of Leith, political power was to prove more valuable, with the Provost, James Reoch, reporting having raised a subscription of £315 9s 6d by 29 January 1840, largely through personal application to individual residents.¹⁰⁶ Class played an important role in Forfarshire, with Lord Airlie directing Mr Guthrie to inform the gentlemen of the county of the undertaking on his behalf. He also subscribed fifty guineas and wrote to two other men, one of them being Lord Panmure, for advice on how best to proceed further in the matter.¹⁰⁷

In Glasgow, there was also an attempt to utilize interpersonal connections to the advantage of the project, with Henry Monteith pledging on 28 December 1839 to “write to my friends (there) who entertain the same views of the high obligations the Kingdom at large is under to the Duke”.¹⁰⁸ However, he did qualify this promise with the caution that “I am so seldom in Glasgow now that I can have little personal influence, but that little cannot be used in a better cause”.¹⁰⁹ As it happened, Monteith’s admiration for the Duke was to find a new outlet within the space of a few weeks, one which was in fact to run in opposition to the Edinburgh project’s efforts rather than aid its advancement. This outlet was the Glasgow Wellington statue, an undertaking instigated partly to compete with Edinburgh’s efforts, the two cities having a long history of rivalry with one another on many matters. This move aroused the ire of Sir George Warrender, who was scathing in his condemnation: “following at the tardy pace Two (sic) months behind the Edinburgh move; taking the Edinburgh idea of an equestrian statue- there is wanting all the grace of hearty

¹⁰³ See for example *The Inverness Courier*, 8 January 1840.

¹⁰⁴ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 60, George Dempster to Sir George Warrender, 9 January 1840.

¹⁰⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 60, John Christie to George Dempster Esq., 6 January 1840.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Doc. 61, James Reoch to Sir George Warrender, 18 January 1840; Ibid., Doc. 63, James Reoch to Sir George Warrender, 29 January 1840.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., Doc. 116, Airlie to Sir Francis, 6 January 1840.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Doc. 77, Henry Monteith to Sir George Warrender, 28 December 1839.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

unanimity, of national object, & national expression of feeling & the affair is truly Glasgow-".¹¹⁰ A general air of competition and comparison was to prevail throughout the course of the two projects, particularly on the topics of subscriptions and speed of completion. Monteith was one of the earliest subscribers to the Glasgow monument, offering a sizable donation of £200, one which matched that of a number of other leading subscribers to that project at the time, but represented a figure twice as large as that being given by the leading contributors to the Edinburgh one at the same point.¹¹¹

Another subscriber link between the various Scottish Wellington commemorations was also apparent in the form of the Marquis of Lothian, whose forebears were responsible for the Wellington column on Peniel Heugh hill near the town of Jedburgh. The seventh Marquis, John William Robert Ker(r),¹¹² was swift in his response to the call for support for a national monument, subscribing £100 at the very outset of the proceedings with the words: "No one can be more sensible than I am of what the country owes to the Duke of Wellington & no one can more cordially concur in the propriety of Scotlands (sic) erecting a lasting Testimonial of her gratitude for the services he has ever rendered to the Empire."¹¹³

Glasgow was not the only place to yield some opposition to the national project. At a meeting of the town council held in Stirling,¹¹⁴ Bailie Smith took a firm stance against offering any support to the project, largely on the grounds of the Duke's political career. He outlined his position saying that

he had seen, with the utmost astonishment, the names of many of the leading Liberals of the day among those of the subscribers, and among those who were forwarding this national testimonial. He granted the Duke's many excellencies as a soldier and as a commander; but he considered his glories in the field as having been tarnished by his conduct in the Cabinet.

¹¹⁰ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 121, George Warrender to Lord Belhaven, 20 February 1840.

¹¹¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/45, George Warrender to anon., 1 January 1840.

¹¹² James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom, Volume V* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1908), p. 485; O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 6.

¹¹³ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 11, Lothian to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 24 December 1839.

¹¹⁴ While Stirling is not specifically named as the town in question, there was both a Bailie Smith and a Bailie Rankin, as well as a Provost Galbraith (the surname cited in the document), on the town council of Stirling during December 1839. *The Christian Pioneer*, Vol. XIV, No. 162 (February 1840), pp. 93-96; Stirling Council List of Provosts from 1457 to present day, http://www.stirling.gov.uk/past_provosts_of_stirling-3.doc.

He thought he had already been sufficiently compensated for his labours in the field...¹¹⁵

Bailie Rankin was less opposed to the idea, proposing that those who wished to subscribe should be allowed to do so, but that any expense incurred in calling a meeting should be paid from the subscriptions. The outcome of the debate is unknown, as the matter was dropped after this exchange of views and left to the discretion of the Provost to do as he himself saw fit.¹¹⁶ Party politics was to prove a stumbling block in Ayrshire also, with Sir George Warrender reporting that: "Lord Eglinton tells me that nothing could be more cold than the Whig support in Ayrshire but they gave it altho' with their tails between their legs".¹¹⁷

Despite the various disagreements and difficulties, the overall response to the call for funds from the counties was both rapid and favourable. On 21 January 1840, Sir George Warrender reported that subscriptions had reached almost £5,300; a figure which he stated did not include that of any county except East Lothian.¹¹⁸ By 9 July 1840 he indicated that the total was now "about Eleven Thousand Pounds with good prospects from abroad".¹¹⁹ While the actual monetary contribution from the counties alone is difficult to gauge, they certainly made a notable addition to the 9 July total, as indicated by the East Lothian figure of £1,050.¹²⁰ Perhaps more importantly though, the widespread meetings and indications of positive approval of and support for the goal in mind created a general air of national consensus and involvement in the project.

4.1.10 Fundraising Beyond Scottish Borders: Connecting with the British and Imperial Realms

In terms of the "prospects from abroad", efforts were begun to disseminate information and garner support from these quarters almost immediately in the wake of the meeting of 24 December 1839. While Sir George Warrender was notable for his promotion and co-ordination of county level support, the Earl of Dalhousie took the leading role on the international stage, utilising his aforementioned colonial connections and reputation to

¹¹⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 97, newspaper clipping, (no date).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 110, George Warrender to the Earl of Dalhousie, 6 February 1840.

¹¹⁸ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/67, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 21 January 1840.

¹¹⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/17, Sir George Warrender to the Duke of Buccleugh, 9 July 1840.

¹²⁰ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/67, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 21 January 1840.

great effect. The approach favoured for this operation was to post a printed copy of the resolutions and proceedings of the meeting of 24 December 1839, accompanied by a suitable covering letter, to key influential figures in various colonies. Ceylon¹²¹ was among the earliest of the colonies to be targeted in this manner, with the Governor of the colony, J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, being addressed as follows in a covering letter dated 6 January 1840:

I AM requested by the Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen within named, to transmit these proceedings to your Excellency, and to express their hope, that such means may be taken within the *Colony* under your Government, as may enable all the Civil and Military Servants, natives of Scotland, and others interested in that country, to aid the great national undertaking to which these proceedings refer.¹²²

Among other places appealed to were London, Cheltenham and Leamington in England; various cities in British North America;¹²³ Armagh, Elphin and Dublin in Ireland; several cities in India; and New York, Jamaica, Tobago and Gibraltar.¹²⁴ The city of Manchester in England and the island of Bermuda were also posited as potential targets.¹²⁵ Whether Manchester was contacted is unknown, but the potential of Bermuda to yield a positive result was deemed unlikely due a lack of resident Scotsmen and the negative impact on the

¹²¹ Modern-day Sri Lanka.

¹²² Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, Sir George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

¹²³ These cities all comprise part of modern-day Canada, officially the Dominion of Canada. The term "British North America" refers to the colonies and territories that remained under British control in the North American continent after the 1783 Treaty of Paris which recognised American independence. The modern-day Dominion of Canada was not established until 1867. Prior to this there existed the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, which covered various parts of the territories of the modern provinces or province regions of Quebec, Labrador and Ontario. Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1841 to form the Province of Canada. For further information see: Archie Hobson (ed.), *The Cambridge Gazetteer of the United States and Canada: A Dictionary of Places* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 99, 368, 534, 678; J.M. Bumsted, 'British North America', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 89-90; Conrad Heidenreich, "Canada", in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 99; Jean-Pierre Wallot, 'Lower Canada', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 367-368; Colin Read, 'Province of Canada', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 511; Roger Hall, 'Upper Canada', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 637.

¹²⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/65, list of letters written, (no date); Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/61, Sir James Kempt to the Earl of Dalhousie, 15 January 1840; Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 64, T. Drummond to Thomas D. Lauder, Bart, 30 January 1840.

¹²⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 57, Sutherland Mackenzie to Sir George Warrender, 1 January 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/63, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

community caused by the recent occurrence of a severe hurricane on the island.¹²⁶ In general, the reception of the appeal throughout the colonies was very dependant on the local social, economic, historical and political context.

4.1.10.1 British North America

Alexander Stewart, a member of the Legislative Council of the province of Nova Scotia,¹²⁷ was to prove a crucial ally in facilitating contact with a number of leading figures throughout the various provinces of British North America. Stewart took an immediate interest in the project in the wake of the 24 December 1839 meeting, and within a week of its occurrence he wrote to Dalhousie to suggest a fundraising strategy that might be implemented in the region:

I very respectfully suggest the propriety of your selecting in the chief towns of the North American Colonies, four or five of the principal Scotsmen, and requesting them not only to receive subscriptions therein but to appoint in the distant villages agents (Scotsmen likewise) with instructions that they shall accept the smallest sum. You will thusly enable many who will otherwise have no means of doing so (as well as those who reside in the metropolitan towns) to contribute to the noble object you have in view.¹²⁸

He elaborated on this suggestion on 9 January 1840 by forwarding to Dalhousie a long list of suitable candidates to approach in Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Halifax and St. John's Newfoundland.¹²⁹ A second letter of 15 January 1840 added contacts resident in St. John's New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.¹³⁰ Dalhousie followed up these lists by initiating contact with many of the named individuals in each of these locations at various intervals between 7 February 1840 and 12 March 1840.¹³¹ In his correspondence Stewart also outlined the motivation for his own particular concern with the success of the project: "as the Son of Scotch parents I am naturally anxious that the work shall be honorable to Scotsmen and their descendants and that Nova Scotians shall not be wanting to themselves or their forbears on this auspicious occasion."¹³² For Stewart, this national project would not only be a reflection on Scottish identity and worth, but also on local Nova Scotian pride and identity. Clearly Stewart perceived a strong link between the two concepts, one

¹²⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/63, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

¹²⁷ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/47, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 31 December 1839.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/59, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 9 January 1840.

¹³⁰ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/63, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

¹³¹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/59, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 9 January 1840; Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/63, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

¹³² Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/47, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 31 December 1839.

which would be reinforced and perpetuated through the device of the statue. Writing on the heterogeneous, multicultural nature of Canadian society towards the end of the twentieth century, Daniel Francis referred to the metaphor of a mosaic to describe the nature of Canada's ethnic and cultural blend.¹³³ In British North America of the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Wellington statue might be perceived as the glue or grout holding together the mosaic tiles of many different identities; each distinct, yet united and interrelated through the project.

Previous to receiving Stewart's first communication, Dalhousie himself had sought to find suitable candidates to promote the testimonial in the colonies of the region though a written request for names addressed to the Bishop of Nova Scotia.¹³⁴ This was not to be the last time that the church was employed to garner support for and disseminate news of the project in Britain's overseas territories. The Bishop responded with the suggestion of Alexander Keith, whom he recalled from a time during which Keith had been working as a servant. Born in Scotland and the son of a farmer, Keith had since advanced to a position of property and influence through ownership of the highly successful Nova Scotia Brewery.¹³⁵ However, the Bishop tempered his suggestion with the caution that "I can hardly recommend your writing to him",¹³⁶ hinting perhaps at the class divisions and boundaries of social propriety that underlay interpersonal interactions at the time, and which were evident throughout many fundraising efforts for the monument. James Foreman Esquire, "in every way a very respectable person",¹³⁷ and his son-in-law Dr Grigor were recommended as alternative contacts, and the Bishop himself vowed to do what he could both in letter and in person to promote the object. His communication, as well as the lists provided by Alexander Stewart, are illustrative of the range of classes and professions that were incorporated as stakeholders in the project.

Dalhousie's own personal links with British North America, largely through the public offices held by his father there and the consequent reputation attached to his family name, were of great assistance in his initial attempts to approach contacts. Stewart encouraged Dalhousie to capitalise on this opportunity, suggesting that he should write to a Mr McNeal and a Mr Foreman to enlist their aid on the basis that "they were known and

¹³³ Daniel Francis, 'National Identity', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 430-431.

¹³⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/53, Bishop John of Nova Scotia to the Earl of Dalhousie, 7 January 1840.

¹³⁵ Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, 'Brewing and Distilling', in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 84; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/53, Bishop John of Nova Scotia to the Earl of Dalhousie, 7 January 1840.

¹³⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/53, Bishop John of Nova Scotia to the Earl of Dalhousie, 7 January 1840.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

esteemed by the late Earl Dalhousie & would I think consider a friendly application from his son a compliment.”¹³⁸ The Chief Justice of Nova Scotia also expressed his faith in the power of Dalhousie’s influence, stating his belief that “whenever the subject is brought forward your Lordship may be assured strong as the claim is in itself, it will be strengthened in Nova Scotia by finding the respected and beloved name of Dalhousie among its advocates.”¹³⁹ Sir Rupert George of Halifax in Nova Scotia fondly recalled being acquainted with Dalhousie during his childhood years spent in the provinces, and assured him that: “I shall cheerfully assist in obtaining contributions, and I trust it will soon appear that Nova Scotians have not been backward in promoting an object of such high National interest, recommended as it is to their attention by one bearing the honored name of Dalhousie.”¹⁴⁰

This positive reception was continued in Three Rivers in the Province of Lower Canada where Mr Bell assured Dalhousie of his support in gathering subscriptions and of “the gratification I feel of carrying on this correspondence thro’ the medium of one whose Father was so justly honored by all classes of his Countrymen in these Provinces, and for whom individually I had so great an esteem.”¹⁴¹ Perhaps the most obvious example of the importance of the Dalhousie name in winning support for the project though was in the township of Dalhousie in Upper Canada. In this town, named after his father in 1823,¹⁴² the corresponding secretary of the Dalhousie Library Society wrote to inform the Earl that a subscription had been gathered in aid of the project and that “the Committee hope to hear that your Lordship will be pleased to accept of this proof of their sincere regard for your Lordship, and their good wishes to the cause in which you are engaged”.¹⁴³ In monetary terms the contribution itself was relatively minor, amounting to only ten pounds local currency. So small was this sum the secretary was unable to convert it into a bill of exchange. However, the number of people who made a donation was far more notable, with one hundred members of the Dalhousie Library Society accounting for half of the total sum, and three companies of the Dalhousie Militia adding the rest via a collection made at their annual parade held on 4 June 1840. The wording of McIntyre’s letter made it plain that the Dalhousie association, perhaps even more so than Wellington’s name, was a

¹³⁸ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/71, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 31 January 1840.

¹³⁹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/83, Brenton Halliburton to the Earl of Dalhousie, 4 April 1840.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/87, Sir Rupert George to the Earl of Dalhousie, 14 April 1840.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/89, Mr Bell to Lord Dalhousie, 6 May 1840.

¹⁴² Alan Rayburn, *Dictionary of Canadian Place Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 94.

¹⁴³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/106, John McIntyre, Corresponding Secretary, Dalhousie Library Society to the Earl of Dalhousie, 3 November 1840.

key motivator in inducing many of the inhabitants of the town to show their support for the project.¹⁴⁴

Clubs professing some Scottish or British affiliation, such as the Saint Andrew's Societies and the Caledonian Societies, were also targeted strongly.¹⁴⁵ They had branches in many towns and cities within the various Provinces. The response from these societies was variable. In Montreal the Saint Andrew's Society emphasised that its own funds were entirely devoted to charity and could not be given in aid of the Testimonial.¹⁴⁶ They did, however, express their verbal support of the undertaking and stated their hope that Scotsmen in Montreal and beyond might act independently to gather monetary contributions.¹⁴⁷ The Toronto branch appeared unconcerned by such qualms, and was prepared to take a far more active role in promoting the goal. They organised a special meeting of the Society to discuss the matter, which was held on 5 June 1840. At this meeting, resolutions were passed expressing the Society's approval of the object and appointing a committee from among the Society's members "for the purpose of soliciting and receiving subscriptions in furtherance of the object in view ... and to adopt such measures as they may deem expedient to call the attention of our Scottish brethren throughout the province to this object".¹⁴⁸ A particular emphasis was placed on the military aspect of the commemoration in the resolutions, with plans being made to enlist the co-operation of the military of Scottish origin in the province in the fundraising efforts.¹⁴⁹

In Halifax, Nova Scotia, James Foreman also approached the acting Grand Master of the Freemasons and the President of the North British Society to seek support for the proposal. However, he expressed a doubt whether anything considerable would be collected in the area.¹⁵⁰ There was a general belief that the political and social context would detract from attempts to garner subscriptions in these colonies. After consultation with the Chief Justice and Sir Rupert George, Foreman reported their mutual conviction that it would be better to delay announcing the call for subscriptions "until the political ferment which has arisen here during the late session of the House of Assembly shall in

¹⁴⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/106, John McIntyre, Corresponding Secretary, Dalhousie Library Society to the Earl of Dalhousie, 3 November 1840.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/59, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 9 January 1840; Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/63, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 15 January 1840; Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/78, Sir John Harvey to the Earl of Dalhousie, 23 March 1840; Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/84, Chas. Morris to the Earl of Dalhousie, 10 April 1840.

¹⁴⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/88, P. McGill to the Earl of Dalhousie, 18 April 1840.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/94, Andrew H. Armour to the Earl of Dalhousie, 10 June 1840.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/100, newspaper clipping, c. 5 June 1840.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/82, James Foreman to the Earl of Dalhousie, 14 April 1840.

some measure have subsided”.¹⁵¹ The Chief Justice himself elaborated on the nature of this “ferment”, saying:

just at this period we are reaping the first fruits of Lord Durhams (sic) report upon responsible Government.¹⁵² The Assembly was purged a few days ago, after the leading Demagogues in it had prevailed upon them to concur in our excellent Address to the Crown for the recall of the Governor. This has called forth the indignation of almost every respectable man in the Community and large meetings have been held to assure His Excellency that the Inhabitants of the Capital do not concur in the sentiments of the majority of the House of Assembly. And such is the general excitement that it would be difficult to interest the Public in any other subject at present.¹⁵³

In Quebec a similar sentiment towards delay prevailed, but here the grounds cited by the Reverend John Cook were a recent fundraising attempt in aid of a Presbyterian College in the Province of Upper Canada, for which the Presbyterian inhabitants of Quebec had pledged subscriptions in excess of £2,000.¹⁵⁴ Cook also added his opinion that: “A large subscription is not likely to be got, but enough I trust to show that we participate here in the general feeling of the British Empire.”¹⁵⁵ Writing from Montreal, P. McGill summed up many of the general obstacles that stood in the way of fundraising efforts for the monument throughout the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada:

our long political dissensions,- and the two Rebellions¹⁵⁶ thro’ which we have recently passed, have entailed much poverty, and suffering- Religion, Education, and Charitable Institutions having been in a great measure deprived of public aid, have been obliged to have recourse to voluntary contributions, and the subscriptions, therefore for one purpose and another, are without end among us, and where, none are comparatively speaking

¹⁵¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/82, James Foreman to the Earl of Dalhousie, 14 April 1840.

¹⁵² A report urging various political reforms generally referred to as the introduction of ‘responsible government’. Among other effects, ‘responsible government’ involved the transfer of authority from Britain and local élites to a wider cross section of the colonial population. Aside from this, Durham’s report also aroused the ire of the French Canadian population by its suggestion that they lacked a history or a culture. Jeffrey L. McNairn, ‘Responsible Government’, in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 542; Norah Story, *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* (Toronto, London and New York: Oxford University Press (Canadian Branch), 1967), p. 237.

¹⁵³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/83, Brenton Halliburton to the Earl of Dalhousie, 4 April 1840.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/86, John Cook to the Earl of Dalhousie, 13 April 1840.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Spanning a period from autumn 1837 to the early months of 1839, Upper and Lower Canada witnessed a period of major political upheaval characterised by a rebellion in Upper Canada against oligarchy and one by the Patriotes (a group of French-Canadian activists) in Lower Canada against Anglophone hegemony. Hobson (ed.), *The Cambridge Gazetteer of the United States and Canada*, pp. 502, 678; Allan Greer, ‘Rebellion of 1837-8’, in Gerald Hallowell (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 530-531.

rich, I assure your Lordship, it is with difficulty, that money can be raised, for even pressing local demands, for the support of Churches, Schools, Hospitals, and other Benevolent Societies-¹⁵⁷

In Toronto, alternative Wellington monument projects were also cited as competition for Edinburgh's appeal. The Honourable William Allan stated that efforts had been made to raise funds in the city for a London Wellington monument during 1839, and that some Toronto inhabitants had stated a preference of contributing to the Glasgow statue instead of the Edinburgh one.¹⁵⁸

4.1.10.2 India

Efforts to appeal for funds from India were also promptly begun in the wake of the meeting of 24 December 1839. Here Sir John McNeill, a member of the General Committee and later of the Sub-Committee, provided a list to Sir George Warrender of "leading Scotchmen" resident in the colony for potential contact in a letter dated 2 January 1840.¹⁵⁹ McNeill became familiar with the area during a number of years spent as assistant-surgeon and later surgeon to the East India Company in Bombay and further afield.¹⁶⁰ Less than two weeks later Warrender forwarded letters of appeal to all the Presidencies in the country.¹⁶¹ These were sent via the India House, the headquarters of the British East India Company in London. Writing from there, John Forbes assured Warrender of their transmission and added his approval of the approach, saying: "The suggestion was a good one to canvass our Countrymen in that quarter, for not only are they numerous, but no where is the love of their country, no where is Sympathy with all that affects it more warmly cherished than in India."¹⁶² Dalhousie also contacted several private individuals, among them two Reverends, a Major of the 20th Regiment and a doctor, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.¹⁶³ Once again, Dalhousie's family links were to facilitate efforts to set a subscription in motion, his father having acted as commander-in-chief in India from 1829 to 1832. This was particularly true in the case of Dr James Burnes of Bombay, who assured Dalhousie of his aid in forwarding the cause

¹⁵⁷ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/88, P. McGill to the Earl of Dalhousie, 18 April 1840.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/100, William P. Allan to Lord Dalhousie, 15 July 1840.

¹⁵⁹ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 93, John McNeill to Sir George Warrender, 2 January 1840.

¹⁶⁰ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XII- Llwyd to Mason* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), p. 693.

¹⁶¹ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 103, John Forbes to Sir George Warrender, 23 January 1840; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/67, Sir George Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 21 January 1840.

¹⁶² Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 103, John Forbes to Sir George Warrender, 23 January 1840.

¹⁶³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/65, list of letters written, (no date).

not only because I admire and reverence the great Duke, but also because I am overjoyed to have any opportunity of aiding you in anything that may interest you, and of thus trying to evince my lasting sense of your kindness and that of your late excellent father, to whose friendship I look back with the utmost pride & gratitude.¹⁶⁴

Born at Montrose in Scotland in 1801, Burnes held various medical posts in the Indian medical service from his arrival in that country in 1821. In 1837 he was appointed garrison surgeon of Bombay, eventually rising to the position of physician-general. He was a zealous freemason, holding the post of grand master for Western India.¹⁶⁵ In turn, Burnes own personal connections were to prove fruitful in advancing matters. He contacted the Governor, who promised to donate a subscription even though he himself was not a Scotsman. He secured pledges from his friends amounting to £50 or £60 and directed his three sons to give a guinea each. He also ensured the Bombay newspapers advertised the undertaking to the populace more generally. In his letter he alluded to the Duke's own period of service in India, a factor which may have acted as a further incentive for Scotsmen in the country to offer their support. However, he tempered expectations of success in the area with the caution that "Bombay instead of being now a days a Scotch Colony is more of an Irish one".¹⁶⁶ Another practicality potentially hindering the project aside from the dearth of settlers of Scottish descent was the fact that many there had also recently contributed to the London Wellington testimonial, as was the case in Toronto in British North America.

Three months after his initial response to Dalhousie, Burnes updated him on his progress, declaring that he had distributed circulars widely and enclosing a subscription list for a total of 755 rupees, or £75 10s sterling. Twenty-eight subscribers were named on the list, of which 13 were military officers. The rest, apart from Burnes himself, were all titled "esquire".¹⁶⁷ At this point Burnes's involvement with the project in Bombay largely ceased as he was leaving the area. Six months later Captain John Ramsay wrote to inform Dalhousie of the final figure subscribed there, which amounted to about 1,000 rupees. Ramsay expressed his disappointment at the sum, saying: "I mentioned when I wrote you before that it would be small but it is less than even I anticipated. The army had nearly all subscribed to the English testimonial and our countrymen are nowhere fond of putting their

¹⁶⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/80, James Burnes to the Earl of Dalhousie, 31 March 1840.

¹⁶⁵ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. III- Brown to Chaloner* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), p. 391.

¹⁶⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/80, James Burnes to the Earl of Dalhousie, 31 March 1840.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/96, James Burnes to Lord Dalhousie, 22 June 1840.

hands into their pockets when they have to pull them out with something in them.”¹⁶⁸ The Reverend James Charles foresaw a similar difficulty at Calcutta, a subscription for a Wellington testimonial having been raised there about three years previously.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, he had enlisted the assistance of “some of the most influential Scotchmen in (the) City”,¹⁷⁰ who proposed issuing a requisition calling for a meeting to be held to debate the matter.

In Madras a meeting was held in the College Hall. According to a newspaper report, the meeting was formally advertised prior to its occurrence, and “although not numerous, it was most respectably attended, and chiefly by the higher classes of the Scottish inhabitants of the Presidency.”¹⁷¹ As with Calcutta, this marks out the occasion as a primarily élite engagement. Several brief resolutions were unanimously passed approving of the object in view and appointing a Committee to superintend the receipt of subscriptions. In stating the meeting’s approval of the intended testimonial, the first resolution emphasised that: “considering that it was peculiarly in this part of the globe that those eminent talents first evinced themselves, which have since elevated the noble Duke to the eminence he now so deservedly enjoys, (we) resolve that a subscription be opened with the view of aiding in the completion of this tribute of national gratitude.”¹⁷² Clearly, the Duke’s Indian connections were a primary impetus in inducing local Scotsmen to support his commemoration. Knowing that he shared in their experience of life and service in that part of the world created a common bond and shared history between the two parties and made the Duke a suitable medium through which they could express and reinforce their blend of Scottish and Indian identity and heritage.

Another noteworthy aspect of the report is the emphasis it placed on British identity, with Scotsmen being referred to as “the inhabitants of North Britain”.¹⁷³ It also acknowledged and endorsed the international context being given to the event, saying that “the Duke of Wellington justly merits the gratitude of his countrymen in every quarter of the Globe”.¹⁷⁴ No preference was given to either Wellington’s military or political achievements, but rather the memorial was described as being “commemorative of his brilliant services”,¹⁷⁵ a term which served to encompass both aspects of his career on equal terms. Nonetheless, there was a strong military contingent among those present at the

¹⁶⁸ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/3, John Ramsay to Dalhousie, 30 January 1841.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/90, James Charles to the Earl of Dalhousie, 6 May 1840.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/96, newspaper clipping, (no date).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

meeting, many of whom took important roles in the direction of the proceedings. The meeting was chaired by Major General Sir Robert Henry Dick, K.C.B., and three of the five members of the Committee appointed held military offices, as well as eight of the 24 men who pledged subscriptions at the meeting. The two civilian members of the committee were a medical doctor and a clergyman.¹⁷⁶

Dick had served under Wellington during the Napoleonic Wars, having partaken in that campaign from his arrival in Portugal in June 1809 to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. He was appointed commander of the centre division of the Madras army in December 1838, and from January 1841 to September 1842 he was temporary commander-in-chief at Madras.¹⁷⁷ The leading subscriber was the Right Honourable Lord Elphinstone, the then governor of Madras and a Scottish peer,¹⁷⁸ while the majority of the rest, apart from the military contingent, were simply titled “esquire”. It was noted that subscriptions were to be received from “gentlemen both at the Presidency, and in the Provinces”,¹⁷⁹ indicating the social class, gender and geographical area that was being targeted. To encourage the desired response, circulars and copies of the resolutions were to be distributed throughout the Presidency and in the interior. The total sum subscribed at the meeting itself amounted to 895 in currency, although it is not known whether this was in pounds sterling, rupees or some other denomination. However, in reporting the progress of the Committee to Dalhousie some time later on 20 February 1841, Sir Robert Dick enclosed a bill of exchange for £213 10s which had been lodged with Messrs Arbuthnot & Co.¹⁸⁰ While the discrepancy in the two figures may be due to exchange rates or to the rest of the subscriptions being lodged at a different establishment, it is also possible that some of the original subscribers may have defaulted on their pledges.

4.1.10.3 *The West Indies: Tobago and Jamaica*

In the West Indies, Tobago and Jamaica were both targeted. Major General Henry Darling of Government House was the contact utilised in Tobago. Darling held the post of lieutenant-governor of the island from 1833 to 1841.¹⁸¹ He initially delegated the fundraising effort to another gentleman, Mr Duncan McKellar, but when McKellar failed to raise anything Darling intervened to ensure some subscriptions were gathered “for the

¹⁷⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/96, newspaper clipping, (no date).

¹⁷⁷ Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. V- *Craik to Drake*, p. 922.

¹⁷⁸ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VI- *Drant to Finan* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), p. 743.

¹⁷⁹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/96, newspaper clipping, (no date).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/4, Robert Dick to the Earl of Dalhousie, 20 February 1841.

¹⁸¹ Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. V- *Craik to Drake*, p. 506; Michael Anthony, *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago* (Lanham, Maryland and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), p. 179.

Credit of the Island".¹⁸² The result was a bill of exchange for £33 11s. Darling reported that in excess of £20 further had been promised but that the current economic climate rendered the collection of the rest unlikely.

In Jamaica a positive reaction was likewise forthcoming with Major-General Sir William Gomm contacting the Mayor of Kingston, Hector Mitchel,¹⁸³ to enlist his assistance. Gomm noted that the Mayor was Scottish and that many Scotsmen or men of Scottish descent inhabited the island, a factor which Gomm appeared to consider conducive to raising some funds.¹⁸⁴ Gomm himself had a long and distinguished history of military service under the Duke of Wellington from 1808 to 1815 in the Peninsula, France and at Waterloo. He had been appointed to the command of the troops in Jamaica in 1839, where he remained until the spring of 1842.¹⁸⁵ As a result of Gomm's inducement Hector Mitchel issued a call for a meeting of "interested persons" to be held in the Court-House in Kingston on 13 May 1840 "to take into consideration the best means of assisting (the) Committee at Edinburgh ... to raise a National Monument in Scotland to the Duke of Wellington".¹⁸⁶ The outcome of this meeting is unknown, but the positive intent among some members of the populace is clear, and the advertisement for the meeting implies that all classes were welcome to join in the undertaking.

4.1.10.4 *The United States of America*

In the United States of America, New York was seen as a primary target. Alexander Stewart posited the possibility in his letter to Dalhousie of 31 December 1839, saying:

in no part of the British dominions is St. Andrew's day celebrated with more enthusiasm than in the American city of New York.

Permitting (Scotsmen residing in foreign states) to become contributors will render the tribute to the hero more worthy of him, for as in every part of the inhabited globe thousands will be found tendering to him their willing homage the testimonial will be as the voice of many nations proclaiming to posterity their proud estimation of his glorious achievements.¹⁸⁷

Stewart followed up this suggestion by providing the names of suitable contacts to enlist the assistance of in the city, namely Anthony Barclay Esquire and his brother George, who were both descendants of Scotsmen, and Messrs Boarman and Johnstone who were native

¹⁸² Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/6, Henry Darling to the Earl of Dalhousie, 25 May 1841.

¹⁸³ *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 18 March 1843.

¹⁸⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/79, William Gomm to Lord Dalhousie, 26 March 1840.

¹⁸⁵ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII- Glover to Harriott (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/108, newspaper clipping, c. 9 May 1840.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/47, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 31 December 1839.

Scotsmen.¹⁸⁸ Anthony Barclay was also President of the St. George's Society in the city. Prior to receiving Stewart's missive, Dalhousie had contacted Rupert Cochran at the Isle of Wight to seek his opinion on the same matter. Cochran replied that: "From what I know of the Scotch population at New York, during a residence there of many years, I am very certain a large Sum would be subscribed at once by them for the erection of the intended National Testimonial to the Duke of Wellington".¹⁸⁹ Cochran proposed forwarding Dalhousie's letter to a Scottish friend of his resident at New York who had a large network of Scottish acquaintances in the city and who he perceived would be glad to assist in promoting the matter. He also suggested Anthony Barclay as a suitable contact, and advised Dalhousie to write to Mr David Maitland and Messrs John and George Laurie, adding his opinion that "they with all their Countrymen would be indefatigable in using every means to forward (the objects you have in view)."¹⁹⁰ Upon contacting Maitland, Dalhousie was informed that:

It would give me much pleasure to aid you in obtaining from the Scotchmen here a contribution towards the national Testimonial to the Duke of Wellington- The present is however a time peculiarly unfitted for bringing such a subject before them- They are generally merchants of moderate means who during the last few years have been exposed to commercial distress to an extent unknown in former times, many have lost the greater part of their fortunes & all have suffered severely.- You will therefore I trust agree with me, that for the present the matter had better rest.-¹⁹¹

John Laurie joined Maitland in his opinion that the current social and economic context would hamper any fundraising attempt in the region, saying:

the natives of Scotland who happen to be residing in the cities of the United States, ... doubtless, have a strong desire to join their Countrymen in producing such a memorial of gratitude, but I greatly fear, that the Commercial embarrasments (sic) of this Country, have recently been such, that many of them have, unfortunately, less power than desire to aid in so proper a testimonial.-¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/59, Alexander Stewart to Lord Dalhousie, 9 January 1840.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/58, Rupert Cochran to the Earl of Dalhousie, 7 January 1840.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/91, David Maitland to the Earl of Dalhousie, 22 May 1840.

¹⁹² Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/93, John Laurie to the Earl of Dalhousie, 1 June 1840.

Nevertheless, Laurie and Maitland suggested that “proceedings of the association”¹⁹³ and printed particulars on the design and execution of the monument should be forwarded to the Presidents of the St. Andrew’s Societies in various cities across the area, recommending New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans as suitable targets.¹⁹⁴

4.1.10.5 Gibraltar

On the other side of the Atlantic in Gibraltar, Dalhousie lost little time in sending an appeal to a personal acquaintance of his, Mr James Cochrane, in January 1840. Cochrane was appointed attorney-general at Gibraltar in 1837 and elevated to the office of Chief Justice of Gibraltar in 1841.¹⁹⁵ He advised that formal contact should first be made by the Committee to the Governor, as he perceived the Governor’s support to be essential to the success of any plan adopted in the region. The Governor at the time was Sir Alexander Woodford.¹⁹⁶ Cochrane was hopeful that support would be found for the undertaking in Gibraltar and highlighted Woodford’s period of military service under Wellington, which spanned a number of engagements against the French in the Peninsula, France and at Waterloo,¹⁹⁷ and his familial bond with the third Duke of Gordon, a leading Scottish noble of whom Woodford was a grandson,¹⁹⁸ as factors likely to secure Woodford’s sponsorship of the affair.¹⁹⁹ However, about a year and a half later, Cochrane reported that attempts to raise a subscription had largely met with failure. The Governor’s support had been won but, according to Cochrane, “owing to the injudicious and hasty manner in which the affair was managed many persons were debarred the opportunity of subscribing”.²⁰⁰ Cochrane suggested renewing the appeal after some time had been allowed to elapse and cited the scheduled removal of some of the regiments at the Garrison as another change likely to facilitate the success of a second attempt. The outcome of any renewed appeal is unknown, but the impact of effective organisation and management as well as the presence of favourable interpersonal connections and a receptive audience in ensuring the success of proceedings is apparent in the example of Gibraltar.

¹⁹³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/91, David Maitland to the Earl of Dalhousie, 22 May 1840.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/91, David Maitland to the Earl of Dalhousie, 22 May 1840; Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/93, John Laurie to the Earl of Dalhousie, 1 June 1840.

¹⁹⁵ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. IV- Chamber to Craigie* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), p. 617.

¹⁹⁶ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXI- Whichcord to Zuytlestein* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), p. 864.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXI- Whichcord to Zuytlestein*, p. 863.

¹⁹⁹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/70, J. Cochrane to the Earl of Dalhousie, 31 January 1840.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/18, J. Cochrane to the Earl of Dalhousie, 9 August 1841.

4.1.10.6 Ireland

In Ireland, Dalhousie addressed an appeal to Colonel Thomas E. Napier at Armagh. A man of Scottish descent, Napier had served in the army with Wellington on the Peninsula and was assistant adjutant-general at Belfast for a number of years.²⁰¹ While happy to assist in advancing the matter, Napier was not optimistic of a positive result, assessing the current social and economic conditions as unfavourable to the success of such an appeal:

The Committee might naturally expect that some people recently, or remotely, connected with Scotland, now settled in the North of Ireland, would come forward on such an occasion, but after all the enquiry I have made here, I have not been able to learn that there are many influential, or moneyed men amongst them, from whom you are likely to obtain more, if as much, as would cover the Expense attending the circulation of the information on the subject, it would be necessary for you to give, to bring forward even the few, who might be disposed to contribute.

The general impression to me seems to be, that the Irish, who have not much money, ... would be little disposed to subscribe to any Embellishment to the Metropolis of Scotland, and indeed I very much doubt whether they would even come forward with Subscriptions to ornament their own, therefore I should fear that your prospects would be confined to the Scotch residents.²⁰²

Napier proposed that if Dalhousie still wished to pursue the matter despite this warning, then copies of the resolutions passed in Edinburgh on 24 December 1839 along with lists of the subscribers might be forwarded to editors of various newspapers published in Ulster, such as at Newry, Belfast and Londonderry, in order to disseminate notification of the intention; and that subscription lists could be placed at several branches of the provincial banks in the region to facilitate those wishing to contribute. Whether this plan was implemented is unknown.

At Elphin in County Roscommon, the Reverend Charles Leslie²⁰³ was similarly doubtful of any large sum being raised, mainly due to the harshness of the prevailing social and economic conditions:

I have only got £15 as yet i.e. 10 from my father- 5 from self;- and here away in the West I candidly tell you I do not expect to get any more. The clergy are too poor, & the gentry not open to conviction, where it is to cost anything.- ... Such weather here!- No fuel in the county.- All our turf is

²⁰¹ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIV- Myllar to Owen* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), pp. 81-82.

²⁰² Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/56, Thomas E. Napier to Lord Dalhousie, 8 January 1840.

²⁰³ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/65, list of letters written, (no date); Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/64, Charles Leslie to Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

floating about the bogs; & the sufferings of the poor are in some places dreadful.²⁰⁴

Aside from his own monetary contribution to the project, Leslie also promised to use his network of personal connections to discover if any support might be uncovered in Belfast or Derry. Yet as with the west, he did not anticipate a large sum being raised in either of these areas.

In Dublin, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Baronet, a member of the General Committee and later of the Sub-Committee, made contact with Thomas Drummond, the under-secretary at Dublin Castle. Drummond was a Scotsman, born in Edinburgh, who rose to a position of great influence in the administration of Ireland, overseeing many positive reforms in the country.²⁰⁵ Drummond consulted an acquaintance of his, a Scottish merchant who had been resident in Dublin for the past 40 years, who offered his opinion that the number of Scotsmen resident in the city who were likely, "from their condition in life",²⁰⁶ to subscribe to the undertaking was so few as to render an attempt to organise a Committee in Dublin useless. Instead, Drummond proposed that Lauder should provide him with an address to Scotsmen resident in the area written by the Edinburgh Committee, along with a list of the amounts subscribed and the names of the subscribers. He would then circulate these among his network of Scottish acquaintances in the city and collect such subscriptions as it might be possible to raise. However, the execution of this plan may have been prevented by Drummond's death a short time later on 15 April 1840.²⁰⁷ In more general terms, the assistance of a major Irish landlord was also offered in the form of Lord Abercorn, who subscribed £100 to the undertaking and promised to do anything in his power to promote the matter in Ireland.²⁰⁸ Abercorn was an active Freemason, being elevated to the rank of Grand Master of the Irish Freemasons on the Duke of Leinster's death in 1874. He was also "an active, considerate, and popular landlord on his Irish estates".²⁰⁹ Yet by and large it appears that the appeal did not meet with considerable success in the country.

²⁰⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/64, Charles Leslie to Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

²⁰⁵ Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VI- Drant to Finan, pp. 41-45.

²⁰⁶ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 64, T. Drummond to Thomas D. Lauder, Bart, 30 January 1840.

²⁰⁷ Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VI- Drant to Finan, p. 45.

²⁰⁸ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/68, G. Warrender to Lord Dalhousie, 26 January 1840; Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 113, Morton to Sir George Warrender, 23 January (1840).

²⁰⁹ Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII- Glover to Harriott, p. 1073.

4.1.10.7 England

Back on the British mainland, the search for funds touched a number of locations across England. However, London was the chief target for appeal in that country. In the city the proprietors of the bankers Messrs Coult & Co. subscribed a sum of £100 and offered to open an account so that other Scotsmen resident in London could deposit a subscription towards the testimonial if they so desired. They noted that if adopted, this plan should be publicly advertised by the Committee, and also cited their position as the bankers of the Duke of Wellington himself as a factor rendering their company particularly apt to be entrusted with this undertaking.²¹⁰ James Shaw, the chamberlain of London,²¹¹ subscribed to the monument individually but declined taking any further role in promoting the matter in the city on the grounds that he had “ceased, for many years, to take any other active part in public life than what (was) due from (him) in the discharge of (his) official duties (there)”.²¹² Similarly, Sir Charles Forbes subscribed 100 guineas but declared himself unable to “(stir) more actively in the cause amongst our Brother Scots”²¹³ on the grounds of his own ill-health.

In his response to Dalhousie’s petition, Sir Peter Laurie, a one-time lord mayor of the city,²¹⁴ cited two public Wellington tributes and a memorial to Nelson that were currently being undertaken in London as potential competition for the Edinburgh statue appeal. Drawing on his own knowledge and experience of the milieu, he delivered the following assessment:

Intimately connected as I have been for 40 years with the management of the Scottish Charities in London I am bound to say frankly that the great bulk of the contributors are English & you must not expect much from London. The Dublin Pillar was erected without any assistance from London & your Lordships well known anxiety for the honor of Scotland with which your name is bound up will excuse my suggesting that this application for assistance to erect a national tribute of respect is looked upon here as rather extraordinary. On these grounds I regret to be obliged to say that I think a Committee in London would not succeed...²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 79, E. Marjoribanks to Sir George Warrender, 2 January 1840.

²¹¹ Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVII- Robinson to Sheares, p. 1375.

²¹² Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 80, James Shaw to Sir George Warrender, Bart, 2 January 1840.

²¹³ Ibid., Doc. 94, John Forbes to Sir George Warrender, Bart, 8 January 1840.

²¹⁴ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XI- Kennett to Lluelyn (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), p. 651.

²¹⁵ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/54, Sir Peter Laurie to the Earl of Dalhousie, 7 January 1840.

The Duke of Buccleuch also expressed his doubts as to whether anything significant could be raised in London in light of the two other subscriptions for Wellington monuments currently underway in the city.²¹⁶ Sir James Kempt was unable to induce any of his circle of acquaintances to contribute to the monument, some declining on the grounds that they had already subscribed to the English testimonial and others refusing even without having that excuse to offer. He himself subscribed 20 guineas, noting that it would have been a greater sum if he had not already pledged 100 guineas to the English testimonial.²¹⁷ Dalhousie addressed letters to several other individuals connected with the city, among them a Colonel Bowar,²¹⁸ and ensured that reports on the progress of the fundraising effort were published in a number of the London newspapers, among them *The Times*, *Standard* and *Post*.²¹⁹ However, by late February 1840 he was forced to admit that “they don’t take the thing at all up here as far as I can see.”²²⁰

Further afield in Leamington, Sir P. Campbell investigated the possibility of forming a Committee in that locality to raise funds for the testimonial, but he found that there were “not half a dozen” Scotsmen present at the time and that those who were preferred to wait until meetings had been called at their home counties in Scotland.²²¹ At Cheltenham, the Honourable A. Ramsay forwarded his contribution and reported that he would have been glad to assist in any effort to raise funds for the cause at Cheltenham but that there were very few Scotsmen resident there and the only person he deemed likely to subscribe, his friend Colonel W. Cunningham, had already sent his donation to Edinburgh a few days previously.²²² He also alluded to seeing a report on the monument in the newspapers, reinforcing the power of the press as a medium to disseminate information on and promote support for the undertaking. Finally, Sutherland Mackenzie, a member of the General Committee, suggested that if the Committee sought to launch a subscription at Manchester, then an official letter addressed to Messrs. William Grant & Brothers should be conducive to the advancement of the affair. Mackenzie stated that: “I know these Gentlemen well- they are men of great wealth, & would I feel confident zealously give

²¹⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/57, Buccleuch to Dalhousie, 8 January 1840.

²¹⁷ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/61, Sir James Kempt to the Earl of Dalhousie, 15 January 1840.

²¹⁸ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/65, list of letters written, (no date).

²¹⁹ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/76, newspaper extract and covering letters, c. 18 February 1840; Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 119, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, 20 February 1840.

²²⁰ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 119, Dalhousie to Sir George Warrender, 20 February 1840.

²²¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/66, Sir P. Campbell to Lord Dalhousie, 18 January 1840.

²²² Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/75, A. Ramsay to Dalhousie, 11 February 1840.

their support for a purpose of so much interest to Scotsmen.”²²³ Whether any such appeal was subsequently made at Manchester is unknown.

4.1.11 Women and the National Testimonial

One striking feature of all the fundraising appeals made on both the national and the international stage is the dearth of female involvement at any level. However, they were not completely excluded from the affair and some were particularly keen to aid in its advancement. An unknown author and acquaintance of Warrender’s wrote from Dunbar suggesting to him that “we all think you should apply to all the Ladies of Scotland ... on behalf of the Testimonial & I think if you did you ... would get some 100”.²²⁴ The Duchess Dowager of Richmond initially subscribed £25 towards the testimonial and declared her keen approval of the project, saying: “I wish I could give any thing equal to my ... admiration of the Duke of Wellington. It will gratify me extremely to have my name on your List... I will with all my Heart, exert myself, to promote your Wishes, in this glorious, & National Trophy.”²²⁵ She followed up this contribution by spreading word of the undertaking to Lady Willoughby, who offered to subscribe £50. Not wanting to be outdone, the Duchess proposed to increase her original subscription by a further £25 “if you do not disapprove of us Ladies, giving that Sum”.²²⁶ The Duchess of Gordon also subscribed £25 towards the memorial, a figure suggested by Dalhousie as a suitable sum.²²⁷ These few indicators paint a picture of upper-class and male-directed participation on the part of women.

4.1.12 The Site: Alterations and Altercations

The upshot of all these fundraising efforts was, as previously mentioned, an estimated total by Sir George Warrender of about £11,000 in subscription pledges by early July 1840.²²⁸ However, by the time of the opening ceremony in 1852, the figure reported in *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* was “upwards of £10,000”,²²⁹ perhaps indicating a slight discrepancy between pledges made and those delivered upon. One factor contributing to the considerable delay between the campaign for funds and the completion of the work was

²²³ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 57, Sutherland Mackenzie to Sir George Warrender, 1 January 1840.

²²⁴ Ibid., Doc. 92, letter to Sir George Warrender, (no date).

²²⁵ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/51, Charlotte Richmond & Lennox to Lord Dalhousie, 4 January 1840.

²²⁶ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/69, Charlotte Richmond &c. to Lord Dalhousie, 24 January 1840.

²²⁷ Ibid., NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/81, E. Gordon to Lord Dalhousie, 31 March 1840.

²²⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/17, Sir George Warrender to the Duke of Buccleugh, 9 July 1840.

²²⁹ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

the difficulties and debates that surrounded the chosen site. While Lord Elgin's original proposal had cited Arthur's Seat, the highest peak overlooking the city, as the most suitable setting for Wellington's statue, one early suggestion put to Sir George Warrender for the revised equestrian statue plan was the summit of the more modest Calton Hill, situated just beyond the east end of Princes Street. The writer in question proposed that the National Monument which already stood incomplete upon that site should be finished²³⁰ and that the Wellington statue should be placed at the summit as an adornment to the whole.²³¹ However, in mid-January 1842, the Committee voted unanimously in favour of a space directly in front of the General Register Office building at the east end of Princes Street.²³²

Following this decision, Dalhousie made contact with the Commissioners of the Register House on behalf of the Committee in order to procure their permission for the statue to be so placed.²³³ Of the six Commissioners, three were also members of the General Committee for the Wellington Testimonial, while a further one, the Lord Justice Clerk, was a subscriber of £26 5s to the cause.²³⁴ Of the three members of the General Committee, Lord Melville was also a member of the select Sub-Committee.²³⁵ Finally, the Deputy Clerk Register, Mr William Pitt Dundas, through whom application to the Commissioners was made, was also a member of the General Committee and a subscriber to the monument.²³⁶ All these factors may have favourably influenced the Commissioners when deliberating the application. In the event, William Pitt Dundas was instructed to inform Dalhousie that the Commissioners themselves had no objection to this proposal, but that they did not believe that it was within their power alone to sanction the move. Consequently, the matter was to be referred to the Treasury.²³⁷ This was done via a letter dated 18 February 1842. The matter having been considered by the Lord Commissioners of

²³⁰ See Chapter 4.5 Falkirk for some further information on this commemoration.

²³¹ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 62, Ignotus to Sir George Warrender, 25 January 1840.

²³² Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/1, Dalhousie to the Commissioners of the General Register House, 22 January 1842.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/25, Duncan McNeill to Lord Dalhousie, 22 January 1842; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/45, List of Committee, Subscriptions and Resolutions adopted on 24th December 1839, 1 January 1840.

²³⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/16, Resolutions to be Considered and Extract of Minutes of Proceedings, 6 July 1840.

²³⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/25, Duncan McNeill to Lord Dalhousie, 22 January 1842; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/45, List of Committee, Subscriptions and Resolutions adopted on 24th December 1839, 1 January 1840.

²³⁷ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/28, W.P. Dundas to the Earl of Dalhousie, 18 February 1842.

Her Majesty's Treasury, they confirmed their permission for the statue to be erected in the proposed position at the start of the following month.²³⁸

In April 1842, Steell inspected the site and deemed that due to the colossal size of the intended statue, it would not be possible to place it on the platform at the top of the stairs in front of the Register House. Instead, the front screen wall of the Register House would need to be retreated by 15 feet, leaving a clear expanse of pavement in front upon which the statue could then be accommodated. Working in conjunction with William Burn, architect, the two drew up two potential plans for the proposed alterations.²³⁹ Burn had taken an interest in the project from the outset, being elected as a member of the General Committee and subscribing £10 10s to the cause in the wake of the inaugural meeting of 24 December 1839.²⁴⁰ He also held some notable links with the Freemasons of Scotland, being unanimously elected to the position of Architect of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in December 1839.²⁴¹ In previous years he had even designed his own tribute to Wellington, producing the first, failed, plan for the Marquis of Lothian's monument on Peniel Heugh hill near the town of Jedburgh in the border county of Roxburghshire around 1815. In December 1842, the Treasury selected and approved of the alterations outlined in one of the plans, stating that the expense incurred in carrying out the works must be borne by the Wellington Testimonial Committee, and that they should be executed under the supervision of Mr Burn.²⁴² At this point the matter was allowed to rest and no significant action towards implementing the changes was taken until the latter part of 1848.²⁴³

4.1.13 Forging the Statue: Scotland's First Artistic Bronze Casting

During the interim period, Steell worked on fashioning a full-scale clay model of the statue in preparation for its casting in bronze. This task was completed by January 1848, and following its inspection by some members of the Committee, a unanimous vote approving

²³⁸ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/5, Col. Trevelyan, Treasury Chambers to the Commissioners of the General Register House, 2 March 1842.

²³⁹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/36, G. Warrender to the Earl of Dalhousie, 14 April 1842; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/6, McNeill and T. Dick Lauder to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, General Register House, 2 May 1842; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/39, Thomas Dick Lauder to the Earl of Dalhousie, 12 May 1842.

²⁴⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

²⁴¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 7 December 1839.

²⁴² Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/12, Col. Trevelyan, Treasury Chambers to W.P. Dundas, General Register House, 3 December 1842.

²⁴³ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/13, Bell to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 21 December 1848.

of its appearance was passed and officially recorded.²⁴⁴ A contemporary newspaper described it as follows:

The group is fully twice the size of life, and the leading idea which the artist has endeavoured to embody is the position of the Duke immediately after he observed the false movement of the French under Marshal Marmont, which speedily led to the bloody but decisive battle of Salamanca in 1812... His Grace is represented mounted on his war steed, in the act of giving an order, and in delivering it he has reined in the noble animal, which on receiving the sudden check has naturally reared... The boldness of the attitude; the dignified mien and serenity of countenance of the rider, contrasting so admirably with the restrained ardour of the horse; the exquisite harmony of each part with the whole, and above all the life-like expression and classical beauty which pervade the group at every point, combine to inspire the spectator with feelings of profound awe and majestic grandeur.²⁴⁵

The same report also referred to two bas-relief sculptures which were included in Steell's original plan for the monument in 1842. The reporter in question still foresaw these as forming part of the finished work, projecting that:

The pedestal is to be formed of red granite, in which the bas-relief representations of the battles of Salamanca and Waterloo will be embedded in bronze, the one on the east and the other on the west side. In the first named battle the Duke will be represented in the same attitude as in the statue, so that the unity of the design will be maintained throughout. The pedestal and statue together will present an elevation of about thirty-four feet...²⁴⁶

With the clay model now completed, many now believed that the whole would be finished within about a year and a half, with 18 June 1849 being alluded to as the expected inauguration date.²⁴⁷ Concerns had already been expressed both in the press and among the subscribers at the length of time the project was taking, with a few subscribers even going so far as to make enquiries among some sculptors and others in London about whether it might be possible to impose a fine on Steell for having overran the deadline specified in his contract for the completion of the work.²⁴⁸ However, the consensus was that such a practice was not at all the established norm, and that no such fine had ever previously been

²⁴⁴ National Library of Scotland, Ms. FB.m.55, Gershom Steell, [Volumes of Press Cuttings, Photographs, Engravings, &c., relating to the work of Sir John Steell], *Scotsman*, 19 January 1848. It should be noted that the sources and dates attributed to the items inserted in the volumes occasionally err. This failing has also been observed by Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Sculpture', p. 107.

²⁴⁵ Ms. FB.m.55, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 21 January 1848.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Ms. FB.m.55, *Courant*, 20 January 1848.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, *Edinburgh Evening Post*, 30 March 1842; *Ibid.*, *Scotsman*, 19 January 1848.

imposed on an artist for any delays incurred.²⁴⁹ One factor which undoubtedly contributed to prolonging the advancement of affairs was Steell's own popularity as the artist of choice for many public and private commissions in Scotland at the time. When employed to undertake the Wellington Testimonial he had already been contracted to produce three large public statues, those of Queen Victoria, Sir Walter Scott and Provost Blaikie of Aberdeen respectively. He also had commitments to a number of busts and other monuments of minor importance.²⁵⁰ Following his procurement of the Wellington commission he was also unconditionally offered the commissions for all the public statues intended to be erected in Edinburgh until the late 1860s.²⁵¹

While these other commitments certainly made large inroads on his time, the greatest challenge facing Steell was Scotland's lack of a foundry for artistic bronze casting. Rather than transporting the model to an English foundry, Steell elected to build his own foundry in Edinburgh, thereby introducing bronze casting to the country.²⁵² This task was to prove even more expensive, arduous and time-consuming than might originally have been anticipated when, after selecting a site on the Coates farm and proceeding to build there, Steell was interdicted and compelled to desist when the foundry was nearly complete.²⁵³ The grounds for objection were that the erection would prove a nuisance to the neighbourhood.²⁵⁴ Despite this setback, Steell soon located a fresh site at Grove Street, where his foundry was eventually completed. Mr Alexander Black was the architect chosen to direct its construction.²⁵⁵ Steell also needed to find a bronze caster to oversee the casting operations, a position he eventually succeeded in filling with the employment of William Young.²⁵⁶ Young was a Scotsman who had worked under Sir Francis Chantrey in London for eighteen years until the eminent sculptor's death in 1841. He had then been employed by R.J. Wyatt in the same capacity.²⁵⁷ Examples of Young's works adorned the cities of Edinburgh and London as well as India.²⁵⁸

Suitable arrangements and preparations having finally been completed, the casting was commenced on 29 May 1849. A team of workmen were employed to assist Young,

²⁴⁹ Ms. FB.m.55, *Scotsman*, 19 January 1848.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 21 January 1848.

²⁵¹ Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Sculpture', pp. 38-39.

²⁵² For further information on the history of bronze casting in Scotland see Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Sculpture'.

²⁵³ Ms. FB.m.55, *Daily Mail*, 30 May 1849.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., *Ayr Observer*, 5 June 1849.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 May 1849.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., *Ayr Observer*, 5 June 1849; Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Scottish Sculpture', p. 94.

²⁵⁷ Ms. FB.m.55, *Ayr Observer*, 5 June 1849.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., *Daily Mail*, 30 May 1849.

and Steell was present to watch over the proceedings also.²⁵⁹ Due to the colossal size of the statue, several casting sessions would be needed to complete it. About six large castings, to be undertaken at intervals of one to two months, were planned at the outset.²⁶⁰ The first section to be cast incorporated the Duke's lower limbs, a group of Steell's friends and acquaintances, as well as a number of newspaper reporters, being invited to the foundry to witness the momentous occasion. Among those present were the Honourable Lord Murray; Duncan MacNeill, Esq., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates; Peter Nimmo, Esq., Depute-Clerk of Session; David Bryce, Esq., architect; and Mrs and Miss Steell.²⁶¹ Reporting on the occasion, the *Ayr Observer* cited the moment depicted in the statue as being "the instant of (Wellington) issuing his command for the final charge of the British line at Waterloo".²⁶² Clearly, either this reporter or the previous one of January 1848 were in error as to the exact battle being alluded to. The date now predicted for the completion of the project was 1850.²⁶³ However, it would be a further two years from then before the monument was finally placed on its site and unveiled to the public.

4.1.14 The Site: Further Difficulties and Delays

While Steell was proceeding with the process of artistic creation, the Wellington Committee now redirected their attention towards the chosen site and the changes which needed to be implemented there in order to facilitate the statue's erection. This operation was commenced via a meeting of the Sub-Committee held on 18 December 1848.²⁶⁴ The composition of the gathering on this occasion reflected two significant changes that the passage of six years had wrought for the key directorial positions of the project. Instead of Sir George Warrender occupying his usual position as Honorary Secretary, his erstwhile assistant Mr Bell was now found assuming the leading secretarial role for the project and catering for all the duties attendant upon that office. A subsequent minute in the records of the Edinburgh Dean of Guild Court dated 6 June 1849 confirmed that Sir George Warrender was by that time deceased.²⁶⁵ In the role of Chairman the Earl of Dalhousie was now replaced by the Duke of Buccleuch. Although Dalhousie was still involved with the project, his appointment to the office of governor-general of India had necessitated his

²⁵⁹ Ms. FB.m.55, *Ayr Observer*, 5 June 1849.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., *Daily Mail*, 30 May 1849.

²⁶¹ Ibid., *Ayr Observer*, 5 June 1849.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ms. FB.m.55, *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 May 1849.

²⁶⁴ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/13, Bell to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 21 December 1848.

²⁶⁵ Edinburgh City Archives, Dean of Guild Plans re. Wellington Statue, Princes Street: Walter Gowans, 2 August 1849, No. 3, *Minute for the Trustees of the Register House In Causa the Petition in name of Walter Gowans*, 6 June 1849.

removal to that country in November 1847.²⁶⁶ With Dalhousie absent, Buccleuch effectively assumed his position, chairing meetings and playing a leading role in steering the course of affairs for much of the remainder of the project's duration. Aside from the practical reasons for this change, it should also be noted that Dalhousie's aforementioned dispute with Wellington regarding Deal Castle in 1847²⁶⁷ may have induced in him a certain reticence to endeavour to remain as closely involved in the project's proceedings as he had once been.

At the meeting of 18 December 1848, the Sub-Committee accepted an estimate provided by Walter Gowans & Son, builders, for altering the screen wall and staircases in front of the General Register House in accordance with the plan and conditions previously sanctioned by the Commissioners of the Treasury and Trustees of the Register House in December 1842. Messrs Burn and Bryce, the architects designated as supervisors of the work, were directed to proceed with the undertaking "as soon as the season of the year admits".²⁶⁸ However, at this point, a complication was to arise in the form of a Petition from the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh. At the Edinburgh Town Council meeting of 13 February 1849, a memorial had been read from inhabitants of Leith Street and some other parts of the city complaining of the narrow carriageway at the head of that street where it joined with Princes Street. The Register House was situated at the junction between those two streets and the remedy suggested to the problem was to move the screen wall of that building back by ten or more feet, thereby creating a wider and more spacious intersection between Leith and Princes Street.²⁶⁹ In response to this appeal, the Council formulated the aforementioned Petition to the Trustees of the General Register House, dated 24 March 1849. In it they outlined the problem, citing the large volume of traffic between Edinburgh and Leith which necessarily passed through the area and frequent accidents and inconvenient interruptions to the throughflow experienced there as factors of particular concern. They then referred to the alterations about to take place to accommodate the Wellington statue, perhaps hoping thereby to highlight that a precedence to allow some alterations had been established. In conclusion, they submitted an alternative plan for these alterations drawn up by Messrs Burn and Bryce which they argued would accommodate both their wishes and those of the Wellington

²⁶⁶ Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI- Pocock to Robins*, p. 691.

²⁶⁷ For further information see: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, ed. Baird, pp. x, 141, 211, 230.

²⁶⁸ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/13, Bell to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 21 December 1848.

²⁶⁹ Edinburgh City Archives, Town Council Minutes, SL1/1/251, 13 February 1849.

Statue Committee and would even improve the appearance of the Register House rather than damage it.²⁷⁰

This was not the first time that a request had been submitted to alter the screen wall for the purpose of improving the adjacent roadway. In early 1842, the Middle District of Roads had submitted a similar application only to have it refused by the Treasury.²⁷¹ The revival of this appeal was now to generate further delay and difficulty for the Wellington Committee in its efforts to prepare the site for the placement of the statue. Correspondence from William Gibson Craig at the Treasury highlights their unfavourable opinion of this new proposal.²⁷² They requested that a report on the fresh appeal be prepared, while Lord Cockburn, a concerned and influential member of the public, and Mr Playfair, an architect, also intervened to lodge their opinions on the matter.²⁷³ A draft of the report had been produced by 23 April 1849, its contents providing several grounds upon which the request should again be denied.²⁷⁴ However, no official judgement was then passed or answer delivered by the Treasury to the Petitioners, and the matter was allowed to lapse for a number of months. During the interim period the Petitioners were to find several other grounds upon which to cause delay to the progress of the site preparation.

In order to proceed with the alterations he had been contracted to perform by the Wellington Committee, it was necessary for Walter Gowans to submit a Petition to the Edinburgh Dean of Guild Court for a warrant granting him permission to make the specified changes. On 6 June 1849, the Lord Provost's Committee ruled that the plan submitted by Gowans showed an encroachment on the foot pavement and therefore lodged an objection to it in the Dean of Guild Court on those grounds.²⁷⁵ Gowans was now forced to produce an amended plan in which no such encroachment was displayed. Hearing that this amended plan was likely to be approved, the Magistrates and Council assigned the Lord Provost's Committee to communicate with Steell and others regarding a previously rejected suggestion that the statue might instead be located in East Princes Street Gardens

²⁷⁰ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/16, Petition of the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh to the Trustees of the General Register House, 24 March 1849.

²⁷¹ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/2, Peter Brooks, Clerk to the Middle District Trustees to W.P. Dundas, 25 January 1842; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/29, Thomas Dick Lauder to the Earl of Dalhousie, 21 February 1842; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/5, Col. Trevelyan, Treasury Chambers to the Commissioners of the General Register House, 2 March 1842.

²⁷² See for example Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/21, W. Gibson Craig, Treasury to Dundas, 28 March 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/25, W. Gibson Craig, Treasury to Dundas, 3 April 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/23, W. Gibson Craig, Treasury to Dundas, 20 April 1849.

²⁷³ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/22, Cockburn to Dundas, 31 March 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/27, Playfair to Lord Cockburn, 9 April 1849.

²⁷⁴ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/28, Draft Report to the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury regarding proposal for altering line of Screen, 23 April 1849.

²⁷⁵ Edinburgh City Archives, Town Council Minutes, SL1/1/252, 3 July 1849.

between the Scott Monument and the Mound.²⁷⁶ In the meantime, the Dean of Guild granted the warrant for the works to proceed on 19 July 1849.²⁷⁷ This was to be under the express condition that the foot pavement would be kept at its present breadth and that a separate application must again be made for permission to erect the statue and pedestal once they were ready. A plan and elevation of the statue needed to be produced to accompany this application.²⁷⁸ Two further stipulations were added on 26 July 1849 stating that the work must be performed under the supervision of William Burn, architect, and that free and easy access for members of the public to the Register House must be maintained throughout the duration of the works. This was to be performed at the expense of the Wellington Committee.²⁷⁹

The warrant having finally been obtained to proceed, Gowans lost no time in launching into the task in hand. On Saturday 28 July 1849, *The Scotsman* reported that work had begun on the site on the previous Thursday and that part of the screen wall had already been temporarily demolished.²⁸⁰ While Gowans began work on the site, the Lord Provost's Committee delivered its report on its attempt to persuade Steell to erect the statue in East Princes Street Gardens instead. In response to this appeal, Steell stated that "the statue having been modelled with a view to its erection in front of the Register House it was not possible for him to consent to its erection in any other quarter".²⁸¹ In the face of such an adamant response, the Lord Provost's Committee ruled that the proposal to alter the site must be abandoned.

4.1.15 The Media, the Public and the Alternative Site Debate: Contemporary Interpretations of Symbolic Significance

While the petition to make the alterations had been under review in the Dean of Guild Court, a number of other alternative sites had also been suggested by members of the public through the press. A letter in *The Scotsman* dated 28 June 1849 favoured the East Princes Street Gardens site, saying:

Nothing could be finer than such a position. Facing the west, this noble work of art would command the best light at all periods of the day- the rich

²⁷⁶ Town Council Minutes, SL1/1/252, 3 July 1849.

²⁷⁷ Dean of Guild Plans re. Wellington Statue, Princes Street: Walter Gowans, 2 August 1849, No.4, *Certified Copy Interlocutors In Process Walter Gowans v. Register Office Trustees and others*, 19 July 1849.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., No.9, *Minute of Restriction for His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch & In Causa at their instance Versus the Trustees of Her Majesty's General Register House &c*, 10 July 1849.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., No.4, 26 July 1849.

²⁸⁰ *The Scotsman*, 28 July 1849.

²⁸¹ Edinburgh City Archives, Papers re: Wellington Statue, Item 4/24, Report by the Lord Provost's Committee, 1 August 1849.

foliage of the rising slopes on the south side of the Gardens and the venerable pile of antique buildings in the Old Town would form a matchless background. The statue seen along the whole line of Princes' Street, and from all points of the pleasure grounds, would, in conjunction with the Scott Monument, give an interest to the locality which would be responded to by every bosom. Here the two leading spirits of their age seem to meet- ... "Each gives to each a double charm."²⁸²

Another correspondent to the same paper on 13 July 1849 suggested either the east side of Charlotte Square or the west side of St Andrew's Square, justifying the latter with the observation that "his Grace would thus be placed looking towards that Sovereign under whom, as Prince Regent, nearly all his glories were acquired".²⁸³ Giving little heed to practical considerations of cost and time, a writer to *The Edinburgh Evening Post and Scottish Record* on 4 July 1849 suggested mounting the statue on a triumphal arch to be raised across the Waterloo Bridge, a design for which was apparently included in the original plan of that bridge.²⁸⁴ The western division of Princes Street Gardens was also mooted as a potential choice, where it was suggested it could be made to form part of "one of the most magnificent promenades in Europe".²⁸⁵ Another writer sought a revival of the early 1840 idea of Calton Hill, where the statue would join the incomplete National Monument:

(No) other place in the city could be so appropriate as in the centre on the elevation of the columns or pillars which have been so long considered a disgrace to fair Edina, and by that means at once remove the obloquy. The statue being place in front would have a beautiful effect in looking down on Prince's Street, and the perambulators of that unparalleled promenade delighted in looking up to their celebrated Commander-in-Chief.²⁸⁶

Further still, a position at the top and centre of the newly widened road to the Waverley train station was proposed. It was argued that this situation "would prove the most public and *voyant* in Edinburgh, where the statue would be seen by every stranger coming in and going out, and by every inhabitant almost daily".²⁸⁷

Returning to the idea of Princes Street Gardens, two authors cited the proximity of Edinburgh Castle as an important and beneficial counterpoint to the statue. The former

²⁸² National Library of Scotland, Ms. FB.m.55, Gershom Steell, [Volumes of Press Cuttings, Photographs, Engravings, &c., relating to the work of Sir John Steell], Volume 55D, *The Scotsman*, c. 28 June 1849.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, *The Scotsman*, c. 13 July 1849.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, *The Edinburgh Evening Post and Scottish Record*, c. 4 July 1849.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *The Courant*, c. 16 July 1849.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, *Caledonian Mercury*, c. 20 July 1849.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

outlined their case with a reference to the expression of national pride, identity and sovereignty through military service:

Where, let me ask, can a more magnificent resting-place for the warrior be found than under the protection of Edina's ancient fortalice, whose roar in galla days will call to every one's recollection a thing but too familiar to the chief, under whose leading thousands of her sons fell in vindicating their country's rights and her ancient renown.²⁸⁸

The latter elaborated in greater detail to the following extent:

a more appropriate site could not be found within the precincts of the city ... than the western division of Prince's Street Gardens, on the bank immediately between the iron railings, midway betwixt the Mound and St. John's Chapel, and facing Castle Street. In that position, ... by clearing away the trees and shrubbery on each side, an extensive space would open up to view the romantic grandeur, towers, and battlements of Edinburgh Castle, and a contrast with the ancient fortress, the figure of the hero on his fiery steed, could not fail to impress feelings of admiration on the mind of every spectator. In the immediate vicinity of a military garrison, where the sounds of the drum and fife are heard daily, and the roar of artillery occasionally... Perhaps no other city in Europe can present a more appropriate site for the erection of a monument in honour of a distinguished warrior.²⁸⁹

Finally, St. Andrew's Square was again cited by an author who believed it would serve as an appropriate accompaniment to the presence of Melville's pillar already situated there, while it was suggested that statues of the Earl of Hopetoun, Queen Victoria and the Duke of York should also be moved to the area to further enrich and complete the vista. With the addition of a few more buildings like the Bank of the British Linen Company, the writer believed that the square "might be made one of the finest in the world".²⁹⁰

In general, the large number of suggestions may be taken as an indicator of the high level of interest in the project among the general public: many considered themselves stakeholders in the project with a role to play in contributing to its development. The content of the letters is also revelatory of the aesthetic considerations foremost in the public consciousness at the time and of the thematic and iconographic associations they drew from this particular statue. All the comments were submitted anonymously or under a pseudonym, giving all an equal voice and equal opportunity to be heard. Class or title neither held weight nor formed any boundaries in this forum, although quite clearly

²⁸⁸ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 July (c. 1849).

²⁸⁹ Ibid., *The Scottish Press*, (no date).

²⁹⁰ Ibid., *Builder*, (no date).

education and the ability to read and write was still a prerequisite to the expression of a coherent, printable argument. However, Steell was resolute in his preference of the Register House site and, in the wake of the Dean of Guild warrant being granted, it appears all alternative site debates in the press quickly faded away.

4.1.16 Resolution: An Officially Sanctioned Landscape Addition

While Gowans proceeded with his work, it seems that the sight of these alterations in progress spurred renewed calls from a number of quarters for facility to be made at the same time to solve the problem of the entrance to Leith Street. Edinburgh Paving Board (also known as the Trustees for the Middle District of Roads in the County of Edinburgh) enlisted Thomas Hamilton, architect, to assess the situation and give his professional opinion before submitting a formal appeal to the Treasury for changes to be made which would meet the aims both of the statue Committee and those wishing to see the road improvements.²⁹¹ The Lord Provost, Magistrates and City Council of Edinburgh also seized on this opportunity and, within a week of the Paving Board addressing a memorial to the Treasury, they drafted a reminder to that same body of their as yet unanswered Petition of 24 March 1849. In it, they cited their belief that “the finest parts” of the screen wall had been removed to accommodate the alterations currently in progress, and stated their conviction that an alternative alteration plan could not only meet the wishes of both the statue Committee and those seeking the improvement of Leith Street, but that it could also produce a more aesthetically pleasing result.²⁹² It appears these appeals may have spurred a re-evaluation of the situation by those in charge of overseeing the alterations. David Bryce, architect and business partner of William Burn, submitted his report on the situation, favouring an alternative alteration plan which would give greater accommodation to the Leith Street grievances.²⁹³ Steell himself ruled in favour of the plan proposed by Bryce, judging that it would actually offer an improved site for the Wellington statue.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/29, Report to Edinburgh Paving Board regarding the screen wall of the Register Office by Tho. Hamilton Archt., 6 August 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/30, William Duncan to ‘My Lords’, 13 August 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/31, Memorial unto the Right Honorable the Lords of Her Majesty’s Treasury by the Trustees for the Middle District of Roads in the County of Edinburgh, called the City of Edinburgh Paving Board, 14 August 1849.

²⁹² Papers re: Wellington Statue, Item 4/24, Draft Letter to the Secretary of the Treasury on behalf of the Lord Provost, Magistrates and City Council of Edinburgh, 21 August 1849.

²⁹³ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/32, Report on the propriety of setting back the screen wall of the Register Office, Edinburgh by David Bryce, Architect, 29 August 1849.

²⁹⁴ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/29, Report to the Trustees of the General Register House on the Plans of Mr Bryce for throwing back the screen wall of that building to a line with the Houses in Princes Street in so far as the proposed alterations affect the position of the Statue of the Duke of Wellington by John Steell, Sculptor, 29 August 1849.

Bryce followed up his revised plan with a new estimate for the alteration costs. The quoted price exceeded that of the original estimate, raising the question of who would cover the additional cost.²⁹⁵ At around the same time, a memorial from the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the Burgh of Leith was submitted to the Trustees of the Register House appealing on behalf of the community of Leith for the screen wall to be altered in such a fashion as would materially improve the entrance to Leith Street.²⁹⁶ This added yet further weight, if such was needed, to the calls for revised alterations. With these conflicting opinions and arguments abounding, the work on the screen wall was suspended.²⁹⁷ In October 1849, the Paving Board offered to arrange with the Wellington Statue Committee to cover any additional expenses incurred if the Register House Trustees approved of and adopted Mr Hamilton's alteration plan.²⁹⁸ Hamilton himself consulted Bryce on the subject, who gave his seal of approval to Hamilton's plan.²⁹⁹ Yet other opinions were still circulating and being offered up, and debates on the matter continued on into November. Finally, on 1 December 1849, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury wrote to approve of the alternative plan produced by Bryce, under the express conditions that the Wellington Committee, either solely or in conjunction with the Paving Board, should become responsible for the expense; and that the work should be carried out under the supervision of Messrs Burn and Bryce.³⁰⁰

While the Lord Provost, Magistrates and City Council of Edinburgh expressed their satisfaction at the result and voted that a note of thanks be delivered to the Treasury on their behalf,³⁰¹ the Paving Board were less pleased with the outcome. Eventually, after "considerable opposition"³⁰² was voiced, they resolved on 10 December 1849 to agree to the Treasury's ruling and voted to contribute £100 from their funds towards the expense of moving the wall and laying the pavement. The works could now finally be resumed and continued with in accordance with the new plan. The foregoing process illustrates the complexity and difficulty attached with altering the landscape of the city through the addition of the Wellington statue. Many stakeholders took an interest in the project, all of

²⁹⁵ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/35, David Bryce to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 6 September 1849.

²⁹⁶ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/36, Memorial of the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the Burgh of Leith to the Honorable the Trustees of the Register House, Edinburgh, 7 September 1849.

²⁹⁷ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Scotsman*, (no date).

²⁹⁸ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/39, William Duncan to anon., 15 October 1849.

²⁹⁹ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/40, David Bryce to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 23 October 1849.

³⁰⁰ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/53, Trevelyan to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 1 December 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/54, William Gibson Craig to Dundas, 1 December 1849; Papers re: Wellington Statue, Item 4/24, Trevelyan to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1 December 1849.

³⁰¹ Edinburgh City Archives, Town Council Minutes, SL1/1/253, 4 December 1849; Papers re: Wellington Statue, Item 4/24, Note of the Council, 4 December 1849.

³⁰² Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/56, The Lord Provost to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 10 December 1849; Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/57, William Duncan to anon., 10 December 1849.

whom needed to be appeased in some manner. There was a multitude of bureaucratic loopholes to be dealt with and legal requirements to be met, all of which caused considerable delays to the progress of the works. Reshaping the landscape was not an easy or straightforward task on this occasion: it was difficult process and a notable event for Edinburgh and its citizens. The monument was to be a permanent and lasting addition, and the lengthy process involved in preparing the way for its addition highlighted the fact that a considered, decided and officially sanctioned statement was being made by powerful political and social élites.

4.1.17 Inauguration Ceremony Plans

Although the resolution of this particularly troublesome issue was a significant step on the path towards the project's completion, it was still to be quite some time before the hoped-for end was reached. Poor weather was to cause some further delay to the screen wall alterations in January 1850,³⁰³ while the casting process for the statue was, as was standard with works of that size and nature at the time, a lengthy one. It appears the public interest in the casting process was sustained throughout, with a casting session held on 29 April 1850 being widely reported in the press and attended by "a number of gentlemen of scientific reputation and taste in the fine arts".³⁰⁴ By about this time Messrs Leslie of Aberdeen had been commissioned to produce the pedestal, which was to be composed of red granite.³⁰⁵ Thoughts began to turn towards plans for the inauguration ceremony, with the matter being raised at a meeting of Edinburgh Town Council. A meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science and the National Archery Meeting were both expected to take place during the same week in August. Treasurer Dick of the Town Council suggested that the Lord Provost might use what influence he had with the Wellington Testimonial Committee to have the statue unveiled during the same week, a move he believed would "add to the general *eclat* (sic) of the occasion".³⁰⁶ Such a conflation of ceremonial events would have served to emphasise and enhance the militaristic overtones and allusions to British identity conceptions already imbued in the monument's form. The reception of this proposal beyond a general exclamation of approval from the Council is unknown, but the practical obstacle of the monument's lack of completion by that time would have excluded it as a possibility in any case.

³⁰³ Scottish National Archives, SRO4/144/60, David Bryce to William Pitt Dundas Esquire, 15 January 1850.

³⁰⁴ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 30 April 1850.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, *Edinburgh Evening Post*, 1 May (1850).

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, *Edinburgh Town Council Proceedings*, (no date).

It was to be April 1852 before the monument was finally nearing completion. At this point the statue was almost finished, while the erection of the pedestal had just been commenced. It was now reported that Messrs Macdonald & Leslie, Aberdeen, were the firm in charge of the latter task, the pedestal having been fashioned by them from Peterhead³⁰⁷ granite. The operation was performed in accordance with a design produced by David Bryce.³⁰⁸ The statue was to reach a height of about twenty-six feet once placed on its pedestal, standing about thirteen feet on its own. The inauguration date had also been fixed, with 18 June 1852, the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, having been selected for the momentous event.³⁰⁹ By 15 May 1852, the pedestal was completed and lay in place awaiting the addition of the statue. *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* of that date took the opportunity to assess the quality of the work before its upcoming inauguration and were effusive in their praise of Steell's efforts. They went so far as to employ biblical and religious allusions when describing the horse produced by him, likening it to "the noble war-horse of the book of Job".³¹⁰ Assessing the significance of the whole from a nationalist perspective, they wrote:

The execution by a native artist of a work of such magnitude ... forms quite an era in the history of Scottish art. Independent of the masterly character of the design, this is the first attempt at bronze casting in Scotland, requiring not only the highest skill, but the constant superintendence of the artist. ... (As) it stands, (it) is likely ... to eclipse all the former efforts of the sculptor.³¹¹

In the run up to the event, Councillor Fraser brought a motion before Edinburgh Town Council proposing that the Lord Provost's Committee should be called upon to consider the propriety of the Magistrates and Town Council taking part in some public demonstration on the occasion of the inauguration and of inviting the Duke of Wellington to a public banquet to be given by the citizens of Edinburgh.³¹² Fraser noted that it was customary throughout many countries for the inauguration of public statues of eminent men such as the Duke to be accompanied by "some great public demonstration"³¹³ and, in some more recent instances, they had been made "the occasion of great national festivals, by which the grateful homage of respect and admiration, intended by the erection of a

³⁰⁷ Peterhead was the name of a town in Aberdeenshire.

³⁰⁸ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³⁰⁹ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Courant*, April 1852.

³¹⁰ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15 May 1852.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Edinburgh City Archives, Town Council Minutes, SL1/1/258, 25 May 1852.

³¹³ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Edinburgh Town Council Proceedings*, (no date).

statue, was homologated by the united acclamation of the whole community.”³¹⁴ He stated his belief that there had “never ... been an occasion in our time when such a demonstration could be more justly and appropriately exhibited, nor one where the general sympathy of all classes and conditions, social and political, of our fellow-citizens would be more enthusiastically awarded”.³¹⁵ The motion was passed and brought before the Lord Provost’s Committee on 2 June 1852. In the lead up to this meeting, the newspapers speculated as to whether the Duke’s age would allow him to undertake such a journey, but ruled that:

if he should, there can be no doubt of his being received with a “*cead mille fealtaigh*.” The Scotch have a passion for military glory; and there is something in the quiet, undemonstrative character of the Duke, and his unimaginative sound judgment, akin to the Scotch... Such a banquet would indeed be a gathering of Highlander and Lowlander, Borderer and Shetlander.³¹⁶

Here perceived facets of the Duke’s character are analogised with a Scottish identity and stereotypical Scottish traits. He is made a vehicle through which Scots can negotiate and form their own national identity. His presence would also inspire national unity, bringing together inhabitants from all the diverse regions of Scotland in order to express and celebrate a commonly held esteem for his character and achievements.

At the Lord Provost’s Committee meeting it was ruled that the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council should be present at the inauguration ceremony and that Sir John MacNeill (who was invited to the meeting to represent the Wellington Monument Committee) should communicate with the Duke of Buccleuch in order to garner his opinion as to the best mode of forwarding an address or invitation to the Duke of Wellington on behalf of the citizens of Edinburgh.³¹⁷ The process involved in making contact with Wellington is indicative of the social hierarchy at work in the chain of communication. The correct protocols and formalities that were prevalent at the time had to be observed and the message would have to be conveyed up through the social order by degrees. The response of the Duke of Buccleuch to this approach is unknown, but the matter had still not been resolved conclusively in the immediate wake of the inauguration ceremonies on 18 June 1852.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Edinburgh Town Council Proceedings*, (no date).

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *The Spectator*, 29 May (1852).

³¹⁷ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 3 June 1852.

³¹⁸ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852; Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Literary Gazette*, 19 June (1852).

As the date of the ceremonies approached, the press conveyed an ever mounting sense of keenly felt anticipation. A writer to *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* was particularly eager to see countrywide military representation present on the day in so far as might be possible, suggesting that railway would provide a cheap and convenient means for troops from all the regiments in Scotland within reach to travel to the capital for the festivities. Particular mention was given to the 7th Hussars, 79th Highlanders and the 42nd, all Waterloo regiments.³¹⁹ On 14 June 1852, the statue was finally raised and secured onto its pedestal. The process of transporting the statue from its foundry and placing it in situ took in the region of eleven hours and was conducted during the hours of darkness, moving into early morning; specifically from 1 a.m. to about noon. A specially built truck drawn by eight horses and the assistance of 30 men were required to convey the approximately 12 ton statue from foundry to site. James Gowans directed the removal and engineering department, although Steell was present to oversee the entire process personally. Gowans had also been chosen to erect the pedestal. Once erected the statue was hidden under a canvas covering, intended to remain in place until the unveiling ceremony.³²⁰

The following day, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* published a detailed plan of arrangements for the ceremony as drawn up by J.A. Bell on behalf of the Wellington Committee. Key groups that would form the basis of the crowd were revealed, as well as designated specific positions to occupy at certain allocated times. An order of ceremonies was also detailed. A separate announcement gave notice of a special dinner for members of the General Committee of the Wellington Testimonial and a limited number of their selected friends to be held at seven o'clock on the evening of the 18 June. Finally, notice was given of a plan to hold a fireworks display at nine o'clock that evening to celebrate Waterloo Day and the inauguration of the statue. Francis Johnston of Glasgow was to be the pyrotechnist. The venture had the approval of the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh and the Sheriff of Midlothian. It was to take place on the Castle Esplanade, for which the permission of Major-General Napier, Commander of the Forces, was given. The expense was to be covered by public subscription, and for this purpose subscription lists were lodged at several key establishments in Edinburgh, and authorised persons were designated to call personally upon inhabitants of the city generally.³²¹ Similar notices were printed in other Edinburgh newspapers. Further advertisements were also published detailing regulations for the clearing and temporary closure of certain streets in order to accommodate the ceremonies and accompanying processions. An opportunity was to be

³¹⁹ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 8 June 1852.

³²⁰ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15 June 1852; Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Scotsman*, 16 June 1852.

³²¹ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15 June 1852.

given to all gentlemen wishing to take part in the ceremonies on the day to form part of a procession. Those taking part would be grouped according to social standing and profession, which would also determine the order of their appearance in the procession. The costume to be worn by those wishing to take part in the procession was to consist of full dress, in black, with white gloves.³²²

4.1.18 18 June 1852: The Inauguration Ceremony

All these carefully laid plans bore the hoped-for fruits of success on 18 June 1852. The entire inauguration ceremony was widely attended and for the most part smoothly conducted. According to *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, “(the) ceremony was of an imposing character; and all classes seemed to vie with each other in testifying their veneration and respect for the most distinguished military chief of modern times.”³²³ They also pointed out the appropriateness of the chosen site, being in view of the column erected to Lord Nelson on one side and Edinburgh Castle on the other, a few yards from “the palace-looking buildings of “Waterloo” Place”³²⁴ and in the path of a “ceaseless living current of a great population”.³²⁵ The latter part of the day was observed as a holiday, shops on the main streets having been closed from two o’clock. Prior to this time, crowds of visitors from many parts of the country had begun to arrive into the city, having travelled by coach or train to witness the occasion. Eager viewers gathered around the Register House, occupying its windows and roof in order to obtain a favourable view of the proceedings. The balcony and roof of the nearby Theatre Royal were similarly occupied, as were the roofs of many houses in Princes Street and Waterloo Place. Hotel windows were likewise commissioned, with spectators paying two guineas for the privilege. Crowds also assembled on Calton Hill and even the summit of the more distant Salisbury Crags.

The official groupings began to assemble at about two o’clock, with the ceremony due to commence at three o’clock precisely.³²⁶ The military were the first to arrive shortly before two o’clock. Both infantry and cavalry were expected to be present,³²⁷ with the 7th Hussars and 79th Highlanders being the two main regiments represented. Their presence was intended both to keep order and to act as “a graceful compliment on the auspicious occasion”.³²⁸ The band of the Hussars and the band and pipers of the Highlanders were

³²² Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Advertisement in Edinburgh Newspapers*, (no date).

³²³ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.; Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Advertisement in Edinburgh Newspapers*, (no date).

³²⁷ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Advertisement in Edinburgh Newspapers*, (no date).

³²⁸ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

also in attendance, performing at various intervals during the ceremony. They had all been designated specific spaces to occupy in the region surrounding the Register House. Immediately in front of the statue gentlemen and masters of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy gathered. On either side of it were a body of pensioners. They wore plain dress but many added medals, clasps or other military decorations to their apparel. The colours of the 79th Highlanders were decorated with laurel, a symbol of victory, in honour of the anniversary of Waterloo, while many of the pensioners wore sprigs of it in their caps or on other parts of their attire. The Enrolled Local Pensioners were also present, extending in a line on either side of Prince's Street. Their band was there too and joined the others in playing at designated intervals. The bands gathered opposite the statue, while the High Constables of the City and Calton were placed behind them.

At the Register House, arrangements were under the direction of Sir John McNeill of the Wellington Committee. Two platforms had been erected within the enclosure here, one reserved for ladies, the other for different parties who had been invited. Each platform was capable of accommodating about 180 people. The ladies were to be admitted by tickets, of which three were available to each member of the Wellington Committee who applied for them before 6 p.m. on the evening of 16 June. The balance was then to be distributed by the Sub-Committee among leading subscribers and guests who had applied for them.³²⁹ Not only were the ladies physically segregated from the rest of the crowds present, they also formed a select élite. All were undoubtedly of upper-class extraction and their appearance on the occasion was particularly eye-catching, being described as "an assemblage of beauty, fashion, and elegance (the likes of which has seldom) been witnessed among us".³³⁰ The second platform was occupied largely by Professors in the University, most of the members of the Town Council and officers who had served under the Duke of Wellington. They ranged from colonels down to lieutenants and also encompassed regimental doctors and commissaries who served in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, in France and in India. Others invited to attend on the occasion were the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Judges of the Court of Session and the Sheriffs of the county.

The parties invited, along with the Committee of the Wellington Memorial, had assembled within the Register House before processing out and taking up their designated places among the assembly. This procession took place at half past two, with the invited parties emerging first, followed by the Duke of Buccleuch and the other members of the Committee. Buccleuch took the leading role on behalf of the Committee, as both its

³²⁹ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Advertisement in Edinburgh Newspapers*, (no date).

³³⁰ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

Chairman and Preses of the meeting. Buccleuch and the members of the Committee took up a central position on the main flight of steps leading from the entrance to the Register House.

Meanwhile, a more lengthy procession was undertaken by a gathering composed of members from a number of different Masonic lodges. These Freemasons had assembled in the Quadrangle of the College and marched from there to the Register House via an extended route along South Bridge, High Street, the Mound and Princes Street. The routeway was crowded with spectators, most of whom greeted the passing throng in a friendly manner. However, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* reported that there was “one not very creditable exception”³³¹ to this amicable reception, indicating that perhaps not all were supportive of a Freemason presence on the occasion. At least 44 lodges from around Scotland were represented in the procession, with in excess of 745 masons taking part.³³² Upon their arrival at the Register House, the procession passed the statue and formed opposite the Theatre Royal, forty abreast, facing to the west. The planned procession of other gentlemen wishing to take part, but not connected to any public body, followed this. They had assembled in the Music Hall and were formed into a procession under the direction of Marchmont Herald and other officers of the College of Arms. They joined the rear of the Masonic procession at Hanover Street, and upon reaching the Register House they formed across the street on the west side, in a position parallel to the Masonic bodies opposite.

The members of the Grand Lodge were gathered inside the railing in front of the Register House, under the leadership of the Duke of Athole (sic), Grand Master Mason. Among the other officer bearers and members present was a representative from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, Mr S. Somerville of Ampherlaw. Following the assembly of this group, the Grand Chaplain, Rev. Dr Arnot of the High Church, Edinburgh, stepped forward to offer up a prayer. After this, the plumb and level were applied to the pedestal of the statue and other Masonic ceremonies performed. The Duke of Athole then gave the following address:

Having full confidence in your skill and knowledge of our early and time-honoured art, nothing now remains for me but to complete the work. [Here his Grace applied the mallet to the pedestal, and resumed] May the Almighty Architect of the universe shower down His blessings upon this

³³¹ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³³² *Ibid.*

undertaking; and I trust that the erection which we have inaugurated today may remain firm for many generations.³³³

Athole and the officers of the Grand Lodge then ascended the steps to the platform in front of the Register House and made his report to the Duke of Buccleuch. According to Athole, the Lodge had “inspected the pedestal and statue, and (had) found that every thing has been done according to the proper rules of architectural art”.³³⁴ After receiving this statement of approval, Buccleuch advanced to give a speech to the gathered crowds. In it, he acknowledged firstly Wellington’s glorious military career, through which he had “(distinguished) himself ... (and) his country, and (laid) the foundations of that mighty empire which now flourishes under our arms”.³³⁵ He then praised his diplomatic skills, as evidenced by his conduct at the congress of Vienna, Aix la Chapelle and Verona. Moving on to an assessment of his character, he described him as being “actuated by but one feeling, that of duty and loyalty to his Sovereign and to his country.”³³⁶ Finally, he drew attention to Steell’s role, saying: “I cannot allow myself to close this address without remarking on our fortune in finding a countryman and townsman of our own, not only worthy to undertake such a work as this, but who, I may say, has also proved himself capable of creating a work worthy of the man to whom it is erected.”³³⁷

After the conclusion of the speech, the signal was given to unveil the statue. Under the direction of Mr Gowans, the canvas curtains were released and dropped away to reveal the statue to the public’s view for the first time (Figure 4.1.5, Figure 4.1.6 and Figure 4.1.7). *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* described the general reaction of the assembled crowds as follows: “For a moment or two the vast multitude gazed in silent admiration; but in an instant, as if by one common impulse, their feelings burst forth in loud and prolonged acclamations.”³³⁸ At the same time the military bands began to play “See the conquering hero comes”. While the canvas was being removed, the union flag had also been raised by an artillery soldier on an elevated flagstaff at the western angle of the Register Office. At almost the same instant a nineteen gun salute in honour of the Duke of Wellington was fired from Edinburgh Castle, following which a battery of artillery opened fire from Salisbury Crags.

³³³ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

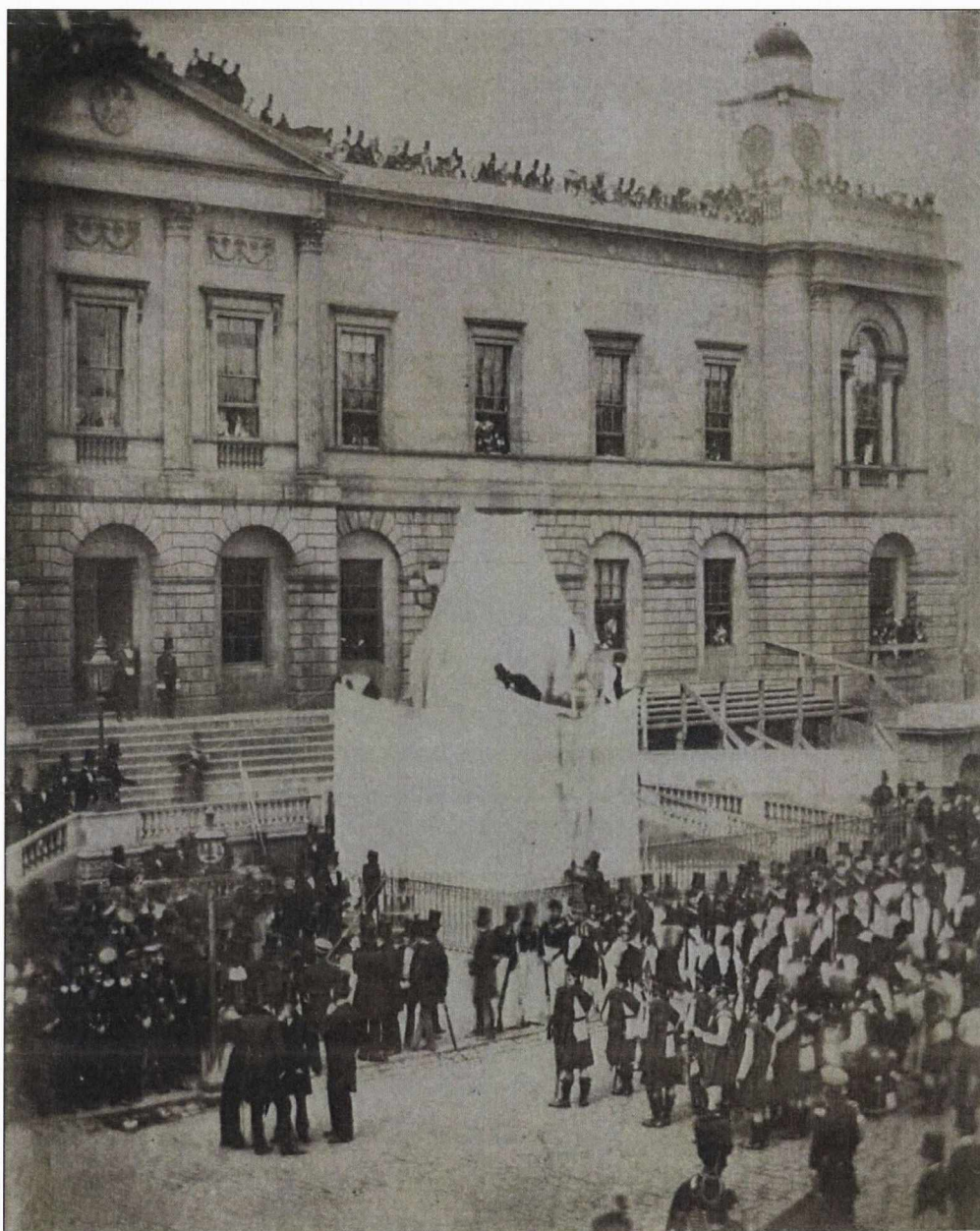


Figure 4.1.5: The Wellington Statue in front of the Register House, with full canvas shroud. Edinburgh, 18 June 1852. From National Library of Scotland, Ms. FB.m.55, Gershom Steell, [Volumes of Press Cuttings, Photographs, Engravings, &c., relating to the work of Sir John Steell], Volume 55D.

The combination of these clear signs of British identity and military might at the key moment of the statue's unveiling indelibly emphasised and reinforced those two key messages or undertones that were already imbued in its form. A meteorological phenomenon intervened to contribute a dramatic apogée to this series of outbursts, as a flash of lightening and clap of thunder marked the conclusion of the artillery displays. Sir John McNeill then proposed three cheers to be given, and was met with an enthusiastic

response. The ceremonies then concluded with a further three cheers given in honour of Mr Steell. Following this, the Masonic contingent reformed and processed back to the College, where they then dispersed. The military marched back to their quarters, and other parties involved in the ceremonies soon took their leave also.



Figure 4.1.6: The Wellington Statue in front of the Register House, partially uncovered. Edinburgh, 18 June 1852. From National Library of Scotland, Ms. FB.m.55, Gershom Steell, [Volumes of Press Cuttings, Photographs, Engravings, &c., relating to the work of Sir John Steell], Volume 55D.



Figure 4.1.7: The Wellington Statue in front of the Register House, just unveiled to public view for the first time. Edinburgh, 18 June 1852. From National Library of Scotland, Ms. FB.m.55, Gershom Steell, [Volumes of Press Cuttings, Photographs, Engravings, &c., relating to the work of Sir John Steell], Volume 55D.

Long after the ceremony, up until nightfall, large crowds assembled at the Register Office to view the statue. The fireworks display due to take place that evening also attracted a large contingent of viewers, but they were to be disappointed due to poor weather. Mr Johnston, the pyrotechnist, was forced to announce a postponement until Saturday 19 June, or possibly even Monday 21 June, all depending on the weather. The

special Wellington Committee dinner did, however, proceed on the 18 June as planned. It was held in the Hopetoun Rooms, the same location in which the first meeting which saw the formation of the General Committee had taken place on 24 December 1839,³³⁹ lending a note of symmetry to the whole. With the Duke of Buccleuch absent due to indisposition, the Earl of Haddington took the chair. Toasts were given to the Duke of Wellington, Mr Steell, and to the Earl (now Marquess) of Dalhousie, “who had been chairman of the committee until he went to India, and to whose exertions the public were principally indebted for the magnificent termination of the labours of the committee.”³⁴⁰ Another dinner was held by a contingent of the Freemasons that evening, during which Wellington was again toasted.³⁴¹

The day also witnessed a revival of the notion of forwarding an address or invitation to the Duke of Wellington on behalf of the citizens of Edinburgh. A public meeting was held in the Music Hall during the evening, with the express purpose of considering “the propriety of sending a congratulatory address to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, on the occasion of the erection of a statue to him in the Scottish metropolis.”³⁴² Apparently only brief public notice was given of the meeting, which, combined with a general desire to see the planned fireworks display, resulted in what *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* described as a “comparatively (thin)”³⁴³ attendance of about 400 or 500 people. Those on the platform for the occasion considered mainly of local political representatives and members of the legal profession, as well as a university professor. No leading members of the nobility were noted to be present, perhaps due to the simultaneous occurrence of the aforementioned dinners. Sheriff Gordon was called upon to preside over the occasion, and delivered the keynote speech. In it he referred to the events of the day and reflected on the unanimity of regard for the Duke of Wellington that was displayed in the reception of his statue by all those present, of all ranks and classes and of every variety of conflicting opinions. He paid homage to the military and civil achievements of the Duke of Wellington, and to his character. His status as a Briton was given particular attention, as well as the impact his deeds had had on the fate of that his nation. He had helped secure and define Britain’s status and identity on a global and imperial scale:

³³⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

³⁴⁰ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

the possessions of this empire ... were settled at the conclusion of the war (with France), and still remain. What is Britain now? Her foot is on every soil- on Europe, Asia, America, and Africa; on the islands of every wave- in the Mediterranean, Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian seas. Her tributaries are kingdoms, her colonies are vast as continents, her manufactures travel beyond the Chinese wall, her commerce circulates with the ocean round the habitable globe; and her language is not only known wherever enterprise can pierce, or valour tread, or dauntless heroism carry the divine message of Christian truth, but it is the living tongue of myriads of a mighty people, living beyond her sway, throughout the Republic of America; it is at home among the dawning races of Australia, at the extremity of the African promontory, and at the base of the Indian Himalayah. (Loud cheers.) And how much of this do we not owe to the crowning victory of that man who has pacified the world since 1815? (Applause.) What an enormous responsibility has he not thrown on this his country- Britain; ... to pursue our great mission as the first nation in the world...³⁴⁴

He perceived that Wellington's statue would serve as a permanent reminder of his character and achievements and of the regard in which he was held. He concluded by expressing his earnest desire that Wellington might visit Scotland:

I believe that his Grace's foot has never yet touched the soil of Scotland. ... I must say that I for one would most gladly desire before such a man passed away from among us altogether ... that, on the heather of this our native land, we should for once see standing not merely "the hero of a hundred fights," but the very symbol of the greatness and energy and liberty of the British constitution. (Enthusiastic cheering.)³⁴⁵

Bailie Morrison then proposed the following resolution:

That this meeting resolve to convey to his Grace the Duke of Wellington an expression of the cordial and deep sentiments of regard and admiration which fill the whole hearts of the community for his Grace- of the sincere gratification with which, on the anniversary of this eventful day, the citizens of Edinburgh saw erected, in the metropolis of Scotland, a monument, designed and executed by native genius, commemorative and worthy of the character, the actions, and the honours of such a man- and of the anxious desire of Scotland that ... an opportunity may yet be given of welcoming his Grace on this side of the Tweed.³⁴⁶

Bailie Brown Douglas seconded the motion, which was then put to the meeting and carried. On the motion of Councillor Fraser a committee, consisting of Sheriff Gordon, Bailie Morrison, Bailie Brown Douglas and the Treasurer of the city, was then appointed to

³⁴⁴ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

prepare an address to convey the sentiments of the preceding resolution.³⁴⁷ Whether such a message was eventually transmitted is unclear, but it appears the Duke of Wellington did not make the journey north to Edinburgh.

The occasion of the inauguration was also to find a place in the literary annals of the day through the composition of numerous commemorative rhymes and odes. *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* quoted some lines from two contributions submitted to them which they perceived as particularly noteworthy. The first of these was:

And as by steel he won a deathless name,
Behold him here immortalised by Steell.³⁴⁸

The second read:

Midst cannons' roar and thunder's deafening peal,
Appeared The Iron Duke in Brass by Steell.³⁴⁹

The latter expression spawned a nickname for the statue, with many writers in subsequent years referring to it as "The Iron Duke in Brass (or bronze) by Steell". A further impromptu published in the *Supplement to the North British Advertiser* read:

"Iron sharp'neth iron"- but *Steel* (sic) transmutes the mass,
For lo! "The *Iron* Duke" is changed into *brass*.³⁵⁰

Among the odes composed was a lyric ode by R.W. Jameson, Bard of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. This was to be performed to the tune of "March to the Battle-Field".³⁵¹ All these various attempts ensured the statue entered yet further into the public consciousness and would remain there. New layers of meaning and associations were added, and with a degree of permanency.

³⁴⁷ *The Scotsman*, 19 June 1852.

³⁴⁸ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22 June 1852.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Supplement to North British Advertiser*, 1852.

³⁵¹ Ibid., *Lyric Ode on the Occasion of the Inauguration of Steel's* (sic) *Equestrian Statue of F.M. the Duke of Wellington*, by R.W. Jameson, (no date).

4.1.19 Aftermath

The statue was again the centre of public attention around the end of August and the beginning of September 1852 when a royal party visited the city. Shortly after their arrival at Holyrood Palace, a carriage was summoned to bring Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, and Mr Gibbs, the Prince of Wales' preceptor, on a tour of various parts of the city.³⁵² Of particular interest to the Prince of Wales was the Wellington statue. Here a large crowd of up to several thousand had gathered, anticipating that Queen Victoria would wish to view the statue.³⁵³ Although their hopes in this quarter were dashed, they greeted Prince Albert's carriage with loud cheers. The Prince "scanned the statue most minutely, and seemed much pleased with its appearance."³⁵⁴ The Queen's hoped-for visit to the statue occurred a short time later, with the royal carriage taking a route past its site upon their departure from the city. At this point she surveyed the work "apparently with great interest".³⁵⁵ Thus the commemorative space of the monument was imbued with a royal association and seal of approval.

Although the monument had now been officially installed and unveiled, there still remained a few matters to be settled concerning its form. These pertained mainly to the bassi-relievi once proposed to be employed to adorn its pedestal, a potential inscription and arrangements for its future custody, maintenance and care. Sir John McNeill proposed the necessity of calling a meeting of the Wellington Testimonial Committee to deal with these and several other outstanding issues. Prior to calling the meeting, he wrote to the Duke of Buccleuch to garner his opinion on the points and issues in question and to request that he preside over the occasion.³⁵⁶ According to McNeill, notice had been given of a motion to dispense with the bassi-relievi plan, a motion which he thought probable would be carried. Buccleuch indicated his support of this idea³⁵⁷ and it appears that such a motion was indeed carried as the statue stands today unadorned by any such embellishments. In contemplating the addition of an inscription, McNeill wrote:

If there are to be no bassi relievi on the pedestal we must determine whether there is to be any name date or inscription- and if so what it shall be- some have suggested a list of battles- but this would make the testimonial purely military- I regard it as an acknowledgment of admiration and gratitude for a whole life devoted as none other perhaps ever was or ever will be to the

³⁵² Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *Edinburgh Courant*, 2 September (1852).

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, *Edinburgh Witness*, 1 September 1852.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, *Scotsman*, 1 September 1852.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Departure from Edinburgh*, (no date).

³⁵⁶ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/18-19, John McNeill to the Duke of Buccleuch, 18 October 1852.

³⁵⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/20, Buccleuch to Sir John McNeill, 19 October 1852.

service of his country in his civil and social as well as in his military capacity & I object to anything that would have the appearance of restricting it to his military achievements. Probably the date alone would be sufficient but if we are to have anything more I hope it will be short and comprehensive- such as the two words- Scotia grata- or anything better of that class-³⁵⁸

Buccleuch concurred in the spirit of this statement, saying, “(whatsoever) inscription is put upon the Pedestal should be simple & concise. The Duke of Wellington was as eminent in private as in public life, as renowned in Peace as in War.”³⁵⁹ In the event the inscription chosen was simply the word “WELLINGTON”, which was etched into the front of the pedestal, thereby encompassing all associations and connotations, positive or negative, the viewer might attach to his character and achievements.

In regard to the issue of the future ownership and care of the statue, McNeill stated that:

It was originally proposed that it should be vested in Trustees to be named & offices- The Lord Lieutenant (sic) of the County- The Lord Clerk Register The Ld. Provost The Lord Advocate The Sheriff etc but it has been suggested to me by Mr. Maconochie Meadowbank, that as the statue is erected on land the property of the Crown the best course would be to present it to the Crown and thus place it together with the Register House to which it naturally belongs under the charge of the department of woods and forests.³⁶⁰

At McNeill’s request, Meadowbank had consulted Lord John Manners privately on the topic and ascertained that no objection would be made to such a plan. McNeill added his own opinion that “on the whole this would give us the best security we can get for the preservation of the statue.”³⁶¹ Buccleuch gave his approbation to this proposal, reasoning that: “(it) appears to me that as this is a public Testimonial & as it is placed on land belonging to the Crown that the custody of it should be confided to the Crown.”³⁶² Thereby a further and more permanent royal association would be attached to the monumental space. It seems this plan met with approval, as the monument was officially transferred to the Office of Works in 1853.³⁶³

³⁵⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/18-19, John McNeill to the Duke of Buccleuch, 18 October 1852.

³⁵⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/20, Buccleuch to Sir John McNeill, 19 October 1852.

³⁶⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/18-19, John McNeill to the Duke of Buccleuch, 18 October 1852.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/20, Buccleuch to Sir John McNeill, 19 October 1852.

³⁶³ Scottish National Archives, MW1/879, Papers on transfer of the Wellington Monument, Register House, to the Office of Works, 1853.

Finally, it was projected that a small balance of £400 or £500 would remain from the funds raised after all outstanding accounts had been settled. It was proposed by some members of the Committee to pay the balance to Steell, as it was rumoured that due to poor financial management he had lost rather than gained money through the undertaking.³⁶⁴ Buccleuch voiced his support of this suggestion. Thus affairs concerning the statue were largely wound up. At some point over the coming years the railing around its base was removed, being absent by the middle of the twentieth century as evidenced by a photograph taken in 1957.³⁶⁵ This would have served to remove a barrier separating the monumental space from the intrusion of the general public. It witnessed further celebrations and ceremonies, and was subject to repairs, maintenance and even a proposal to resite it in 1937. A view of its surrounds around 1851 to 1852 reveal that it was placed in close proximity to numerous hotels as well as being almost directly opposite the Theatre Royal (Figure 4.1.8). Within the same region the Wellington Hotel, the Waterloo Rooms and Hotel and a street named Waterloo Place further added to the commemorative aura of the milieu. Placed upon one of the busiest thoroughfares in Scotland's capital city, it would remain alive, active and prominent in the public consciousness throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

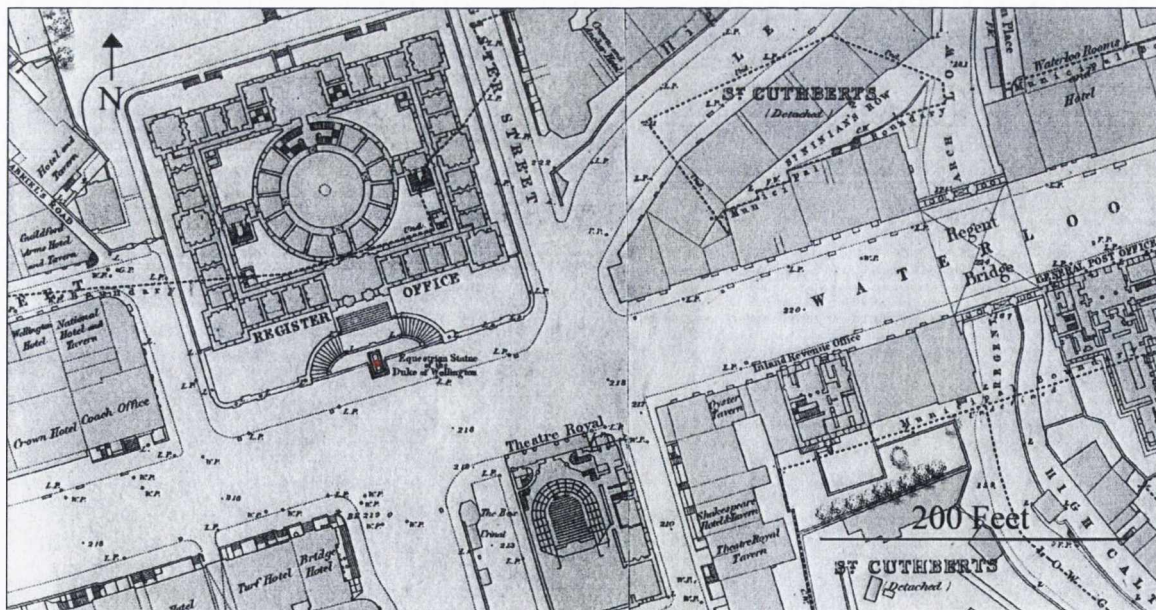


Figure 4.1.8: The Wellington Statue in front of the Register Office (marked by a red dot). Waterloo Place forms a continuation of Princes Street, while Leith Street runs roughly to the north-east. Map formed using Edinburgh Ordnance Survey 1:1056 Town Plan, Sheet 29, surveyed 1851, published 1853 and Sheet 30, surveyed 1852, published 1854.

³⁶⁴ Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/18-19, John McNeill to the Duke of Buccleuch, 18 October 1852; Scottish National Archives, GD224/1031/12/20, Buccleuch to Sir John McNeill, 19 October 1852.

³⁶⁵ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, ED/6340, Photograph of Wellington Statue in front of the Register House, copyright S.N.B.R., 1957.

4.2 Jedburgh

4.2.1 A Border Estate Monument: Landlord and Tenants United

The county of Roxburghshire, which lay on the Scottish border with England, was the location of the Wellington Pillar or Waterloo Monument, as this commemorative edifice has severally been described. The monument sits atop a hill named Peniel Heugh,¹ once the location of both an Iron Age fort and a Roman station (Figure 4.2.1).² The hill rises to a height of approximately 774 feet above sea level³ and commands extensive views across the surrounding countryside, taking in most of the county of Roxburghshire along with significant portions of Berwickshire and Selkirkshire, and across the English border to Northumberland.⁴ It forms part of the estates of the Marquis of Lothian, who instigated its erection in the early half of the nineteenth century around the time of Wellington's most famous victory. The situation is a central one within the Marquis's property as one of his seats of residence, Monteviot House, is located at the southern base of the hill. The town of Jedburgh lies roughly three miles to the south.⁵ This town was the capital of the county and contained a population in the region of 2,697 around the middle of the century in 1851.⁶

Within less than two weeks of the Battle of Waterloo, a ceremony was held on Friday 30 June 1815 to mark the laying of the foundation stone for the monument.⁷ The speed with which this ceremony followed the battle suggests that the idea for its construction may have been conceived some time before this particular military engagement. A list of tenants dating from 27 February 1815 who had engaged to lay down sand and lime as their contribution to the project corroborates this theory and indicates that plans were afoot a number of months before the foundation stone ceremony was held.⁸ The inscription which was eventually decided upon to adorn the completed monument designates it as a commemoration of the Duke of Wellington and the British army.

¹ Numerous variations on this spelling exist throughout nineteenth-century source material.

² David Erskine, *Annals and Antiquities of Dryburgh, and Other Places on the Tweed*, 2nd edn (Kelso: A. Leadbetter, 1836), p. 225; Kitty Cruft, 'The Building of the Peniel Heugh Monument', *Scottish Georgian Society's Bulletin*, 9 (1982), p. 24.

³ Francis H. Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical, and Historical, Volume V* (Edinburgh: Grange Publishing Works, 1884), p. 50; *The Builder*, 22 June 1867, p. 449.

⁴ James Watson, *Smail's Guide to Jedburgh and Vicinity*, 4th edn (Jedburgh: Thomas Smail, 1880), p. 62.

⁵ Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Volume V*, p. 50; Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Roxburghshire, Sheet XV, surveyed 1859, published 1863; Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Roxburghshire, Sheet XXI, surveyed 1859, published 1863.

⁶ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 604.

⁷ *Kelso Mail*, 3 July 1815.

⁸ This list is cited in Cruft, 'The Building of the Peniel Heugh Monument', p. 24 and O'Brien, 'Wellington's Pillar', p. 19. However, as efforts to locate and examine the original proved unsuccessful, the accuracy of this information cannot be completely accounted for.

willing to subscribe two hundred pounds as well as chairing the first meeting.¹² These influences and connections must certainly have had an impact on Lothian's plans for a monument for his own estate. Lothian was prone to engaging in philanthropic construction projects aimed at community improvement. In Jedburgh alone he or his family endowed an infants' school and provided the majority of funding towards the opening of a dispensary in 1807. He himself organised the erection of a commodious house with baths and other requisites in 1822.¹³ Apart from these associations and community projects Lothian was also Lord-Lieutenant of Midlothian and Roxburghshire and was personally acquainted with royalty, being created a Baron by the King in July 1821¹⁴ and entertaining royal guests at his own house around September 1822.¹⁵ This royal connection may have been a factor which influenced some of his deliberations on the exact wording to choose for the monument's inscription in 1817.

4.2.2 Waterloo Monument?

Whatever the original motivation for the monument's conception and subsequent erection, Waterloo was certainly incorporated as one of the feats of the Duke of Wellington and the British army which the ultimately chosen inscription proclaimed it to celebrate. However, the descriptor of "Waterloo Monument" which some sources, including the first edition Ordnance Survey map,¹⁶ give to the structure may be both a narrow and somewhat misleading title to attach to its form. Early reports of the monument portray it quite decidedly as a commemoration of the Waterloo victory, perhaps indicating that this was the spur that induced Lothian to proceed with his foundation laying ceremony and the impetus for its erection that he reported to the press and others. Public sentiment had been strongly aroused by the victory and Lothian was undoubtedly among those keen to venerate its heroes. Even if his monument had originally been conceived and was at its core intended to celebrate Wellington and the British army, Waterloo was the latest and perhaps greatest of their feats, and provided a timely moment and additional motivator to launch such a commemoration.

¹² Stewart-Murray Papers, NRAS234/Box 68/4/176, Alexander Mackenzie to the Duke of Atholl, 27 July 1814.

¹³ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 606.

¹⁴ National Library of Scotland, Ms. 3893, f.1, Lothian to Scott, 2 July 1821; Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume V*, p. 483.

¹⁵ National Library of Scotland, Ms. 3895, f.89, Lothian to Scott, 8 September 1822.

¹⁶ Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Roxburghshire, Sheet XV, surveyed 1859, published 1863.

4.2.3 Laying the Foundations: *Élite Power, British Identity and Military Might*

Press reports also emphasise the role of Lothian's tenants in the affair, perhaps indicating a wish on his behalf to have the project neither be nor appear to be an *élite* imposition or diktat, but rather a united effort of both landlord and tenants working together in harmony with one another. *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* broke news of the project on 1 July 1815, saying:

We understand, that the tenants on the Marquis of LOTHIAN'S estate in Roxburghshire have entered into a subscription to erect a monument on the summit of Pincleuch, to commemorate the signal victory obtained on the 18th instant, by the Duke of WELLINGTON and the British troops, over BONAPARTE in person, and his perjured army.¹⁷

The local Roxburghshire based *Kelso Mail* gave a similar account two days later, and continued with a report on the foundation laying ceremony:

The foundation stone was laid on Friday last, by the Marquis, in presence of a number of the tenants, and other spectators.

After the ceremony, the health of the Duke of Wellington, given by the Marquis, was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm, followed by three times three cheers. This toast was succeeded by "To the memory of the brave heroes who fell on the field of battle." — "May the armies of Great Britain ever acquit themselves, when called into action, in the same glorious manner as in the ever-memorable battle of *La Belle Alliance*."¹⁸ — "The Wooden Walls of Great Britain." The health of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, who had previously left the company, was then drunk with three times three. — The monument, we learn, is to be ninety feet high.¹⁹

Here, while the tenants are clearly playing a central and significant role, the whole is still under the leadership and direction of the Marquis, who is singled out to lay the foundation stone while the observing tenants and spectators provide support and consensus for the act by their acquiescing presence. Wellington is given as the subject of the opening toast, tying him above and ahead of all others with the form of the monument. Battle and victory are glorified in the subsequent toasts, and British identity, unity and strength emphasised and promoted. A closing toast to the Marquis of Lothian after his departure illustrates both high regard among the assembly for his character and also a degree of social separation- he is

¹⁷ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 July 1815.

¹⁸ The Battle of La Belle Alliance was an early title suggested by the Prussian commander Blücher for the Battle of Waterloo.

¹⁹ *Kelso Mail*, 3 July 1815.

both set apart from the crowd and elevated above them, physically absent and individually venerated by the collective.

4.2.4 Lothian's Peer Support Network

Aside from the press, Lothian also personally informed a number of his friends and acquaintances of the undertaking he had embarked upon and sought their advice and opinions on various aspects of the work throughout his journey to complete the commission. One of the first of these was a neighbouring noble, the Duke of Roxburghe, whose seat of residence Fleurs Castle was located less than 10 miles from Monteviot. Roxburghe responded to the news with a highly appreciative assessment of the Duke of Wellington's military and political careers, alongside an offer of financial or physical aid for the advancement of the project:

At the Time you mentioned to me your intention of Raising some Structure in Commemoration of the Duke of Wellingtons late signal Victory I did not pay that attention I ought to have done- The last ten years of his life has been distinguish by more than ordinary Valour & success. The wonderfull (sic) Prudence, in the accomplishing his second entry to Paris demonstrates that he is no less profound in judgement as a Stateman, than he has on so many occasions proved himself the first General of this or any age-

If therefore My Lord if the assistance of my Tennents (sic) or any Pecuniary aid you will allow (sic) me to contribute for furthering or compleeting (sic) the work you are about can be acceptable to you I shall feel it an honor and a Gratification...²⁰

If Lothian did avail of this offer, no record of it is made on the monument's inscription or in newspaper reports of the time. In this manner the project remained quite a personal and individually driven addition to the landscape, very specific to the Marquis of Lothian himself- built on his lands, with the aid of his tenants, to commemorate a topic he himself was both interested in and privately quite closely connected to through bonds of blood and friendship.

4.2.5 William Burn, Architect

William Burn was the architect selected to produce a design for the monument and oversee the work. His father, Robert Burn, was also an architect and had recently been employed in designing a castellated tower commissioned as a public tribute in honour of Horatio Nelson, situated on Calton Hill in Edinburgh. Some years earlier Robert had also worked

²⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/1, Roxburghe to the Marquis of Lothian, 13 July 1815.

on a house for George Waldie at Hendersyde Park outside Kelso, a short distance from Monteviot.²¹ Both factors may have served to acquaint Lothian with his work and perhaps bring the Burn name to mind when a suitable candidate for the Peniel Heugh monument was being sought. At this time his son William was only embarking on his career, having just returned around the year 1811 from a three-year apprenticeship under Robert Smirke (the same architect responsible for the Phoenix Park Wellington Testimonial) in London.²² In 1814 William designed both his first church and his first country house.²³ If Lothian had originally sought Robert to take charge of his monument, the latter's death on 5 June 1815²⁴ ensured the work fell to the hands of his son William.

4.2.6 *Inscription, Design, and Construction Advice*

By 24 July 1815, the *Kelso Mail* reported that the Wellington Pillar (as they specifically named it) was now "in a state of progress".²⁵ Inscriptions had also been designated and sent to the mason. Of these there were to be four, one for each of the four sides of the base of the monument. The east side was to be inscribed with the word "VICTORY", the north side "WELLINGTON" and the west side "WATERLOO", while the south side was to bear the longer message "This Monument is dedicated to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, and the BRITISH ARMY, by the Marquis of LOTHIAN and his Tenantry."²⁶ *The Scots Magazine* of August 1815 reported the final word as "tenants" rather than "Tenantry", perhaps indicating a slight revision by Lothian. However, this could also have been an error on the magazine's part, especially as they reported two of the inscriptions as being intended for the north side of the monument, and none for the south.²⁷ Lothian's friend and correspondent Dugald Stewart attached a reasonable amount of significance to the change however, saying: "I see by the papers, that you have substituted in your Inscription the word Tenants for Tenantry, which I think a material improvement."²⁸ Stewart was a well-known and influential man among Edinburgh social circles at the time, having held the post of Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University for a number of years.²⁹

²¹ O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 14-15.

²² T. Harold Hughes, 'Great Scottish Architects of the Past. No. 5.-William Burn', *Quarterly of the Incorporation of Architects in Scotland*, 16 (1925), p. 101.

²³ David Walker, 'William Burn: the country house in transition', in Jane Fawcett (ed.), *Seven Victorian Architects* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 8.

²⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 June 1815.

²⁵ *Kelso Mail*, 24 July 1815.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, August 1815, p. 633.

²⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/255/1, D. Stewart to the Marquis of Lothian, 10 August 1815.

²⁹ O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 8.

Another well-known and learned man with whom Lothian discussed details of his monument and from whom he sought advice and guidance was David Brewster. Brewster was born in Jedburgh in 1781 and educated at the University of Edinburgh. From there he progressed to become a specialist in the study of optics, inventing the kaleidoscope in 1816. In the years that followed he became a leading academic on Scottish, British and European stages, co-founding the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* in 1819 and the British Association in 1831, receiving a knighthood in 1832, being appointed Principal of Edinburgh University in 1859 and being elected as one of the eight Foreign Associates of the French Institution, reputedly the highest scientific distinction in Europe at the time.³⁰ Contact with Brewster was initially established via Dugald Stewart, who, no doubt as a result of some communication with Lothian, asked Brewster to give Lothian his opinion on protecting the “Waterloo monument”³¹ (as he described it) from the effects of lightning strike by means of thunder rods. Lothian replied with a request for further details, which Brewster duly supplied.³² In this cumulative manner Lothian’s support network was expanded and further stakeholders in the project established.

Brewster’s letters also inform us that the monument was in the shape of a pyramid³³ or obelisk.³⁴ Further details on the appearance of the monument come through Burn’s own correspondence with Lothian. In discussing the placement of a conductor for the monument he mentions a door and staircase or steps,³⁵ suggesting that the monument was hollow with an internal stairway leading to the top. The most definitive picture of the monument’s appearance, however, is provided through Lothian’s connection with Walter Scott. Scott was a famous and prolific writer, later knighted by King George IV in 1820.³⁶ He was also a member of St. David’s Lodge, one of Edinburgh’s freemason associations, during his lifetime.³⁷ At a meeting of the Pitt Club of Scotland held in Edinburgh on 3 February 1816, Scott proposed a toast to the health of the Marquis of Lothian following what the newspapers described as “a very happy allusion to the monument which is erecting in commemoration of the victory of Waterloo by the noble Marquis”.³⁸ After this public display of interest and praise, Lothian wrote to Scott offering him what he described

³⁰ J.L.W., *Roxburghshire and its History* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1874), pp. 93-94.

³¹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/5, D. Brewster to the Marquis of Lothian, 20 June 1816.

³² Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/6, D. Brewster to the Marquis of Lothian, c. 22 June 1816.

³³ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/5, D. Brewster to the Marquis of Lothian, 20 June 1816.

³⁴ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/6, D. Brewster to the Marquis of Lothian, c. 22 June 1816.

³⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/4, Burn to Lothian, 2 June 1816.

³⁶ John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*. Vol. II, 4th edn (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1832), p. 410.

³⁷ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 June 1852.

³⁸ *Kelso Mail*, 8 February 1816.

as a “coarse Model”³⁹ of the monument being erected. According to Lothian, the full-scale version was composed of whinstone taken from a quarry near to its site, and would reach a height of 120 feet, with a base of 32 feet square.⁴⁰ This model still survives at Sir Walter Scott’s Abbotsford House residence today (Figure 4.2.2 and Figure 4.2.3). The inscriptions depicted on the four sides of the base are similar to those reported in the *Kelso Mail* of 24 July 1815, but with some variations. The words “WELLINGTON” and “WATERLOO 18TH. JUNE 1815.” appear on opposing sides, whilst the word “VICTORY” is placed opposite the longest inscription of:

To The
DUKE OF WELLINGTON
and the
BRITISH ARMY
WILLIAM ROBERT KERR
MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN
and his
TENANTRY
Dedicate this Monument
30th June 1815

The Pitt Club was an organisation which took its name from the Right Honourable William Pitt, also known as Pitt the Younger. Pitt served two terms as Britain’s prime minister⁴¹ for a combined period of over nineteen years, ending with his death on 23 January 1806.⁴² The club venerated Pitt as an “illustrious and virtuous statesman”,⁴³ and expressed a hope that “the principles of Mr. Pitt (should) always animate the Councils of the united empire”.⁴⁴ At the meeting something of Lothian’s own political standpoints and particular esteem for Pitt was made apparent as he took the opportunity to step forward and give voice to his sentiments:

³⁹ National Library of Scotland, Ms. 869, f.202, Lothian to Walter Scott, c. February 1816.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The official designation for the office at that time was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

⁴² Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XV- Owens to Pockrich (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), pp. 1253-1272.

⁴³ *Kelso Mail*, 8 February 1816.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

The Marquis of Lothian, in the most eloquent terms, then stated his admiration of the talents, the virtues, and the principles of Mr Pitt, and concluded by proposing the following toast:-

May the name of Pitt perish, when virtue, integrity, and honour, shall cease to be the characteristics of the British nation.⁴⁵



Figure 4.2.2: Wooden model of William Burn's original design for the Peniel Heugh monument. The model is held at Abbotsford House, former residence of Sir Walter Scott.

⁴⁵ *Kelso Mail*, 8 February 1816.

The meeting was attended by over 300 members of the Club, among whom were many leading figures of the Scottish nobility and other powerful and influential men from Glasgow, Edinburgh and elsewhere around the Scottish countryside. Thus a large, élite and geographically varied audience were at the same time presented with Lothian's views and the knowledge of his monumental undertaking.

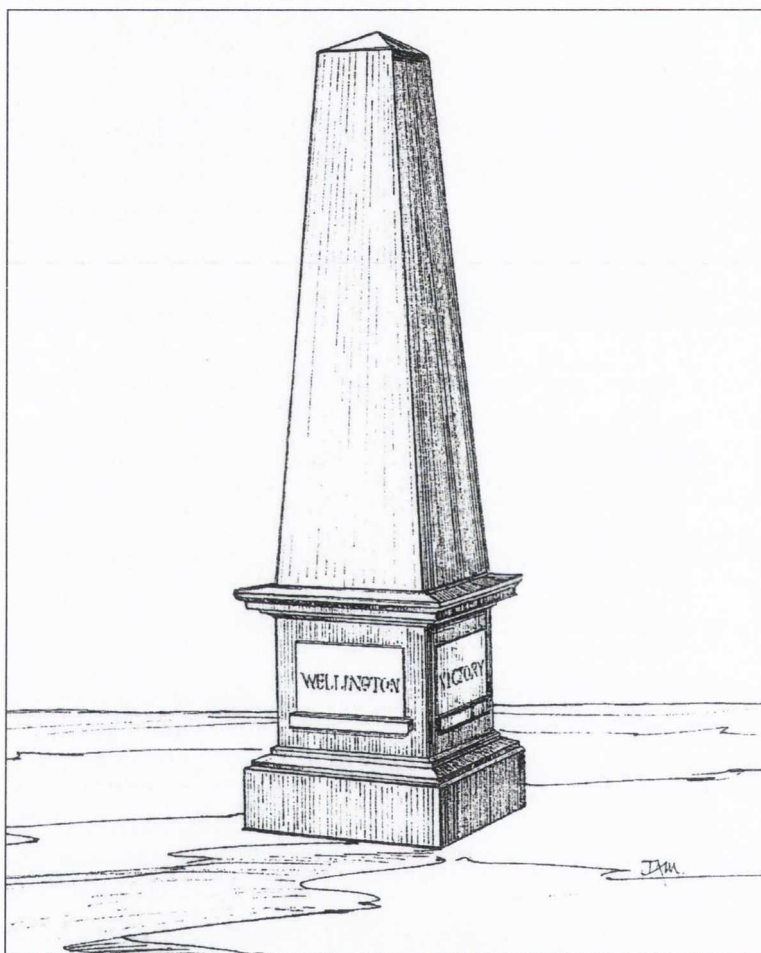


Figure 4.2.3: Sketch of the original design for the Peniel Heugh monument, artist unknown, (no date). Supplied by Mr Angus, Lothian Estates Archivist.

4.2.7 Celebrating a Construction Milestone: Lothian Outlines the Commemorative Purpose

By this time work on that monumental undertaking had progressed to such an extent that Lothian had announced to a gathering on 14 October 1815 that he “considered it to be

virtually completed".⁴⁶ The purpose of the assembly was to mark the suspension of work on the monument for the duration of the winter months. The break would give the mortar of the structure an opportunity to harden, a factor which the architect had pronounced to be necessary before the weight of the upper part of the structure was added. The following spring was at that time the expected finish date for the project.⁴⁷

The meeting to celebrate this milestone in the monument's construction took place at the base of the structure on Peniel Heugh itself. It was attended by Lothian and his tenants, their servants and "a great concourse of people from the surrounding neighbourhood."⁴⁸ The *Kelso Mail* delivered an assessment of the monument's appearance at this point, noting that the inscriptions were now in place on entablatures of white stone. Their report on these inscriptions presents an abridged version of that shown on the model given to Scott. "Victory" was said to be emblazoned on the north side in 32-inch-long letters, "Waterloo" on the west, "Wellington" on the east and "To the Duke of Wellington and the British Army" on the south.⁴⁹ Contemplating the whole in the manner in which it was projected to be finished, they declared that "for imposing height and grandeur, (it) has yet no rival in the United Kingdom".⁵⁰

At the meeting, Lothian delivered an address to the assembly. Speaking on the assumption that the monument was nearly completed, he delivered his thanks to those present for their hard work on the undertaking. He then outlined his perception of the commemorative purpose of the monument:

I feel it to be a tribute of gratitude to the memory of those gallant soldiers who fell at the battle of Waterloo, as well as to those who witnessed that great conflict, and who have survived it: I feel it to be a tribute of duty and attachment to my King, under whose happy auspices a system of policy originated, which has been crowned with the most glorious results: I feel it to be a tribute of respect to the character of the great and enlightened Statesman, who was the founder of that system. It rejoices me also to think that this Monument will serve to record to future ages the signal triumph of a good cause over a bad one; the restoration of a legitimate and virtuous Monarch ... and ... the total defeat, discomfiture, and punishment of an unprincipled Usurper and a perjured army. ... I conceive that in raising this Monument, I am performing an act of courtesy to an old and respectable family, from whom I inherit this estate, and from whom I also inherit ... their long distinguished loyalty and love of their country. I conceive that I am offering a testimony of my obligation to the Duke of Wellington individually- ... whose invincible arm has secured to me my property and

⁴⁶ *Kelso Mail*, 16 October 1815.

⁴⁷ *Kelso Mail*, 9 October 1815.

⁴⁸ *Kelso Mail*, 16 October 1815.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

my independence; for who can say what disasters might have befallen this country, and Europe at large, had the battle of Waterloo been lost! ... (T)his Monument is not erected for the present generation, ... but it is destined for ages to come: ... to the future inhabitants of this county, and of the neighbouring counties of England and Scotland, within view of this lofty structure, it will be a memorial, an everlasting memorial, I hope, that the Lothian family, and their tenantry, were not insensible to the value, the splendour, the glory, of a victory, which commanded contending nations to ground their arms, and which Divine Providence, I trust, has ordained to be the means of establishing the peace of the world, and the happiness of the human race.⁵¹

A number of themes emerge in the text of this speech. In general the monument may be perceived here as advocating and legitimating the prevailing political régime and the established system of social order. These matters are of concern to Lothian both in his immediate environment, where his own property and his relationship with his tenants and neighbours are at stake, and on a wider scale in the national and international arena, both in Britain and beyond. In order to preserve these possessions, systems and ways of life the use of force, as at the Battle of Waterloo, is deemed acceptable and even laudable. Wellington is the spearhead of that victory, a guardian of peace, a queller of opposition and an instrument of social and political security and stability. The monument will preserve a record of these facts, ideals and sentiments for the observation, examination and inspiration of posterity.

Following the speech, toasts were proposed by the Marquis of Lothian to the King, the Prince Regent, the British army, Wellington, the Battle of Waterloo, the Duke of York (Commander in Chief of the British army), the British navy, Lord Nelson, the Battles of the Nile and Trafalgar, Prince Blücher and the Prussian army, the Allied sovereigns and armies, and finally to "the health and prosperity of his Tenants".⁵² The final toast was said to be given "with great feeling",⁵³ and brought considerations back to a personal and local level. It was returned by the Right Honourable Lord Douglas, who proposed "(t)he health of the Marquis of Lothian, and prosperity to his Family".⁵⁴ This was drunk "with the most cordial enthusiasm, and three times three".⁵⁵ A few other gentlemen were also present along with Douglas. After this those who chose departed to partake of a meal which had been prepared for them, while the farm stewards, servants and others were given bread, cheese and porter in hogsheads. Both the dining arrangements and the conclusion of the

⁵¹ *Kelso Mail*, 16 October 1815.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

toasts may be seen as indicative of the positive but unequal relationship between the social groupings present. Lothian is set above and apart from his tenants. They are not even permitted to step forward and return a toast to him themselves, but rather their return of good wishes is guided by and filtered through another member of the upper class, the Right Honourable Lord Douglas, thereby providing a double degree of separation. While Lothian is generous and amiable towards his tenants, he is still firm and resolute in his social and financial superiority over them, and the ceremonies reinforce his position and beliefs. The final line of the *Kelso Mail*'s account concludes with the observation that "by the evening, the Monument was left to itself, the Union flag flying on its top",⁵⁶ rendering it a symbol and promoter of all things British.

4.2.8 Waterloo Anniversary and the Monument's Collapse

The Union flag again decked the monument on the first anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1816. The occasion was marked by a celebratory dinner for the gentlemen of the county of Roxburgh held at the Black Bull Inn in Jedburgh.⁵⁷ The Marquis of Lothian took the Chair while Sir Alexander Don of Newton Don, Baronet, MP acted as croupier. Newton Don was Don's estate near Kelso in Roxburghshire. Waterloo and Wellington were given repeated mention and high praise throughout the proceedings. In introducing the opening toast to Waterloo, Lothian called upon the company to fill their glasses in a manner prescribed by a traditional Irish custom. Among other national and international figures and groups subsequently proposed to be toasted by Lothian was Major General Sir William Ponsonby's Brigade. Ponsonby held a familial connection with the instigator of the Wellington monument near Grange in County Tipperary in Ireland. Lothian's own monument was given frequent mention in a speech given by Sir Alexander Don, who announced that he "considered the whole country to be under an obligation to his Lordship"⁵⁸ for the act of its erection. Finally, for the closing toast Lothian proposed that an old custom of the county whereby the company would throw their glasses over their heads should be followed, again forming a parallel or link between local Scottish-based events and traditions and their Irish counterparts. In reality it may have been unlikely that the Grange and Jedburgh projects were aware of each another and certainly no declaration of knowledge is made by Lothian here. However, what is apparent is Lothian's awareness of Ireland and that he placed some value on a connection with Ireland. Undoubtedly his family ties with that country had some influence on his adoption of that outlook. Also, the

⁵⁶ *Kelso Mail*, 16 October 1815.

⁵⁷ *Kelso Mail*, 13 June 1816.

⁵⁸ *Kelso Mail*, 24 June 1816.

context within which he alludes to that connection is a celebration of military endeavour and British unity and success.

At the close of the evening, Lothian proposed that the event be made an annual celebration. Perhaps, given his comments on 14 October 1815, he envisaged that his monument would be long finished by the next Waterloo anniversary. However, in the event it proved that his announcement of the monument's near completion on that day was very premature, as some time between mid-August and mid-September 1816 the structure collapsed.⁵⁹ The exact cause of this disaster is unknown. By 24 September 1816 Lothian had already consulted a new architect, Archibald Elliot, on the best manner in which to proceed. Elliot was a local man, having been born at Ancrum, a village close to Monteviot in Roxburghshire. He held offices in Edinburgh and in London.⁶⁰ It appears that Elliot already had some familiarity with and interest in the project as in his reply to Lothian he mentioned having previously visited the site and observed "the careless and unworkmanlike manner in which they were Building (the foundation)".⁶¹ This suggests that poor workmanship may have been at least partly to blame for the collapse. The builder in charge of the works had been Richard Cranston.⁶² Cranston was a local man, his family owning a well-known building firm in Jedburgh and his ancestors having inhabited the region for almost as long as the Lothians.⁶³ Lothian's move to consult Elliot may also suggest a perception that Burn's design was at fault. Another possible explanation may have been the intervention of an extreme meteorological phenomenon, such as a strike by lightning, or perhaps even a seismic event such as an earthquake. Garrett O'Brien notes that in the summer of 1816 southern Scotland and northern England were beset by frequent thunderstorms, while small earthquakes were reported in the Highlands and a few miles to the south of Peniel Heugh at Coldstream on 13 August 1816. He surmises that such an event may have contributed to the monument's demise.⁶⁴ Burn's and Brewster's correspondence with Lothian regarding conductors and thunder rods during June 1816 certainly indicate that the threat of lightning strike was considered an important and pressing concern.

⁵⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/8, Burn to Lothian, 13 August 1816; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/9, Burn to Lothian, 20 August 1816; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/10, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 24 September 1816.

⁶⁰ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 349-350.

⁶¹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/10, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 24 September 1816.

⁶² Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/2, Estimate of expense for building Wellington's Piller (sic), Penielheugh, R. Cranston, 27 July 1815; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/4, Burn to Lothian, 2 June 1816; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/9, Burn to Lothian, 20 August 1816.

⁶³ O'Brien, "Wellington's Piller", p. 22.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 34-35.

4.2.9 *New Monument, New Design*

Whatever the cause or combination of causes, Lothian remained fixed in his determination to see a monument erected on the site. It was decided that a new design would be appropriate and Elliot was the man selected to perform the task. However, this move need not be necessarily taken to mean that Burn was felt to be entirely responsible for the failure of the first monument as Lothian's son, the seventh Marquis, subsequently employed Burn to design an addition to his Newbattle Abbey property in Midlothian in 1836.⁶⁵ Further down the line still, the eighth Marquis employed Burn to do some work on Blickling Hall in Norfolk in 1864.⁶⁶ Burn's prolific and successful career between the collapse of the monument and 1836 may also have encouraged the seventh Marquis to give him a second chance. Cranston was employed to continue building the monument according to Elliot's new design,⁶⁷ so it is apparent that Lothian did not believe his endeavours to be fundamentally without merit, or did not wish to apportion significant blame or generate ill feeling with a local businessman. Nor was it Burn's last involvement in a tribute to the Duke of Wellington, him assuming various roles in the project to erect a national testimonial to the Duke in Edinburgh from about 1839 onwards.

In his early correspondence with Elliot, Lothian made it clear that he wished the new monument to be continued on the old base, citing its advantageous position as the highest point on the hill as his justification for wishing to keep the same site. Utilising the same base would also allow him to avoid the ceremony of laying a new foundation stone, an argument which Elliot considered to hold the greatest weight for doing so.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, as previously mentioned, Elliot both retained and expressed some doubts regarding the stability of the old foundation.⁶⁹ He proposed on 24 September 1816 that the matter be given more thorough consideration, and that in the meantime building be suspended until the spring, "when the work may be resumed with vigour and upon principals (sic) that will secure its durability."⁷⁰

Writing again on 5 October 1816, Elliot outlined his vision for the design of the monument:

⁶⁵ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, p. 191; Walker, 'William Burn', p. 149.

⁶⁶ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, p. 194.

⁶⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/16, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 24 May 1817.

⁶⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/10, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 24 September 1816.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

A Column is what your Lordship should decide upon for the new monument. It is a Triumphal object, whereas an obelisk should be applied only in honor of the Dead-

Pompy's pillar is a Column of the Corinthian, or Composite order, and rather too slender in proportion to the materials of which yours must be constructed- Therefore I would recommend a Column of the Doric order, which I think more suitable on account of its manly form-⁷¹

Clearly Elliot had a thorough awareness of the symbolic associations and messages that could be transmitted through a building design, and in his design for the monument he consciously sought to conjure up notions of masculinity and classical antiquity, thereby creating an image of power, strength, greatness and victory. These ideas and sentiments would be associated with the subjects the monument was more overtly intended to commemorate: Wellington, the British army, Lothian, his tenants, the Battle of Waterloo, and so forth. The link between the great civilisations and empires of the past and a current victory of the British Empire draws parallels between the successes of the régimes and creates a sense of historical continuity, thereby legitimising and glorifying the existence and achievements of the British Empire. That the eye of the observer was a foremost consideration for Elliot is again apparent in a subsequent statement of his regarding the stones to be used in constructing the monument: "there is no occasion to have the outward surface smooth as from the magnitude of the Column these inequalities will not be perceptible at a distance."⁷²

4.2.10 Female Input

Lady Jane Montague, daughter of the first Lord Douglas of Douglas and wife of Lothian's brother-in-law Henry James Montague,⁷³ saw fit to address Lothian on the subject of a new design for the monument a few days later, thereby providing the only recorded female input into the project. It should be noted that she was also an élite, titled woman. She reported having consulted "a real scientific man"⁷⁴ on the optimum shape for a monument composed of whinstone, and had made enquiries about procuring some designs. She also advised securing the foundation of the new monument by employing a traditional Scottish building practice, which she outlined in some detail. Finally, she included a sketch of her

⁷¹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/11, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 5 October 1816.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom, Volume II* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1905), pp. 243-244; O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 42, 85.

⁷⁴ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/12, Lady Jane Montague to Lothian, 10 October (1816).

own depicting a rough design for the new monument (Figure 4.2.4).⁷⁵ However, although Lady Jane's plans, amateur sketch and advice may have influenced Lothian somewhat in his outlook and considerations, there is no evidence to prove that she had any major impact on the project. Archibald Elliot remained Lothian's new architect of choice.

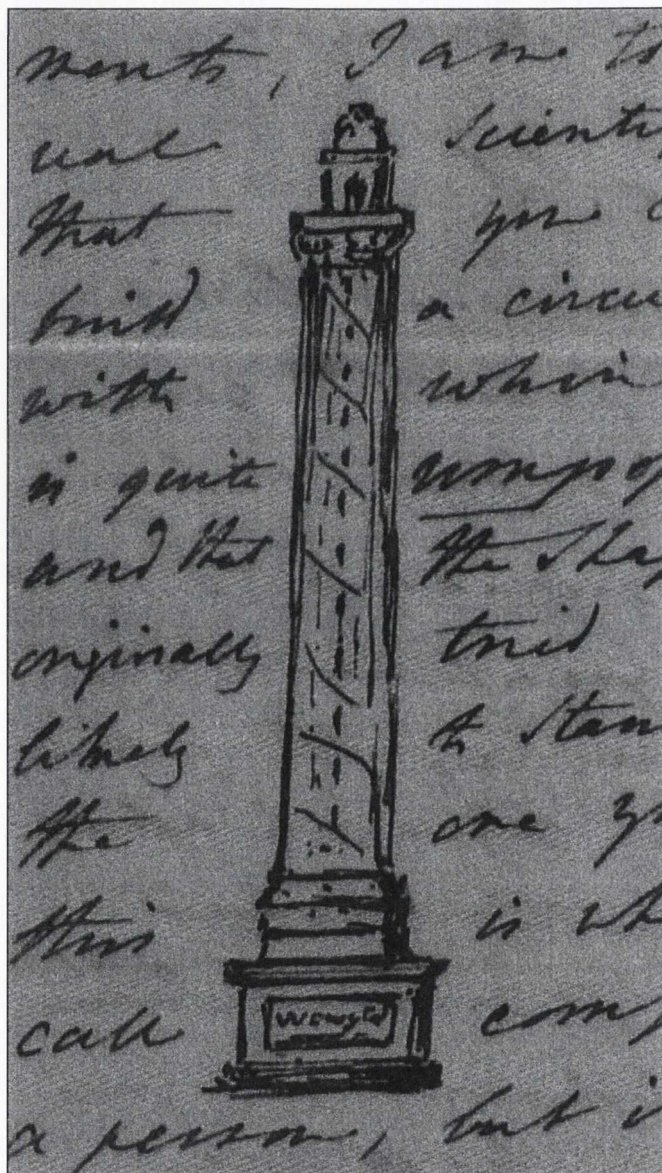


Figure 4.2.4: Sketch of a suggested new design for the monument by Lady Jane Montague, 10 October (1816). From National Archives of Scotland, GD40/9/254/12a, Lady Jane Montague to Lord Lothian, 10 October (1816).

⁷⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/12, Lady Jane Montague to Lothian, 10 October (1816).

4.2.11 *The Marquis Retains Control*

Over the winter months Elliot produced several design sketches and drawings illustrating more precisely his plans for the monument (see for example Figure 4.2.5). It is clear from his correspondence with Lothian during that period that the Marquis took a keen and detailed interest in the progress of affairs, and that he retained final and overall control of the project. He did not merely allow Elliot to proceed independently as he saw fit, but rather offered opinions on and proposed changes to various aspects of the work, drawing on both his own knowledge and preferences and on advice he sought from others in the process. A notable example of this is a debate which arose regarding the base of the structure, upon which matter Elliot wrote in January 1817:

I must beg to differ from your Lordship and others in thinking the Base has too little projection. There is no rule for the projection of a Base to a Grecian Doric Column, indeed that order does not admit of a Base, nor can the one proposed answer that description as it is only a repetition of Plinths to raise the Column up to the Eye of distant observers

Your Lordship will be pleased to consider that ... the quarry does not produce stones of a sufficient size to cover larger projections, and unless projections that are exposed to the weather are covered in the most substantial way progressive decay must be the consequence

I have taken the liberty my Lord to state my opinion, but at the sametime I shall willingly alter it, the Base in any way that may suit your Lordships ideas, as the plinths are only subordinate parts, that are subservient to that of the Column, the proportions of which the architect cannot alter without incurring (sic) just censure⁷⁶

The other matter of primary concern to Elliot before building could recommence was the site location. At first he thought it possible to reduce the existing base to six feet above the ground, leave the outer shell and excavate the interior down to the rock, a measure which he believed would furnish a secure foundation upon which to rebuild.⁷⁷ However, by January 1817 he had revised this opinion and recommended that the whole be rebuilt on a new site close to the original, while the base of the old monument could be employed as a quarry.⁷⁸ Yet the final decision still rested with Lothian, and Elliot sought his seal of approval before venturing to proceed further with his plans.⁷⁹ According to O'Brien, aerial photographs of the site indicate that a quarry lies to one side to the present monument, so Lothian may have conceded to Elliot's revised proposition regarding the

⁷⁶ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/17, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 3 January 1817.

⁷⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/13, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 17 November 1816.

⁷⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/15, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 9 January 1817.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

base.⁸⁰ Whatever compromise was reached between the two parties, Elliot was able to report that the building of the monument had recommenced on 21 May 1817.⁸¹

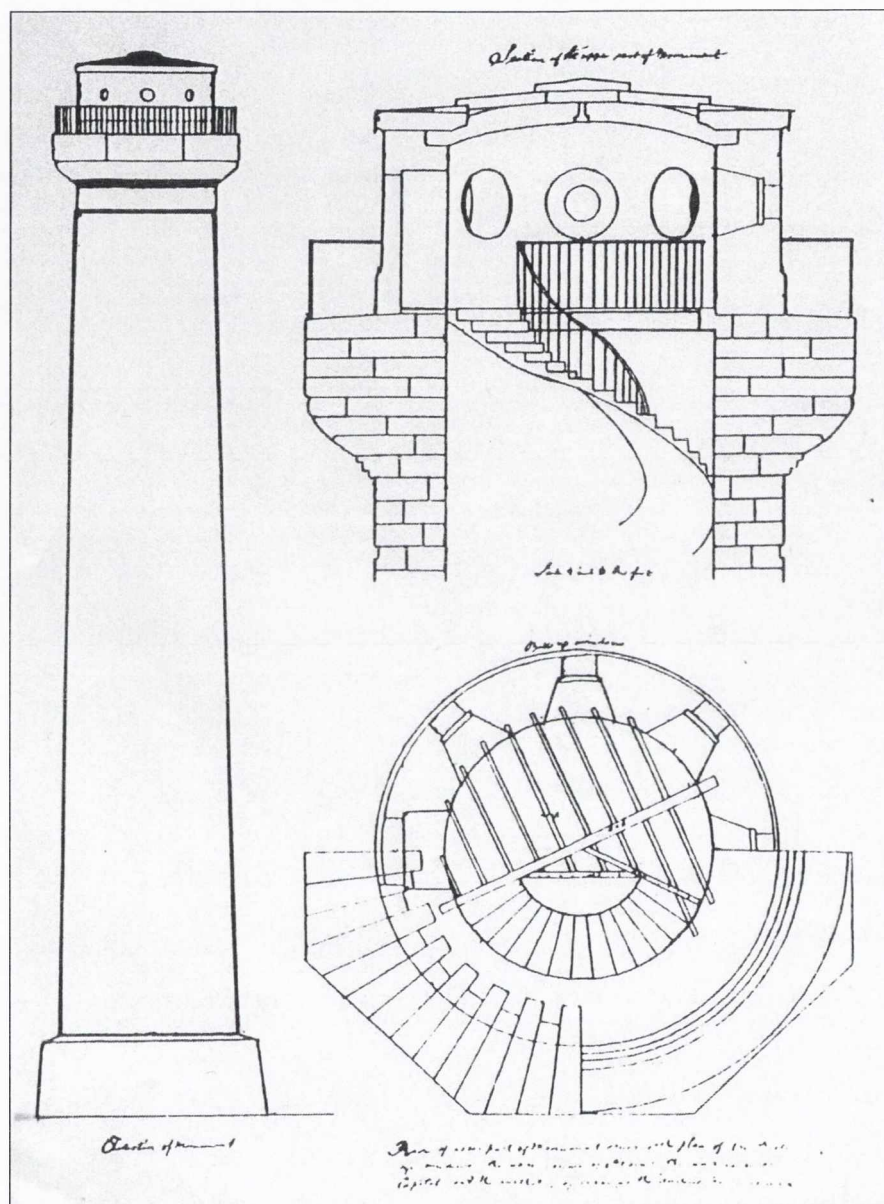


Figure 4.2.5: Design drawings for the second monument by Archibald Elliot, c. 1816. From Garrett O'Brien, *"Wellington's Pillar" Penielheugh Jedburgh* (Jedburgh: The Crotchet Factory, 1989), p. 41. The original sketches may still be in the possession of Lothian Estates.

⁸⁰ O'Brien, *"Wellington's Pillar"*, p. 46.

⁸¹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/16, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 24 May 1817.

4.2.12 Second Waterloo Anniversary: A Shift in Class Relations?

A short time later on 18 June 1817 the site of the newly rebuilding monument was the location for a gathering to celebrate the second anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. Here the Union flag was raised early in the day, while at noon Lothian stepped forward to address an assembly of his tenants and other spectators. According to *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, he

expressed his satisfaction that he had returned to the country in time to assist at the celebration of an anniversary which, had the victory at Waterloo not been achieved, would have been an anniversary of mourning and of misery to this country, and to the whole of the civilised world. His Lordship added, that he trusted this monument would stand to be looked at by the inhabitants of the country as long as a Scotchman remained to look at it; and that it would continue to be an everlasting memorial of the vigour of British counsels, and the valour of British soldiers.⁸²

Here the events of Waterloo are placed in a global context, and the victors thereby set up as heroes and saviours on a worldwide scale. The monument is also closely entwined with Scottish national identity, the two being wished durability and permanency. It is also linked with British identity, consequently tying Scotland and Britain together in a fixed and lasting manner in the form of the monument. At the close of the speech a number of toasts were given, after which the oldest tenant on the estate, whose ancestors had lived upon it for several centuries, proposed a toast to the Marquis and Marchioness of Lothian, their son and heir the Earl of Ancram (who was also present for the occasion) and other members of their family. This provides a marked contrast to the toast offered by the Right Honourable Lord Douglas on 14 October 1815 in return for a toast offered to his tenants by Lothian himself. Here the tenants are allowed to step forward and speak for themselves on a more equal footing with their landlord. Lothian continued the spirit of equality with a reciprocal toast wishing health and prosperity to his tenants, as well as broadening the horizon to wish prosperity for the agricultural interests of the country also. Finally, Lothian established that the meeting would be an annual event, “in order that the glorious result of the battle of Waterloo might ever be kept alive in the breasts of the inhabitants of the county.”⁸³ Here memory would be set, preserved, reanimated and reinvigorated through a repeated act of ceremonial performance around the fixed locus of the monument. The dénouement focuses solely on the military aspect of the commemoration and the local

⁸² *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 21 June 1817.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

effect of its presence, rendering the commemorative intent of the monument primarily military and local above all other considerations.

4.2.13 A Carefully and Consciously Inscribed Landscape

Lothian's next greatest dilemma in the course of the monument's construction was a subject upon which he had previously expended much energy and careful contemplation. This subject was the precise wording to employ for its inscription. As previously he contacted his network of friends and associates in search of their advice and opinions. It should be noted, however, that these were all men of a similar social and economic standing to Lothian himself. A letter from Lord Montague, husband of the previously mentioned Lady Jane Montague and brother-in-law of Lothian himself,⁸⁴ reveals that Lothian was now considering including a reference to royalty in the form of the Duke of York, partly, it seems, out of recognition of his military endeavours as Commander-in-Chief, but also from a desire to avoid causing offence or garnering public censure by his exclusion:

I have received your Letter with the proposed Inscription. I do not see how you could make your meaning more intelligible (sic) than except by making the sentence much longer, & such inscriptions can hardly be too short-

I do not see the D. of York has any thing to do with it, he only holds his situation of Commander in chief during pleasure, and may be off the staff before your monument is finished & then his successor might with equal reason be affronted- so I think you need not mind the Critics, and you may comfort yourself with thinking that if the inscription were composed by a Committee of all the Philologists of the age you would have some criticisms made on it.⁸⁵

Another noble, Lord Macleod, reassured Lothian that the Duke was unlikely to be offended by the omission of his name.⁸⁶ Lothian's brother-in-law the fourth Duke of Buccleuch gathered a network of his own associates in order to give the matter the fullest consideration possible. Their verdict was likewise dismissive of the notion to include the Duke of York, and beyond that they questioned whether the primary commemorative purpose of the monument was Waterloo, or Wellington and the British army:

Your Proposition was of too much importance for me to venture to give an opinion grounded upon my own judgment (sic). It was therefore submitted to a board of Critics. The opinion seems to be, as follows-

⁸⁴ Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume I*, p. 410.

⁸⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/21, Montague to Lothian, 14 September 1817.

⁸⁶ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/23, Macleod to the Marquis of Lothian, 4 October 1817.

If you mean to erect your Monument in commemoration of the gallant acts of the Duke of Wellington, & the British army, your wording is quite correct. If on the contrary it is erected to commemorate the battle of Waterloo it is wrong- For the whole British army was not there present- In which case the words ought rather to run something in this way "To the Duke of W, & his brave companions who fought under him at Waterloo"- You particularise (sic) the Duke of Wellington, & generalise the army- ...

as to the other criticism that, the Duke of York will be displeased, we hold it cheap- as in the first place He will in all probability never hear of it, & secondly if he does, he will not care about it-⁸⁷

The inscription finally chosen by Lothian appears to suggest that he did ultimately consider it to be primarily a monument to Wellington and the British army in a general sense rather than just a commemoration of the victory at Waterloo. In fact, the battle is not mentioned at all in the chosen wording. A date of 30 June 1815 was included, which a student of history might recognise as being twelve days after the engagement. But the association is not specifically made at any point. Lothian and his tenants are mentioned however, rendering the monument a personal and local tribute:

TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON
AND THE BRITISH ARMY
WILLIAM KERR
VI MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN
AND HIS TENANTRY
DEDICATE THIS MONUMENT
XXX JUNE MDCCCXV

Aside from the opinions of his noble peers, one other person from whom Lothian took advice on the inscription was Elliot. Elliot assured him that the plate intended to bear the inscription could be cast in Scotland,⁸⁸ and also played a significant role in determining the appearance of the whole:

I find that you fixed upon the style of Letter ... which I thought the best, and I dare say will have a good effect

In all the Roman and other antique inscriptions the Letters were of the same size- The modern practice of making large and small Letters

⁸⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/22, Buccleuch to Lothian, 3 October 1817.

⁸⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/18, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 30 July 1817.

according to the supposed importance of the words, may be easier read, but are, I think no way suitable for a Monument that aims at Classic elegance-⁸⁹

As the lettering on the inscription plate ultimately installed is all of a uniform size it may be assumed that Lothian accepted Elliot's counsel on this point. The use of Roman numerals in place of figures throughout the inscription is also in keeping with the classical style Elliot sought to evoke throughout the monument's form.

4.2.14 1818-1825: Sundry Events and the Monument's Completion

Building work on the monument was again suspended during the winter of 1817 to 1818. On 30 March 1818, Lothian wrote to a neighbouring member of the local gentry, Archibald Jerdon of Bonjedward House near Jedburgh, to request his assistance in overseeing work on the monument's construction.⁹⁰ During 1817 Lothian had been elected a representative of the peerage of Scotland,⁹¹ a position which necessitated frequent visits to London. These periods of absence were probably a contributing factor in his seeking out Jerdon's aid.⁹² Jerdon agreed to assume the position. His superintendence quickly brought the input of Alexander Scott of Ormiston, a village in Haddingtonshire, to the project, whom Jerdon consulted for guidance on the optimum composition of the mortar for the monument.⁹³

As work recommenced, Cranston's brother was forced largely to take over his position due to several severe bouts of illness on the former's part.⁹⁴ As the third anniversary of Waterloo approached on 18 June 1818, it was clear Lothian's plan for an annual celebratory gathering at the monument was still in place. Anticipating the event, Jerdon wrote that "(t)he 18th unfortunately for the men happens on their fast day (being sacramental time that week) & none of those who attend the meeting will work that day and of course I hope not drink, should your Lordship treat them with a glass that day as usual."⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/24, Archibald Elliot to the Marquis of Lothian, 7 January 1818.

⁹⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/26, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 9 April 1818.

⁹¹ Charles Mosley, (ed.), *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume II, Lansdowne-Zouche*, 106th edn (Crans: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd., 1999), p. 1761.

⁹² O'Brien, "*Wellington's Pillar*", pp. 48, 52-53.

⁹³ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/27, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 9 May 1818; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/28, Alexander Scott to Archibald Jerdon Esquire, 10 May 1818; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/29, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 16 May 1818.

⁹⁴ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/27, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 9 May 1818; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/30, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 25 May 1818; Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/31, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 6 June 1818.

⁹⁵ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/31, Archibald Jerdon to Lord Lothian, 6 June 1818.

By 1823, work on building the monument was still ongoing. Archibald Elliot died in Edinburgh on 16 June 1823,⁹⁶ but this did not halt efforts to complete his design. On 2 August 1823 John Grainger, then employed as factor of Lothian's estate, wrote to Lothian seeking funds to settle some bills respecting work done on the monument.⁹⁷ It appears he had some degree of control over proceedings there more generally as he was able to give the following report in the wake of the suspension of building for the winter months:

Since all the workmen left the Monument, I have had John Scott employed in working flags for laying the passage & floor of the monument and by doing so he is at hand when any respectable people come to see it. ... We have not put the Roof on it yet for the winter, as this weather is so fine for drying the Building. But we will do so before the winter sets in.⁹⁸

According to Garrett O'Brien, John Scott was a mason from Edinburgh employed to work full time on the monument. He was first engaged around Whitsunday 1820. Some months later a house was built for him, where he lived with his family until Whitsunday 1825.⁹⁹ Scott's additional role as a guide for potential visitors to the monument indicates that it had already become something of a tourist attraction, an aspect which Lothian appears to have been satisfied to accommodate and perhaps even eager to encourage, given the sanction easily afforded to Scott to welcome and attend to interested parties. However, the stipulation that such parties be "respectable people" indicates that access may have been restricted to members of the upper or middle class, or at the very least people who would have been deemed unlikely to cause damage to the structure.

During October 1823, David Brewster again contacted Lothian regarding the provision of a conductor for the monument. At this point he reported that the structure was within 16 feet of its summit and anticipated that it would be finished during the following summer.¹⁰⁰ To what extent the hoped-for conclusion transpired is unknown. However, a blow to the progress of events was dealt on 27 April 1824 by the death of the sixth Marquis of Lothian.¹⁰¹ John Scott's continued residence in the area until 1825 suggests that the seventh Marquis may have persisted with constructing his father's project until that time. He certainly maintained an active interest in the undertaking and in monumental commemorations of the Duke of Wellington more generally during his time as Marquis.

⁹⁶ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, p. 350.

⁹⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/34, John Grainger to the Marquis of Lothian, 2 August 1823.

⁹⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/35, John Grainger to the Marquis of Lothian, 14 September 1823.

⁹⁹ O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 56, 58.

¹⁰⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/254/36, D. Brewster to the Marquis of Lothian, 7 October 1823.

¹⁰¹ Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume V*, p. 483.

4.2.15 Sir Thomas MakDougall Brisbane and the Location Plaque Addition

On 6 November 1827, Sir Thomas MakDougall Brisbane of Makerstoun House near Kelso in Roxburghshire wrote to the seventh Marquis's agent, A. Swinton, concerning the monument.¹⁰² Brisbane was a Scotsman by birth, hailing from Largs in Ayrshire. He had a long military career, rising eventually to the rank of general and fighting engagements in the colonies and on the Peninsula, having been personally requested by the Duke of Wellington to join the troops there in 1812. The two men had cultivated a friendship which dated back to their first meeting in Ireland around 1790 when Brisbane went to join the 38th regiment there after being gazetted an ensign. This friendship continued throughout both their lives. Brisbane also served a four-year term as colonial governor of New South Wales in Australia and held a keen interest in scientific observation, particularly in the field of astronomy. He founded three observatories during his lifetime and saw the results of his observations published on a number of occasions. His private life was tinged with tragedy in that all four of his children predeceased him.¹⁰³ His father-in-law, Sir Henry Hay MakDougall, had been a friend and associate of the sixth Marquis.¹⁰⁴

In his letter to Swinton, Brisbane outlined his particular interest in the monument:

I have never had the good fortune to meet (Lord Lothian). I should therefore be desirous if you could suggest to him, the propriety of inscribing on his splendid tower on Penilheugh its exact geographical position it being an object seen and admired, all over this country. I have taken a good deal of pains to infer it ... (and) I should be most desirous if you could prevail on his Lordship to have these (figures) cut on the Base or some part of the column which would furnish data at any future period, for correcting the geography of this Country & which would also tend to perpetuate its utility independent of the glorious achievement it was intended to record to the latent posterity.¹⁰⁵

Lothian eventually consented to this request, and in March of 1835 a new plaque which had been set into the base of the monument was unveiled by him in the presence of Brisbane and his wife.¹⁰⁶ Its inscription was composed of a similar style of lettering to the original dedication plaque and it read:

¹⁰² O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 63.

¹⁰³ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. II- Beal to Browell (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), pp. 1261-1264.

¹⁰⁴ O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 62.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas MacDougall (sic) Brisbane to Swinton, 6 November 1827, in O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 64.

¹⁰⁶ O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 63, 65.

LATITUDE OF MONUMENT 55°_32'_5.6"
 LONGITUDE WEST _ _ _ _ 2 _ 32 _ 45.6
 OR IN TIME _ _ _ _ _ 10 _ 11.1
 ELEVATION OF BASE ABOVE THE
 LEVEL OF THE SEA 774 FEET.
 MAKERSTON, } T.M.B.
 13TH MARCH 1835.

With this act, the monument assumed yet another fresh dimension, now becoming an item of scientific interest, a fixed focal point from which other distances and heights might be compared and estimated. It also serves as a slightly obscure commemoration of Brisbane and his life, work and interests. His motivations in wishing to add to the monument in this fashion may easily be divined once reference is made to his personal history. A wish to observe and record precise locational details, a desire to perpetuate his own name in some form (especially in light of the deaths of his offspring) and a hunger to add to a military-themed monument designed to venerate a friend of his in the form of the Duke of Wellington may all have been among those factors inspiring his interest. The resultant plaque added new layers of meaning and an active and precise purpose to the monument, which bonded and interacted with the old meanings, subtexts and functions.

4.2.16 The Seventh Marquis and the Edinburgh Wellington Testimonial

Beyond this undertaking, the seventh Marquis also took an active role in the national monument being erected to the Duke of Wellington in Edinburgh a few years later. From the outset of Lord Elgin's efforts to garner interest in the project during 1838 his name was thought of by Elgin as a potential Committee member, a role which Lothian stated he would be happy to undertake.¹⁰⁷ When a public meeting was finally organised to discuss the matter on 24 December 1839, he was unable to attend in person but speedily offered to contribute £100 if a subscription list should be opened, saying: "No one can be more sensible than I am of what the country owes to the Duke of Wellington & no one can more cordially concur in the propriety of Scotlands (sic) erecting a lasting Testimonial of her gratitude for the services he has ever rendered to the Empire."¹⁰⁸ Following the meeting his subscription was recorded and he was also installed as a member of the General Committee

¹⁰⁷ Scottish National Archives, GD40/9/384, Elgin to the Marquis of Lothian, 19 October 1838.

¹⁰⁸ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 11, Lothian to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 24 December 1839.

for the monument.¹⁰⁹ In this capacity he became involved in the dispute which arose over a decision made favouring John Steell to produce a model for the statue during a sparsely attended meeting of the Committee held on 6 July 1840. Along with several others Lothian signed an official protest against this outcome calling for another meeting to be held to reconsider the matter.¹¹⁰ Lothian's influence was not destined to extend much beyond this episode however as he passed away on 14 November 1841.¹¹¹

4.2.17 1867: Viewing Gallery Addition

The fate of the monument was now largely the responsibility of the eighth Marquis. In the wake of Wellington's decease in 1852 a newly discovered species of Sequoia was named Wellingtonia Gigantea in his honour. Some time after this the eighth Marquis is said to have planted a row of these trees along both sides of the main driveway to Monteviot House in a position which would have been clearly visible from the summit of the Peniel Heugh monument.¹¹² His main contribution to the monument itself, however, was the addition of a wooden superstructure to the top of the column which was intended to serve as a viewing gallery (Figure 4.2.6). According to *The Scotsman* of 7 June 1867, "Up till this time the monument has not been finished, and although from its commanding position, always a prominent object, it had not the pleasing effect it would have had if surmounted with a suitable termination."¹¹³ John Hungerford Pollon,¹¹⁴ an architect practising in London, was employed by the eighth Marquis to produce a suitable design. Pollon had attended both the same school and college as the eighth Marquis; Eton and Christ Church, Oxford respectively. They were also both devotees of the Roman Catholic religion, Pollon converting to the faith in October 1852. Among Pollon's previous projects was the building and decoration of the university church for the Catholic University of Ireland, which was established in Dublin in 1854.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, Sir George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

¹¹⁰ Scottish National Archives, GD224/511/8/30, Printed notice of upcoming meeting from Lord Dalhousie, 11 December 1840.

¹¹¹ Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume V*, p. 485.

¹¹² Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, D1.33 MON(P), Lothian Estates Office, 'Penielheugh Monument' (unpublished notes, 1981), p. 4; O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 66-67.

¹¹³ *The Scotsman*, 7 June 1867.

¹¹⁴ Also spelt "Pollen".

¹¹⁵ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Second Supplement, Vol. III- Neil to Young* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1912), pp. 122-123; O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", p. 70; Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, p. 82.

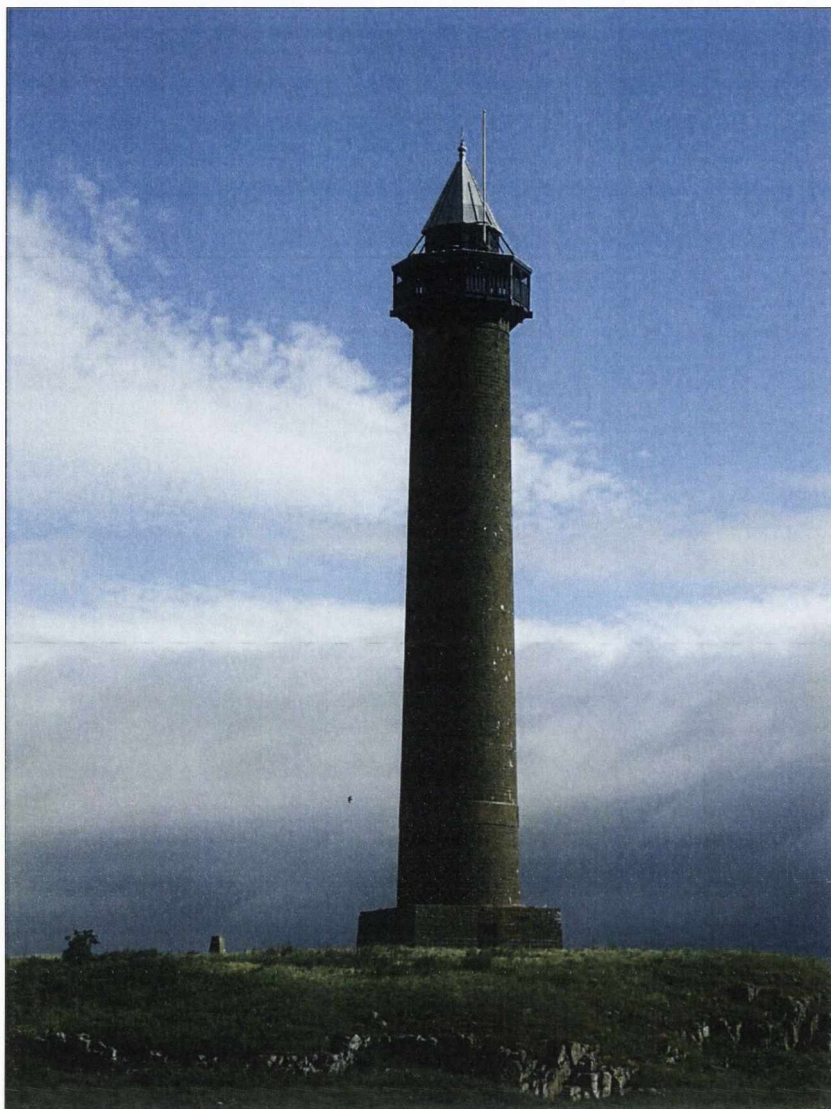


Figure 4.2.6: The Peniel Heugh monument as it appears today, including the wooden gallery added in 1867.

The result of Pollon's commission was a wooden gallery, protected by balustrades, with a lead roof surmounted by a spire and weather vane. This additional structure was to reach a height of 37 feet, bringing the whole monument to a total of 187 feet. The work of assembling the gallery was delegated to a local building practice, Messrs Herbertson & Sons of Galashiels, a town which stood on the border between Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire. It was intended that the assembly work would first be carried out at the contractors' yard at Galashiels, after which it would be dismantled, transported to Peniel Heugh and reassembled in its intended position at the peak of the memorial.¹¹⁶ Several motivations may be posited for the Marquis' decision to take action at this point. The year

¹¹⁶ *The Scotsman*, 7 June 1867; *The Builder*, 22 June 1867, p. 449.

1867 was the year of his thirty-fifth birthday, his tenth wedding anniversary, the birth of his nephew Walter (second in line to the marquisate at this point as the eighth Marquis had no children of his own) and of a projected visit by Queen Victoria to the region, an event which met with widespread celebrations and festivities.¹¹⁷ Some or all of these factors may have encouraged the Marquis to celebrate with an embellishment of his forebears' monument.

4.2.18 Tourism and the Monument

The personal nature of the monument was again re-emphasised the following year when a flag was raised on the top of the monument to mark the occasion of the Marquis' birthday.¹¹⁸ The eighth Marquis died less than two years later on 4 July 1870.¹¹⁹ In the years that followed the monument maintained a position in the public consciousness as a tourist attraction. *Smail's Guide to Jedburgh and Vicinity* of 1880 recommended the excursionist to take the train to Nisbet railway station (Figure 4.2.1), which was located at the foot of Peniel Heugh, and from which a good road lead up the hill to the base of the monument.¹²⁰ Nisbet was located on the Jedburgh branch of the North British Railway, just over 53 miles from Edinburgh.¹²¹ The station first opened on 17 July 1856.¹²² This facility rendered the monument easily accessible to a wide catchment area, both in Scotland itself and across the border into England.

The monument's status in this respect continued on throughout the rest of the nineteenth century as a view of the situation in 1920 confirms. By this time a key to the interior was kept at Monteviot House, with personal application being required for its procurement. Names of approved visitors were then recorded in a book.¹²³ A previous report in June 1913 revealed that graffiti and vandalism, including "disfigurement"¹²⁴ of the lead letters of the inscription tablet, had been one unfortunate side effect of public visits to the monument. However, its hollow design, interior stairs and viewing gallery imply that a touristic style function, with members of the public entering and ascending for pleasure, was always intended for the monument. Occasional bonfires and other gatherings at its base marked some key events or celebrations in the community or in the country's history

¹¹⁷ Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume V*, pp. 485-486; O'Brien, "Wellington's Pillar", pp. 71-72.

¹¹⁸ *The Border Advertiser*, 14 August 1868.

¹¹⁹ Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume V*, p. 486.

¹²⁰ Watson, *Smail's Guide to Jedburgh and Vicinity*, pp. 61-62.

¹²¹ Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Roxburghshire, Sheet XV, surveyed 1859, published 1863.

¹²² John Thomas, *The North British Railway, Volume One* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969), p. 244.

¹²³ T.H.S., 'Penielheugh and Lilliard's Edge', *The Border Magazine*, September 1920, p. 142.

¹²⁴ J. Lindsay Hilson, 'Penielheugh: Waterloo Monument', *The Border Magazine*, June 1913, p. 130.

more broadly, and it remained an active feature in the landscape throughout the nineteenth century.

4.3 New Abbey

4.3.1 *The Waterloo Monument: International Relations in a Local Arena*

The Waterloo monument near the village of New Abbey in the historic county of Kirkcudbrightshire differs from the other commemorations of the Duke of Wellington discussed in this thesis in that its primary function is not as tribute to the Duke, but rather as a memorialisation of the efforts of all the victorious troops who fought at the battle of Waterloo. The monument is situated close to the summit of Glen Hill, a prominence rising to a height of approximately 593 feet and overlooking the nearby village.¹ The Ordnance Survey map of 1850-51 describes the location as Waterloo Hill, a name which may have arisen in conjunction with the erection of the monument on the site (Figure 4.3.1).² An extensive view of the surrounding countryside may be obtained from the base of the monument, encompassing the village with the ruins of its thirteenth-century Cistercian abbey; surrounding hills, vales, forests and Loch Kindar; and stretching across the Solway Firth as far as the English coastline of Cumberland (or Cumbria as the county is known today). On Glen Hill, the monument has been surrounded by varying degrees of forestry over the years and may currently be accessed via several signposted walkways (Figure 4.3.2). The structure itself consists of a circular tower of granite blocks, 50 feet in height and 16 feet in diameter (Figure 4.3.3).³ The hollow interior is occupied by a spiral staircase, which may be accessed via a doorway at the base of the monument. The staircase leads directly onto a small, open rooftop area, which is without a parapet, and from which a better prospect of the picturesque views may be gained (Figure 4.3.4). The inscription carved onto a sandstone⁴ tablet set over the door leading to the interior of the tower reads:

Erected A.D. 1816
To record the Valour,
Of those British, Belgian
And Prussian soldiers;
Who under
WELLINGTON and BLUCHER
On the 18th of June, 1815;

¹ Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Volume V*, p. 103.

² Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Kirkcudbrightshire, Sheet 41, surveyed 1850-51, published 1854.

³ The Ministers of the Respective Parishes, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Volume IV Dumfries-Kirkcudbright-Wigton* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, c. 1845), Kirkcudbright, p. 248.

⁴ Ewart Library, Dumfries, GKd21(2), anon., *The Waterloo Monument*, (no date).

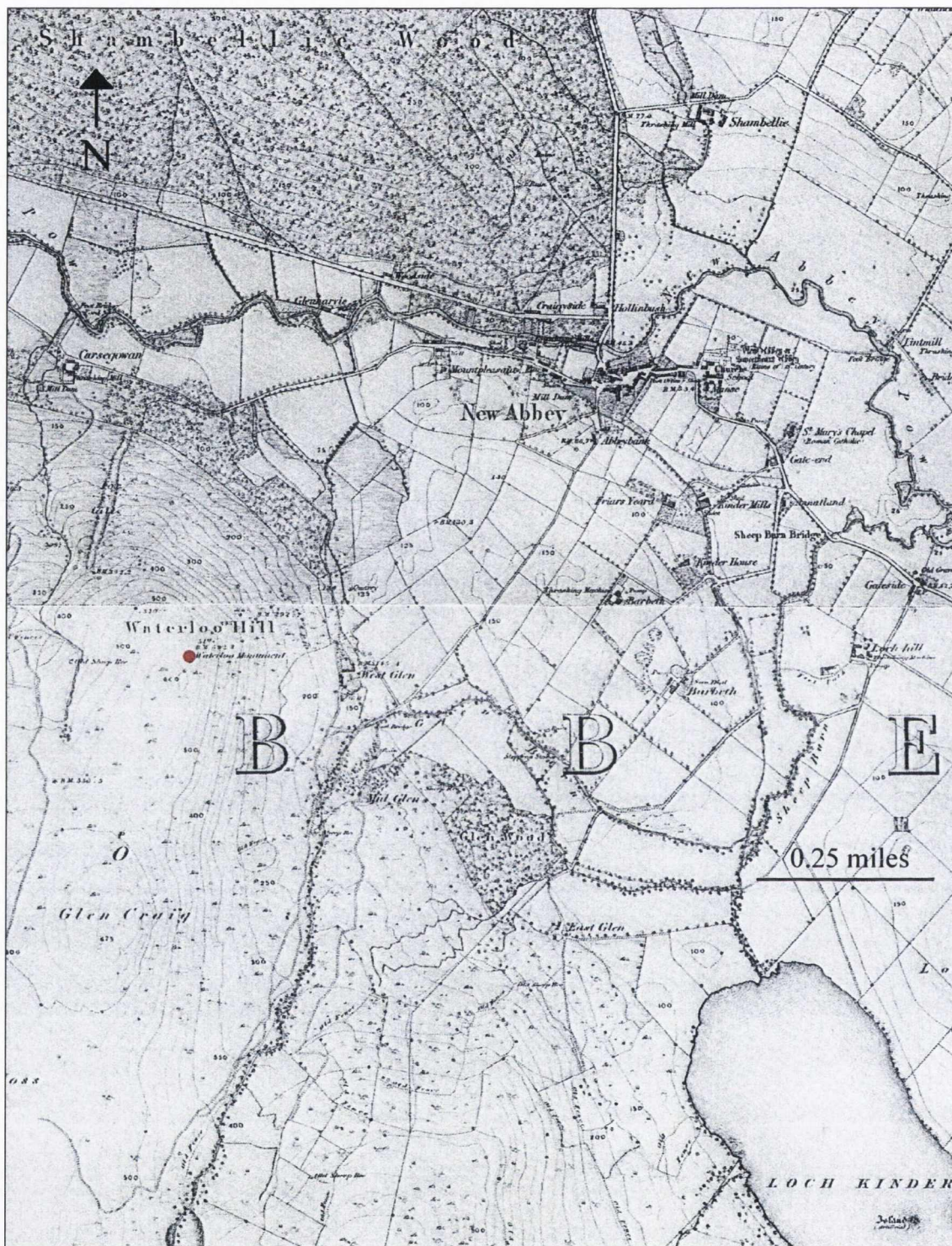


Figure 4.3.1: The Waterloo Monument (highlighted by a red dot) and surrounds. Map formed using Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Maps, Kirkcudbrightshire, Sheet 34, surveyed 1850, published 1854 and Kirkcudbrightshire, Sheet 41, surveyed 1850-51, published 1854.

Gained the Victory
Of
WATERLOO;
By which French Tyranny
Was overthrown;
And Peace restored,
To the World.

Perhaps surprisingly for a locally instigated monument situated in a remote, sparsely inhabited rural area, the inscription addresses global issues of international relations in a strong and detailed manner. It both reinforces positive bonds of unity with British allies in the forms of Belgium and Prussia and conversely demonizes and opposes a threatening France. The question of British identity itself is presented as an undisputed fact. Despite the Scottish site of the monument, nowhere in the inscribed words are Scotland, or any Scottish place name, given mention. Any local or national soldiers who participated in the conflict are commemorated as British citizens.

4.3.2 Local Identity and Community Pride

During the early nineteenth century, the population of New Abbey was relatively small, numbering 1,060 in the parish⁵ as a whole in 1831.⁶ A figure of 330 was given as the populace of the village itself in 1846.⁷ Few among this number appear to have been of great financial means, with even one of the leading landowners, William Stewart, professing large debts and little disposable income throughout his lifetime.⁸ The other main landowning family in the region, the Oswalds,⁹ receive no mention in contemporary accounts of the monument, suggesting that they offered no practical or financial support to the undertaking. Other demands on community funds also occurred intermittently, with one in particular, the need to repair the road bridge across the Pow Burn in New Abbey village following flood damage caused on 26 September 1815,¹⁰ coinciding closely with the launch date of the Waterloo monument subscription list on 29 August 1815. These

⁵ Both the village and the parish in which it was situated were called New Abbey.

⁶ Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Volume V*, p. 104.

⁷ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland, comprising the several counties, islands, cities, burgh and market towns, parishes, and principal villages, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume II: From Keanlochbervie to Zetland* (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1846), p. 303.

⁸ Frank J. Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2, 1700-1850* (Edinburgh: St. Edmundsbury Press Ltd., 2002), pp. 131-133.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁰ Dumfries Archive Centre, Shambellie Papers, GD37/8/6/8, Account of Repairing New Abbey Bridge, 1815; Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2*, p. 130.

challenges and limitations render the efforts of the community in successfully instigating, raising adequate funds for and completing the project all the more remarkable. The process may also be viewed as an exercise in building local identity and strengthening community pride and cohesiveness. This was achieved through collective investment in the project and open and enthusiastic celebration of the various milestones reached along the road to its completion.



Figure 4.3.2: Aerial Photograph of the Waterloo Monument taken during 1997, illustrating some of the surrounding forestry and pathways. From Ewart Library, Dumfries, GKd21(91), Air Images, *New Abbey: aerial view- Waterloo Monument*, 1997.

4.3.3 First Meeting: Vocalising the Monument's Role and Forging the Symbolic Subtext

The first steps on this road were taken within a few months of the Battle of Waterloo's occurrence. On Saturday, 2 September 1815, a "respectable meeting"¹¹ gathered in New Abbey to consider a proposal to erect a monument in commemoration of the victory on the stated site of the Glen Hill. The published account of the proceedings on the occasion

¹¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

clearly illustrates that many of the key details concerning the monument's form, purpose and situation had already been decided upon privately. The function of the meeting was largely to state them in a public and formal manner and garner a wider degree of community support and consensus for the intended goals. The Reverend William Wright, sole Minister of the Church of Scotland for the parish of New Abbey from 1769 to 1813,¹² was called upon to act as chairman of the meeting. His assistant and latterly successor, the Reverend James Hamilton,¹³ delivered the opening address to the assembly, adding a further degree of church involvement and control to the proceedings.

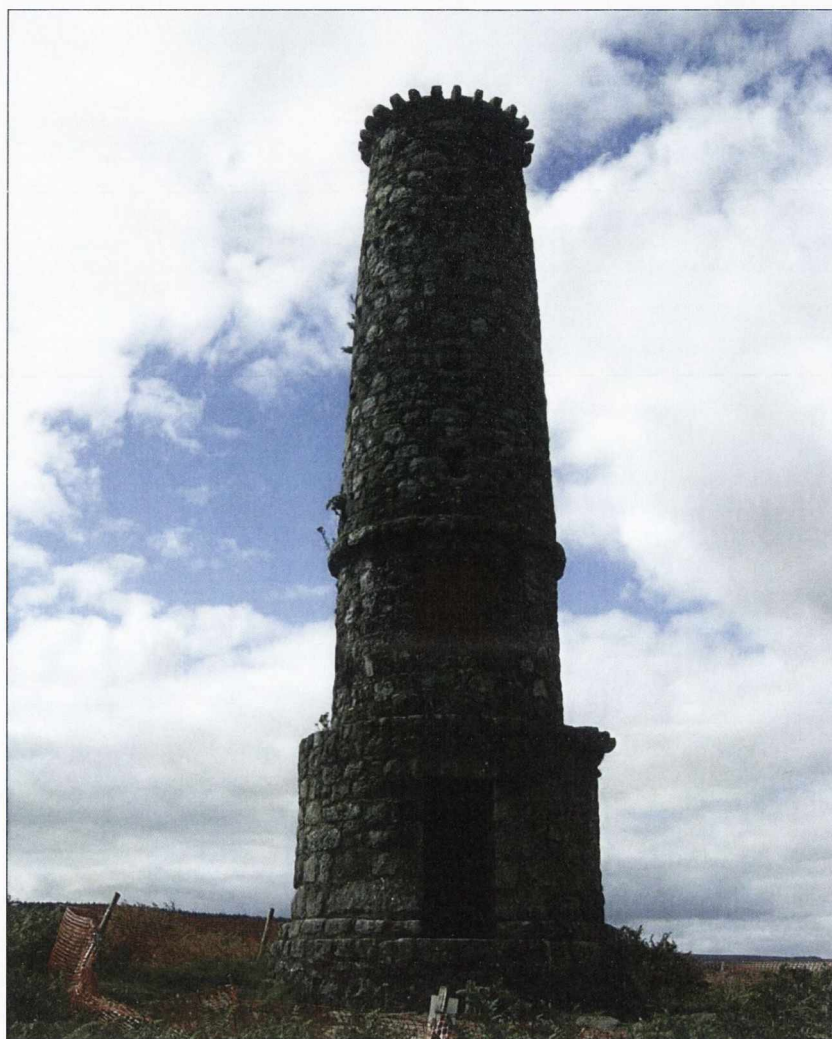


Figure 4.3.3: The Waterloo Monument, near New Abbey.

¹² Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of the Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, Volume II: Synods of Merse and Teviotdale Dumfries, and Galloway* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1917), p. 294; *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

¹³ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 294; *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.



Figure 4.3.4: View of the Waterloo Monument showing climber at summit. From Ewart Library, Dumfries, GKd21(718), *New Abbey: Waterloo Monument*, (no date).

A second address was given by Mr Robert Johnston,¹⁴ who also proposed several resolutions, which were seconded by William Stewart Esquire, Laird of Shambellie, and unanimously agreed to. Johnston was a local resident and author of a book entitled *Travels through Part of the Russian Empire and the Country of Poland; along the Southern Shores of the Baltic*, published for the first time in 1815. The work draws on his personal

¹⁴ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815 lists him as Robert Johnstone.

experiences travelling in the region and highlights the breadth of his education as well as his personal and political opinions. Johnston was to prove a leading spokesman for the monument and was also a, or perhaps the, major inspiration behind its instigation.¹⁵ William Stewart, as previously mentioned, was one of the foremost landlords in the New Abbey region, and as this chapter will illustrate, also proved a major stakeholder in the project, assisting in and influencing its advancement and development in a number of areas.

Apart from the monument's site and commemorative purpose, the meeting confirmed its intended form, which was to be that of a column. It was also revealed that a subscription list had already been commenced and that pledges currently amounted to a sum of £23. The notebook in which subscriptions were recorded gives its official commencement date as 29 August 1815.¹⁶ Finally, it was deemed that when a "sufficient sum"¹⁷ had been raised, a ceremony would be held to lay the foundation stone "with masonic honours".¹⁸ The text of the addresses given offers an indication of the tone of the proceedings and of the themes deemed to be of particular relevance by the addressees. Comparing this to the occasion upon which the inhabitants of the parish celebrated the victory of Leipsie¹⁹ by illuminating their windows and organising a public bonfire, the Reverend Hamilton deemed this to be another occasion upon which they could "give proofs of their loyalty and patriotism".²⁰ According to him,

¹⁵ See *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815 for further evidence of this.

¹⁶ The original subscription list along with minutes of some of the meetings held by the monument Committee, sketches and specifications of its design and accounts detailing payments made in connection with its erection and maintenance are extant. They are the property of New Abbey Kirk Session and are currently in the possession of Revd William Holland, Dumfries, retired Minister of New Abbey. While it was possible to view a limited number of scans of the original source book, the majority of the information drawn from this source comes from transcriptions of the original prepared by the Revd Holland. A copy of this material may be publicly viewed at Ewart Library, Dumfries, GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17'. The Revd Holland's privately held version of this material was viewed on 31 August 2009, and contains some minor variations to the public version, perhaps due to updating and corrections. Some additional material not included in the public version was also viewed on this occasion. From this point onwards, information drawn from this source will be referred to with the prefix "New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland". It should be noted that the Revd Holland's presentation of the subscription list varies considerably from the manner in which it was recorded in the original, perhaps raising some questions as to the source and accuracy of some of the information presented therein, particularly regarding some subscribers' professions and place of residence; and which, without access to the original, this author is unable to positively confirm. Yet on a whole the transcription quite clearly has a basis in original material and the importance of the information it gives regarding the monument's origins is such that its exclusion has been deemed unwise. Future research may offer further insight on the accuracy of this information.

¹⁷ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ This refers to the Battle of Leipzig of 16-19 October 1813, during which Napoleon's forces were defeated by the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria and Sweden.

²⁰ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

Waterloo ... has fixed, we hope for life, the fate of Napoleon Bonaparte, who waged war with civilized man, but whose enmity was particularly inveterate against this country, because she stood up as an insuperable barrier to his attainment of universal empire! And this victory was gained by British troops, amongst whom the Scottish regiments highly signalized themselves by deeds of valour. When we consider the advantages resulting from this victory, gratitude must swell the breast of every good man. The man who does not feel this sentiment, I scorn as an enemy to the best interests of his country- I regard him as a traitor, who would have joined the standard of our foes, if Providence had ever permitted them to pollute our sacred shores with their unhallowed feet; and who with sacriligious (sic) hands, would have assisted them in pulling down the bulwarks of our civil and religious establishments.²¹

Here Napoleon and the French are demonized as threats to the very fabric and existence of British society, a Britain of which Scotland and Scottish citizens are a vital component. Perhaps unsurprisingly given Hamilton's religious background, the concepts of good and evil, and the struggle between the two, are given particular prominence in the text of his speech, with Britain occupying the righteous role and prevailing against the corrupt French opposition.

Hamilton also spoke of his perception of the role of the monument. He envisaged it as a unifying object, bringing together members of the community to assist in its creation. What they would be creating would be a site of memory, a tangible object intended to fix, preserve and transmit certain ideals both to its contemporary viewers and to future generations who would encounter it in the years to come. It would also be a site of popular memory- accessible to all regardless of class or education level. In particular he hoped it would inspire posterity to deeds of valour and to emulation of the bravery and martial endeavour and success of their predecessors. A desire to promote British nationalism and patriotism through the form of the monument is also apparent in the text of his speech, and in conjunction with this he singled out Wellington as the key figure to be memorialised, and perhaps also to embody and promote these values:

Already I indulge the thought of seeing every one come forward to lend his aid, whether great or little, were it only to lay a single stone of the glorious building;- a building which, I hope, will transmit to distant ages the memory of Wellington, and the victorious Britons who fell at Waterloo. Their fame will indeed be conveyed in the history of our country; but *there* it may be the fate of many of our descendants never to read it; for the volumes of the historian may not be within their reach. But here it will be of easy access. I please myself with the thought, that the posterity of the humblest mechanic who now hears me, may, centuries after this, be as well acquainted with the

²¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

glories of the 18th June, as we are,- by means of the monument we now propose to erect. ... Thus it will serve to make (our descendants) venerate the heroism of their country, and inspire them with zeal to rival them in glory. Thus will the hallowed flame of patriotism be kept alive, and the race that shall rise up to succeed us, animated by its fire, will grasp the sword, and make every presumptuous foe, who dares to trample upon their rights, feel that he has to contend with men who would have won honours *even* on the plains of Waterloo!²²

Similar themes were touched upon in the following speech of Robert Johnston. Wellington was singled out for particular praise three times, twice in conjunction with his leading role at Waterloo, thereby linking him closely and overtly with the commemorative purpose of the monument. He also drew attention to the presence of “a military gentleman”²³ at the meeting and drew another local link with the Battle of Waterloo more specifically, referring to the role of the 42nd regiment in that engagement, a regiment which “a native of this parish once had the honour to command (I mean Col. Stewart)”.²⁴ This was Col. James Stewart, younger brother of William Stewart of Shambellie, who fought with the 42nd from his enlistment as a lieutenant on 7 October 1777 until his retirement on 19 September 1804.²⁵ During this time he had the opportunity to oppose the French under Napoleon, most notably at the key conflicts of Aboukir Bay and Alexandria in Egypt.²⁶ Johnston expounded in detail on the long history of conflict between France and inhabitants of the British Isles in his speech, saying:

The heroes of Waterloo are as eminently deserving of commemoration, as our noble ancestors who humbled the towering pride of France at Poitiers,²⁷ at Cressy, at Agincourt, and at Blenheim! ... On the plains of Waterloo, a small band of British heroes routed the whole army of France... Every one of us must feel a conscious glow of pride in looking at our alliance with (the heroes of Waterloo), and being the sons of so renowned a country! What an elevated contrast do we not present to degraded and demoralized France! – What individual of that unhappy country could raise a monument but to perpetuate infamy!²⁸

Here Britain and British identity are defined in and through opposition to France, a foreign, alien and threatening “other”²⁹ that embodies and represents all the negative qualities Britain is portrayed as lacking and rejecting. He then moved on to consider the function of

²² *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, p. 102.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

²⁷ This refers to the Battle of Poitiers of 19 September 1356.

²⁸ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

²⁹ Colley, *Britons*. See Chapter One for further discussion on the concept of the “other” in identity formation.

the monument, placing particular emphasis on its impact at a local level as a source of community pride and embellishment:

No part of Scotland is more justly admired for the beauty of its scenery, than the parish of Newabbey, nor any rock better adapted to show, to the greatest possible advantage, the erection of a monumental column, than the one which has been selected for this purpose. A column placed on the summit of the Glenhill, will arrest the eye of all along the opposite line of the English coast. ... The column will remain not only as a monument of the chivalry of our warriors, but as an honourable testimony of our loyalty and gratitude, as well as an ornament in the beauty of our country. The historian and the artist will each find an additional scope for the display of his talents, and the parish of Newabbey will stand forward in the list of distinguished patriotism, and excite the admiration and rivalry of all its neighbours. It is hoped that no individual will oppose this mark of our gratitude – none can!³⁰

Having previously referred to historical events, he finally turns to classical mythology for a suitable simile to attach to the form of the monument, saying: “May the monument of Waterloo be soon raised, ... and amid those shocks which menace the wreck of our fate, may it appear as our hallowed Palinurus, and pilot us to security.”³¹ In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Palinurus was the helmsman of the ship that carried Aeneas and his Trojan comrades safely to Italy, a task which cost him his own life.³²

4.3.4 Plans, Designs and Other Waterloo Commemorations

As it transpired, only a short time was to elapse before the call was issued for the foundation stone ceremony to be held, with 6 October 1815 being set as the date for its occurrence.³³ In advance of the date a detailed plan and timetable of events for the day was published in the local newspapers.³⁴ According to this plan, the foundation stone would be laid with masonic honours by the Provincial Grand Master for the Southern district of Scotland at the request of the local branch of the Freemasons in New Abbey, the Lodge of St. John.³⁵ The Provincial Grand Master issued a call from his base in Dalswinton (approximately 15 miles north of New Abbey) for deputations from the different lodges in

³⁰ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Jenny March, *Cassell’s Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (London: Cassell & Co., 2001), p. 579; Simon Price and Emily Kearns (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 401.

³³ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 26 September 1815.

³⁴ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815; *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 3 October 1815.

³⁵ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815.

the district to attend and partake in the procession on the occasion.³⁶ The subscribers and members of the military were also requested by the organisers to be present. The procession was to leave from the church in New Abbey at noon. The pipe-major³⁷ of the Edinburgh Highland Society was scheduled to play during this procession, as were the military band. Following the ceremony, a number of activities were planned to continue the day's celebrations. Dinners were to be provided by the local innkeepers at four o'clock, with those wishing to dine asked to submit their names to Mr McKie, the Clerk to the Committee, by the evening of 5 October in order to avoid disappointment. Select performers were scheduled to give renditions of a number of songs and other compositions penned specifically for the occasion during the course of the evening. The Ettrick Shepherd (a nickname for the Scottish poet and novelist James Hogg, who was born on a farm near the Selkirkshire village of Ettrick) was also due to make an appearance to add to the revelry. Finally, a fireworks display and a ball were planned to round off the festivities. Clearly a large volume of people were expected to join in the day's events, with stewards being appointed to direct the proceedings and ensure order would be maintained.

At the same time, it was revealed that a plan of the monument, drawn by a Mr Gillespie, would be displayed at Mr Sinclair's, Bookseller.³⁸ This plan, along with some others by Gillespie, had been provided to the Committee at no cost (Figures 4.3.5 and 4.3.6).³⁹ It was proposed that the monument would be 25 feet or higher in proportion to the amount of subscriptions pledged.⁴⁰ Messrs Paterson & Creighton, architects, had also offered to provide their assistance to the undertaking.⁴¹ This was not the only commemorative project proposed for the region in the wake of the battle either. Perhaps inspired by New Abbey's efforts, the town of Dumfries, approximately seven miles north of there,⁴² devised its own scheme for a separate monumental commemoration of the victors of Waterloo.⁴³ By 3 October 1815, a subscription had been launched for this purpose and the Magistrates and Council of the town had pledged their support. Corbelly-hill, situated on the outskirts of the town, was proposed as a suitable site for the memorial,

³⁶ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815; *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 26 September 1815.

³⁷ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815 later refers to this individual as the "Piper-major", though a simultaneous report in *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 10 October 1815 retains the designation of "Pipe-major".

³⁸ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815.

³⁹ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Volume Containing Original Subscription List, c. 29 August 1815.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815.

⁴² Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume II*, p. 303; Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Volume V*, p. 102.

⁴³ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815; *Kelso Mail*, 9 October 1815.

while a column was suggested for its form. Mr Hunt of London had offered to present the subscribers with a design, while *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier* issued an appeal for the gentlemen of the county to join with those of the town in patronising the intended object.⁴⁴ The ultimate outcome of these proposals is unknown, but no such monument is in existence today, nor have any records been uncovered alluding to any further advancement of the plans. Aside from this, while reporting on the New Abbey monument, the *Kelso Mail* of 7 September 1815 alluded to a scheme to construct a village at the foot of Criffel, the mountain adjoining Glen Hill, which would be named the village of Waterloo. This proposal also met with an obscure fate, and no such village was present in the area by the time of the first Ordnance Survey in 1850-51.⁴⁵ However, a similar idea in Perthshire met with success and resulted in a Waterloo village of 117 inhabitants by 1846.⁴⁶

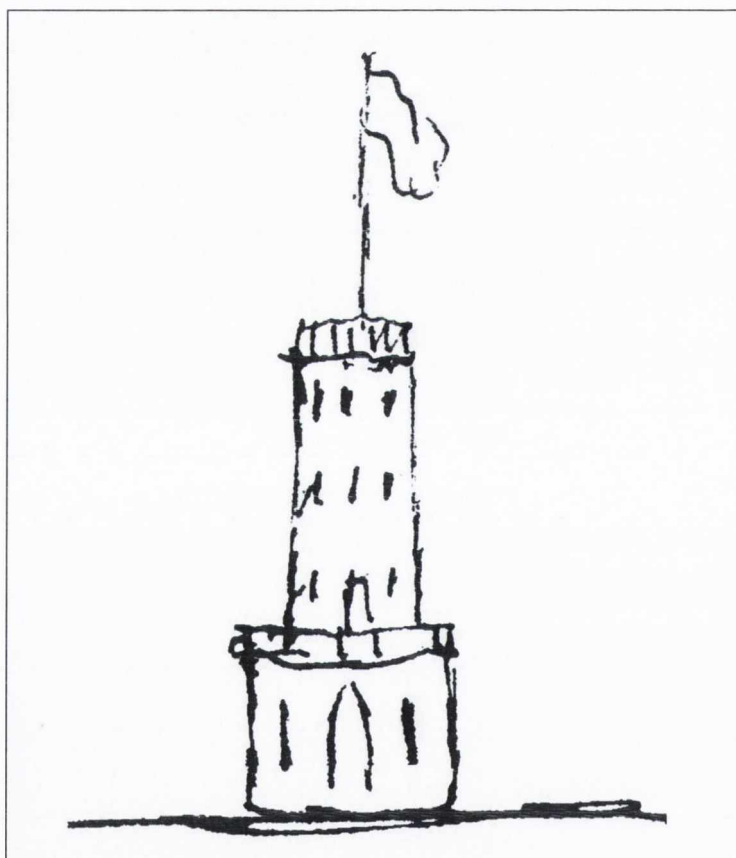


Figure 4.3.5: Design sketch of the monument, possibly by or based on plans of Mr Gillespie or Mr Milligan, drawn on rear of document dated December 1815. From New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of letter to be sent to possible subscribers, December 1815.

⁴⁴ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 3 October 1815.

⁴⁵ Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Kirkcudbrightshire, Sheet 41, surveyed 1850-51, published 1854.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume II*, p. 593.

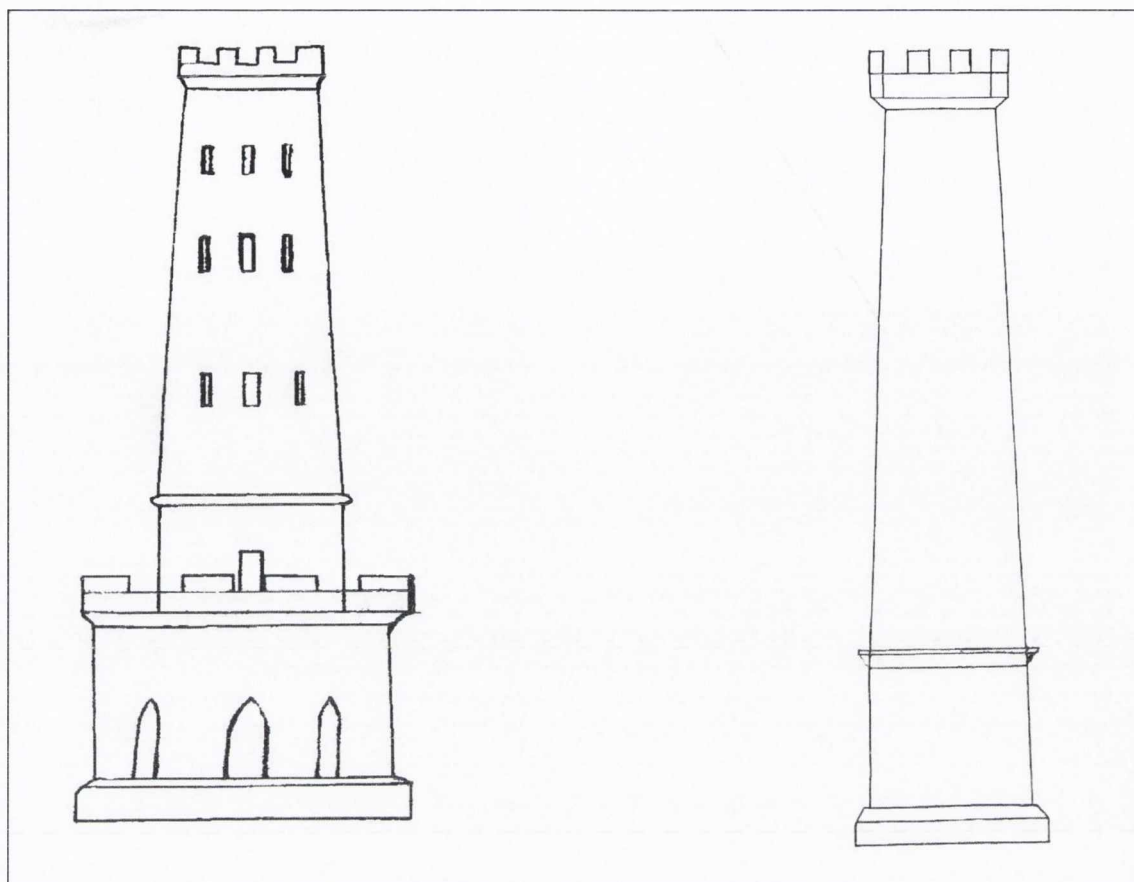


Figure 4.3.6: Two alternative design sketches of the monument, artist and date unknown. From New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland.

4.3.5 The Foundation Stone Ceremony

The occasion of the foundation stone laying ceremony proved to be a significant event in the history of New Abbey, one which was reported in great detail in the local newspapers in the following days.⁴⁷ The celebrations were launched at five o'clock in the morning with the firing of signal guns, followed by music from the bagpipes, trumpet and bugle. Describing this instrumental offering, *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier* referred to the musically gifted Greek God credited with inventing the panpipes, saying: “never did Pan in his native groves, sound his “wood-notes wild” in a sweeter strain!”⁴⁸ Moving beyond this to give an account of the scene more generally, they recounted that: “The village and company presented the most animated appearance, - every brow was enwreathed with laurel, every window decorated with oaken boughs, and houses connected by triumphal arches.”⁴⁹ Laurel is traditionally associated with victory, while oak can have both English

⁴⁷ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815; *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 10 October 1815.

⁴⁸ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

and upper class connotations.⁵⁰ The military began to gather at about 8 a.m., followed shortly after by the masonic lodges. Groups of ladies also formed to witness the events, while music played constantly in the background. A trumpet was sounded to announce the approach of the Provincial Grand Master and his wardens. They were received by a guard of honour and underwent a ceremony of robing. They then proceeded to the church in state where they officially opened the grand lodge.⁵¹

At the designated time the procession left the church and began to make their way to the site of the monument. They moved in a clearly structured and designated order, which the newspapers listed as follows:

Two Trumpeters mounted.
 Party of Scots Greys.
 Party of Dumfries Yeomanry (Cavalry).⁵²
 Piper-major of the Highland Society.
 The Scotch Thistle, supported by the Rose and Shamrock.
 Subscribers to the Monument.
 Military Band.
 Provincial Grand Master,
 Preceded by his Office-bearers and Wardens.
 Numerous Lodges, according to seniority and in masonic
 order.
 Military Band.
 Infantry commanded by Captain Baillie, 92d regiment.⁵³

The military and Freemasons were the two primary social organisations partaking on the occasion. Scottish representation was on both a local and national geographical scale, with the closely stationed Dumfries Yeomanry taking their place alongside a delegate of the more distantly associated Highland Society. England and Ireland were symbolised through the Rose and the Shamrock respectively, both joining with the Scottish Thistle to allude to three out of the United Kingdom's four constituent countries.

As the procession left the church it passed directly under one of the aforementioned triumphal arches which was inscribed with the words "WELLINGTON"⁵⁴ and "WATERLOO".⁵⁵ Here Wellington is given equal commemorative value with Waterloo in the undertaking. His position as a primary aspect of the commemoration is underlined by frequent references to his name and deeds throughout the day's celebrations. This arch was

⁵⁰ Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of Woodland', p. 43.

⁵¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁵² *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 10 October 1815 lists the word "Cavalry" here, whereas *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815 omits this descriptor.

⁵³ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

also crowned with the Prince Regent's feather, giving a royal connection and seal of approval to the whole. All the participants and spectators had their hats removed at this point as a mark of respect. The procession then moved on to the foot of Glen Hill, where it passed under another arch, this time embossed with the sole appellation "WATERLOO".⁵⁶ From here they proceeded to the site of the monument. The local newspapers waxed lyrical in seeking to describe the moment, saying:

Nothing could present a more fascinating and interesting appearance than the animated scenery of this moment- the proud emblem of Waterloo waved in triumph from the summit of the hill,- the roar of artillery reverberated through the mountains,- the piercing tones of the bagpipe echoed from hill to dale,- the moor-cock was flushed from his covert, and strained his pipe in the general concert. On reaching the brow of the hill, the procession was involuntarily arrested by the beauty and extensive scenery which lay scattered before them; ... no landscape could be more extensive- no scene more diversified or enchanting.⁵⁷

This romanticisation of the occasion was surely intended to add weight to the record of the occasion, to mark it as an account of a momentous event in the history of New Abbey.

Upon reaching the site the military formed a circle around the foundation stone. The ladies stood within this circle and the various lodges "closed around".⁵⁸ An unspecified anthem was played and then the Provincial Grand Master laid the stone. An inscription penned by the Reverend James Hamilton was placed inside a glass bottle which was then inserted into the foundation stone. It read as follows:

In perpetual honour of
THE VICTORY OF WATERLOO,
IN BELGIUM,
Gained by the British over the French army, on the 18th
of June, 1815,
The inhabitants of this Parish, and others who are animated
with similar gratitude, caused this Monument
to be erected.
The British troops were commanded by
Field Marshal the most noble Arthur Duke of Wellington;
The French by
Napoleon Bonaparte.
This Victory
Was speedily followed by the restoration of Louis XVIII.
Who, by foreign invasion, and the defection of his army, had
been driven from his capital three months before,

⁵⁶ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

And the re-establishment of peace in Europe.
 Compelled by his defeat to abandon the throne which he
 had usurped,
 Bonaparte surrendered himself to a British Frigate,
 And was conveyed to the island of St Helena,
 Which was appointed for his future residence.
 Of this Edifice,
 Projected by Robert Johnston, Esq. Glenharvey,
 The first stone was laid by
 WILLIAM MILLER, Esq.
 Provincial Grand Master of the southern district of Free
 Masons in Scotland.
 In the 55th year of the Reign of George III.
 During the Regency of George, Prince of Wales,
 The Rev. W. Wright, and the Rev. James Hamilton, his as-
 sistant, being ministers of Newabbey,
 On the 6th day of October,
 In the year of Light, 5815,
 Of our Lord, 1815.⁵⁹

4.3.5.1 Freemasons

“The year of Light” is a Freemason term and refers to the date accepted by symbolic Masons as being the point or era of the creation.⁶⁰ The employment of this term alludes to and emphasises the prominent role of Freemasonry in the ceremonies. Continuing the Freemason involvement in the proceedings, the Provincial Grand Master then gave a speech to the gathered assembly. Referring back to the addresses given at the initial proposal meeting of 2 September 1815, he revisited and reinforced several of the themes and messages expounded upon on that occasion, among them religious devotion, nationalism and national pride, and the monument’s role in memorialising the past and preserving an accessible historical record for future generations of all backgrounds and financial means. He presented France as an unfavourable contrast to all things British and singled out Wellington for prominent mention and particular praise, describing him as the nation’s “dauntless champion”,⁶¹ and referring to

the meteor-progress of the immortal Wellington from the moment he entered upon his proud career, down to the period of that ever-memorable victory (i.e. Waterloo), where the example of British courage, and the flow of British blood, sealed the independence of Europe, and secured, for a time at least, the repose of the civilised world.⁶²

⁵⁹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁶⁰ Albert G. Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry*, 7th edn (London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1883), p. 375.

⁶¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Returning again to Wellington at the conclusion of his speech, the Provincial Grand Master quoted a passage from Cicero in Latin, substituting a few key words, such as place names, for those given in the original so that the whole would read as a eulogy of praise to Wellington and his character and achievements.⁶³ Applying the words of a renowned Roman orator to Wellington in this manner served to imbue his character with classical grandeur and elevate his importance in the general context of the proceedings.

The Provincial Grand Master's speech was met by a general burst of applause, following which the Reverend Mr Wightman stepped forward to recite a verse composed for the occasion. The content of this piece was largely concerned with projecting a glorified image of war and military sacrifice, particularly in relation to the Waterloo campaign. Local landmarks of Criffel, the Solway Firth and the River Nith were mentioned, perhaps to forge a link between local affairs and concerns and the local environment, and the battlefield of Waterloo and the globally significant events which took place there. A subsequent reference to the planets burning "round the central sun,"⁶⁴ broadens the geographical scale yet further, and may also have been an allusion to Freemason symbolism. According to one nineteenth-century account on the mysteries of the craft, "The sun and the moon are preserved in our lodges as emblems of the wisdom, and power, and goodness of God, who made the one to rule the day, and the other to govern the night."⁶⁵ A concluding couplet wished lasting success for the British nation and continued devotion to Christianity among its subjects. However, perhaps the most notable aspect of the piece is its opening lines, which continue the spirit of tribute to Wellington which the previous speech closed on. Beyond this it even goes so far as to portray the monument quite specifically as a tribute to Wellington:

High registered in lasting rolls of fame,
Shines laurelled Wellington's illustrious name,
Here, reader see a simple column stand,
In honour of the man who saved our land.
Long in Iberia did he lead the brave,
As long victorious did his banners wave,
At last on Waterloo's ensanguined plains,
The palm he gained which ever fresh remains!⁶⁶

⁶³ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815. For a full translation of the Latin text see Ewart Library, Dumfries, D (821)f, [volume of prose and verse], 'Waterloo Monument at Newabbey', printed sheet entitled 'LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE', 1815.

⁶⁴ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁶⁵ Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry*, p. 329.

⁶⁶ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

4.3.5.2 Women

The proceedings then moved on to address the role of women in the day's celebrations, and in the commemorative undertaking as a whole. Here three ladies, Mrs Richardson, Miss Donaldson and Miss Allan, presented a flag embroidered by them personally in honour of the occasion to Mr Robert Johnston. The flag was decorated with the three national emblems, the thistle, rose and shamrock, which together were made to form a wreath around the symbol of the Prince Regent's feather. Johnston announced the reception of the flag to the Provincial Grand Master with a brief speech praising the ladies' handiwork:

Sir, This (sic) flag is generously presented by those ladies who now have the honour to support it. Madam and Ladies- I am totally unable to convey to you the various expressions of admiration and delight which sparkle on every countenance, at beholding this sacred pledge of your loyalty and attention- our life's dearest blood shall be shed to preserve inviolate so beloved a gift! ... Ladies- with the monument on the Glen-hill you are now identified, and as its proud column will one day stretch towards the sky, your names will become entwined in the Garland of Waterloo!⁶⁷

While Johnston's expression of gratitude may verge on the hyperbolic in places, the overall message is of the establishment and public recognition of the women as valuable stakeholders in the monument through this act.

The ceremony was then drawn to a close with a prayer by the Reverend Hamilton and a full rendition of the British national anthem "God save the King". The procession reformed and returned to the village in the same order, where a new street was projected at the Shee Burn Bridge⁶⁸ by Mr James Turner, Esquire. This was consecrated "in the usual masonic form"⁶⁹ and given the name of Waterloo Place by the Provincial Grand Master, a designation decidedly in keeping with the spirit of the day and the preceding ceremony. The procession then returned to the church where the grand lodge was closed.

Later that day a dinner was held in the lodge room of the district, with Robert Johnston acting as Chairman, supported by the Provincial Grand Master and his Wardens. A number of toasts were given on the occasion and met with a very enthusiastic reception from the assembly. After the King, the Prince Regent and the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington was the next name to be called, along with his title of "Prince of Waterloo".⁷⁰ The reaction of the crowd to Wellington's proposal was particularly strong. Reporters of the occasion were lost for words, saying it drew "a tumult of feeling, which we cannot

⁶⁷ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁶⁸ Most likely a misspelling of Sheep Burn Bridge.

⁶⁹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

attempt to describe”.⁷¹ The monument itself and many key individuals and groups connected with it and the day’s events were separately toasted also. Perhaps most notably among these was William Stewart, Esquire of Shambellie, “with grateful (sic) thanks and loud applause”.⁷² The reason for these thanks is not stated, but it may have been connected with his provision of the site for the monument, which formed part of his land at the time,⁷³ or with several of the other services he had already performed to aid the advancement of the undertaking. During the toasts, some verses penned for the occasion by Mr McDiarmid of Edinburgh and subsequently set to music were sung by one of the gentlemen present. Wellington was mentioned yet again during this piece in the line: “Then the conqueror’s (i.e. Napoleon’s) sun, to great Wellington set”.⁷⁴ Following the dinner, the festivities concluded with the planned ball and fireworks display and partying continued on until sunrise the following day.⁷⁵

4.3.6 *The Subscribers*

By 20 November 1815, subscriptions pledges had already reached a total of £105.⁷⁶ The Committee had opened negotiations with Mr Milligan, architect, to produce a plan for a monument of no more than 50 feet in height. Provision was made for this height to be increased should a substantial rise in subscriptions subsequently occur, and to this effect *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier* encouraged members of the public to make further contributions in favour of the cause. It was simultaneously announced that “as soon as a sufficient sum shall be obtained”,⁷⁷ the subscription list would be closed and a list of the subscribers published. Mr. David Williamson’s, Mr. John Sinclair’s, bookseller, Dumfries, and the Committee at New Abbey were all listed as potential points of contact for those wishing to make a pledge. A deadline of 18 June 1816, the first anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, was given as the timeframe for the monument’s completion, a date which it appears was confidently expected to be met.⁷⁸

An analysis of the subscription list presents many interesting revelations. As it transpired, despite *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*’s appeal, the total pledges progressed little beyond the 20 November 1815 figure, with a sum of approximately £113

⁷¹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Dumfries Archive Centre, Shambellie Papers, uncatalogued items, GD37/Box 3, no.2, draft of royal address by William Stewart, (no date).

⁷⁴ *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 10 October 1815.

⁷⁵ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁷⁶ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 21 November 1815.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

3s 8½d being the ultimate figure attained.⁷⁹ The largest amount pledged from a single source was £10 10s from St. John's Lodge, the Freemason association of New Abbey, illustrating yet again the prominent role Freemasons assumed in the execution of the project. The next two leading subscribers were Robert Johnston of Glenharvey and Peter Millar, Esquire, of Dalswinton, both offering the sum of £5 5s. Once again Johnston had played a leading role in serving the advancement of the monument.

Of the 151 groups or individuals who made a pledge, a further 44 were able to promise a sum of £1 or more.⁸⁰ At the other end of the scale were many subscriptions of five shillings or less, with one subscriber, John Hunter, even paying his two shilling pledge in kind through physical labour, specifically by raising stones. The bulk of subscribers were male, but nevertheless women did present a notable element with 20 to 22 individuals of that gender⁸¹ being named. A broad range of professions were represented. There were both landowners and tenants of varying extents of property and means. Seven openly professed a military career and there were twelve clergymen. Other vocations cited included weaver, bookseller, bleacher, innkeeper, writer (i.e. a legal practitioner), excise officer, surgeon, doctor, blacksmith, grocer, carpenter and architect.

The vast majority (approximately 84 per cent of those for whom a location is given, equivalent to roughly 74 per cent of the 151 subscribers named) hailed from within the parish of New Abbey or the counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire⁸² more broadly. However, there were also a few offerings from further afield, both within Britain on a wider scale, and far beyond the boundaries of that island in the international realm. In Scotland the locations listed were Campbelltown⁸³ and Machrimore in Argyllshire, along with the key cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. South of the Scottish boarder in England the areas featured were Manchester, Liverpool, Leicester and London. Finally, the islands of Malta and Jamaica were also referenced. The inclusion

⁷⁹ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Subscriber Meeting Minutes, 10 October 1818; GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', pp. 3, 5.

⁸⁰ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815.

⁸¹ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815 and GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 2 attribute one subscription to "Nicholson, Mrs & Mrs G A". This is most likely a transcription error for an intended attribution of "Nicholson, Mr & Mrs G A", who are discussed further below. It could also encompass a repetition of a separately listed subscriber, "Nicholson, Mrs", of "Glenharvey", as may be seen from the subsequent text of this chapter, in particular footnote 105 below.

⁸² These three counties all form part of the modern-day council area of Dumfries and Galloway.

⁸³ Spelt "Campbelltown" in New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815 and GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 1, the Ordnance Survey first edition map of 1866, published 1869, lists this town as "Campbelton".

of these two locations may have borne some relation to the influence of William Stewart of Shambellie (Figure 4.3.7), a man who records prove actively sought subscribers for the monument, and who may have encouraged a number of those listed to add their contribution.

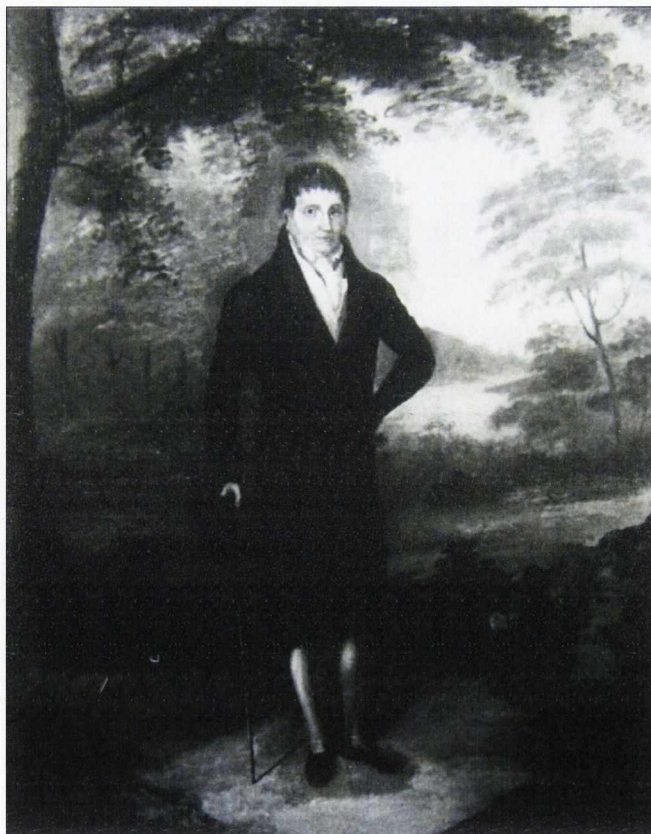


Figure 4.3.7: William Stewart of Shambellie (1750-1844), painted c.1790 by an unknown artist. From Dumfries Archive Centre, GGD37/12/14, Photograph by Warwick MacCallum, 1986.

One man whom Stewart certainly did recruit to the cause was Alexander Young, his lawyer in Edinburgh.⁸⁴ Stewart wrote to Young on 18 December 1815 to appeal for his support, to which he replied in the affirmative on 27 December 1815 with the promise of a guinea, saying that “It will give me great pleasure to join my old preceptor Mr. Wright and yourself in erecting a monument in your parish in memory of the immortal victory of Waterloo”.⁸⁵ One other appeal Stewart drafted was addressed to the very highest of authorities. Opening with the salutation “Your Royal Highness”, it appears this letter was intended for the eyes of the Prince Regent, the acknowledged leading royal authority at that time. He outlined his case in the following terms:

⁸⁴ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, p. 105.

⁸⁵ Shambellie Papers, GD37/8/6, Alex Young to William Stewart Esquire, 27 December 1815.

Your Royal Highness I please myself will excuse me for addressing you upon a subject which must be agreeable. The Inhabitants of this Parish and a great many Gentlemen in the neighbourhood to express their feelings for the Glorious, and Immortal victory of Waterloo, have resolved & got contracted for to build a monument in honour of it, upon a very conspicuous Hill of mine ... (we have little doubt of raising as much money as will erect the building), but I wish ... much for your Royal Highness's Name to honour the undertaking with a subscription of only a very few Guineas if agreeable. ... P.S. besides the pleasure of the undertaking I view this as of use to the spirit of the Country-⁸⁶

By way of a personal introduction to the monarch, Stewart cited the military service and connections of various members of his family, factors which may also account for his own particular interest in the Waterloo commemoration. These family members included two uncles who were killed while holding the rank of captain, one in 1745, and the other at the Battle of Minden in 1759. A cousin of his was Colonel of Engineers and aide-de-camp to General Sir Ralf Abercromby⁸⁷ for a number of years. Two sons of Stewart also died at the rank of captain, while his brother, Lieutenant Colonel James Stewart (Figure 4.3.8), served in the army for 27 years, 25 of which were spent with the 42nd Regiment.⁸⁸

William himself displayed a passionate interest in the French campaign and the Battle of Waterloo in particular. Discussing the outcome of affairs with his lawyer Alexander Young shortly after the occurrence of the engagement, he expressed his view that "if they don't put every one of the perjured villains to Death now, they will bungle it again, which if they do they will have difficulty in getting poor men to fight so bravely for them in future."⁸⁹ A strong interest in the development of his estate,⁹⁰ upon which the monument was situated, may also have motivated Stewart's promotion of the project. Besides this, at the time all landowners, or Heritors, in the parish were obliged to pay a share of communal expenses, contributing to such matters as the upkeep of public roads or the salary of the village schoolmaster.⁹¹ This financial obligation undoubtedly ensured the maintenance of an awareness of community affairs among the Heritors (of whom Stewart was one), and perhaps fostered a sense of community belonging and integration, along with an interest in and responsibility for the positive development of the locality. Finally, according to Frank J. Stewart, William began to take an active role in local affairs from his

⁸⁶ Shambellie Papers, uncatalogued items, GD37/Box 3, no.2, draft of royal address by William Stewart, (no date).

⁸⁷ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. I- Abbadie to Beadon* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908), p. 43 spells his name as "Sir Ralph Abercromby".

⁸⁸ Shambellie Papers, uncatalogued items, GD37/Box 3, no.2, draft of royal address by William Stewart, (no date).

⁸⁹ Shambellie Papers, GD37/8/6/9, William Stewart to Alexander Young, 18 July 1815.

⁹⁰ For further details see for example Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2*, pp. 132-133, 144-145.

⁹¹ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2*, pp. 128-129.

youth onwards,⁹² therefore his involvement in a major local undertaking such as the monument is entirely logical.



Figure 4.3.8: James Stewart of Shambellie (c.1769-1819), with his wife Williamina Kerr, painted c.1790 by an unknown artist. From Dumfries Archive Centre, GGD37/12/17, photograph of portrait, (no date).

Returning to the subject of the letter, a concurrent endeavour in the nearby town of Dumfries may have served to inspire William to draft his appeal. This project was a Mausoleum dedicated to the memory of the famous Scottish poet, Robert Burns. Reports on the progress of this undertaking appeared in *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier* in both September and October 1815 alongside the reports on the initial meeting and foundation stone laying ceremony for the Waterloo monument. On both occasions, reference was made to the Prince Regent having bestowed his official seal of approval on

⁹² Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, p. 128.

the project via a personal subscription of 50 guineas.⁹³ Not only that, but Burns' widow also contributed a subscription of five shillings towards the Waterloo monument.⁹⁴

Aside from all this, a number of other subscribers may have been attracted through their connection with Stewart. While he, his wife and his brother James all gave separate donations, some further subscribers hailed from the vicinity of Gatehouse, a town about 30 miles from New Abbey near which Stewart had leased a property known as Boreland farm for over twenty years and upon which he and his family had lived for that period of time before moving back to New Abbey in 1804.⁹⁵ The farm was originally part of the Cally estate, which was owned by James Murray of Broughton, the father of Stewart's first wife, Ann.⁹⁶ When Stewart left Boreland in 1804, his lease of the property still had a number of years to run, being valid until 1839. James Murray's son and heir, Alexander Murray, applied to Stewart to sublet Boreland from him, a request Stewart granted in 1813.⁹⁷ An A. Murray Esquire of Cally appears on the subscription list for the monument for a sum of £2 2s. This is most likely Stewart's subtenant Alexander Murray, and it is possible he may have been informed of the project and encouraged to support it by Stewart himself. Another erstwhile subtenant of William's at Boreland was Alexander Brown and his two sons.⁹⁸ One of these sons may have been Davd (sic) Brown of Boreland, Gatehouse, who subscribed three shillings towards the monument.⁹⁹ Other supporters of the project in the Gatehouse area on the subscription list include Sir David Maxwell of Cardoness, a man who had once joined with Stewart, James Murray and David McCulloch of Ardwell in a campaign to construct a new main road thorough Kirkcudbright during the 1780s.¹⁰⁰

Further afield Robert Corbet Esquire from Edinburgh, a subscriber of £1 1s, was most likely an advocate to whom William applied for legal advice during 1803.¹⁰¹ Other legal practitioners employed by the Stewart family who appear on the subscription include William Kerr, Esquire,¹⁰² and John Thorburn, Esquire,¹⁰³ both of whom were also based in

⁹³ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 5 September 1815; *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 10 October 1815.

⁹⁴ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 1.

⁹⁵ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, pp. 126-127, 131, 156.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 126.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁹⁹ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, p. 131.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 151.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 141, 145, 151, 158, 164.

Edinburgh. On a much wider geographical scale, the subscribers from Malta, Mr and Mrs G.A. Nicholson,¹⁰⁴ may undoubtedly be accounted for through their familial link with William Stewart. One of William's daughters, Dorothea, had married a Maltese merchant named George Alexander Nicholson.¹⁰⁵ More distant relatives of William on the subscriber list included his cousin, Douglas Hamilton Craik, Esquire, of Arbigland, Kirkbean, a property a few miles from New Abbey.¹⁰⁶ Clearly William's extensive network of business and familial associations were a beneficial asset for the cause of the monument, being a notable factor in inducing a number of subscribers to add their contribution. Personal ties with a Committee member may have operated in the same fashion for a number of other subscribers on the list, for example the twelve clergymen, some or all of whom may have been known to Reverend William Wright and Reverend James Hamilton.

Another method the Committee employed in an effort win further subscribers was a formal letter addressed from them collectively to selected individuals deemed likely to respond in a favourable, and perhaps generous, fashion. The draft text of their appeal read as follows:

The committee for the W. Mont at Newabbey beg leave to lay before Mr _____ some acct of their proceedings and respectfully to solicit the honour of Mr _____ patronage and support. In offering any mark of admiration in a cause so intimately connected with the Glory of our Army, will it is hoped plead for the freedom of encroaching on Mr _____ indulgence.¹⁰⁷

Among the list of those targeted for receipt of this petition were the Sheriff of Dumfriesshire, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Capenoch, Baronet; Sheriff of Kirkcudbrightshire, and Colonel of the Kirkcudbrightshire local militia, Sir Alexander Gordon, of Culvennan; his son James Gordon, Esquire, Colonel of the Kirkcudbrightshire Cavalry; Bryce McMurdo, Esquire, Colonel of the Dragoons; the Grand Master of each Freemason Lodge stretching over an unspecified area; Maitland, Esquire, of Dundrennan, a

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 81 above for further information on these.

¹⁰⁵ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2*, pp. 163-164. According to Frank J. Stewart, following this marriage Dorothea was given a lease of Glenharvie. This may be an alternative spelling of "Glenharvey", as referred to in footnote 81 above. However, it may also be a separate property or area as the subscription list details a "Nicholson, Mr Jonathan" as residing at Glenharvey aswell. Another explanation might be that Jonathan Nicholson was a brother or close relative of George Alexander Nicholson, either married or unmarried, and residing on the same property as that leased to Mrs G.A. Nicholson.

¹⁰⁶ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 1; Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie, Volume 2*, p. 152.

¹⁰⁷ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of letter to be sent to possible subscribers, December 1815.

large estate centred in Kirkcudbrightshire;¹⁰⁸ Robert Mundell, Esquire, rector of and classical teacher in Wallace Hall Academy, Closeburn;¹⁰⁹ and a Mr Montieth. This may or may not have been Henry Monteith, who later commissioned the building of Carstairs House and who both subscribed to and assisted in the efforts to erect an equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington in Glasgow during the 1840s. Monteith was Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1815 to 1816.¹¹⁰ The support of such parties would have carried a great deal of symbolic significance for the project, representing powerful and respected figures in the world of local government, the military, religion and learning, as well as among the landed gentry and the society of Freemasons. Apart from their own monetary contribution, their support may also have encouraged others to offer theirs.

4.3.7 *Constructing the Monument*

Whether these appeals were ultimately sent or not, the Committee certainly did not delay long in proceeding with arrangements for the monument's construction. On 19 April 1816, they approved of a specification for the monument produced by John Milligan, an architect from Maxwelltown in Dumfries.¹¹¹ Aside from his newly forged professional commitment to the project, Milligan was invested in the success of the monument on a personal level also, being listed as a subscriber of 10s 6d to the cause.¹¹² His specification was said to be "agreeable to plan No. 4".¹¹³ According to Milligan, the monument would be constructed of rubble stones sourced from Glen Hill, upon which it would be situated. It would be "built in the strongest, and most substantial manner",¹¹⁴ thereby conforming to previously expressed hopes for a lasting memorial which would transmit its messages to posterity for many years to come. An internal staircase was to be included and the stairs were to be "safe & easy, of ascent, and Descent",¹¹⁵ an aspect which would facilitate its active use by members of the public. Oak doors were intended to fill the doorway to the interior at the

¹⁰⁸ Gordon Ewart, 'Historical context', in Gordon Ewart, *Dundrennan Abbey: Archaeological investigation within the south range of a Cistercian house in Kirkcudbrightshire (Dumfries & Galloway), Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland with Historic Scotland and the Council for British Archaeology, 2001), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁹ W. Innes Addison, *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December, 1727 to 31st December, 1897 with Short Biographical Notes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1898), p. 460.

¹¹⁰ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow; Comprising an Account of its Ancient and Modern History, its Trade, Manufactures, Commerce, Health, and Other Concerns*, 2nd edn (Glasgow: J. Smith and Son, David Robertson, and D. Bryce, 1840), p. 111.

¹¹¹ *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 23 April 1816; *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 4 June 1816.

¹¹² New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 2.

¹¹³ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Specification for Waterloo Monument at Newabbey by John Milligan, (c. 19 April 1816).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

bottom of the stairs, and to cover the top of the stairs also. As previously alluded to, the choice of oak could be perceived as carrying implications of Englishness and nobility.¹¹⁶

There was to be a twenty-foot flagstaff at the top (a facet illustrated in the design sketch reproduced in Figure 4.3.5) which could be removed whenever desired. This staff was specifically intended to be “of foreign wood well painted”,¹¹⁷ perhaps alluding to the international associations and identities of the battle and combatants being commemorated. The inscription tablet would be “of polished free stone”.¹¹⁸ The monument would reach a height of 50 feet and was to be completed by September. Milligan undertook to perform this work for a cost of £105, which was to be paid in three instalments. The first of these was £40, to be paid on 1 May. A further £32 10s was then to be paid on 1 July, by which time the whole was to be at the height of the bitt above the inscription tablet. The final instalment, comprising the rest of the agreed sum, would be paid “when the whole is finished and declared to be executed according to the plan & specification by Competent Judges mutually chosen”.¹¹⁹ Finally, Milligan pledged to sign a contract, or any legal agreement, when required.

The Committee members who agreed to adopt this specification for the Waterloo monument were Robert Johnston, William Stewart, Reverend William Wright, Reverend James Hamilton (who was also acting as treasurer for the Committee), Thomas Millar and John R. Riddell.¹²⁰ Riddell was a subscriber of £2 2s to the monument and a local resident, hailing from Kinharvey in New Abbey. It appears Riddell may have been a close friend of William Stewart, as Stewart appointed a John Reginald Riddell of Kinharvie to act as one of the executors of his Will.¹²¹ Nothing is known of the background of Thomas Millar, who was later listed as Convener of the Committee.¹²² However, four other people with the surname Millar were recorded on the subscription list, three hailing from New Abbey and one from Dalswinton about 15 miles away.¹²³ Thomas Millar may perhaps have been related to some of these. He himself was also a subscriber to the monument.¹²⁴ Another

¹¹⁶ Daniels, ‘The Political Iconography of Woodland’, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Specification for Waterloo Monument at Newabbey by John Milligan, (c. 19 April 1816).

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Committee Minutes, 19 April 1816.

¹²¹ Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, p. 160.

¹²² New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Committee Minutes, 2 September 1816.

¹²³ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815; GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 2.

¹²⁴ Although he is not named in the transcription of the main subscription list begun on 29 August 1815, subsequent records disclose Millar as making a second and possibly third contribution to the project. See

member of the Committee, absent on 19 April 1816, was Jonathan Nicholson of Glenharvey, a subscriber of £2 2s to the cause.¹²⁵

It appears that Milligan adhered reasonably closely to his construction deadlines, as payments were indeed made around the specified times. The first payment was delayed by six days, the second by sixteen.¹²⁶ The final instalment represented something of an obstacle however. A sum of £20 was paid on 2 September 1816, but the remaining £12 10s due was not handed over until 12 December 1816.¹²⁷ According to the Committee meeting minutes, payment of the balance of the third instalment had been postponed “till such time as (the Committee) have an opportunity of collecting the remaining Subscriptions and taking the work regularly off (Mr Milligan’s) hands.”¹²⁸ Writing on the monument in January 1817, *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* stated that the building had been finished “some months ago”,¹²⁹ and that it had been inspected by two “respectable”¹³⁰ tradesmen appointed by the Committee and Mr Milligan, who deemed that it had been “executed in a substantial and workmanlike manner, agreeable to the plan and specification”.¹³¹

4.3.8 Subscription Defaulters: A Decline in Interest?

However, the newspaper also noted that there had been some unexpected problems connected with the project, specifically in relation to the collection of subscription pledges. Some subscribers had reportedly refused to pay the amount they had promised when called upon to do so and others were still delaying in making their payment. The newspaper urged those who had not yet paid up to behave in an honourable fashion and step forward to fulfil the commitment they had made.¹³² These claims of subscription defaulting are given some further credence by a list of names recorded by the Committee as not having paid their pledge.¹³³ The payment collection difficulties may indicate a cooling of enthusiasm towards the intended object or a lack of means among some of the subscribers. Yet clearly,

GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, pp. 2, 4. Note that the second and potential third subscription are for the same amount, and therefore may represent the same subscription recorded twice.

¹²⁵ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Committee Minutes, 2 September 1816; New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed Subscription List, begun 29 August 1815.

¹²⁶ GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 8.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Committee Minutes, 2 September 1816.

¹²⁹ *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 7 January 1817.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 4.

enough of those who were postponing payment had come forward by 12 December 1816 to enable the Committee to pay the £12 10s still due to Mr Milligan.

4.3.9 Keeping Memory Alive: Maintenance and Waterloo Anniversary Celebrations

Although the monument had been finished and Milligan's account had been paid in full by the start of 1817, further bills and monetary claims against the Committee persisted until at least 1820.¹³⁴ These bills represented a mixture of outstanding claims from work performed and expenses incurred during the preceding years, along with fresh claims arising from maintenance and repair work to the monument and in connection with what appears to have been an annual Waterloo anniversary celebration. In 1817, a charge was presented for carriage of a gun from Liverpool to Dumfries.¹³⁵ Further charges for several pounds of powder were recorded on 18 June 1818 and 18 June 1819, both dates being the anniversary of the battle.¹³⁶ A document in the minute book of the Lodge of St. John's at New Abbey dated July 1930 records that a historical cannon was fired for many years at the monument on the anniversary of Waterloo, a claim which would explain the charges in the accounts. According to the note, the cannon subsequently passed into the possession of Mr Ben Rawson, Tobacconist, Midsteeple Buildings, Dumfries, and was put on display in his shop.¹³⁷

Other work charged for included whitewashing the monument in December 1818 and repairing damage caused by a lightning strike in September 1820.¹³⁸ Outstanding matters and ongoing expenses led to a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the Waterloo Monument being called to be held at 12 p.m. on Tuesday, 6 October 1818, in the School House at New Abbey. The stated purpose of the meeting was to “(examine) the Treasurer's Accounts, and (regulate) the time and terms of admission into the Monument”.¹³⁹ A request was again issued for subscribers who had not yet paid up to submit their pledged contribution before the meeting. In the event, it appears a change of date may have taken place for the meeting as the minutes record it as taking place on 10 October 1818.¹⁴⁰ During the meeting, various bills were presented before the assembly. As it was deemed

¹³⁴ GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 9.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 10.

¹³⁷ Minutes of St. John's Lodge at New Abbey via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text from the Minutes of St. John's Lodge, New Abbey, July 1930.

¹³⁸ GKd21(718)p, ‘Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17’, p. 9.

¹³⁹ *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 29 September 1818.

¹⁴⁰ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Subscriber Meeting Minutes, 10 October 1818.

unlikely that any further unpaid subscriptions would be recovered, a new additional subscription appeal was decided upon and of those present William Stewart, J.R. Riddell, Reverend William Wright, Reverend James Hamilton, Thomas Millar, A. McConnochie and John Dixon all pledged a donation.¹⁴¹ Finally, following an expression of interest by Mr Stewart in having possession and control of the key to the monument, those present voted unanimously to commit it to his care.¹⁴²

4.3.10 1840s and 1850s: Vandalism and Repairs

Presumably this responsibility passed to Mr Stewart's son and heir, also named William Stewart, upon or before his death in 1844.¹⁴³ However, it appears that the younger William Stewart may have lapsed in this duty somewhat over the years as the Reverend James Hamilton wrote in July 1847 to inform him that the door of the monument was open, giving unrestricted access to the interior to all members of the public. Hamilton expressed his disapproval of this situation and sought Stewart's support in implementing some measures for securing the door. To reinforce his position he cited recent acts of vandalism to the monument whereby stones were being thrown down from the top. Hamilton stated that he personally had provided the funds (five shillings) for the purchase of the lock, and would now be willing to offer a contribution towards purchasing another, perhaps indicating that some further act of vandalism had led to the removal of the lock and the consequent present state of open access to the monument. He suggested that Mr Riddell might join in assisting to preserve the monument; although whether this would entail financial assistance towards purchasing a new lock, practical assistance in taking or sharing control of the key, or performing some other task, is unclear. In summing up his case he stated his belief that "(the monument) is certainly an ornament to the parish as well as to the estate of Shambelly (sic). On this account I feel an interest in keeping it entire".¹⁴⁴

The subject of the upkeep of the monument was not abandoned as a further letter by Hamilton in September 1852 confirmed that repairs had been organised and undertaken,

¹⁴¹ New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Subscriber Meeting Minutes, 10 October 1818. Separate lists indicate that this may have represented the second or subsequent subscription of all these men except for Reverend James Hamilton. However, this does not tally with the transcription of the first subscription list begun on 29 August 1815, which omits any mention of Thomas Millar or John Dixon. Also, Dixon's surname is spelt "Dickson" in some lists. See GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', pp. 1-4.

¹⁴² New Abbey Kirk Session Records via Revd William Holland, Transcribed text of Subscriber Meeting Minutes, 10 October 1818.

¹⁴³ William's son began to adopt many of the duties involved in the management of the Shambellie Estate from the 1830s onwards due to the failing health of his aged father. See Stewart, *The Stewarts of Shambellie*, Volume 2, pp. 157-159 for further details.

¹⁴⁴ Dumfries Archive Centre, Shambellie Papers, GD37/4/8, James Hamilton to William Stewart Esquire, 28 July 1847.

for which purpose a subscription list had been circulated. It appears that William Stewart played some role in helping to find a suitable workman to carry out these repairs.¹⁴⁵ Eight individuals were named on the subscription list. Of these, four had been involved in the original efforts to build the monument: through subscription contributions, Committee membership or other tasks. They were also local men, resident in or around New Abbey village. The total pledges amounted to a sum of £1 15s, while the repair costs came to a figure of £2 2s 2d.¹⁴⁶ The subscriptions were collected by a Mr Thomas Porteous, while Hamilton himself undertook to provide for the shortfall between the two sums.¹⁴⁷ A possible motivating factor in inducing the men to finally organise for these repairs to be performed may have been the recent unveiling ceremony for the Scottish national monument to the Duke of Wellington in Edinburgh, which took place on 18 June 1852, and reports of which may have reached the inhabitants of New Abbey.

Subsequent events around and changes to the monument during the nineteenth century are unknown, but the appearance of the monument as described in the specifications of 19 April 1816 and the accounts of 1817 to 1819¹⁴⁸ conjure a more vibrant and dynamic picture than that which the monument presents today. The oak doors, flagstaff and whitewashed exterior are all absent and the Waterloo anniversary ceremony has long since been abandoned. The exact date of these changes cannot be pinpointed. What remains certain is that the monument was present as an active site of memory and identity and a noteworthy feature of the New Abbey locale throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁵ Shambellie Papers, GD37/4/8, James Hamilton to (William Stewart Esquire), (Friday afternoon, no date).

¹⁴⁶ Shambellie Papers, GD37/4/8, Subscription List, (no date).

¹⁴⁷ Shambellie Papers, GD37/4/8, James Hamilton to William Stewart Esquire, 11 September 1852.

¹⁴⁸ GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', pp. 6, 9-10.

4.4 Glasgow

4.4.1 *Glasgow in the Nineteenth Century*

Writing on Glasgow in 1851, Samuel Lewis described it as “the largest and by far the most populous city in Scotland”.¹ Located in the county of Lanarkshire, the city itself held 120,183 inhabitants in 1841, a figure which rose to 274,533 when the suburbs of Barony and Gorbals were included.² The city is built on the north bank of the River Clyde, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the development of an extensive global trade network between the city and many of Britain’s colonies and other countries around the world. Primary locations dealing with Glasgow in the nineteenth century included America, the West Indies, Europe, the East Indies, China, the Mediterranean and Australia. Imports were chiefly raw materials such as sugar, rum and cotton wool from the West Indies and grain, hemp, tallow and timber from the Baltic region. Exports were mainly processed goods, Glasgow having developed into a centre for the manufacture of a wide range of products, including machinery, iron, chemicals, cotton, glass, ale, porter, delftware, linen, soap, snuff and ropes.³ Three different railway companies also served to connect the city with an expanding and shifting range of locations across Scotland and further south into England via Carlisle.⁴ These details formed part of the context of the cityscape into which a bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington (Figure 4.4.1) was introduced in the early years of the 1840s. The statue bears particular comparison with the Edinburgh testimonial, being of a somewhat similar form and launched in earnest around the same time.

4.4.2 *A Conservative-led Movement Stirs to Action*

The first newspaper reports on the intended project appear at the very outset of that decade in the *Glasgow Constitutional* of January 1840. A letter to the editor on 11 January 1840 urged that a public meeting be called and a public subscription opened to further a recently reported intention of erecting a suitable testimonial to the Duke in Glasgow. The author, “H.”, suggested that an equestrian statue placed in front of the Exchange would fulfil the stated purpose in an appropriate manner. The editor gave his sanction and encouragement to the undertaking, saying: “We hope that some of our spirited and influential friends will take the hint from our Correspondent, and stir this interesting and laudable object.”⁵ The *Glasgow Constitutional*’s appeal did not go unheeded and a preliminary meeting was held

¹ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 495.

² Ibid.

³ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, pp. 504-505.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 506-507.

⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 11 January 1840.

within a fortnight on 22 January 1840. The Lord Provost took the chair and it was unanimously resolved to call a public meeting directly. The *Glasgow Constitutional* hinted that an element of competition with their Edinburgh counterparts and the recently launched subscription to raise a national testimonial to the Duke in that city might lie behind Glasgow's efforts, saying: "we hope we shall soon rival our eastern neighbours in the amount to be raised in honour of the great Duke".⁶ The meeting took place in the Royal Exchange buildings. Thirty gentlemen of the Liberal party and thirty of the Conservative party were invited to attend, but in the event only a "small number"⁷ of Conservatives presented themselves. The Provost, Mr S. Dalglish and some others proposed that the testimonial should be "For (Wellington's) eminent services to the country as a soldier and a statesman",⁸ while Archibald McLellan, Mr Pollock and others were in favour of a more general statement dedicating it to "his many eminent services to the country".⁹ The latter dedication was ultimately decided upon, with some expressing a hope that its more general nature might induce some of the Liberal party to subscribe.¹⁰

It seems an equestrian statue may not have been the only form considered for the monument, as *The Art-Union* of January 1840 described the intended project as "A pillar commemorating the military virtues of the Duke of Wellington".¹¹ Pre-existing monuments to Nelson, Moore and Watt in the city were alluded to as counterpoints to the planned Wellington memorial.¹² The first two of these were military heroes, while the latter, James Watt, was a Scottish inventor and engineer chiefly known for his improvement of the steam engine. He was commemorated by a statue fashioned by Francis Chantrey, while the Glaswegian Lieutenant General Sir John Moore had a bronze statue in St. George's Square near the centre of the city. Lord Nelson was honoured by an obelisk in the western end of the High-green, a public park situated on the north bank of the Clyde. The foundation stone for this tribute was laid on 1 August 1806, the eighth anniversary of the Battle of the Nile, an important victory for Nelson and the British fleet over the French.¹³

As a formal expression of the desire for a public meeting to be held to instigate the erection of the memorial, a requisition was drawn up and signed by over 140 interested parties. The document was addressed to the Lord Provost and entreated him to call a meeting for the aforesaid purpose, to be attended by the inhabitants of Glasgow and the

⁶ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 22 January 1840.

⁷ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 25 January 1840.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *The Art-Union*, January 1840, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, pp. 501-502.

noblemen and gentlemen of the west of Scotland.¹⁴ The Provost responded on 5 February 1840 with an announcement that such a meeting would take place on 18 February 1840.¹⁵ Once again, however, Liberal support for the object was noticeably lacking, with few of the signees being of that political affiliation. The *Glasgow Constitutional* issued a call for universal involvement, dispensing with all boundaries of class and politics:



Figure 4.4.1: The Wellington Statue, Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow, as it appears in modern times.

¹⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 8 February 1840.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Surely such a business as this is not going to be made a party question of? ... (W)e most anxiously trust that no paltry party politics ... will be allowed to prevent the whole community from joining together in awarding this tribute of respect and gratitude to his country's defender and preserver- the brave- the illustrious Wellington! ... (W)e implore our Liberal friends to come forward... In Edinburgh, and everywhere else, there has been no dissent, no difference of opinion on this matter- and we are totally at a loss to account for its occurrence here. Most anxiously do we trust that ... no class of our fellow-citizens may stultify themselves so far as to refuse to assist in furthering the proposed testimonial... (Most) happy shall we be to see our honourable political opponents appearing in full force at the proposed meeting.¹⁶

4.4.3 Public Launch: Chartist Protests

On 18 February 1840, the meeting hall was "filled to overflowing, and comprised the majority of the influential inhabitants of the west."¹⁷ The proceedings were interrupted by a number of Chartists who had gathered to express their discontent. Several resolutions were forwarded by Lord Belhaven, Viscount Kelburne, MP, the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, K.G., Archibald Alison, Esq., Sheriff of Lanarkshire, the Very Reverend Principal MacFarlan and William Smith, Esq. Those seconding resolutions included James Campbell, Esq. of Moorepark, Kirkman Finlay, Esq. of Castle Toward, George Houstoun, Esq., MP, Major-General Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B. and William Maxwell Alexander, Esq. of Southbar.¹⁸ Thus a broad spectrum of vocations and social classes were represented, including the clergy, military, political office holders and local gentry and nobility of various ranks. However, they were still all men of some title and significance, with no women or untitled working-class men finding a place or voice among them. A personal acquaintance of Wellington was also represented in the form of Major-General Sir Neil Douglas, who fought under the Duke at a number of battles in the Peninsula, France and at Waterloo.¹⁹

The two key resolutions passed were "that the eminent services of his Grace the Duke of Wellington deserve the gratitude of his Country, and ought to be commemorated by a suitable Memorial erected in this city by the Inhabitants of Glasgow and the West of Scotland",²⁰ and "that the erection of an Equestrian Statue is the most suitable mode of perpetuating the sentiments of this Meeting."²¹ The Chartists were particularly vocal in their opposition to the latter resolution, proposing an amendment to the effect that instead

¹⁶ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 8 February 1840.

¹⁷ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 1.

¹⁹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 22 February 1840.

²⁰ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*

of an equestrian statue the monument to Wellington ought to take the form of a school for the poor "in order to atone for the evils this country has perpetrated and suffered through him".²² The proposer of this amendment also took the opportunity to describe Wellington and Nelson as "cut-throats immortal".²³ However, in this and their other protests against the proceedings the Chartists were overwhelmingly outnumbered and opposed. It was noted that both the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Belhaven offered their support to the proceedings despite holding political opinions opposed to Wellington's and with the prior knowledge that both his military and civil services were to be commemorated.²⁴ In this though their decision remained the exception rather than the rule, as few political opponents of Wellington came forward to play any significant role in the Glasgow project.

In a speech given by Viscount Kelburne, he alluded to the simultaneous national project underway at Edinburgh. Denying opposition to that project lay behind Glasgow's efforts, he said:

the meeting of to-day has not arisen out of any spirit of rivalry, or from any wish to interfere with or to limit the full operation of the resolutions there agreed to. ... But while the inhabitants of Glasgow and the West of Scotland fully acknowledge the propriety of there being a national testimonial ... and willingly concede that the Metropolis is the most proper place in which it should be erected, they cannot reconcile it to themselves that this great and populous city, the Metropolis of the West, and which is already adorned by monuments to Nelson, Sir John Moore, and other distinguished and eminent men, should not possess a memorial, as a token of their regard and admiration...²⁵

Despite this denial, it seems a desire to compete with their neighbours in the capital city still lay in the hearts of some, as a subsequent speech of Sheriff Alison illustrates:

We have seen the subscription for Sir Walter Scott's monument at Edinburgh still unproductive, though seven years have elapsed since the national gratitude decreed a Monument. Gentlemen, while Edinburgh deliberates, let Glasgow act- (Cheers)- and let our's be the first monument erected to the Duke of Wellington in Scotland. (Loud cheers.)²⁶

In speaking of the subscriptions already pledged towards the monument, which by the close of the meeting amounted to £3,500, Alison alluded to a desire to see all classes united through the medium of the project:

²² *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840.

²⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Gentlemen, you will hear the list of the subscriptions already obtained read out, and a noble monument it already is, for the West of Scotland, embracing, as it does, splendid donations from the highest in rank, and the greatest in fortune- from the first peer of the realm, to those princely merchants, who are raising up a fresh aristocracy in the land. ... And, grateful to the Duke of Wellington as will be the magnificent donations of the leaders in the land, he will be still more gratified by the guineas of the citizens, and the half-crowns of the artisans.²⁷

Intermittent references to Britain and British identity were also made throughout the proceedings. The Lord Provost took the Chair and was named at the head of a lengthy list of gentlemen deemed appointed to act as a Committee for procuring subscriptions and carrying the resolutions into effect. In this manner political power was given the upper hand over wealth and noble titles, as both the Committee list and the meeting attendees including men of considerable endowments in the latter two departments. Andrew S. Dalglish, Esq., was nominated to act in the role of Convener for the Committee, while Michael Rowand, Esq., was appointed Treasurer, and Robert Lamond, Esq., Secretary.²⁸ Dalglish was a Glasgow-based merchant, Rowand a Glaswegian banker, while Lamond was a writer, also operating in Glasgow.²⁹

4.4.4 Committees and Subscribers

4.4.4.1 Archibald McLellan

The list of Committee initially appointed numbered in excess of 69 individuals.³⁰ Two days later on 20 February 1840 the Committee met again and further details concerning its operation were established. Twenty-seven further members were added to the Committee and Archibald McLellan was appointed Sub-Convener. McLellan was to prove a central figure in the progress of affairs. He was a coachmaker by trade, operating from the city of Glasgow.³¹ He received a thorough classical education and became a keen patron of the fine arts during his lifetime, developing personal friendships with leading artists such as David Wilkie and Sir Francis Chantrey. He also held a number of public offices at various times, serving as Deacon Convener of the Trades' House, a member of the Town Council and as a magistrate. He was strongly Conservative in his political opinions.³² Among his

²⁷ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Petition of William Stirling, George McIntosh, William Leckie Ewing and Archibald McLellan unto the Honourable the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, or his Substitutes, 2 October 1841, p. 5.

³⁰ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 2.

³¹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Petition, p. 1.

³² *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 October 1854.

properties was a building on Queen Street, a factor which would become noteworthy when the site for the monument was being decided upon.³³

4.4.4.2 Women

Aside from this appointment, nine members of Committee were designated a quorum. Various methods for raising subscriptions were determined, with personal application via printed lists and a circular being one method decided upon. Special committees were also formed to target particular groupings. Major Monteath and Messrs. M. Campbell and Dennistoun were appointed a Committee to procure subscriptions from the ladies of Glasgow and the surrounding neighbourhood. The *Glasgow Constitutional* portrayed a different perspective on female involvement in the undertaking, reporting that: "We understand the ladies of Glasgow are determined not to be behind their liege lords in shewing their admiration of the Great Duke, and have resolved forthwith to commence a subscription among themselves, to be handed to the Wellington Memorial Committee."³⁴

Whether their involvement was in reality a spontaneous act by the women themselves, instigated at the urging of the Committee, or both, there was a clear dividing line between men and women established here, with the men unmistakably taking the principal and controlling role in funding and directing the undertaking. The segregation continued in the columns of *Glasgow Constitutional* over the coming weeks as lists of subscriber names were published. The ladies were enumerated in a separate list, published at a somewhat later date than the main one with the names of male subscribers and companies.³⁵ By 15 May 1840, female subscribers numbered 24 and their total contributions amounted to £106 2s. However, by that point, the overall subscription total was £9,027 6s.³⁶ The final subscription amount cited was a figure only a little greater of £9,082 11s. The total number of subscribers was said to reach 695.³⁷ Therefore in both numbers and contribution amounts the ladies were decidedly overwhelmed. The speed with which subscription pledges were garnered is also worthy of note. According to Ray McKenzie, it was "by far the largest, as well as the most speedily gathered, private subscription for any monument in Glasgow in the nineteenth century."³⁸

³³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 10 December 1842.

³⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 22 February 1840.

³⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 4 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

³⁶ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

³⁷ Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, 'Narrative of the Origin- List of Subscribers- and final accomplishment, of the Erection of the Equestrian Statue in Glasgow to Commemorate the Martial Achievements of the Duke of Wellington, October 1844', pp. 58-59.

³⁸ Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (with contributions by Gary Nisbet, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 337.

4.4.4.3 Place, Profession and Political Affiliation

The 695 subscribers occupied a narrow cross section of the political spectrum, being “almost entirely of the Conservative Party and forming only a section of that party.”³⁹ The largest subscriptions came from two fairly distinct groupings: the local landed gentry and the trade and merchant élites of Glasgow and its surrounding areas. The largest subscriber, William Baird & Co. of Gartsherrie with an offering of £300, was derived from the latter grouping. Among others featured on the list were some members of academic, medical and legal professions. Political figures, clergymen and military personnel were sprinkled throughout also. The military featured most significantly among those listing any vocation, with at least 18 of that number discernable.⁴⁰ Some of these even omitted their own name, choosing instead to be identified solely by their military association. These men included “an Officer”,⁴¹ “an old 95th Rifleman”⁴² and “a Waterloo soldier 33rd foot”.⁴³

Aside from this, a majority of subscribers held no title and cited no profession. While there were many subscribers of large sums, over half the list comprised smaller sums of £5 5s and under. Among these more modest subscribers, one man listed Govan Dye-work as his address, another Summerlee Iron Works.⁴⁴ Two stated they were builders, one a shipmaster.⁴⁵ Such references as these again reflect Glasgow’s status as a centre of trade and industry. In contrast to the companies willing and able to offer sums as large as £300, however, some of the smaller sums may be attributable to less successful companies or employees of a less elevated position within various companies. A subscription of £1 1s by the Herald office⁴⁶ was a token indicator of the important role the newspapers of Glasgow played in disseminating word of the project among the people and shaping, to a certain extent at least, public opinion towards it.

Of those subscribers listing a location, the majority hailed from Glasgow itself. Most others cited estates in the west of Scotland as their seat of residence. At the meeting of 20 February 1840, a special Committee had been formed to organise Committees in the neighbouring counties and towns.⁴⁷ The parish of Carmunnock a few miles to the south of Glasgow formed one example of a successful fundraising effort in a local area. A

³⁹ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 5-57; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 4 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

⁴¹ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, p. 41.

⁴² Ibid., p. 46.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 49.

⁴⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 March 1840.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 March 1840.

⁴⁶ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, p. 26.

⁴⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘APPENDIX’, p. 4.

“handsome sum”⁴⁸ was gathered from this parish, comprising small sums contributed by the farmers and cottagers of the parish. It appears the parish minister may have played a significant role in co-ordinating this effort, as it was said to be “right and fitting”⁴⁹ that his name headed the subscription list. The *Glasgow Constitutional* expressed a hope that the actions of this parish might be emulated by the farmers of other neighbouring parishes.⁵⁰ However, given the minor disparity between the overall subscription total listed shortly before the Carmunnock addition and the final total listed in 1844, it seems the results of this appeal were negligible, in monetary terms at least.

4.4.4.4 *Subscribers from Beyond Glasgow and the West of Scotland*

On a broader scale, the project garnered little monetary support beyond the confines of its initially designated focus of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. Unlike the Edinburgh project, there is no evidence of any concerted appeal for funds outside of Scotland or even on a widespread scale within Scotland itself. According to *The Art Union* of February 1841, nearly the whole amount of the total subscription could be attributed to the citizens of Glasgow.⁵¹ There were, however, some isolated examples of donations from these sources. William Meiklam of Edinburgh donated £21 to the cause,⁵² while in England individual donations came from Lancashire, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, London and the Isle of Wight.⁵³ The contribution from Birmingham was particularly high, amounting to a sum of £100 from James Watt of Aston Hall.⁵⁴ In the imperial realm, a single contribution of £5 5s from James Young at Gibraltar formed the most notable result of the project’s impact.⁵⁵ News of the undertaking subsequently reached Canada, as the Honourable William Allan of Toronto informed the Earl of Dalhousie during his quest to raise funds from abroad for the national project at Edinburgh. According to Allan, several local residents who originated from the Glasgow region had heard of the intention to raise a monument in that city and expressed their preference of donating to Glasgow’s statue rather than the Edinburgh one.⁵⁶ However, this declaration of interest did not lead to any great financial outpouring from this particular source.

⁴⁸ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 3 June 1840.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *The Art-Union*, February 1841, p. 33.

⁵² *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

⁵³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 4 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 March 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 1 April 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

⁵⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 1 April 1840.

⁵⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 16 May 1840.

⁵⁶ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/100, William P. Allan to Lord Dalhousie, 15 July 1840.

4.4.4.5 Glasgow and Edinburgh

Although the residents of Toronto did not see fit to contribute to both projects, a few leading Scottish nobles dismissed any such conflict of interests by participating actively in both the Edinburgh and Glasgow undertakings. Among these were the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Belhaven and the Earl of Glasgow. All three were listed as members of the General Committee for the Edinburgh monument upon its formation in December 1839,⁵⁷ while all three were also appointed to act on the Glasgow Committee.⁵⁸ Hamilton had even been among those singled out and requested to act on a Committee by Lord Elgin in connection with his 1838 Edinburgh Wellington testimonial plan.⁵⁹

The Earl of Glasgow's participation in both the Glasgow and Edinburgh projects appears largely to have lapsed thereafter, perhaps due to ill health.⁶⁰ However, his son, Viscount Kelburne, maintained an active role in the Glasgow undertaking, forwarding a motion at the inaugural public meeting of 18 February 1840, subscribing £200, serving on the General Committee and Sub-Committee on the Artist, and forming part of a deputation who visited the Duke of Wellington on 4 April 1840.⁶¹ Hamilton and Belhaven undertook a more extensive and personal involvement than the Earl of Glasgow. Hamilton subscribed £100 to the Edinburgh testimonial⁶² and £200 to the Glasgow monument.⁶³ Belhaven pledged £25 to the Glasgow cause.⁶⁴ His monetary contribution, if any, to the Edinburgh project is unknown, but he vowed at the outset that he would be "most happy to give (his) aid & assistance in carrying (the) object into effect."⁶⁵ He was also on friendly terms with Sir George Warrender, Honourary Secretary of the Edinburgh Committee, and his correspondence kept Warrender somewhat informed of the progress of affairs at Glasgow, as well as being illustrative of the sentiments and spirit of competition that prevailed to a certain extent among the two Committees. Here Belhaven stated the political motivation

⁵⁷ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/45, George Warrender to anonymous, 1 January 1840.

⁵⁸ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

⁵⁹ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 911/32, Elgin to the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, 18 October 1838.

⁶⁰ In corresponding with the Edinburgh Committee on 29 December 1839, he stated that "Nothing but illness could have prevented me attending the Meeting on the 24th, & that of the Committee tomorrow", while he died just over three and a half years later on 3 July 1843. Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 44, Glasgow to anon., 29 December (1839); James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom, Volume IV* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1907), p. 216.

⁶¹ Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage, Volume IV*, p. 218; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', pp. 1-2, 4; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 8 April 1840.

⁶² Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/3, James Forrest, Lord Provost to the Duke of Hamilton, (no date).

⁶³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

⁶⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 4 March 1840.

⁶⁵ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 19, Lord Belhaven to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 19 December 1839.

for his involvement: "I mean to attend the meeting because I hear that some of the Whigs do not intend going which I think quite wrong,"⁶⁶ while Warrender gave his assessment of the affair, believing it to be a selfish move on the part of the Glaswegians, concerned only with proving their own and their city's worth to the world:

I confess it is with regret & dissatisfaction that I see your early & sensible impressions confirmed by the late proceedings at Glasgow. I had hoped that in the event there was an intention to do that real honor to a great man which a national testimony confers; but ... (t)he end of this is; that following at the tardy pace Two months behind the Edinburgh move; taking the Edinburgh idea of an equestrian statue- there is wanting all the grace of hearty unanimity, of national object, & national expression of feeling & the affair is truly Glasgow-⁶⁷

Both Belhaven and Hamilton were subsequently elected members of the Sub-Committee on the Artist for the Glasgow project, a body formed on 30 April 1840. These roles ensured they contributed significantly to the development of the undertaking. One other notable link between the Glasgow and Edinburgh projects was Henry Monteith of Carstairs. Monteith was a leading manufacturer and political figure in the Glasgow region. His industrial concerns involved the production of muslin and Bandana handkerchiefs, calico printing, spinning and weaving. In public life he was deputy-lieutenant of Lanarkshire, Lord Provost of Glasgow and MP for the Lanark district of burghs at various intervals.⁶⁸ Monteith was informed of the Edinburgh testimonial at the outset by Sir George Warrender and vowed to promote its advancement among his friends and associates at Glasgow.⁶⁹ He subsequently pledged £200 to the Glasgow statue and was installed as a member of its Committee on 18 February 1840.⁷⁰ His son Robert was also a subscriber and was later appointed to act on the Sub-Committee on the Artist.⁷¹ Aside from this, Henry may have been the same "Mr Montieth" considered as one of the potential recipients of an appeal drafted in December 1815 to garner support for the Waterloo monument at New Abbey.⁷²

⁶⁶ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 102, Belhaven to Sir George Warrender, (no date).

⁶⁷ Ibid., Doc. 121, G. Warrender to Lord Belhaven, 20 February 1840.

⁶⁸ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow*, p. 111.

⁶⁹ Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 77, Henry Monteith to Sir George Warrender, 28 December 1839.

⁷⁰ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840.

⁷¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4.

⁷² GKd21(718)p, 'Waterloo monument at New Abbey: subscription list 1815-17; minutes 1816-1818; accounts 1815-17', p. 7.

4.4.4.6 Official Matters

One other special Committee was appointed at the meeting of 20 February 1840: a Committee to enforce an application to the Town Council, Merchants' House and Trades' House.⁷³ The exact purpose of this application is unknown, but the permission of the municipal authorities was required before a statue such as this could be erected in a public thoroughfare in the city. This issue was dealt with in 1842 when the matter appeared before the Town Council. This may have represented the same application alluded to on 20 February 1840. What is clear, however, is the establishment of these official governing bodies as stakeholders in the project. An application to them was deemed necessary to pave the way for this addition to the city's landscape, whether this application was for erection permission, an appeal for funds or for some other purpose.

4.4.5 Deputation to the Duke of Wellington and Response

On 4 April 1840, a deputation of fourteen noblemen and gentlemen visited the Duke of Wellington at his London residence, Apsley House, to formally notify him of the Glasgow Committee's intention. Among these, the Duke of Argyll held the most elevated rank. Several other nobles of significant title were also present, as were representatives of the leading industrialists such as William Baird and Robert Monteith. Lieutenant-General Duncan Darroch represented the military and was an old comrade-in-arms of the Duke from the earlier part of his Peninsular campaign.⁷⁴ The Convener and Sub-Convener, DalGLISH and McLellan, were also present. An address was read by Henry Dunlop, the Lord Provost of Glasgow. In this speech, Dunlop informed the Duke that the public meeting of 18 February 1840 had deemed his services "(deserving of) the gratitude of his country",⁷⁵ and that an equestrian statue had been decided upon as being "the most suitable mode of perpetuating the Sentiments of this meeting".⁷⁶ He declared that the resolutions passed on that day "have been met with a promptitude and alacrity unequalled in any portion of the Empire"⁷⁷ and requested that Wellington give his permission for the chosen artist to be allowed to wait upon the Duke.

Wellington replied with an address of his own. In it he acknowledged the importance of Glasgow and the West of Scotland and cited his services as a common bond which he felt linked him with the people of that region:

⁷³ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4.

⁷⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 25 March 1840.

⁷⁵ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 60-61.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

I beg to say that I regard this as one of the highest compliments which I have ever received, coming as it does altogether unexpectedly from a city of such rank and importance and in connection with the Western Counties of Scotland; and I beg ... that you will do me the favor (sic) to convey my grateful acknowledgments to the Citizens of Glasgow and the noblemen and gentlemen of the West of Scotland.

This compliment gentlemen is the more gratifying to me as many of your Brothers, friends,, (sic) and fellow- Citizens aided me in performing those services which you are pleased to commemorate in so magnificent a manner.⁷⁸

He then moved on to speak of the British state and its key institutions of monarchy, government and church, all of which was brought under threat during the conflict with France. Britain is portrayed as the righteous party, defending the world from French tyranny. He revealed his perception of public monuments as being instruments of the state. They record its history, define its identity, legitimise its existence and urge loyalty and adherence to its bodies:

My Lords and Gentlemen on the issue of the arduous contest with Revolution, Anarchy, and Despotism, in which Great Britain was for half a century engaged, not only her own existence as an independent kingdom, but the preservation of order, of morality, of religion and of true liberty throughout the world depended; and nothing under the blessing of God, but the most resolute perseverance in the maintenance of those high and sacred principles which from the first regulated the conduct of Great Britain in the Contest, could have brought it to a successful issue.

Gentlemen to the Sovereigns of these realms during whose reigns the contest was carried on,- to the enlightened and patriotic statesmen who during that time directed the energies and inspired the Councils of this Kingdom our warmest gratitude is due,- and to them and to the invincible courage and high discipline of our naval & land forces, much more than to the individual who is now addressing you, are the glorious results of that contest to be ascribed.

My Lords and Gentlemen great as the personal compliment is which the Citizens of Glasgow have been pleased to pay me, ... it and all similar testimonials, serve a much more important end than the gratification of individual feeling, or even the celebration of any events or course of events however important; they are enduring memorials "that duty to the state faithfully performed is sure, in the end, to be appreciated and adequately rewarded by the approbation of an enlightened and a reflecting people. The true and noble end of Public Monuments is to enforce the Conviction and the example of duties faithfully discharged is always highly beneficial- that there is no duty however trifling that can be neglected with impunity- and that there are few services however difficult which by patience and perseverance may not be successfully performed."

⁷⁸ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 64-67.

These are sentiments Gentlemen you are by the erection of this memorial inculcating and maintaining; and permit me to say, they are sentiments which cannot be too much enforced or too widely disseminated.⁷⁹

He concluded with a promise to facilitate the artist selected by the Committee to execute the work.

While in London, McLellan, Dalglish and some others of the deputation visited the studio of Sir Francis Chantrey, an expedition which McLellan reported on to the Committee at a meeting chaired by him on 21 April 1840. Chantrey's opinion of the project reputedly rejected any notion of utilising the front of the Royal Exchange as a site. The meeting determined that the subject of site selection should be discussed again presently. The London trip was deemed a success, with McLellan singling out Dalglish for particular praise, proposing that a vote of thanks be offered to him by the meeting "for the devotion and tact he had displayed throughout the whole business."⁸⁰ Around the same time an idea was posited of printing the whole list of subscribers along with a short history of the proceedings and the text of Wellington's speech, which volume might ultimately be inserted in a bottle in the foundation stone along with newspapers of the day.⁸¹ This time capsule suggestion eventually bore fruit and is reminiscent of a similar action undertaken at Falkirk, which it may even have inspired.

4.4.6 Choosing an Artist: British or Foreign? The Nationality Debate

The subject of the selection of an artist was addressed at a meeting of the Committee held a few days later on 30 April 1840. With this in mind a select Sub-Committee of 20 members was appointed. Their brief was to "procure information regarding the most eminent Sculptors in Europe- the best mode of selection- the terms on which they would undertake to execute a Statue worthy of the Duke of Wellington, and of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, and the probable time the Artist would take".⁸² Once their investigations were complete they were to report the results to the General Committee. The Sub-Committee was largely composed of those who had already taken a leading role in the advancement of the project up to this point. Eight of the resolution proposers and seconders from the meeting of 18 February 1840 were included, with a ninth, Lord Belhaven, being added to

⁷⁹ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 66-71.

⁸⁰ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 22 April 1840.

⁸¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 25 April 1840.

⁸² Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4.

the Sub-Committee on 3 July 1840.⁸³ The Convener, Sub-Convener, Treasurer and Secretary of the General Committee were also given a place among the Sub-Committee's numbers.⁸⁴ Of the remaining eight initially appointed, four had formed part of the deputation who waited on the Duke of Wellington on 4 April 1840.⁸⁵ The other four were Mr Colquhoun, MP, Colonel Macintosh (who later resigned), Robert Findlay, Esquire, a banker in Glasgow and John Houldsworth, Esquire, a Glasgow-based merchant.⁸⁶ Dalglish was appointed to act as Convener of the Sub-Committee, and as with the General Committee, he appears to have chaired the majority of its meetings.

The Sub-Committee engrossed themselves in their assigned task for a number of months following their formation. A progress report on their activities at a meeting held on 3 July 1840 revealed that four foreign artists, Thorwaldsen, Marochetti, Denniker and Rauch, were of particular interest to the six Sub-Committee members present.⁸⁷ However, a report reprinted in the *Glasgow Constitutional* just over two weeks later deemed Thorwaldsen's selection unlikely "on account of his advanced age".⁸⁸ On 28 July 1840, the Sub-Committee decided upon a shortlist of artists to whom they would address a preliminary enquiry. The list comprised six British artists (Baillie, Campbell, Chantrey, Steell, Westmacott and Wyatt) and three foreign (Marochetti, Rauch and Schwanthaler).⁸⁹ Several of the British artists had links with other Wellington commemorations. Perhaps most notably Steell was employed by the Edinburgh Committee to fashion their national testimonial. Baron Carlo Marochetti, an Italian-born sculptor residing in France,⁹⁰ was proposed as a potential candidate for that same undertaking by Lord Elgin during February 1840.⁹¹

On 18 September 1840, the Sub-Committee met again to consider the responses received from those parties, along with samples of some of the artists' works. At this point,

⁸³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', pp. 1, 4-5. Of the previously listed proposers and seconders only William Smith, Esq. and Major-General Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B. were excluded.

⁸⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 19 February 1840; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4.

⁸⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 8 April 1840; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4. These four deputation members were the Duke of Argyll, Robert Monteith, A.M. Lockhart, MP and Henry Dunlop, Lord Provost of Glasgow.

⁸⁶ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 4; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Petition, p. 2; Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Answers to the Petition of William Stirling, George McIntosh, William Leckie Ewing and Archibald McLellan, October 1841, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 18 July 1840.

⁸⁹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 5; Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'Letter to Archibald Alison, Esquire, F.R.S.E., from Archibald McLellan, Esquire, on Mr Alison's motion that a foreign artist be employed to execute the equestrian statue of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, to be erected in this city', 20 October 1840, p. 2.

⁹⁰ For further biographical details on Marochetti see *Glasgow Constitutional*, 9 October 1844.

⁹¹ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/74, Elgin to Lord Dalhousie, 6 February 1840.

all but Rauch and Schwanthaler had sent a reply. The responses were ordered to be recorded in the minute book and a break of approximately three weeks was ordained, during which time the minute book was to be circulated among every Sub-Committee member in order that they might form an opinion on the nature of the report to be made to the General Committee.⁹²

The next Sub-Committee meeting was held on 20 October 1840. At the meeting, Archibald McLellan proposed three resolutions:

First, That an absolute identification of the person, features, and expression of the Duke of Wellington, in the Statue to be erected in this city, is demanded by the subscribers, and will form its chief value in the eyes of posterity.

Second, That while every essential of a work of art of the highest class will be found in the English school of Sculpture, its admitted pre-eminence in portraiture gives it a decided advantage over the continental schools in the execution of a truly national and characteristic Equestrian Statue of his Grace.

Third, That Sir Francis Chantrey has signified to the Committee his readiness to undertake the commission to proceed with the work immediately, in his very best manner, for the sum specified by the Committee, and to erect the Statue in Glasgow in four years; and the Committee being of opinion that Sir Francis Chantrey is most likely of any of the English sculptors to satisfy the expectation of the subscribers-Resolved to report accordingly to their constituents.⁹³

These resolutions highlight the importance attached to reproducing an easily identifiable likeness of Wellington. All messages and subtexts intended to be transmitted to future ages would be summed up and embodied by an image of his personality. McLellan's desire further to promote British endeavour through the employment of an English artist and his personal bias towards a friend of his, Sir Francis Chantrey, are also apparent. In opposition to McLellan's proposals, Sheriff Alison put forward a single resolution to the effect that the Sub-Committee recommended that Baron Marochetti should be the artist selected to execute the work. Marochetti had promised to complete and erect the statue within eighteen months. The Lord Provost seconded Alison's motion, which was then voted to be carried. McLellan was noted as dissenting to this outcome. It was now left in the hands of the Convener to call a meeting of the General Committee in order to receive and come to a decision on the Sub-Committee's report.

McLellan's defeat on the subject of the selection of an artist marked the outset of a protracted campaign of opposition by him to the workings of the Sub-Committee. In

⁹² Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 5.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 6.

various aspects of his opposition he received the backing of other parties and of the press, but his was the most consistent and determined voice of a resistance towards democratically made decisions which even went as far as the launch of legal proceedings. One of the first acts of this opposition came in the wake of the meeting of 20 October 1840, with McLellan composing and having printed a long letter addressed to Alison opposing Alison's stance on the artist choice issue.⁹⁴ Defending his own preference towards the employment of a British artist, he expounded upon his perception of the link between art and national identity:

(Each) of the four Schools of Sculpture, (are) distinguished by peculiarities, national and characteristic, obvious in their works of fancy and imagination; these peculiarities are more particularly displayed in their national and monumental Sculpture. And ... if each nation has its peculiar characteristics, those characteristics ... can only be truly exhibited by a national artist. ...

If any conclusive proof of the identity of the Arts with the character of a people was wanting, that proof is furnished by the state of the Arts in France at this moment. The giddy and unsettled character of the people, their insatiable thirst after novel situations and striking incidents, their flutter, and restlessness, are as distinctly portrayed in their schools of Painting, Poetry, and Sculpture, as in their present political and social condition. ...

The essential features of the English school are the very opposite of those of France. ... (The) sober dignity- the unaffected simplicity- the strong good sense which marks the English character, is visible in all her works of Art...⁹⁵

His eagerness to see an "absolute identification"⁹⁶ of the Duke reproduced in the statue is explained in relation to this, with Wellington presented as an embodiment and icon of Britishness:

You seem to treat this Equestrian Statue of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, as if it were to be an abstract and ideal work of Art, and that its resemblance to the Duke was merely a secondary consideration. This is not complimentary to the Duke, who is the very beau ideal of an Englishman, and in mind and person an epitome of the British character.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ See Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'Letter to Archibald Alison', pp. 1-29.

⁹⁵ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'Letter to Archibald Alison', pp. 13-15.

⁹⁶ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 6.

⁹⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'Letter to Archibald Alison', p. 20.

Despite McLellan's fanaticism, occasionally questionable assertions and ultimate failure to see a British artist employed, many of his points had a resonance and bearing on the project as it ultimately transpired.

On 30 October 1840, the General Committee met and ordered that the report of the Sub-Committee be printed and circulated among all the General Committee members before a final decision on the artist should be taken on 20 November 1840. Special mention and praise of the role of the Duke of Hamilton in the proceedings of the Sub-Committee was also made, he having, among other things, assisted with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the distribution of letters of enquiry to the German artists Rauch and Schwanthaler.⁹⁸

At the meeting of 20 November 1840, it was unanimously resolved: "That an absolute identification of the person, features, and expression of the Duke of Wellington in the prime of life, and in the Statue of his Grace to be erected in this City, is expected by the Subscribers, and will form the chief value of the Statue in the eyes of posterity."⁹⁹ This resolution was proposed by Charles MacIntosh, Esq., and seconded by Andrew Rankine, Esq., and formed a very similar statement to the first resolution put forward by Archibald McLellan at the meeting of the Sub-Committee held on 20 October 1840, proving that a desire to perpetuate some of the sentiments expressed by McLellan certainly prevailed.

However, McLellan was defeated in an attempt led by William Stirling, Esq., and seconded by him to limit the choice of artist to British candidates only. The assembly voted by a margin of 31 to 23 in favour of leaving the work open to artists of any nationality. Following this vote it was proposed by the Lord Provost and seconded by Lord Belhaven that the Sub-Committee should be invested with the power to choose the artist they preferred, under the condition that he first submit a model of the statue proposed by him for their approval. If this model did not meet with the Sub-Committee's approval then the artist was not to be employed. It was also specified that the work should form "at once a striking likeness, and a noble Equestrian Statue of the Duke of Wellington".¹⁰⁰ Finally, once the artist was selected, the Sub-Committee were to oversee all details necessary to bring about the completion of the memorial, in particular those pertaining to the selection and securing of a suitable site. In opposition to this proposal, McLellan moved an amendment to the effect that the Sub-Committee should only have the power to investigate and report the results of their enquiries to the General Committee, leaving them with the power of selecting the artist. This amendment was overturned, with only 19 voting for it

⁹⁸ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', pp. 7-8.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

compared to 25 for the original motion of the Lord Provost. The meeting ended with the addition of four new members to the Sub-Committee: George Macintosh, Charles Hutcheson, William Stirling and William Leckie Ewing.¹⁰¹

Following this designation of their function, the Sub-Committee met again on 16 December 1840. At this meeting the names of Kiss, Professor of Sculpture at Berlin, Gibson, an English artist resident in Rome, McDonald, another English artist resident in Rome, and Pistrucci, an Italian artist resident in London, were added to the list of artists under consideration.¹⁰² Emmerson Tennent, Esq., MP was instrumental in bringing Kiss to the Sub-Committee's attention, while the other three artists were added at the motion of Lord Belhaven. The list of artists to be considered was now officially declared closed, with the chosen candidate to be drawn from among those already enumerated. A motion by William Stirling seconded by McLellan to exclude from consideration any artist who had not already executed a likeness of the Duke was abandoned following a proposed amendment by Sheriff Alison opposing the terms of the motion. George Macintosh then proposed that four abstracts based on the resolutions passed at the General Committee meeting of 20 November 1840 be printed and circulated among all the potential sculptors. The fourth of these abstracts deviated from the resolutions of 20 November 1840 with a request that a bust of the Duke in the prime of life be submitted along with the statue model for the consideration of the Sub-Committee. Macintosh was seconded by McLellan. In opposition to this Sheriff Alison, seconded by the Lord Provost, put forward an amendment that all artists still under consideration be sent a copy of the resolutions and remit of the General Committee to inform them of the conditions upon which their employment would depend. Any reference to a bust would therefore be omitted. The amendment was carried by a vote of ten to five, and another meeting was set to be called once answers had been received from the artists.¹⁰³

This meeting did not take place until 14 April 1841. However, the matter was kept alive in the public consciousness during the interim period via a series of reports in the pages of *The Art-Union*, a journal devoted to supplying both artists and the general public with information on the state of the fine arts and possessing an avowedly pro-British bias.¹⁰⁴ In keeping with this slant, the journal argued strongly and persistently against the selection of Marochetti and in favour of a British artist for the Glasgow statue.¹⁰⁵ At the

¹⁰¹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 12.

¹⁰² Ibid.; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Answers, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', pp. 12-13; Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Answers, pp. 8-10.

¹⁰⁴ *The Art-Union*, February 1839, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ See *The Art-Union*, December 1840, p. 192; *The Art-Union*, January 1841, pp. 9-11; *The Art-Union*, February 1841, pp. 32-33, 38; *The Art-Union*, March 1841, p. 48.

height of this campaign they even questioned the right of the Sub-Committee to make a decision regarding the artist based on the extent to which they were representative of the mass of subscribers:

The subscription, amounting to somewhere about £10,000, is designated as "of Glasgow and the west of Scotland;" but it is sufficiently notorious, that nearly the whole amount is the subscription of the citizens of Glasgow! ... (In) what way or to what extent does this sub-committee represent the general body of subscribers? The sub-committee consists of about twenty-three gentlemen; the general committee consisting of about ninety, of whom two-thirds are citizens of Glasgow: but, of the twenty-three sub-committeemen, not one-half are citizens or natives of Glasgow, or in any way connected with the place; the others are noble peers, members of parliament, and officials, whose connexion with the city is wholly of a temporary nature. Many of these members of sub-committee studiously avoid ever entering the city, save upon the occurrence of something like compulsion; and when outside of its walls would not even deign to recognise or notice a "Glasgow bodie." ... We maintain, therefore, that such members of committee have no right in this instance, on the ground of either equity or common sense, to lord it over the Glasgow subscribers in the manner in which they seem disposed to do!¹⁰⁶

While the accuracy of some of the journal's claims may be questioned in this instance, the fervour of their conviction that a British artist would be best and the keenness of their desire to impress that sentiment upon the public are undoubted. Another notable factor is their emphasis on the Glaswegian nature of the monument and the importance they attach to this association. Being funded largely by Glasgow subscribers it should be a source of pride for the city and reflect its citizens' taste and identity.

This vein of resistance and opposition was continued at the Sub-Committee meeting itself. In the days preceding the meeting George Macintosh, Leckie Ewing and McLellan sought to give yet more weight to the role of the press in the affair with a written request to Dalglish on 9 April 1841 that the Secretary should address an invitation to attend the meeting to the editors or reporters of at least three Glasgow newspapers. The justification given for their request was "(to) prevent conflicting statements of the business which may be transacted at the meeting ... and in order that the subscribers and the public may get that information which, in our opinion, they have a right to receive."¹⁰⁷ Dalglish did not deliver his reply until the meeting itself when he informed the petitioners that he had not fulfilled their request as he deemed it outside his authority to invite anybody but

¹⁰⁶ *The Art-Union*, February 1841, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 14.

members of the Sub-Committee to the meeting. A further motion by McLellan to allow reporters to be admitted was defeated.

At the crux of the meeting Sheriff Alison moved that Baron Marochetti be employed to prepare a model of the statue, but under the condition that even if the model was approved of, it would further be necessary for the Baron to produce a bust of the Duke in order that the Sub-Committee “may be satisfied that the instruction of the General Committee, in regard to “an absolute identification of the person, features, and expression of the Duke of Wellington in the prime of life,” will be complied with”.¹⁰⁸ At this point McLellan, George Macintosh, Leckie Ewing and Hutcheson moved a number of amendments all opposing the selection of Marochetti. McLellan proposed the formation of a Committee of inquiry to investigate the merits of British sculptors. The prospect of legal action was also introduced for the first time in the suggested duties of the proposed Committee. They were to consider whether any sculptor could legally conform to the first resolution of the General Committee without already having modelled the Duke at a younger age; and whether or not certain Acts of Parliament drawn up to protect the works of British artists blocked the introduction to the country of works produced abroad which were copied from or founded upon a British artist’s work. Finally, in the course of their operations they were to be empowered to take legal advice “or any steps which shall appear to its members to be necessary”.¹⁰⁹ However, all these considerations were overturned when the amendment positing the Committee’s formation was rejected.

Further amendments proposed delaying a decision on Marochetti for a fortnight and transposing either Wyatt’s name or the phrase “an eminent British sculptor”¹¹⁰ for Marochetti in the resolution determining on his engagement. Again, all these amendments were defeated. However, such had been the time exhausted in debating these amendments it was deemed necessary to adjourn the meeting for a week. The Sub-Committee reassembled on 21 April 1841. Further blocking amendments were proposed, including one by George Houston, MP that Gibson be preferred to prepare a model and another by McLellan fixing on Sir Francis Chantrey for the task. All such amendments were thwarted and Sheriff Alison’s motion in favour of Marochetti was finally carried by a vote of 12 to 7, with one person declining to cast a ballot. Arrangements were then made to order the model from Marochetti, with McLellan formally protesting against the resolution

¹⁰⁸ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘APPENDIX’, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

determining on this action, while Stirling, supported by George Macintosh and Leckie Ewing, submitted a written list of objections against the Baron's employment.¹¹¹

4.4.7 Bust and Model Produced Amid Continuing Conflict

The following month, at the request of a patron of Marochetti's William John Banks, a letter was procured from the Secretary of the Committee Robert Lamond introducing Marochetti to the Duke of Wellington as the artist employed to produce a model and bust of the Duke for the Glasgow statue. This introduction was penned on 26 May 1841. Prior to its issue provisional assent had been given by the Duke to receive and pose for the Baron at his Stratfield Saye residence in Hampshire during Whitsuntide. With Lamond's letter to pave the way, Marochetti was able to take advantage of the invitation. He speedily produced a bust of the Duke, writing around 12 June 1841 to announce both its completion and his imminent arrival in Glasgow to meet with the Committee.¹¹² News of the Duke's sittings for Marochetti soon reached the Edinburgh Committee via an account sent by David Smith to the Earl of Dalhousie and most likely influenced them in pressing for the same privilege to be afforded to their chosen artist.¹¹³

On 15 June 1841, some members of the Sub-Committee gathered to meet with the Baron. He displayed a sketch of his proposal for the monument and the recently fashioned bust of the Duke. He engaged the men in conversation and provided further explanation of his work. At the close of the meeting it was settled that a decision would be given on the bust and model at the next meeting of the Sub-Committee, which was already scheduled for 18 June 1841. At this meeting both the model and bust were formally approved, in each case by a margin of 7 votes to 4. McLellan's was the strongest voice of protest against the proceedings. He criticised the appearance of both horse and rider in the model and declared that the bas-reliefs to be inserted on the pedestal were "deficient in strict sculptural taste, and inaccurately represent the manners and costumes of the inhabitants of this kingdom".¹¹⁴ In response to these criticisms Sheriff Alison moved that Marochetti should be reminded of the General Committee's instruction to produce a statue of Wellington in the prime of his life, which he should do using the bust and such other materials as he may obtain. As regards the details of the monument and the dress of the figures he was to attend

¹¹¹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 17.

¹¹² Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'A Statement of Facts, and a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee on the Glasgow Wellington Memorial, Since the Last Meeting of the General Committee', 1841, pp. 12-19.

¹¹³ Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/7, David Smith to the Earl of Dalhousie, 12 June 1841; Broun-Lindsay Papers, NRAS2383/3/Bundle 353/8, David Smith to the Earl of Dalhousie, 16 June 1841.

¹¹⁴ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', p. 20.

to the suggestions of the Sub-Committee and in particular those of the Duke of Hamilton. Under these conditions Marochetti was directed to proceed with the execution of the statue.¹¹⁵

Notice of this decision was forwarded to the Baron on 28 June 1841. On 4 August 1841, the Sub-Committee met again and a new Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare a contract to be entered into with the Baron for the performance of the work. This Sub-Committee for the contract had five members: Robert Findlay, J.D. Hope, John Houldsworth, the Secretary Lamond and the Convener Dalglish. Once the draft contract had been approved of by the Baron, they were to refer it back to the Sub-Committee on the artist for their approval. At the same meeting, Sheriff Alison submitted a list of recommendations for Marochetti to adhere to, which was to be considered and potentially added to by other Sub-Committee members at a subsequent meeting. McLellan also took the opportunity to again register his discontent. He insisted that the model and bust of the Baron contravened the resolutions laid down by the General Committee. As such, he maintained that the Sub-Committee could not enter into a contract or proceed any further in the matter without consulting the General Committee. However, his protests were turned aside by a majority of the Sub-Committee.¹¹⁶

4.4.8 Legal Proceedings Launched

Despite this, McLellan and his supporters were not to be deterred. Stirling, Leckie Ewing and George Macintosh drafted a requisition on 1 September 1841. The text of this requisition stated a belief that the approval of Marochetti's bust and model constituted a breach of the General Committee's resolution of 20 November 1840 concerning the necessity for an absolute identification of the Duke in the prime of life to be embodied in the statue. It was desired that a meeting of both the General Committee and Sub-Committee be convened to discuss the matter. The three men succeeded in gathering 25 signatures for this requisition among the subscribers and members of the General Committee. The document was then transmitted to Dalglish on 19 September 1841. In his reply Dalglish stated that he conceived it would be improper to call a meeting of the General Committee without first consulting with the Sub-Committee and, with that in mind, he had instructed the Secretary to give notice that a meeting of the Sub-Committee would be held on 29 September 1841. He also revealed that "certain gentlemen (had)

¹¹⁵ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'APPENDIX', pp. 18-20.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

already chosen to take legal steps, by applying to the Sheriff for an interdict.”¹¹⁷ Notice of the meeting further urged members of the Sub-Committee to attend on the grounds that their presence might “be the means of preventing the unseemliness of litigation on such a subject.”¹¹⁸ This move towards legal action is reminiscent of a similar step taken at Falkirk when an interdict was sought to block the erection of the statue. Above and beyond the power of the Committee and Sub-Committees, the law and the state stood as the ultimate authorities giving sanction to the project and to whom recourse could be made in times of crisis.

At the meeting of 29 September 1841, two motions broaching the subject of a meeting of the General Committee were overturned. Instead, a motion by Lord Belhaven instructing the Baron to fashion a new bust depicting the Duke in the prime of his life was adopted. McLellan and George Macintosh declined voting on this motion. McLellan alone then opposed an otherwise unanimous decision of the Sub-Committee to return the first bust to the Baron’s possession. Furthermore, he lodged a formal protest against this action being taken and against the Convener parting with the bust, which he believed could be used by the Baron to further his interests on the Continent.¹¹⁹ Following this he proceeded to “(take) instruments in the hands of the Clerk”.¹²⁰ Clearly his frustration with the progress of events had reached boiling point.

In the wake of the meeting, the Baron was directed to produce the new bust, a task which he readily agreed to perform.¹²¹ At the same time, the anti-Marochetti faction proceeded further in their pursuit of legal remedy for their grievances. Stirling, Leckie Ewing, George Macintosh and McLellan co-ordinated to produce a document outlining their version of the proceedings of the Sub-Committee from the time of the last meeting of the General Committee on 20 November 1840 onwards. It also detailed the various transgressions and breaches of resolutions they perceived as having taken place. This document was printed and circulated among the members of the General Committee as preliminary reading to be undertaken before the meeting of that body sought by the requisition of 1 September 1841. A hint of the authors’ preferred outcome of events may perhaps be gleaned from a promise to exhibit a bust of the Duke in the prime of life by Sir Francis Chantrey at the said meeting alongside the bust and model of Marochetti, which they describe in very unfavourable terms.¹²² Among other accusations of secrecy and

¹¹⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘APPENDIX’, p. 24.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

¹¹⁹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘A Statement of Facts’, pp. 31-34.

¹²⁰ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘APPENDIX’, p. 25.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹²² Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, ‘A Statement of Facts’, p. 8.

misconduct on the part of the majority of the Sub-Committee, the authors claimed that Marochetti's model had actually been made months before the minute employing him to do so was passed by the Sub-Committee. It was kept in London at the house of Mr Banks, and there offered to be exhibited to members of the Committee. It was also subjected to alterations under the direction of Banks before being exhibited in Glasgow.¹²³ *The Art-Union* of October 1841 highlighted the importance of Banks' impact on the progress of affairs, saying that "he seems indeed from the first, in a great measure, to have controlled (these proceedings)".¹²⁴

The other function the document was employed for was as supporting material for a petition now lodged by the authors with the Sheriff of Lanarkshire or his substitutes on 2 October 1841. The petition was requested to be served on Dalglish, Rowand, Lamond, Alison, Robert Findlay, John Houldsworth, the Honourable James Campbell (now Lord Provost of Glasgow), Henry Dunlop and J.D. Hope, who the petitioners cited had formed the majority of the Sub-Committee at its meeting on 18 June 1841 when the model and bust of Marochetti were approved "and who have otherwise acted, and are about to act to the prejudice of the petitioners".¹²⁵ These men were requested to lodge answers to the petitioners' protests and it was requested that an interdict prohibit them from concluding any contract or agreement for the execution of the statue with Marochetti or any other artist.¹²⁶

At this point, it is clear that a serious division had developed among the members of the Sub-Committee with a sense of open animosity at times prevailing between the two opposing factions. These two factions evidently also had a great deal of influence on the direction in which the project was being steered. Almost all of these men were actively involved in politics as it was noted on 30 July 1841 that most of the Sub-Committee's members were engaged with the General Election.¹²⁷ More notably, none of these men were particularly elevated members of the aristocracy. In the petition, seven were described as merchants and one as a coachmaker. Most of the rest occupied legal and financial positions, comprising two bankers, a writer, an advocate and sheriff (Alison) and the Lord Provost. All save Alison were attributed as operating in Glasgow, closely linking the interests of the men and the subject of their disputes with the city. Further identification of the statue with its intended milieu is apparent in the text of the petitioners' Sub-Committee proceedings document, when, in criticising the appearance of the horse as

¹²³ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'A Statement of Facts', p. 11.

¹²⁴ *The Art-Union*, October 1841, p. 169.

¹²⁵ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Petition, p. 5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-6.

¹²⁷ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'A Statement of Facts', pp. 36-37.

depicted in Marochetti's model, they declared that "were it erected in this city, it would be held as an insult offered to the feelings of the community".¹²⁸

In their answers to the petition, the respondents defended their actions and decisions and denied that "anything (had) been done, beyond the authority given to the respondents, contrary to the object in view, the purpose and object of the subscribers, or inconsistent with the public interest, or the principles of proper dealing or good taste".¹²⁹ Beyond that they questioned the place of the law in the matter:

(The majority of) the sub-committee ... prefer, and that upon most mature consideration, Baron Marochetti; ... how is it competent for a court of law to interfere with or controul (sic) their choice? It is surely no legal objection that he is a foreigner... The petitioners ... appeal to the *taste* of the court... (How) can a court of law interfere to overhaul the good or bad taste of those who, acting within their power, have made the selection? Under which branch of the jurisdiction of our courts of law does matter of taste fall?¹³⁰

They also deprecated the loss of time the resistance of the four petitioners had occasioned and the note of discord their continued opposition had introduced to "a subject where only one feeling of patriotism and respect ought to exist".¹³¹ The petitioners produced further replies to these answers, appealing again for the interdict to be granted. A hearing was held on 8 October 1841 in order that a decision might be made on the application for an interdict. At this, the defenders pledged to move no further towards concluding a contract with Marochetti for one month from that day. In light of this it was deemed unnecessary to grant an interim-interdict. The petitioners were advised that they could reapply for such an interdict after the lapse of a month if they were so inclined.

4.4.9 General Committee Approves Artist Choice, Protesters Defeated

During the intervening period, the requisition of 1 September 1841 calling for a meeting of the General and Sub-Committees was renewed, this time being addressed to the Sub-Convener, Archibald McLellan. The number of signatories had also increased from 25 to 34. The requisition was presented to McLellan on 15 October 1841. He responded in the affirmative with a call for the desired meeting to be held on 27 October 1841.¹³² Prior to the meeting's occurrence, Dalglish invited all members of the Sub-Committee except the

¹²⁸ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, 'A Statement of Facts', p. 32.

¹²⁹ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Answers, p. 2.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 25.

¹³² Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Requisition to Archibald McLellan, Esq., 15 October 1841.

four petitioners for interdict to meet in Lamond's office on 26 October 1841 in order that they might co-ordinate a course of action to be taken at the upcoming meeting.¹³³ At the outset of the following day's meeting, McLellan expressed a desire to avoid further legal proceedings, a sentiment echoed by the Dean of Guild upon being requested to take the Chair. It was then moved by William Stirling, seconded by John Pollock and supported by McLellan, that Marochetti's work to date had displayed such a want of skill that it rendered his employment "highly inexpedient".¹³⁴ In opposition to this, Mr A. Morrison, seconded by Mr Bain, put forward an amendment giving a vote of confidence to the Sub-Committee's performance and validating both their selection of Marochetti and their approval of his model and bust. It concluded with an instruction to proceed in their efforts to obtain a statue of the Duke without delay. 10 voted for the motion and 24 for the amendment, thereby handing victory yet again to the majority of the Sub-Committee. George Macintosh, McLellan and Stirling protested against the decision. After some conversation the meeting reputedly separated on a fairly amicable note, with the parties expressing a willingness to continue with the task in hand.¹³⁵

With the approval of the General Committee now having been delivered, it appears a fresh application for interdict was not pursued. Two further, decisive, blows came for the minority of the Sub-Committee towards the end of November 1841. Firstly, Sir Francis Chantrey, McLellan's preferred candidate for the undertaking, died on 25 November 1841.¹³⁶ Secondly, another meeting of the Sub-Committee was held on 30 November 1841. At this meeting, approval was given to Marochetti's new bust of the Duke, which had since been delivered into the hands of the Sub-Committee. Recourse was now made anew to the contract Sub-Committee. They were instructed to make it a condition of the contract that Marochetti should spend some time in London before finishing a clay model of the statue in order to be certain of his fulfilling the Committee's wishes regarding an absolute identification of the Duke being reproduced. The Duke of Hamilton and Lord Belhaven were also added to the Contract Committee. The Committee's previous brief was expanded to include corresponding with the artist regarding details of the monument and the progress of the work, as well as reporting back to the Sub-Committee as they saw fit.¹³⁷

¹³³ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/2, Robert Lamond to the Duke of Hamilton, 22 October 1841.

¹³⁴ Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Glasgow Wellington Testimonial: Meeting of the General and Sub-Committees, 27 October 1841, p. 3.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-7.

¹³⁶ *The Art-Union*, January 1842, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁷ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Extracts from the Minute Book of the Glasgow Wellington Monument Committee, Meeting of Sub Committee, 30 November 1841.

4.4.10 Creating “a truly British monument”¹³⁸

Matters now progressed steadily towards the finalising of a contract. Prior to this document being drawn up, the Sub-Committee drafted a number of instructions for the Baron on 13 December 1841. Its stated aim in delivering these instructions was to ensure that the equestrian group and bas-reliefs would appear to be “of an entirely British Character”.¹³⁹ Further pressing upon him the necessity of having the statue be explicitly British in nature, they also stressed the importance of Wellington being accurately and recognisably depicted:

The Committee particularly desiderate (sic) that the Costume shall be that of a British Field Marshall of the present day executed with the most scrupulous attention to the minutest points, and particularly on this subject they would advert to peculiarities in the way in which the Duke of Wellington wears his uniform; for instance the hanging of his Sword, the Buttoning of the coat at the neck, and the neckcloth.

All exaggerations ought to be avoided, and every thing tending to give the work a foreign appearance. ... It is well known that the French Cavalry use much larger pistol holsters than the English, and ... this trifling circumstance in the statue might be objected to, as showing the want of English Character.¹⁴⁰

The horse was also desired to be “really and truly of the English thorough breed”.¹⁴¹ To facilitate the Baron in achieving this end, the Sub-Committee proposed to utilise their network of contacts resident in London, specifically Lords Rosslyn and Cardigan. Both men were cited as owning studs in that city which were deemed expedient for the Baron to visit. A promise was given that members of the Committee would readily secure an introduction for the Baron to these noblemen if needed.

Beyond these matters reference was made to the original design proposal the Baron had outlined to the Sub-Committee. Marochetti’s original conception for the monument was outlined in a letter addressed by him to the Committee on 25 March 1841, and later expanded upon in the explanations he gave regarding his model when he attended the meeting of Sub-Committee members held on 15 June 1841. Recalling the Baron’s presentation on that occasion on 27 October 1841, Robert Findlay recounted how

¹³⁸ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/9, Extract of Minute for a Meeting of the Sub Committee on the Contract for the Glasgow Wellington Monument, 23 August 1842.

¹³⁹ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Instructions by Sub-Committee, Robert Lamond to Baron Marochetti, 13 December 1841.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

(Marochetti) explained to (us) his view, that the Duke bore a position in history different from all other great warriors and heroes- that he was the conqueror of peace for the world- that the statue should be quiescent- the Duke and the horse in repose,- that the whole should be emblematical of the pursuits of peace, of commerce, of agriculture, and the return of the soldier to his home.¹⁴²

It was intended that the scenes represented in the bas-reliefs to be inserted on the pedestal would be of an allegorical nature, all linked to the central theme of depicting Wellington as a bringer of peace. Marochetti's early concept as outlined on 25 March 1841 described the left side of the pedestal as showing a personification of Victory, its sword lowered to indicate it is no longer active. On either side of the figure of Victory was to be a bas-relief, one of a soldier's return to his homeland, the other of him coming into his home. The right hand side of the pedestal would illustrate the figure of Abundance, with an olive branch in its hand to symbolise peace and indicate that its presence is the result of that peace. Two more flanking bas-reliefs would portray trade and agriculture flourishing. The front of the pedestal would be decorated with the arms of the Duke, the rear with the arms of Scotland or of the city of Glasgow.¹⁴³ In his subsequent outline of his plan at Glasgow in June, the scenes proposed by the Baron included one of a Scottish soldier returning home wearing the uniform of a Scottish regiment and another of a Scotsman in traditional dress working at a plough.¹⁴⁴

A complete execution of these proposals was now vetoed by the Sub-Committee's instructions of 13 December 1841. Their vision for the monument placed particular emphasis on the illustration of a military theme and the commemoration of the act of victory. It was specified that "out of deference to the feelings of the Subscribers"¹⁴⁵ two of the bas-reliefs to be inserted on the pedestal must depict battle scenes. The subject of the other two bas-reliefs was left in the hands of Marochetti himself, under the stipulation that he should submit a full-scale sketch of his design to the Sub-Committee before casting it in bronze in order that they might correct "any trifling error or want of sufficient nationality".¹⁴⁶ In all it was suggested that four or even two bas-reliefs in total would be enough, potentially dispensing with Marochetti's own two independent compositions. In

¹⁴² Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Glasgow Wellington Testimonial: Meeting of the General and Sub-Committees, 27 October 1841, p. 4.

¹⁴³ Marochetti to the Glasgow Wellington Committee, 25 March 1841, in Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti', p. 862. Original held in Bankes Papers, Dorset County Record Office.

¹⁴⁴ Sp Coll Mu Add. q19, Glasgow Wellington Testimonial: Meeting of the General and Sub-Committees, 27 October 1841, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Instructions by Sub-Committee, Robert Lamond to Baron Marochetti, 13 December 1841.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

conclusion the Sub-Committee stated that: "Their only desire is to farther the object of the contributors in the erection of a truly national Monument, in honor of the greatest man of our Country; & by these remarks to aid you in the design and execution of what will be also an imperishable monument of our genius."¹⁴⁷

The text of the contract was finalised a short time later and signed at Glasgow on 31 December 1841 and at the British Embassy in Paris on 10 January 1842.¹⁴⁸ According to the opening paragraph of this agreement, the monument was to consist of: "a bronze Equestrian Statue representing the Duke in the prime of life, in the dress of a British field marshall, and mounted on a high bred English horse, and on the pedestal at least four bas reliefs in Bronze, of which two shall represent the battles of Assaye and Waterloo, the other subjects being left to the Baron's taste & Judgement."¹⁴⁹ Eighteen months from the date of the contract was given for the work to be completed and erected, the front of the Royal Exchange in Glasgow being mentioned as the potential site. This latter aspect was not finalised however, the site being left open to change by the Committee. It was specified that the pedestal should be exteriorly of granite and interiorly of granite or substantial mason work. It and the bronze statue were to be erected under the charge of an architect to be chosen by the Sub-Committee, hinting at a desire of the Sub-Committee to retain an overall hold on the power to shape and direct the outcome of affairs. The representation of the Duke at a younger age and in British military commander costume were aspects of the agreement considered sufficiently important to bear repeating. The work should encompass "a portrait of the Duke",¹⁵⁰ indicating that an accurate and recognisable depiction of the Duke's appearance was desired. Furthermore it was stated that:

It is provided as an essential condition of this Contract that the Equestrian Group, shall be thoroughly British in their Character and effect and to this the Baron engages that he will before finally completing his Model reside in England for such time as he shall consider sufficient to give him ample opportunities of becoming more acquainted with the person of the Duke the (sic) Costume, the Furniture of a British Cavalry horse and the general Style of horse & rider.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Instructions by Sub-Committee, Robert Lamond to Baron Marochetti, 13 December 1841.

¹⁴⁸ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Agreement between the Committee of Subscribers and Charles Baron Marrochetti (sic) of Vaux, 31 December 1841 and 10 January 1842; Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 70-71.

¹⁴⁹ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Agreement between the Committee of Subscribers and Charles Baron Marrochetti (sic) of Vaux, 31 December 1841 and 10 January 1842.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

As with the choice of architect, the Committee also sought to keep a relatively close degree of control and supervision over the Baron's own work, requiring that he should submit to exhibit his clay model to the Contract Sub-Committee from time to time during the course of its preparation if requested to do so. Beyond this he was to "attend to all instructions communicated to him in Writing by any one authorised by (the Committee)".¹⁵² The Glaswegian nature of the intended monument and the harmonious and beneficial relationship intended to be forged between statue and locality were illustrated with reference to the issue of the copyright of the monument, which it was decreed should, within Great Britain, remain the property of the Committee and their successors in office, with any proceeds generated from this circumstance being donated to various charitable institutions in Glasgow.¹⁵³

The contract having at last been signed and all hope of securing a British artist to undertake the project being lost, the minority of the Sub-Committee on the artist staged their final act of protest by officially withdrawing their names from the lists of both it and the General Committee.¹⁵⁴ In their absence, matters proceeded steadily with the management of affairs now falling largely under the direction of the Contract Sub-Committee. By August 1842, Marochetti had written to inform the Committee that his clay model of the equestrian statue was now complete. He also requested that several interested persons should visit him to view the statue and advise whether any changes should be required, as once the statue was cast in bronze, a process which he was now anxious to commence, such changes would be extremely difficult to implement.¹⁵⁵ Following repeated urging by the Baron on this subject, the Contract Sub-Committee met on 23 August 1842 to take the issue into consideration. While they agreed that "it (was) their duty to avail themselves of every opportunity of being satisfied that the grand requisites in regard to British character (had) been attained",¹⁵⁶ the question of who should perform the task of viewing the work was slightly more problematic. Dalglish demurred, not feeling qualified to pass judgment on the piece. However, he subscribed to the general sentiment that "some

¹⁵² Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/11, Agreement between the Committee of Subscribers and Charles Baron Marrochetti (sic) of Vaux, 31 December 1841 and 10 January 1842.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ *The Art-Union*, January 1842, p. 11.

¹⁵⁵ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/7, Robert Lamond to the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, 23 August 1842.

¹⁵⁶ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/9, Extract of Minute for a Meeting of the Sub Committee on the Contract for the Glasgow Wellington Monument, 23 August 1842.

one thoroughly acquainted with the Duke of Wellington, and an Englishman, should see it in its present state.”¹⁵⁷

After some deliberation, the Committee struck on Lord Cowley, Wellington’s youngest brother, as a suitable candidate to carry out the inspection. Cowley was residing at Paris at the time, a circumstance which would greatly facilitate him making a trip to the Baron’s studio at Vaux. The Duke of Hamilton was called upon to act as an intermediary and was requested to emphasise in his communication with Cowley the particular concern of the Contract Committee with obtaining “both a faithful likeness and a truly British monument of the Duke of Wellington”.¹⁵⁸ If Cowley was unable to fulfil the request, the Committee asked that he nominate one of his friends in whom he had confidence to assume the role instead, “(the Committee) being satisfied that the subject must be one of great interest to all Englishmen.”¹⁵⁹

The choices and observations of the Contract Sub-Committee emphasise the British character of the piece, and the importance they perceived it to have within the national arena. There may also be an undertone of class in the proceedings, with the choice of Cowley perhaps hinting at an expectation that members of the nobility should be well versed in the arts and both capable of and suited to filling the role of an art critic. Hamilton himself had previously been called upon to perform a similar role for the Sub-Committee on the Artist at their meeting of 18 June 1841.

In the wake of receiving the Contract Committee’s plea, Hamilton struck up a correspondence with Lord Cowley, following which the latter gentleman proceeded to inspect the model at Vaux. Cowley’s assessment of the labour was positive. Writing to deliver his opinion to Hamilton, he declared that “the artist has been very successful as to the likeness to the Duke, ... the horse is beautiful, and ... the whole work will do great credit to Marochetti, and will (I trust) satisfy the expectations of the subscribers.”¹⁶⁰

4.4.11 Site Selection, Site Disputes

With this seal of approval secured, the Committee now turned its attention to procuring a suitable site for the monument. On 12 October 1842 it was reported that following an application by the Sub-Committee, the Directors of the Royal Exchange had granted permission for the statue to be erected in front of that building. It was to be placed at the

¹⁵⁷ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/7, Robert Lamond to the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, 23 August 1842.

¹⁵⁸ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/9, Extract of Minute for a Meeting of the Sub Committee on the Contract for the Glasgow Wellington Monument, 23 August 1842.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 719/10, Cowley to the Duke of Hamilton, 19 September 1842.

curbstone of the pavement, facing eastwards down Ingram Street. The report also anticipated that the monument would be finished and in Glasgow by 1 May 1843, a date noted as being the Duke's birthday.¹⁶¹ This expectation, however, was to be frustrated. The matter of the site was far from being concluded also. At a meeting of the Town Council held a few days later on 21 October 1842, it was revealed that the Committee had contacted the Lord Provost to discuss the practicability of obtaining a site for the statue in George Square. Clearly the Royal Exchange option had not been finally fixed upon. The Town Council resolved to look favourably on any proposal to place the statue in George Square and appointed a Committee of seven men to liaise with all interested parties and report the results back to the Town Council.¹⁶²

However, the keenest interest still remained invested in the Royal Exchange site. It being apparent that in this position the statue would encroach on the public foot pavement in Queen Street, application needed to be made to the Dean of Guild Court to approve its erection there. The result of this application was a unanimous decision by the Court that the statue would form no material obstruction to the street.¹⁶³ Yet not everybody was satisfied to accept this ruling. At a meeting of the Town Council on 8 December 1842, Councillor David Bell gave notice of a motion stating the Council's opposition to the monument being placed on part of the public foot pavement of Queen Street and appointing Mr J.B. Gray, writer, to take such legal steps as would be necessary to enforce their opposition.¹⁶⁴

While consideration of this motion was postponed until a later date, a further protest came from a familiar quarter. Archibald McLellan launched a petition opposing the Dean of Guild Court's recent decision that the statue would form no material obstruction to Queen Street. He questioned both the right of the Wellington Committee to apply to the Court for permission to erect, as it was not a proprietor in Queen Street, and the right of the Court itself to deliver judgement on the matter, contending that it should fall under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff Court instead. He concluded by expressing his conviction that "the placing of the statue in the proposed position would be injurious to the effect, both of the statue and the Exchange building",¹⁶⁵ an opinion which he claimed was shared by "the vast majority of those capable of forming an opinion".¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1842.

¹⁶² Mitchell Library Glasgow, Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, C1/1/63, 21 October 1842, p. 111.

¹⁶³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 10 December 1842.

¹⁶⁴ Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, C1/1/63, 8 December 1842, p. 149.

¹⁶⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 10 December 1842.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Robert Lamond, who appeared to defend the position of the Wellington Committee, dismissed these objections out of hand. He mentioned that the Committee had the express permission of the directors of the Royal Exchange to utilise the site as well as the written consent of other adjacent proprietors. McLellan was the only proprietor in Queen Street to object to the statue's placement, and his property was some distance away from the site. Lamond went on to state that:

(T)he petitioner, ... a subscriber to the statue and a member of the Committee, and the sole objector, ... had not named another site, and there could be little doubt that he would oppose it in any other position, should it occupy the smallest part of a public street. To say the least of it, it was in extremely bad taste for any individual member of a Committee, however talented and qualified he might be, to urge his own opinion against the united voice of 24 noblemen and gentlemen, all of whom had the best opportunities of forming a judgment as to the fitness of the site.¹⁶⁷

The outcome of the case was a unanimous decision by the Court to adhere to their previous ruling. A few weeks later on 22 December 1842 the subject of the site was raised again at a meeting of the Town Council, when Councillor Bell formally withdrew his motion stating the Town Council's objection to it.¹⁶⁸ Opinion in the Council was still somewhat divided between the merits of the Royal Exchange versus the George Square site however. Bailie Leadbetter favoured the front of the Exchange, declaring it to be "the best site, according to all competent authority, in the city".¹⁶⁹ He stated that he had formed this opinion contrary to his own interests as a property owner in George Square, where he was keen to see ornamental embellishment introduced. Believing it likely the Exchange site would now be abandoned for George Square, he offered £100 towards the improvement of that ground. This offer was matched by Mr William Dunn, who vowed to give the same amount if the statue was erected in George Square. Councillors Cross and Brodie apparently shared in the conviction that George Square would now be utilised, stating their belief that "the adoption of the Exchange site would have occasioned very general dissatisfaction".¹⁷⁰

Despite the convictions of these gentlemen, it was the Royal Exchange site that was eventually the one utilised, the various objections towards it having been overturned by courts of law. Aside from the authorities already referred to, this choice was also subject to the approval of the Commissioners of Police, the Statute Labour Board, Mr David

¹⁶⁷ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 10 December 1842.

¹⁶⁸ Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, C1/1/63, 22 December 1842, p. 168.

¹⁶⁹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 24 December 1842.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Hamilton, architect of the Royal Exchange, Marochetti and the citizens of the city of Glasgow in general.¹⁷¹ Ultimately, despite continued discontent from some quarters, a high enough degree of consensus was attained from the interested parties to proceed with the erection. The case is, however, illustrative of the difficulty involved in altering the urban environment through the addition of a statue. When public land was in question and many stakeholders were involved, sometimes the intervention of a higher political or legal authority was needed to sanction the move and thereby settle any disputes. The Glasgow statue was thus given an official seal of approval by the state through the actions of its governing bodies.

4.4.12 The Statue Arrives in Glasgow

While these debates were taking place, work was continuing on the statue in France. Louis-Claude-François Soyer was Marochetti's main founder at the outset of the 1840s.¹⁷² His firm, Soyer et Ingé Fils, also executed some bronze and statue work for the Duke of Hamilton around 1841.¹⁷³ Marochetti's connection to Soyer may have encouraged the Duke to offer his support to the Baron's cause in his bid for the Glasgow Wellington memorial commission.¹⁷⁴ In the event Soyer was employed to cast both the statue and ornaments for the monument.¹⁷⁵ However, a dispute between Soyer and Marochetti may have led Marochetti to turn to a rival firm, de Braux, to carry out the casting of the bas-reliefs intended to adorn the pedestal.¹⁷⁶

In September 1844, over a year after the originally contracted finishing date of June 1843, notice was given of the statue's arrival in Glasgow. It was shipped from Havre de Grace in France to Liverpool, from where it was transported to Glasgow via the steamer "Admiral".¹⁷⁷ Messrs James Dennistoun & Co. of Havre of the house of Messrs A. & J. Dennistoun & Co. of Glasgow were responsible for shipping the work as far as Liverpool, while Messrs J. McIver & Co. of Liverpool and Messrs Thomson & MacConnell of Glasgow were among those in charge of conveying the work from Liverpool to Glasgow. All of these firms provided their services free of charge. The Lords of the Treasury further

¹⁷¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 10 December 1842.

¹⁷² Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti', p. 853.

¹⁷³ National Register of Archives for Scotland, Douglas-Hamilton Papers, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon, NRAS2177/C4/840/1-13.

¹⁷⁴ A theory also posited by Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti', p. 854.

¹⁷⁵ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 72-73.

¹⁷⁶ Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti', p. 859; McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, p. 336. Ray McKenzie's claim that the southern relief panel is engraved with the inscription "DE BRAUX FONDEUR" has not been possible to verify.

¹⁷⁷ *Glasgow Courier*, 28 September 1844; *Glasgow Courier*, 1 October 1844; Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 74-75.

contributed to the monetary saving by remitting import duty on the statue.¹⁷⁸ The greater portion of the statue was landed at Broomielaw quay in Glasgow on 27 September 1844, from where it was transported to its site the following morning by Messrs Thomson & MacConnell, who again provided their services gratis.¹⁷⁹

A local architect, James Smith of Glasgow, had been entrusted with selecting the granite for the pedestal and taking charge of its erection.¹⁸⁰ The stones were provided by Messrs McDonald & Leslie of Aberdeen,¹⁸¹ the same firm that later worked on the Edinburgh Wellington monument pedestal.¹⁸² Corporate generosity came to the aid of the project again in the transport of the pedestal to the site with the Governor and Company of the Forth and Clyde Navigation passing the granite stones free of canal charges.¹⁸³ At the site John Wilson Esquire of Dundyvan, a member of Glasgow Town Council, and Robert Napier Esquire, engineer, provided Smith with the use of various materials he required to carry out the proper building of the monument.¹⁸⁴ No charge was levied for this service either. As the pedestal was being erected, Baron Marochetti intervened to suggest some alterations to it, which were duly implemented.¹⁸⁵ The Baron had been present in Glasgow to oversee the statue's erection since 22 September 1844.¹⁸⁶

4.4.13 *The Inauguration Ceremony*

It was unanimously agreed by the General Committee that some inauguration ceremony should be held to celebrate the statue's erection. Arrangements for the ceremony were left in the hands of the Select Sub-Committee, who were to confer with Baron Marochetti on the matter. Initial ideas printed in the newspapers envisaged some role being assigned to the Scots Greys and the 92nd Highlanders, both being Waterloo regiments then garrisoned at Glasgow. Word also abounded that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was to be invited to attend, if his other arrangements would permit of it.¹⁸⁷ On 3 October 1844 it was announced that the ceremony would take place the following Tuesday, 8 October 1844. This date was chosen mainly to facilitate General Sir Neil Douglas, Commander of

¹⁷⁸ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 74-75; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

¹⁷⁹ *Glasgow Courier*, 28 September 1844; *Glasgow Courier*, 1 October 1844; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

¹⁸⁰ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

¹⁸¹ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 72-73.

¹⁸² Though sources reporting on the Edinburgh monument give a different spelling of the firm name, citing it as "Messrs Macdonald & Leslie, Aberdeen", it was almost undoubtedly the same firm as that employed by the Glasgow Committee.

¹⁸³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

¹⁸⁴ Sp Coll Bh11-f.17, pp. 76-77; *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

¹⁸⁵ *Glasgow Courier*, 1 October 1844.

¹⁸⁶ *Glasgow Courier*, 24 September 1844.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

the Forces in Scotland, whose other engagements would have precluded his attendance on any earlier day. The plan for the day's events was outlined as follows:

The ceremonial will be simple. Subscribers to the monument will be admitted within an enclosure around the base of the pedestal, and for this purpose tickets will be issued by the Secretary on application. The subscribers to the Royal Exchange will be admitted by the side doors of the Exchange, and thence by the portico to the front steps. Tickets for reserved places will be issued by the Secretary to such retired officers and soldiers as may have served under the Duke of Wellington, and may be desirous of being present. The military bands of the Scots Greys and the 92nd Highlanders will attend the ceremony. The Select Committee and Directors of the Exchange will take their places precisely at two o'clock. The duty of shortly addressing the subscribers on the completion of their labours, will, in the unavoidable absence of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, ... most appropriately devolve on the Sheriff of the County, the historian of Europe. The statue will then be uncovered to the public, and a salute in honour of a Field Marshal will be fired from a park of artillery, amidst the usual military salutes, and other demonstrations of respect; and the corps of the Scots Greys and 92nd, now in garrison, will march in review before the Commander of the Forces, in front of the monument.¹⁸⁸

Thus the whole procedure was to retain a quite overt military emphasis.

Preliminary to the main ceremony, a smaller event was held on 3 October 1844. Dalglish, Lamond, Marochetti, James Smith, Esquire, Andrew Wingate, Esquire, J.A. Anderson, Esquire, and several other gentlemen gathered at the site of the monument where Dalglish deposited two crystal bottles, specially made for the function, in the pedestal. A variety of items were stored inside the bottles as a form of time capsule. These included a volume printed on vellum listing the names of the Wellington Committee and all the subscribers, with the sums subscribed by them; the 1844 Glasgow Post Office Directory; the 1844 New Edinburgh Almanac; Watt's Vital Statistics, and Report of the Local Census of Lanarkshire; the September Time Tables for 1844; holographs of Wellington and Marochetti; various documents and Reports of the Directors connected with the Royal Exchange, with a list of subscribers for 1843; a number of coins including a sovereign of Queen Victoria, a crown piece of George III and a half-crown of Victoria; a series of pound notes, in denominations from a one hundred down to a one, all provided by the Glasgow Union Bank for the purpose; and copies of the different Glasgow newspapers.¹⁸⁹ The monument was hereby indelibly linked with its historical, geographical

¹⁸⁸ *Glasgow Courier*, 3 October 1844.

¹⁸⁹ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

and social milieu, placed in the context of and intrinsically linked with the contemporary environment and contemporary events.

On the day of the inauguration matters proceeded roughly as had been planned. Beginning the previous night and carrying on into the morning of 8 October 1844, sections of the street were barricaded to provide fixed viewing points for ladies, the committee, the subscribers and members of the general public. A white camp covering was lowered to cover the statue and pedestal. Large crowds of people gathered as the day progressed, filling house tops and windows as well as the streets. Flags were flown from the windows and house tops also, while 20 ensigns were stationed around the monument and told stories of victories gained by the Duke. Military colours were affixed to the sides of buildings. According to *The Art-Union*, all classes of the community took an interest in the affair.¹⁹⁰ The crowds had reputedly reached huge proportions by the time of the ceremony, with an estimate of 20,000 spectators being given by newspaper reporters (Figure 4.4.2).¹⁹¹

Soon after one o'clock the Scots Greys and 92nd Highlanders marched onto the scene along with about 200 retired officers and soldiers who had served under the Duke, all led by Sir Neil Douglas. Sheriff Alison mounted a table in front of the statue, flanked by Sir Neil Douglas on the right and the Lord Provost and Colonel Fleming on the left. The Sheriff then delivered his address to the crowd. In it he focused almost exclusively on the military aspect of Wellington's character. He explained the Baron's portrayal of him as a pacificator and expressed a hope that the monument would "(show) the youth of our people what it is to win a nation's heart, and (teach) them to emulate, though they can never hope to equal, his great example."¹⁹² He rather narrowly attributed the erection of the statue to the efforts of the inhabitants of Glasgow alone, omitting to mention anything of subscribers or supporters from outside the city's confines. He also congratulated the assembly on Glasgow being "the first city in Scotland, and the second in the empire, which has proved its gratitude by the erection of such a testimonial."¹⁹³ The *Glasgow Constitutional* was particularly struck by this point, declaring that:

To no interests is a firm and lasting peace so essential as to those of commerce; and it was, therefore, only fit that, among the offerings of a people's thankfulness and regard to the distinguished warrior whose victories have blessed Europe with a repose of thirty years, the earliest

¹⁹⁰ *The Art-Union*, November 1844, p. 337.

¹⁹¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 9 October 1844; *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844;

¹⁹² *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

should be those of a great commercial and manufacturing community like our own.¹⁹⁴

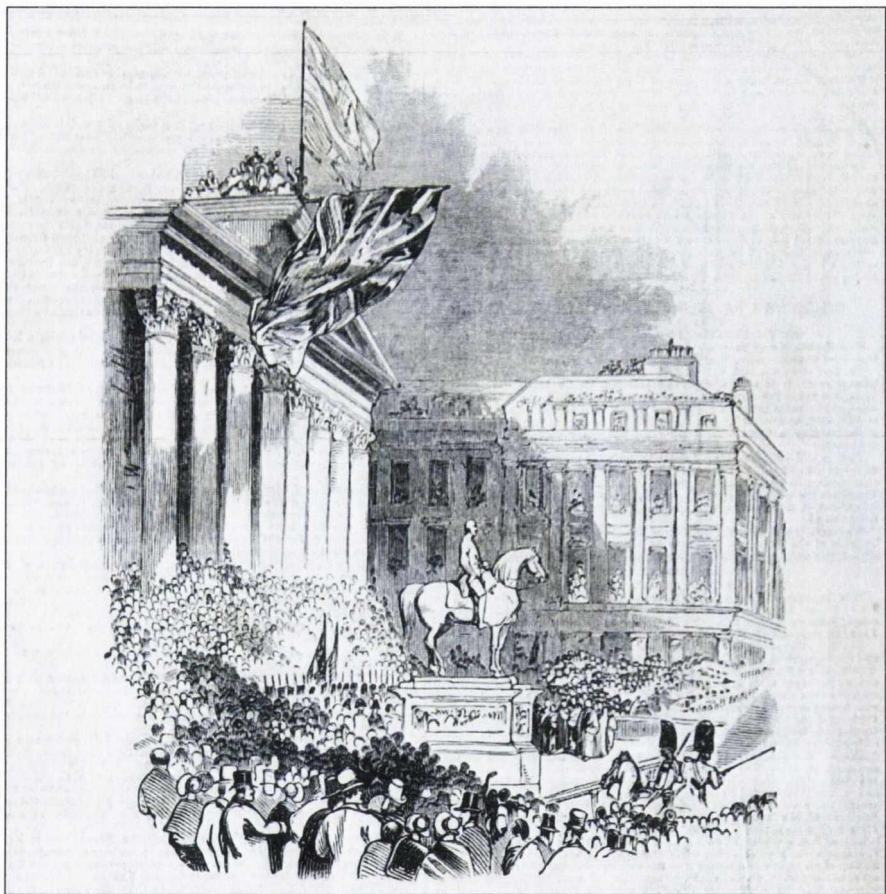


Figure 4.4.2: Artist's impression of the inauguration ceremony for the Duke of Wellington Statue, Glasgow, showing large, densely packed crowds of spectators and the Union flag flying atop the Royal Exchange building. From *The Illustrated London News*, 26 October 1844.

Alison continued on to give an appraisal of the chosen site, deeming there to be “something singularly appropriate and impressive in (it) ... in front of this noble structure, the heart of the commerce of this great city, from whence its circulation is sent forth to the farthest corners of the earth.”¹⁹⁵ In Alison's view a global context, one imbued with imperial associations, was apt to associate with the figure of Wellington. A view of the

¹⁹⁴ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 9 October 1844.

¹⁹⁵ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

monument's site in 1857 reveals a multiplicity of warehouses in the surrounding area, further signs of the crucial roles of trade and commerce in the life of the city (Figure 4.4.3).

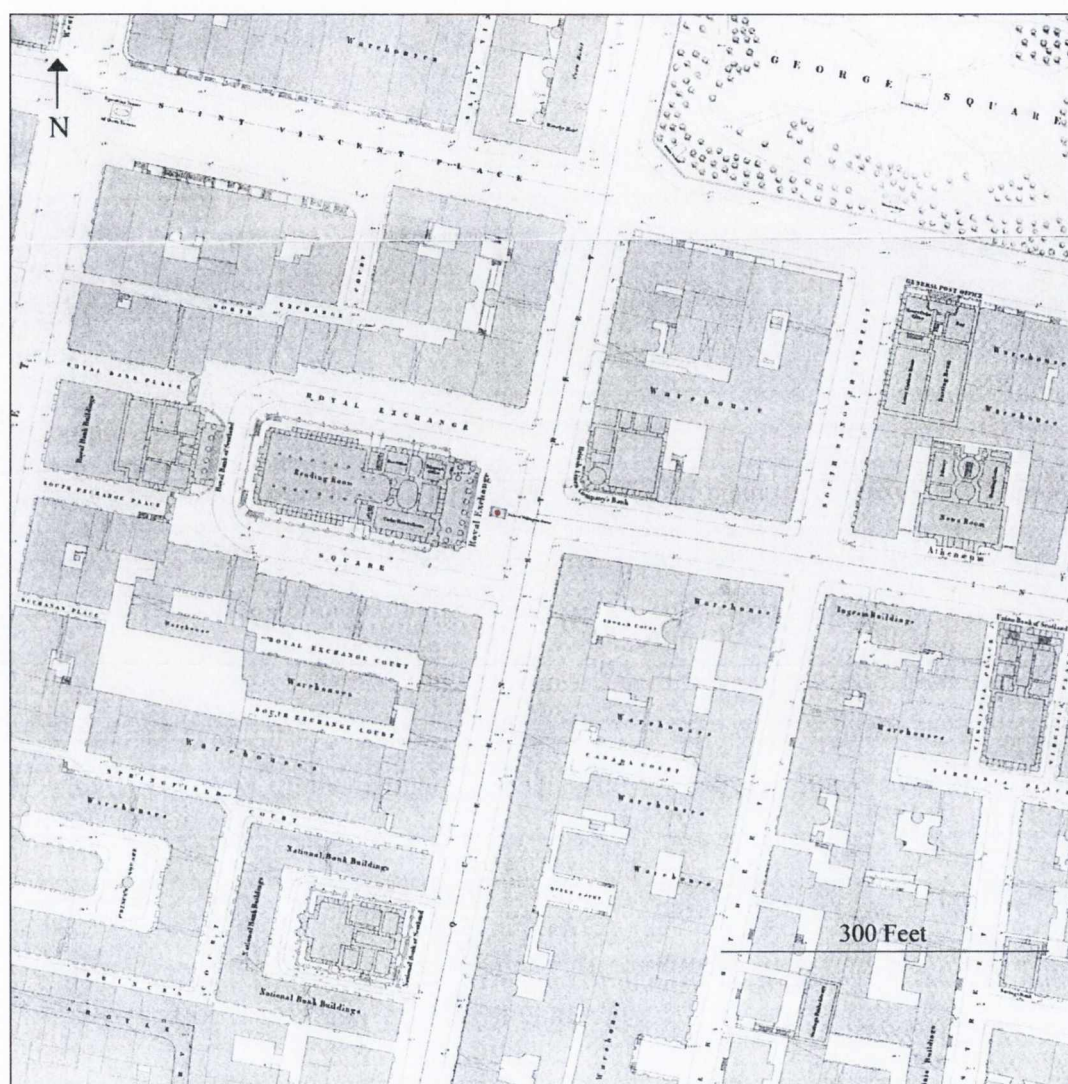


Figure 4.4.3: The Wellington Statue (marked by a red dot) in front of the Royal Exchange, at the intersection between Queen Street and Ingram Street. The British Linen Company's Bank is situated on the corner opposite the statue. George Square lies to the north and warehouses abound. Map formed using Glasgow Ordnance Survey 1:500 Town Plan, Sheet VI-11-11, surveyed 1857, published 1860 and Sheet VI-11-6, surveyed 1857, published 1859.

Returning from contemplation of the imperial realm, Alison closed his speech with a summation of the project as forming “the noblest of British monuments to the first of British heroes.”¹⁹⁶ At the conclusion of the speech, the covering was raised from the statue

¹⁹⁶ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

to the cheers of the gathered assembly. The artillery fired and the military marched past, their bands playing “See the Conquering Hero comes!” The Lord Provost then stepped forward to offer a few observations and called for three cheers to be given for Baron Marochetti, a request which was met “with no ordinary effect and tremendous applause”,¹⁹⁷ the Baron himself bowing to acknowledge the praise.

4.4.14 Bas-Reliefs, Railing and Inscription

Many of the assembled thousands lingered after the unveiling in the hope of examining the statue. As ordained by the Committee, two of the bas-reliefs on the pedestal represented the Battles of Assaye and Waterloo respectively. On the north side the Battle of Assaye, fought on 23 September 1803, was chosen as representing Wellington’s first major victory. Colonel Wellesley is depicted in the centre of the relief, mounted on a horse and holding his hand up, in the act of receiving the submission of the native chief (Figure 4.4.4). The background is Asiatic, including details such as a mosque, minaret and even an elephant. A Highland soldier is shown leading the horse of a captive prince, ensuring Scotland is given an overt presence in this imperial setting. Inserted on the south side of the pedestal, the Waterloo relief also places Wellington at the centre of the scene (Figure 4.4.5). The moment intended to be illustrated is the ordering of the final charge, when Wellington reputedly exclaimed, “Up Guards, and at ’em!” The Marquis of Anglesey, Lord Hill and another officer are depicted in a group behind the Duke. As a counterpoint to the Assaye piece, the Battle of Waterloo, fought on 18 June 1815, was chosen to represent Wellington’s final victory.



Figure 4.4.4: Bas-relief depicting the Battle of Assaye

¹⁹⁷ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 9 October 1844.



Figure 4.4.5: Bas-relief depicting the Battle of Waterloo

On the east side of the pedestal, a smaller relief portrays the soldier's return home from battle (Figure 4.4.6). His father is shown reading a Bible, introducing a religious reference to the whole, while the only woman featured on the monument is shown in the traditional role of the soldier's wife, jumping from her seat to welcome him home. The soldier himself is not an officer, but a common, working-class man, the "poor but honest soldier".¹⁹⁸ On the west side of the pedestal, the final relief is intended to illustrate a return to peacetime and the pursuit of agriculture (Figure 4.4.7). Both reliefs show Scotsmen in traditional costume, unmistakably connecting the statue's immediate audience with the events being represented.



Figure 4.4.6: Bas-relief of the soldier's return

¹⁹⁸ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.



Figure 4.4.7: Peace and agriculture bas-relief

It was contemplated to surround the statue by a railing for its protection, but this suggestion was rejected by the Baron, who expressed a belief that the citizens of Glasgow would be above vandalising or damaging the monument through rough handling, as well as deeming such an addition a potential obstruction to viewers.¹⁹⁹ Whether present at the time of the unveiling, or added at some later date, an inscription was carved into the lower part of the eastern side of the pedestal, facing down Ingram Street. This consisted of the single word “WELLINGTON”, the exact same inscription eventually settled upon for the Edinburgh testimonial. A final compliment to the Baron for his work was offered in the form of a requisition, signed by gentlemen of all political opinions, inviting him to attend a public dinner to be held in his honour “as a mark of respect for his genius, and the eminent services he has rendered to the City of Glasgow.”²⁰⁰ The Baron declined this invitation, citing a need to return to France as soon as possible to continue with other projects.²⁰¹

4.4.15 Celebrations and Thanks

The night of the statue’s erection was marked by a celebration held by the Glasgow Wellington Club in the Royal Exchange Tavern. The Club had recently received a communication on behalf of the Duke in which he acknowledged the event about to occur

¹⁹⁹ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

in Glasgow, saying: "The Duke has been much flattered by the desire of gentlemen of Glasgow and elsewhere, to possess in their towns, respectively, a statue of himself. He is sensible of the extraordinary honour done to an individual such as he is, during his lifetime, and he is most anxious never to forfeit their good opinion and kindness."²⁰² A meeting of the Wellington Testimonial Sub-Committee was also held on 8 October 1844, during which thanks were offered to the various individuals and bodies who had rendered their assistance in the transport and erection of the statue, as well as conducting the day's festivities. Among those in the latter category were Mr William Whyte for constructing the camp tent surrounding the statue free of charge, and the Commissioners of Police for accepting an invitation to attend the ceremony and for readily acquiescing to a request of the Sub-Committee to provide a police force to protect the enclosure.²⁰³

4.4.16 Rioting and Vandalism

In the event, the services of the police were also called upon to deal with the boisterous behaviour of a number of youths from the crowd directly after the close of the proceedings. These young men commenced their spree by tearing down ropes and posts used to form the enclosure during the ceremony. Running down several streets with the materials in tow, they caused disruption to a horse and minibus as well as to a number of passers-by. Eventually reaching the Green, they proceeded to light a bonfire with the ropes and wood. At this point Captain Wilson and a few policemen intervened and arrested nine of the rioters, while an engine from the police office was deployed to extinguish the fire. The following day four of the offenders, deemed to be the ringleaders, were brought before the Magistrate and sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment.²⁰⁴ This was not to be the last act of vandalism to be associated with the monument. Just over a year later the peace and agriculture bas-relief was defaced by vandals who removed and carried off the reins attaching the horses to the plough.²⁰⁵

4.4.17 Subsequent Events

During the days following the inauguration ceremony, the statue continued to be an extremely popular attraction. According to the *Glasgow Constitutional* of 12 October 1844, thousands were still visiting it, with even some who had been opposed to the employment of a foreign artist giving it their seal of approval. The newspaper believed that

²⁰² *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844.

²⁰³ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

²⁰⁴ *Glasgow Courier*, 10 October 1844; *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1844.

²⁰⁵ *The Builder*, 25 October 1845, Supplement, p. 11.

it would become “one of the chief inducements to strangers and foreigners to visit our city.”²⁰⁶ Men and women of all classes took an interest in the work. The Duke of Sutherland reportedly deemed that he had “never seen a finer (statue) in the whole course of his travels”²⁰⁷ when he viewed the monument on 9 October 1844. At the other end of the social spectrum, it elicited both awe and respect from crowds of the city’s operatives, who were still wont to surround it daily by November 1844, pressing forward to gain as close a view as possible of the bas-relief sculptures but refraining from touching them. *The Art-Union*, perhaps revealing something of their own prejudicial views towards members of the lower social classes as well as of current social trends, judged that “(there) is, therefore, a value attached to what they are taught to consider a fine work of Art, and a respect felt for it, which not many years ago did not exist in the same class.”²⁰⁸ Perhaps the statue’s most famous visitor was the reigning monarch Queen Victoria, who made a detour to view the work during her visit to the city in 1849.²⁰⁹ Care of the statue during the nineteenth century appears to have fallen into the hands of the Town Council, a direction being issued by them to the Chamberlain on 1 September 1859 to attend to the cleaning and repairing of the monument.²¹⁰ Thus the monument remained closely associated with the city in which it was given its site and which had played the primary role in bringing it into existence.

²⁰⁶ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 12 October 1844.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *The Art-Union*, November 1844, p. 337.

²⁰⁹ McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, p. 338.

²¹⁰ Mitchell Library Glasgow, Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, C1/1/68, 1 September 1859, p. 132.

4.5 Falkirk

4.5.1 Introduction

The latest addition to the Scottish landscape in commemoration of the Duke was an equestrian statue raised in the town of Falkirk during 1854 (Figure 4.5.1). The town was located in the county of Stirlingshire approximately 25 miles from the capital city of Edinburgh and contained a population of 8,209 around the year 1851.¹ By that time it had also served as a contested space on a number of occasions, there being a long history of military conflicts attached to the locale. This stretched back to early times, when the Romans tussled with the Caledonians, and took in clashes between the English and the Scots, such as the battle between the forces of Edward I of England and the Scottish troops led by William Wallace which took place just to the north of the town in 1298.²

4.5.2 Robert Forrest and the Calton Hill Exhibition

The statue itself did not begin its life as a memorial for Falkirk but rather was fashioned over 20 years previously by the Lanarkshire-born sculptor Robert Forrest. It was incorporated into an exhibition of his statuary which was put on display within the area of the unfinished National Monument which sits atop Calton Hill in Edinburgh. The National Monument was a project launched at a meeting of the Highland Society in 1816 to commemorate those who died in the land and sea battles that occurred during Napoleon's reign. The whole was intended to resemble the Parthenon in Athens, including a church and cemetery within its area. However, only £13,500 of the sought-after sum of £50,000 was raised, a figure which proved adequate to raise the portico to the intended structure alone. This portico consisted of twelve massive columns with an entablature.³ During 1832, Forrest gained permission from the Committee of subscribers to the monument to launch his exhibition, one which initially encompassed four equestrian groups, but was steadily expanded over the coming years to a total of about 30 statues by the time of the sculptor's decease on 29 December 1852.⁴ The Wellington statue was one of the original four which formed the core of the exhibition in 1832. Cut from a single block of hard freestone known as liver rock sourced locally from a quarry in the parish of Lesmahagoe

¹ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 429.

² Ibid.

³ Charles Rogers, *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland, Volume I* (London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1871), p. 6.

⁴ *The Scotsman, or, Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, 4 August 1832; *The Scotsman, or, Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, 1 January 1853; Anon., *Notices Historical, Statistical & Biographical, relating to the parish of Carluke, from 1288 till 1874* (Glasgow: William Rankin, 1874), pp. 298-301.

(or Lesmahagow) in Lanarkshire,⁵ Forrest himself described its appearance in the following terms: “His Grace is in full uniform; and it may be supposed, from his attitude, that he has just dismounted, and is receiving the plaudits and congratulations of his gallant partners in peril, after such a contest and such a victory as Waterloo.”⁶



Figure 4.5.1: The Duke of Wellington Statue on Newmarket Street, Falkirk. It was moved here from its previous location on High Street in 1905.

The horse was intended to depict one of the Flemish breed,⁷ while it appears from his writings on the group that the sculptor sought primarily and almost exclusively to

⁵ Robert Forrest, *Descriptive Account of Exhibition of Statuary, National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Goldie & Co., 1846), p. 5; Robert Forrest, *Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary; from the Chisel of Mr Robert Forrest*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Thomas Allan & Co., 1835), p. 22.

⁶ Forrest, *Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary*, p. 7.

⁷ Forrest, *Descriptive Account of Exhibition of Statuary*, p. 10.

celebrate Wellington's military prowess, with his role as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports being his only other office or achievement mentioned.⁸ Atop Calton Hill the symbolic milieu of the exhibition was further enhanced by the presence of monuments to Lord Nelson, Professor John Playfair (a prominent mathematician), Robert Burns (Scotland's national poet) and Dugald Stewart (another leading academic), an Observatory, a prison, the General Post-Office and a cemetery, containing further monuments to David Hume the philosopher and historian and a group of five political martyrs among others.⁹ In more immediate proximity the subjects of the three other equestrian groups which, along with Wellington, formed the basis of the exhibition in 1832, held strong military connections and were elevated nobles or royalty. They were the Duke of Marlborough, victor of the Battle of Blenheim in 1704; Mary Queen of Scots, depicted being instructed to flee after the defeat of her troops at the Battle of Langside; and Robert the Bruce, being presented by verses after the Battle of Bannockburn by the Monk Baston.¹⁰ Subsequent additions included further royal figures, a biblical scene of the Conversion of St Paul, Robert Burns (whose wife sponsored the New Abbey Waterloo monument), Sir Walter Scott (who took a personal interest in the Wellington memorial near Jedburgh) and an equestrian statue of Napoleon, perhaps intended to form a counterpoint to that of his erstwhile opponent Wellington.¹¹

It should be noted that this statue was not the only time the sculptor carved a likeness of Wellington either. Within a short period of the launch of the Calton Hill exhibition, Forrest was commissioned privately to produce a statue of Wellington, along with one of Nelson, to adorn the frontage of Falcon Hall, a mansion on the east side of Morningside Road in Edinburgh (Figure 4.5.2). The result was somewhat reminiscent of the Falkirk statue, with Wellington depicted in a similar posture and attire, his right hand resting on the bowed head of a horse, the forepart of that animal only being included (Figure 4.5.3).¹² At the time of fundraising appeals for the national testimonial to Wellington in Edinburgh, the proprietor of the residence and commissioner of the work wrote to Sir George Warrender as Honorary Secretary for the Edinburgh Committee, citing

⁸ Forrest, *Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary*, p. 7; Forrest, *Descriptive Account of Exhibition of Statuary*, pp. 10-11.

⁹ Forrest, *Descriptive Account of Exhibition of Statuary*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ Forrest, *Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary*, p. 22.

¹¹ Forrest, *Descriptive Account of Exhibition of Statuary*, p. 13; Anon., *Notices Historical, Statistical & Biographical, relating to the parish of Carluke*, p. 301.

¹² For further details see Edinburgh Public Library, "Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840", Doc. 123, A. Falconar to Sir George Warrender, 29 February 1840; Mitchell Library, Glasgow, f730 924 FOR, *Robert Forrest: A Carluke Sculptor and his Work. 1789-1852*, compiled by J. Munro (unpublished, 1992). This work has not been treated as a separate entry in this thesis as it is neither a public nor a free-standing addition to the landscape.

the expense he incurred through this undertaking as his reason for not contributing to the national project.¹³

Upon his death, Forrest willed his collection of statues to the city of Edinburgh, with certain obligations attached. However, upon considering these obligations, the Magistrates and Council of the city deemed that the bequest should be respectfully declined, as to fulfil the specified obligations would be “scarcely consistent with their duty as municipal guardians of the public interest”.¹⁴ Following this refusal, the statuary was put up for sale during June 1853, with the funds raised to be appropriated primarily for the upkeep of Forrest’s widow.¹⁵ An advertisement for the sale noted that Forrest had at one point been offered £500 for the Duke of Wellington statue, which was now available for purchase along with the rest.¹⁶

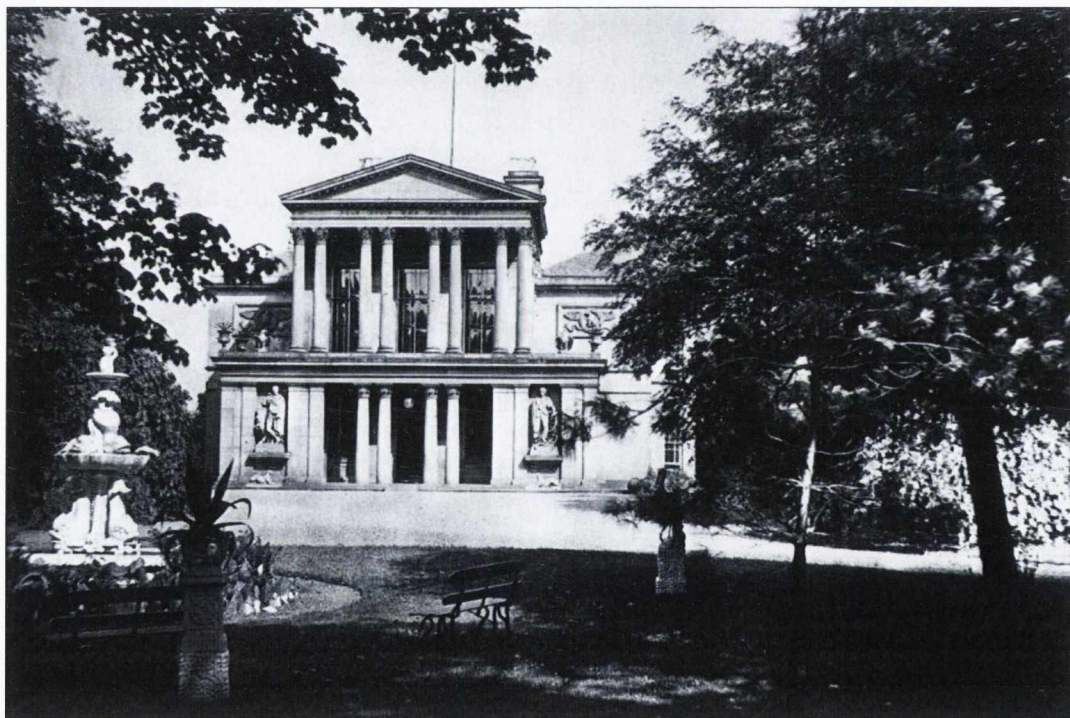


Figure 4.5.2: Falcon Hall, viewed from the west. The mansion was demolished in 1909. The Wellington statue is inserted in an alcove on one side of the entrance door. From Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, SC560277 (copy of Item A 7937), Photograph by G. Shaw, c. 1889. <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/images/1/560277/> (21 June 2011).

¹³ Edinburgh Public Library, “Wellington Testimonial, Edinburgh, 1839-1840”, Doc. 123, A. Falconar to Sir George Warrender, 29 February 1840.

¹⁴ *The Scotsman, or, Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, 9 March 1853.

¹⁵ *The Scotsman, or, Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, 15 June 1853.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 4.5.3: Statue of the Duke of Wellington commissioned for Falcon Hall. From Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, SC565046 (copy of Item B 20917), Photograph by David Archer, c. 1987. <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/images/1/565046/> (21 June 2011).

4.5.3 Artistic Embellishment Desired for the Town of Falkirk

The announcement of the sale coincided fortuitously with a general desire among some of the inhabitants of Falkirk to see municipal improvement works in the town, particularly in the realm of artistic or architectural embellishment. A reporter for *The Falkirk Herald* addressed the issue on 8 December 1853, saying,

it must be admitted that associations form the chief attraction of our neighbourhood. ... We have no fine old ruin- not even a mangled gem of

ancient architecture. Nor is the paucity of old world objects rendered less conspicuous by the presence of modern buildings of beauty. ... Our burgh is in need of the ornamental. We have hitherto been too much devoted to mere utility, without reference to taste and elegance. It is time some reform were adopted...¹⁷

The Wellington statue was perceived as an appropriate remedy to this deficiency. Such an addition would also be particularly momentous as forming the first public statue to be erected in the town. Wellington was deemed a suitable subject on the grounds of his “general worth”¹⁸ rather than any ties with the local area, of which it appears he had none. Sir Charles Napier or Sir John the Graham were suggested as potential subsequent accompaniments for the Wellington statue in order to fill the void of local connection. Steell’s recent addition to the Edinburgh landscape was also held up as a comparison for the Falkirk undertaking:

Some of our readers may perhaps have visited Mr FORREST’S collection on the Calton Hill. ... In that collection- graced, as it is, by some of the artist’s best works, ... there is nothing, in our estimation, that can for a moment be compared with his Duke of Wellington. We have seen many statues of that illustrious patriot, but never one which pleased us so well, or struck us more forcibly. ... (It) is most unlike the new Edinburgh statue- in no respect more than this, that there is in it an entire absence of the strained or the theatrical. Most correct was the remark made by Mr RUSKIN in one of his recent lectures, that the Edinburgh figure reminded him forcibly of the sawdust and the circus; this is a complaint, however, which can never be urged against the life-like repose and grace of what we may now call the Falkirk statue.¹⁹

In the same manner in which the Edinburgh statue is presented in an unfavourable contrast to the Falkirk one, so too local identity is being set up and defined in opposition to an “other”.²⁰ The grandeur of Edinburgh is placed in negative contrast to the more down-to-earth, natural Falkirk. The statues serve as vessels or conduits, storing, shaping and perpetuating those distinct identity conceptions.

4.5.4 The Project Leaders

The scheme to erect the statue was an élite-driven undertaking. *The Falkirk Herald* of 8 December 1853 attributed the origin of the idea to “several local gentlemen of influence”,²¹

¹⁷ *The Falkirk Herald*, 8 December 1853.

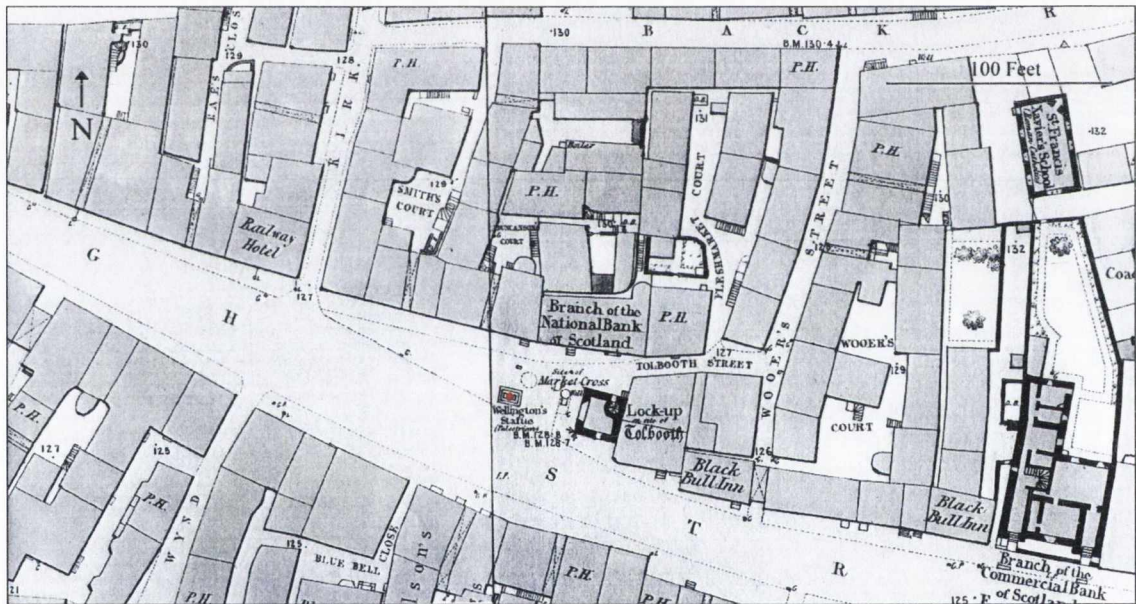
¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Crang, *Cultural Geography*, pp. 60-61.

²¹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 8 December 1853.

and anticipated that “a committee of gentlemen”²² would shortly be named to promote the project. The “local gentlemen of influence”²³ were the Provost of the town, Robert Adam, a banker; Alexander Macfarlane of Thornhill, also a banker; and James Russel, senior, of Arnotdale, a writer.²⁴ A public subscription was to be launched in the Eastern District of Stirlingshire to fund the venture. *The Falkirk Herald* urged that “the call ... be responded to in a way commensurate with the merits of the scheme.”²⁵ The site had already been selected by that time, with the central location of the Cross, or Market Cross, on High Street being the location fixed upon. There it was to stand in front of the steeple and the town lock-up, in close proximity to a number of public houses and a branch of the National Bank of Scotland (Figure 4.5.4).²⁶ The presence of so many public houses and the lock-up in particular may account for the statue subsequently becoming a haunt for loiterers and the subject of occasional abuse.



The Committee appointed consisted of 28 members. Of these, five professed themselves to be bankers, three merchants and two factors. Other professions cited included upholsterer, baker, writer, ironworker, ship-agent, shipbuilder, shipowner and grocer. The local municipal authorities were represented through the inclusion of the Provost and the Preses of the Stintmasters. The “stintmasters” or “stentmasters” were a body of 24 representatives chosen to assist in the management of the burgh, particularly in relation to the provision and maintenance of adequate lighting and water supply.²⁷ The preses was the elected leader or president of this body. Nine gentlemen on the Committee list merely stated their seat of residence, perhaps indicating that they were members of the local landed gentry. Alexander Macfarlane was named Preses of the Committee, James Russel junior, a banker, took on the dual roles of Secretary and Treasurer, while Provost Adam assumed the position of Convener. All members of the Committee were empowered to receive subscriptions. Furthermore, subscription papers were lodged at seven specified locations around Falkirk. Of these locations, two were public houses and one was the Victualing Society. Others appear to have been companies or shops.²⁸ Clearly local businessmen, tradesmen and professionals were the driving force behind this endeavour.

Contemplating the work a few weeks after its first announcement, *The Falkirk Herald* perceived it as a public improvement in a number of respects: “it is an object of great utility in many points of view; and may appropriately go hand-in-hand with the many excellent reforms which are being wrought in our burgh.”²⁹ More specifically it was asserted that the statue “will provide a source of elevation for the working class of this busy community.”³⁰ While it appears this inspiration was to be derived at least partly from the novel prospect of the addition of any kind of work of art to the townscape, perhaps Wellington as the subject of this artistic embellishment may also have been thought of in particular in this respect, or perhaps the project was perceived to hold some other basis for the encouragement of the masses. The focus on those of lower social standing is particularly noteworthy given the role played by local élites in driving the project. There is a sense in which the powerful are dictating to and imposing their ideals upon the less financially and socially endowed.

²⁷ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 431.

²⁸ *The Falkirk Herald*, 22 December 1853.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

4.5.5 The Subscribers

A quick progression was made towards bringing the project to fruition. By April 1854, a design had been drawn up for the pedestal and James Gowans, a builder from Edinburgh, had been employed to both construct it and erect the statue upon it. Having examined the design, *The Falkirk Herald* deemed the proposed pedestal to be “a very chaste yet substantial structure”.³¹ Contemplating the choice of Gowans to undertake the work, they described his selection as “judicious and worthy of commendation on two grounds”.³² These grounds were his association with the Edinburgh Wellington statue (he carried out the erection of the statue and pedestal) and an unspecified connection with the locality. Subscriptions amounting to £132 had been pledged; a sum adequate to cover all associated expenses connected with the undertaking.³³ The final list of subscribers cited a total of £129 12s, a discrepancy which may perhaps be accounted for by one subscriber defaulting on his or her pledge.³⁴ The statue itself was to cost £70; the pedestal, carriage of the figure and fitting up of the whole £42; while the remaining money would be appropriated to cover sundry incidental expenses. The volume of subscriptions and the speedy rate at which they had been donated was taken as a positive indicator of community pride, with *The Falkirk Herald* recounting that they had “poured into the Committee with a spirit and readiness which reflect honour on the neighbourhood”.³⁵

Of the 103 subscribers ultimately listed, 59 gave their location as being Falkirk, while many others named seats of residence in or within close proximity of the town, thus highlighting the very locally driven nature of undertaking. Of the few contributions that came from outside Falkirk or Stirlingshire more generally, one came from the Provost of Airdrie in Lanarkshire, three from writers to the signet in Edinburgh and two from gentlemen from London. However, though they professed a London association, these two men actually held close links with Falkirk. Sir John Kincaid was a native of Dalheath, near Falkirk. He was also a war veteran, having served with Wellington on the Peninsula and at Waterloo.³⁶ The other man, James Walker, was a civil engineer born at Law Wynd in Falkirk.³⁷ Therefore even in this slight note of wider British involvement given to the

³¹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 April 1854.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905. This issue gives a transcription of the subscriber list which was stored in a bottle beneath the statue's pedestal. Total subscribers number 103 on this list, one less than the 104 total cited in *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854.

³⁵ *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 April 1854.

³⁶ Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XI- Kennett to Lluellyn, p. 123.

³⁷ A.W. Skempton, M.M. Chrimes, R.C. Cox, P.S.M. Cross-Rudkin, R.W. Rennison and E.C. Ruddock (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 1: 1500-1830* (London: Thomas Telford Publishing, 2002), p. 755.

affair, it is still tempered by local associations. Two of the subscribers had links with other Scottish Wellington monuments. The Earl of Zetland was a member of the General Committee for the Edinburgh testimonial,³⁸ while William Forbes of Callendar subscribed £100 to the Glasgow Wellington statue.³⁹ Zetland held some military connections and was also a prominent and active Freemason, ascending from the rank of Deputy Grand Master in 1839 to Grand Master in 1844, a position he held until 1870.⁴⁰

None on the list contributed a sum any greater than £5 5s, although this may not always be taken as a reflection on their means, but rather on the fact that it was clear from the outset roughly how much the whole enterprise would cost, and instead of having one or two wealthy nobles cover the whole cost, it may have been deemed preferable to encourage contributions from a greater number of backers across a broad social spectrum, including those of lesser financial means. Certainly a very wide range of professions were cited by the 103 who ultimately subscribed. There was one clergyman and one army officer (a lieutenant-colonel); a number of men connected with law, finance and local government; land owners and estate workers; two teachers, five doctors or surgeons and representatives from many trades and crafts including shoemaker, watchmaker, ironmonger, tanner, flesher, gasfitter, upholsterer, cabinetmaker, painter, mason, slater, horse-dealer, vintner, innkeeper, florist, baker, confectioner, hairdresser, stationer, draper and grocer. There were no more than two representatives from each trade or craft apart from drapers, of which there were three, and grocers, of which there were seven. Five merchants and one man connected with shipping were also listed. Very few men of notable title featured, with only one earl and one baronet being among them. Their professions indicate that the majority of subscribers appear to have been of middle- or working-class extraction. Three women also appeared, ensuring some female presence in what was otherwise a very male-dominated affair.⁴¹

4.5.6 *The Site*

The aesthetics of the statue in connection with its precise location were also given consideration, with a suggestion having been made to align the centre line of the pedestal with the centre line of the nearby steeple,⁴² thereby placing it in harmony with this key municipal landmark. Rising to an imposing height of 146 feet, the steeple building had

³⁸ Scottish National Archives, GD46/15/95/5, Sir George Warrender to J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, 6 January 1840.

³⁹ *Glasgow Constitutional*, 26 February 1840.

⁴⁰ Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume II*, p. 3098.

⁴¹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905.

⁴² *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 April 1854.

been completed in June 1814. It contained a clock, a bell and prison rooms intended to house strolling vagrants and petty criminals. The building had been commissioned to replace an earlier steeple which dated from 1697. Falkirk had been possessed of a tolbooth steeple since at least the late sixteenth century.⁴³ It was also suggested that the statue should be surrounded by a railing. The practical notion of protection for the work of art was cited as the rationale for this move.⁴⁴ In reality this would also create something of a symbolic barrier or division between the monumental space and the general public, placing the statue aloof and apart from its viewers. This device, with its potential implication of élite segregation and protection, was employed at several other Wellington commemorations: at Trim, Edinburgh, Brecon and Tredegar.

4.5.7 Foundation Stone Ceremony

On Tuesday 2 May 1854, at 5 p.m., a ceremony was held to mark the laying of the foundation stone for the statue pedestal.⁴⁵ It was organised by the statue Committee and attended by a select group, namely Provost Adam and “several of the chief inhabitants of the town”.⁴⁶ As part of the ceremony, a bottle containing various items was inserted into the foundation stone. The contents of this bottle included coins of the realm, two copies of *The Falkirk Herald* (including the edition of 8 December 1853 which first detailed the statue and the proposal to have it erected in the town), two Stirling newspapers, *The Edinburgh Guardian* and *The North British Daily Mail*. Cards of three Falkirk businessmen (a grocer, a printer and a brewer) and a sheet of parchment giving an account of how the statue was erected were also included.⁴⁷ In addition to the account the parchment listed the names of a number of stakeholders in the undertaking and local holders of offices and positions of power and influence now connected with the project. These included the names of the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer and Convener of the Statue Committee; the Sheriff of the County and his substitutes, the Clerk-Depute and Procurator-Fiscal; the Members of Parliament for the County and Burgh; the Magistrates and Council of Falkirk; the Town Clerk; the office bearers of the stentmasters and feuars;⁴⁸ the clergy of the town; the parochial teachers; the sculptor and the local newspaper. The

⁴³ Ian Scott, *Falkirk: A History*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2006), pp. 117-118.

⁴⁴ *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 April 1854.

⁴⁵ *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Falkirk Council Archives, A787.001, Statement on Duke of Wellington Statue, Thomas Kier, 2 May 1854; *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854; *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905.

⁴⁸ The feuars assisted the stentmasters in the administration of the burgh, taking charge of tolls, customs and the management of town estates. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland. Volume I*, p. 431.

names of the subscribers alongside their subscription amount were also recorded.⁴⁹ A number of the items included in the bottle were provided by various inhabitants of Falkirk and the bottle itself was sealed with the seal belonging to the burgh.⁵⁰

The task of inserting the bottle into the stone was intended to be performed by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr Macfarlane⁵¹ of Thornhill. However, due to his unavoidable absence on the occasion, the task fell to Provost Adam instead. Mr James Miller, preses of the stintmasters, assisted in overseeing the proceedings. Miller handed the bottle to Provost Adam, who then inserted it into its designated space. Some other ceremonies were performed, concluding with the Provost giving three knocks with the mallet. Miller objecting that these blows were not given with the proper force, the Provost repeated the action, following which the assembly burst into three “lusty and prolonged”⁵² cheers, with “the Queen”⁵³ and “success to the statue”⁵⁴ being among the exclamations made.

4.5.8 Legal Opposition

Two days later, at a late hour on Thursday 4 May 1854, the statue was erected safely on the pedestal, and the work was now officially completed.⁵⁵ The Committee ordained that no public celebration would be held to mark the occasion,⁵⁶ a decision which may be interpreted as another indicator of the élite nature of the project. However, in the event, some members of the public ensured their voice was heard. According to *The Falkirk Herald*, “the completion of the work was the signal for a spontaneous outburst of rejoicing amongst the juvenile portion of our population, in which a considerable number of adults were by no means loath to participate.”⁵⁷ This may be perceived as an act of rebellion against the silent imposition of this middle- to upper-class, privileged undertaking. Or its spontaneous nature may also be seen as in keeping with the informal, natural appearance of the statue and the general lack of fuss and formalities surrounding its erection. This down-to-earth approach may have resonated with the spirit of the community and fostered a sense of local identity based on such principles and sentiments. A more concerted act of protest and opposition to the statue’s erection was made by several parties who claimed it

⁴⁹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854; *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905.

⁵⁰ A787.001, Statement on Duke of Wellington Statue, Thomas Kier, 2 May 1854.

⁵¹ Spelt “McFarlane” in *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854 report.

⁵² *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 May 1854.

⁵⁶ *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854.

⁵⁷ *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 May 1854.

would interfere with property in its immediate neighbourhood.⁵⁸ Mr Charles Ure, a grocer, applied to the Sheriff for an interim interdict against the statue's erection on the grounds that it would obstruct the public thoroughfare at High Street and/or the adjoining Tolbooth Street. This interim interdict was granted on the evening of 1 May 1854.⁵⁹

After fuller consideration of the case the following morning, the Sheriff lifted the interim interdict, freeing the way for the statue's erection.⁶⁰ Arguing the case for the statue's erection on behalf of Provost Adam and others, Mr John Russel contended that the Road Trustees, the Magistrates, the feuars and the occupants of various shops in the area had all given their consent to the statue's location on the proposed site. The presiding judge for the case, Sheriff Robert Robertson, noted that

(I)f the interdict were continued, a very large expense would be incurred by the respondents, and, acting as they are on behalf of, and with the sanction of, a large portion of the inhabitants of Falkirk, who have subscribed for the erection of a statue for the embellishment of their town, and to do honour to the greatest name in modern history, they are entitled to be favourably regarded.⁶¹

According to *The Falkirk Herald*, once the statue was erected those who had opposed the move on the grounds of its potential interference with other property withdrew their plea, and "were among the first to acknowledge the improvement that the statue had effected on the street".⁶²

4.5.9 *The Statue on High Street*

The front and rear of the statue's pedestal were both engraved with inscriptions. The front read simply:

WELLINGTON
BORN 1769
DIED 1852

The rear inscription elaborated briefly on the project and its genesis, saying:

⁵⁸ *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 May 1854.

⁵⁹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 May 1854.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905; Love, *Local Antiquarian Notes and Queries*, Section II, pp. 184-186.

⁶¹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905.

⁶² *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 May 1854.

THIS
STATUE
ERECTED BY THE EASTERN DISTRICT
OF THE COUNTY OF STIRLING
4.TH MAY 1854

While the front-facing inscription infers the monument is a tribute to Wellington's whole life and character, the form of the statue portrays him primarily, and perhaps solely, as a military hero. *The Falkirk Herald* report of 11 May 1854, in its first reflection on the newly placed statue's appearance, also focuses on this military identity, referring to the subject of the work as "the greatest modern warrior".⁶³ His "martial cloak",⁶⁴ and decoration are highlighted, while even his thoughts are divined to be of a military nature: "The expression of the face is thoughtful but not anxious, as if he were watching at some distance a military movement on the part of the armies under his command which was to result in victory."⁶⁵ His achievements as a statesman or in any other aspect of his life are neither given any consideration nor perceived to be alluded to in the form of the statue. The rear-facing inscription emphasises the locally derived nature of the work. On the one hand this statement might be viewed as an equalising and unifying one. Class is given no consideration: the statue is portrayed as the addition of the eastern district of the county as a united whole. All in that area, no matter what their social, financial or personal standing, are included equally as stakeholders in the project. However, it could also be interpreted as an authoritarian imposition, not officially sanctioned by all those within the region, but merely projecting and creating an image of universal approbation.

To complete the monumental space, along with the addition of an iron railing, it was also now proposed to place two ornamental lamp posts within close vicinity of it, one to the front, the other to the rear,⁶⁶ thereby facilitating the visibility and illumination of the whole at all times of day. Over the coming years the statue established itself as a notable feature on the busy High Street where it was situated. Its railings were often employed as a leaning post by local loafers and loungers (Figure 4.5.5), while at times of celebration it sometimes became the target of over-enthusiastic revellers.⁶⁷

⁶³ *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 May 1854.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *The Falkirk Mail*, 15 July 1905.

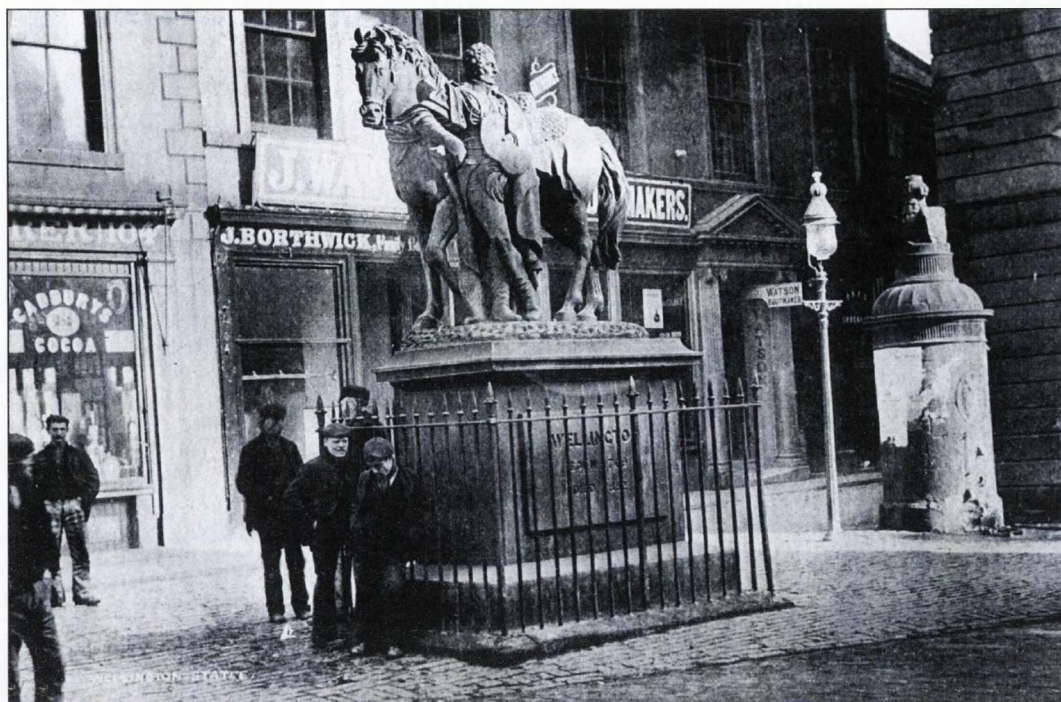


Figure 4.5.5: Wellington's Statue, High Street, Falkirk, c. 1900. From Falkirk Council Archives, P14084.

4.5.10 Vandalism and the Statue's Resiting

One occasion such as this occurred around the turn of the century on the night of 5 June 1900, when Falkirk celebrated the entry of British troops into Pretoria. David Aitkenhead Neilson, a miner resident in Falkirk, mounted the horse of the statue while in a state of intoxication, and in the process damaged and defaced the stonework, smashing one of the reins and breaking off the lower part of the horse's mouth.⁶⁸ Neilson was brought before court for the offence and fined 20 shillings, with the option of ten days' imprisonment instead. His behaviour was roundly condemned. Several people had attempted to induce him to desist and dismount from the statue, while at his trial the Fiscal declared that "The damage he did will certainly disfigure the statue for all time."⁶⁹ Neilson himself claimed he had not intended to cause damage to the monument. *The Falkirk Herald* described his actions as "reprehensible"⁷⁰ and deemed that his punishment "(did) not ... err on the side of severity."⁷¹

A more regular source of abuse to the monument was the New Year festivities. It became a custom for revellers to gather around the monument every New Year's Eve as

⁶⁸ *The Falkirk Herald*, 9 June 1900; *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 June 1900.

⁶⁹ *The Falkirk Herald*, 13 June 1900.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

midnight approached, and on the chiming of the clock bottles would be smashed on the pedestal of the statue. By the start of 1905, this habit and the damage it was causing to the monument had become a source of concern for some members of the public.⁷² Ultimately, these attentions contributed to a decision made by Falkirk Town Council on 4 July 1905 to have the statue moved to a new site in a grass enclosure on Newmarket Street.⁷³ Among other benefits offered by this new situation, Bailie Bogle deemed it would form an appropriate accompaniment to the South African War memorial intended to be erected at the other end of that street.⁷⁴ Operations to implement the decision were begun on 12 July 1905 and the move was completed within a week of that date (Figure 4.5.6).⁷⁵ The statue has remained at its new site to the present day.



Figure 4.5.6: Moving Wellington's Statue, July 1905. From Falkirk Council Archives, P00762, Re-siting of the Statue of the Duke of Wellington, 1905.

⁷² *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 January 1905.

⁷³ *The Falkirk Herald*, 8 July 1905.

⁷⁴ *The Falkirk Herald*, 10 June 1905.

⁷⁵ *The Falkirk Herald*, 15 July 1905; *The Falkirk Herald*, 19 July 1905.

4.6 Conclusion

In Scotland, the experience of the monuments was governed by their own particular historical, social, cultural, political and economic milieu. Nowhere is the iconic nature of Wellington's personality and the wide range of identity concepts that could be channelled, defined and expressed through his image more apparent than at the Scottish national testimonial at Edinburgh. Here the efforts to erect a commemoration celebrating his life, embracing all his personal, political and military achievements, established a focal point for the articulation of a grand spectrum of different forms of identity: imperial, national, regional and local; male and female; Tory and Whig; religious, military and civil. Scotland's unique perception of British identity and the importance they attached to the imperial realm is strongly apparent throughout. As Linda Colley¹ and others have maintained,² British identity as expressed through the national testimonial did not stifle or overpower local, regional or national identities. Rather these identities thrived in the efforts to assist the advancement of this British commemoration. Counties and towns banded together, competing with one another in fundraising and promoting the total amount of their region's contribution as a reflection on local pride and identity. Support was found for the cause all across Scotland, from Highlands to Lowlands. Wellington was even perceived as an apt subject to celebrate Scottish identity in particular, there being something about his character "akin to the Scotch".³

Appeals to the colonies for subscriptions highlights both an awareness of this wider realm among the Scotsmen directing the project and the importance attached to having contributions from there join those drawn from all around the country. This reflects the integral role empire played in Scotland's British experience.⁴ Imperialism came hand in hand with Britishness: one was a fundamental element of the other for Scots; consequently, a Scottish national testimonial to a British hero was perceived as requiring a connection with the imperial domain. For Scotsmen and their descendants living in these colonies, the project was a link back to a British and Scottish identity that many wished to maintain through supporting this undertaking. But, as in the case of Nova Scotia, it could also serve as a means of strengthening their own settler identity, cohesion and pride through common involvement in this symbol of their shared history, heritage and cultural roots.

¹ Colley, *Britons*.

² See for example McCrone, 'Unmasking Britannia'; Brockliss and Eastwood, 'Introduction'.

³ Ms. FB.m.55, Volume 55D, *The Spectator*, 29 May (1852).

⁴ Colley, *Britons*; Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity*.

The national project was instigated and steered throughout its period of development by an exclusive social and economic élite. Some of the highest ranked members of the Scottish nobility initially proposed the idea, gave the largest subscriptions and occupied key roles on the Committee. However, as the dispute over the appointment of Bell as acting secretary illustrates, members of the middle class such as the advocate George Patton and the writer to the signet David Smith also had an important impact on shaping the outcome of affairs and, indeed, as Buccleuch's disappointment over the issue of the selection of an artist indicates, the interests of even the most elevated members of the upper class were sometimes frustrated. Lower down the social and economic scale, both the subscriptions and support of ordinary working-class people were actively sought and received, as was displayed at East Lothian. Thus although the project may have been an élite-driven effort, the sentiments it preached were shared by many of the lower classes, who also ensured it was shaped in some measure by their input.

Yet despite the widespread approval for the undertaking, universal sanction was not received, as was displayed by a refusal to provide funds in Stirling and the cultivation of a separate commemorative undertaking at Glasgow. Though the Glasgow project's instigation was not overtly stated as a reactionary move against Edinburgh's efforts, a spirit of competition quite clearly prevailed between the two cities and was manifested in their concurrent drives to erect a Wellington statue. In a number of respects aspects of their projects may be construed as representing a pattern of local identity formation through a process of othering. Glasgow selected a foreign artist, whereas the Edinburgh testimonial was to be fashioned by a Scotsman. Funds came from all around Scotland and the Empire to support Edinburgh's national testimonial, whereas the Glasgow project was chiefly funded by local élites and wealthy city magnates. The nobility played a leading role on the national Committee, whereas the Glasgow Committee was dominated by untitled but influential Glaswegians. A similar process of local identity formation through othering may be observed at Falkirk, where the recently unveiled national testimonial at Edinburgh was held up in negative contrast to the statue planned to be erected in Falkirk.

However, the existence of these separate and competing local identities did not present a serious threat to an overarching British identity, the prevalence of which all three projects acknowledged to some extent and which both the Glasgow and Edinburgh statues quite overtly sought to define and promote. In this sphere, a more general "other", France, was frequently held up as both a threat and a contrast to all things British in discussion surrounding the monuments. This sentiment was displayed most overtly at New Abbey's Waterloo monument, with its inscription denouncing and opposing "French Tyranny". The

external French threat was employed as a rallying call for British unity, one preserved in the monuments' forms.

Despite general consensus and support for the monuments, further tensions and opposition were apparent at both Glasgow and Falkirk through Chartist protests at the inaugural public meeting for the Glasgow project, acts of vandalism in the wake of the Glasgow unveiling ceremony and in the later existence of the Falkirk statue and in applications for interdicts at both places to block the process leading to the erection of the respective statues. Some of these acts required the intervention of courts of law or the police to resolve matters. When such a circumstance became necessary the result was an official state sanction protecting and promoting the advancement of the monuments in the form decided upon by the majority of their individual committees of subscribers.

In studying the fortunes of Chartism in Glasgow from late 1839 to the end of 1841, Alex Wilson identified a trend whereby Glasgow Chartists

organised the packing of middle-class public meetings and carried Chartist resolutions giving universal suffrage priority over all other demands. When such tactics were resisted by the Lord Provost and other chairmen, the Chartists would filibuster or otherwise disrupt the meetings, so that few meetings could be peaceably held which did not pay lip-service at least to the principles of the Charter.⁵

Wilson identifies "meetings of the Emancipation Society, the Emigration Society and several other societies, as well as ... Anti-Corn Law and Household Suffrage meetings"⁶ as being targeted in this manner. Thus the disruption of the Wellington statue meeting on 18 February 1840 may be placed in the context of much more widespread expressions of socio-political discontent, on both a local and a national scale. Perhaps interestingly, the main periods of activity surrounding the Scottish national testimonial at Edinburgh also coincided with years during which the Scottish Chartist movement was at its strongest. A period of relative dormancy in the Edinburgh project from 1843 to 1847 paralleled quite closely a slump in fortunes for the Chartist movement. While the Glasgow project drew the attention of those wishing to give voice to oppositional ideologies, the national testimonial appears to have been untroubled by such protests and stood, quite consciously and securely, as a space of consensus during troubled times.

At Jedburgh, structures of class power were very apparent, with the monument seeking to bolster the elevated position of its sponsor, the Marquis of Lothian, within the

⁵ Wilson, 'Chartism in Glasgow', pp. 259-260.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

local community. This was attempted primarily through an inclusive building of consensus via the establishment of his tenants as the other main stakeholder in and driving force behind the monument's erection. Yet, throughout the process, Lothian's position at the head of the operation and the peak of the social ladder was maintained and reinforced. The Jedburgh project also touches on the theme of gender. Here, Lady Jane Montague offered Lothian a design sketch for a second monument. Female involvement was also apparent at New Abbey, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Falkirk in the form of subscription pledges and through the embroidering of a flag to be used during the New Abbey Waterloo monument foundation stone ceremony. However, as with much of public life at the time more generally, the monumental projects were a male-dominated realm. Women had very little impact on the final outcome either monetarily or through creative input. At Edinburgh, male approval was even sought to determine the proper amount for a woman to subscribe. No women sat on the Committees of any of the monuments, while the depiction of a woman in the bas-relief of the Glasgow monument is in a traditional role of wife or mother. Though women made their presence felt and expressed their identity in the monumental landscapes of the Wellington memorials, their role was always limited and subordinate to their male counterparts, a circumstance that reflected the experience of many nineteenth-century women in society generally.

Some of the Scottish Wellington monuments served a practical social function beyond their commemorative purpose, most notably the Jedburgh and New Abbey monuments, which incorporated internal staircases designed for the curious tourist to climb. An addition of a location plaque to the Jedburgh monument gave it a scientific and geographical function as well as marking it out as a significant local landmark. The same two monuments were also associated with annual ceremonies to mark the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. While ostensibly this served as an opportunity to reinvigorate memory in the commemorative space of the monuments and bolster the messages imbued in their forms, as Johnson warns, "public spectacle, like narrative history, is partly mediated through the lens of current political preoccupations."⁷ This may explain why these ceremonies altered in tone over the years and were eventually abandoned as distance from the battle increased. In the realm of spectacle and ceremony, foundation stone laying and/or inauguration ceremonies were held for all the Scottish Wellington memorials. These were sometimes elaborate and numerous attended events, and provided further opportunity for the expression and definition of different forms of identity. At Edinburgh

⁷ Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 63.

and New Abbey, these were marked by the performance of Freemason rituals, giving this élite, exclusively male group an outlet to express its identity in association with the monuments. Three of the monuments, New Abbey, Glasgow and Falkirk, employed a time capsule idea as part of the ceremonies, in which bottles filled with various contemporary items were placed in the foundations.

Thus it may be seen that the monuments served a wide variety of functions and were focal points for the expression of a broad range of identities, both complimentary and competing, but all co-existing in the Scottish landscape and through its Wellington monuments. Apart from the thematic links between Scotland's monuments, some of the projects also shared subscribers and Committee members, proving that a consciousness of the other, similar monuments prevailed among some of the stakeholders and a sense of adding to that commemorative landscape and forging bonds of unity between its various elements prevailed among them. Knowledge of Dublin's Phoenix Park testimonial may also have reached some, with the Marquis of Lothian's family links to Ireland and a report on the testimonial in the *Kelso Mail* hinting at that possibility. Some of London's efforts to commemorate the Duke were clearly communicated to Lord Dalhousie as he attempted to raise funds for Edinburgh's testimonial in the colonies.

Apart from awareness of Irish and English efforts in a similar realm, a more general awareness of and efforts to forge bonds with these two countries is apparent in the actions and debates surrounding the commemorative undertakings which is notably lacking in the case of Wales. For example the Scottish national testimonial sought funds from both Ireland and England but no concentrated efforts were made to do so in Wales, while a flag embroidered by three women of New Abbey in honour of the New Abbey monument's foundation stone laying ceremony presented the national emblems of Scotland, England and Ireland only: the thistle, the rose and the shamrock. Among the monuments' Scottish instigators, England was perceived as the main British partner, while perhaps the wave of Irish immigrants arriving to Scotland during the nineteenth century as well as a historic tradition of Scottish settlers moving to Ireland motivated interest in acknowledging their presence and drawing them into the commemorative process. Yet Wales remained unacknowledged, the silent and perhaps even forgotten partner in the British sphere.

CHAPTER FIVE: WALES

5.1 Brecon

5.1.1 The Context

Brecon, a town nestled in the mountains of southern Wales in the county of Breconshire, took the lead in the instigation of public monumental commemorations of the Duke in Wales. The nineteenth century was a period of considerable growth for Brecon, with the population of the town rising from 2,898 in 1801 to 6,098 in 1851.¹ Thomas has posited that a large proportion of this growth was attributable to in-migration motivated by the borough's increasing prosperity and diversification of employment opportunities. These in turn were due to improvements in the town's communication network, characterised by the arrival of a canal, a new tramroad, better roads and later in 1868, the opening of a railway station. All these linked Brecon's markets more effectively with an increasingly large hinterland, for which the town became an important distribution centre.²

In cultural terms there was a gradual shift towards anglicisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with English taking over as the first language rather than Welsh. This trend was encouraged by the increasing use of English in schools and churches. It was also the primary language used in law courts, local administration and local newspapers. A growing number of English-speaking tourists were coming to visit the town.³ And English was the language used in the drill square of the military barracks which were established in the town some time between 1813 and 1831.⁴ The barracks held accommodation for 270 men,⁵ and were a significant source of income for the town, their annual outlay being estimated at around £15,000 to £20,000 in the 1860s.⁶ Writing on Brecon around 1867, James Williams encapsulated a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the British nation and Crown, while yet retaining an independent Welsh identity; as well as a spirit inclined towards military endeavour:

From the period of our union with England- the brightest day in our history- to the present, we have been a loyal and faithful people, honouring our Sovereign, obeying the laws, and contributing, by our order, industry, and wealth, to the stability of the throne and the prosperity of the country. We are a quiet, industrious, thrifty, and provident people. There are no "Welsh

¹ W.S.K. Thomas, *Georgian and Victorian Brecon: Portrait of a Welsh County Town* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1993), p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 42-47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶ James Williams, *Brecon and its Neighbourhood* (London: Milner & Sowerby, c. 1867), p. 83.

Fenians,” or political agitators amongst us, shouting “Justice for Wales,” and thereby causing stagnation, confusion, and chronic disorder. No; should our strong right hand ever be wanted to strike a blow for our good Queen, the “sturdy Welshmen” will be found “ready” and “foremost in the fray.”⁷

5.1.2 Monument to the Duke of Wellington: Launch

Some of these interests and sentiments were also displayed in the project launched in 1852 to erect a monument to the Duke of Wellington in the town. Situated near the centre of the town on an open space in front of St Mary’s parish church (a Church of Wales establishment), the monument consists of a bronze figure of the Duke positioned atop a plinth comprised of Portland stone and Bathstone blocks, in which is incised various inscriptions, and two bronze bas-relief panels are set (Figure 5.1.1). The statue stands almost 9 feet high, the pedestal just over 10 feet high.⁸ The street on which it was erected, The Bulwark, was described in contemporary reports as “the most select part of the town”.⁹ The site was also in close proximity to the headquarters of Brecon Town Council, a body which played an instrumental role in the life cycle of the monument, from its founding and in its maintenance throughout the years up to the present day.

Plans for the monument’s construction were set in motion almost immediately after news of the Duke’s death spread. At the Quarter Sessions dinner held in the County House during the last week of October 1852, John Evan Thomas stepped forward to outline his proposal for a monument to Wellington and General Picton which he wished to see adorn the town. The monument would be executed by himself and he would cover over half of his estimate for the cost of the undertaking personally. He cited the Bulwark as a suitable site for the memorial. Thomas’s plan appears to have met with a general spirit of approval, with Mr Parry De Winton, a Councillor of the borough of Brecon, and other Magistrates present promising to contribute large sums to help fund the undertaking.¹⁰ The Town Council took up the matter in a more formal sense at a meeting held by them about a fortnight later on 9 November 1852. The Duke’s public funeral being scheduled to be held on 18 November 1852, the Council expressed a desire to mark it with a public day of mourning in the town, but that day being the second great fair day, a plan to close businesses was necessarily abandoned. Instead, the following resolution was moved by

⁷ Williams, *Brecon and its Neighbourhood*, p. 109.

⁸ Brecon Town Council Records, Sculpture and Conservation Consultancy Report on Wellington Statue, Janet Naylor and Andrew Naylor, (no date).

⁹ *The Brecon Journal, and Town and Country Newspaper*, 8 December 1855.

¹⁰ *The Silurian or, South Wales General Advertiser*, 30 October 1852.

Colonel Watkins, seconded, and unanimously adopted as an alternative form of last respect to the Duke:



Figure 5.1.1: Wellington Statue outside St Mary's Church, The Bulwark, Brecon

It being the wish of this Council to perpetuate the memory of the late Illustrious commander in chief The Duke of Wellington by some lasting public testimonial and their Townsman Mr. John Evan Thomas (one of the distinguished sculptors of the age) having offered to execute such a testimonial containing a Statue of the late Duke as well as that of that Gallant Welshman the late Sir Thomas Picton at an expense not exceeding £1200 and Mr. Thomas having very handsomely offered to contribute £700 of that sum: Resolved unanimously that a Subscription be now entered into for the purpose of accomplishing this very desirable object- and that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to Mr. Thomas, accompanied with the unanimous thanks of this Council- and that the Town Clerk be Secretary and Treasurer.¹¹

¹¹ Powys County Archives, Brecon Borough Records: Minutes of the Common Council 1847-1858, B/BR/100/4, 9 November 1852. Similar copies of this report appear in *The Silurian*, 11 December 1852 and *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855; however, the Minutes version may be deemed the most accurate.

The 14 men present at the meeting then reinforced their determination by each making a contribution to the subscription list. Six subscribed sums of £20 or more, with the total for the 14 amounting to £240 10s, almost half of the £500 sum sought from the public.¹²

5.1.3 *John Evan Thomas, Sculptor*

These early accounts give an indication of the high level of input the artist, John Evan Thomas, had both in instigating the project and bringing it to fruition. Born in Brecon on 15 January 1810, Thomas studied his craft in London under Sir Francis Chantrey, one of the leading proponents of sculpture of the day, and among whose most notable commissions was an 1844 equestrian statue of Wellington situated outside the Royal Exchange building in London, completed after his death by Henry Weekes.¹³ Chantrey was also associated with the Glasgow Wellington statue, being promoted as the artist of choice by a minority of the Sub-Committee for a lengthy period. After further study on the Continent, Thomas set up his own practice in London, where he forged a successful career. He remained a patriotic Welshman, with a good knowledge of his native tongue and a keen interest in local Welsh affairs. About 1857 he established a retirement residence at Penisha'r Pentre in Brecknockshire, after which he took a more active role in local politics, being appointed Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of Breconshire in 1862, and serving as High Sheriff of the county in 1868, before his death on 9 October 1873.¹⁴ Many of these personal experiences and concerns are reflected in the monument which he designed and executed, and towards which he provided the majority of the funding.

5.1.4 *The Subscribers*

The Town Council's resolution of 9 November 1852 was supported by an announcement in *The Silurian* on 27 November 1852 informing the community that subscription lists were now lodged at the Town Clerk's Office and at the various banks around the town of Brecon. Those already aware of the undertaking had contributed "very liberally".¹⁵ A list of subscribers published in the same newspaper on 11 December 1852 indicated that a total

¹² *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855; Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 9 November 1852.

¹³ Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 91-93.

¹⁴ Theophilus Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock, Volume 4* (Glanusk edn, enlarged by notes collected by Joseph Russell Bailey, Brecon: Brecknock Society, 1930, orig. edns 1805, 1809), p. 162; Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIX- Stow to Tytler* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1909), p. 666; Edwin Poole, *The Illustrated History and Biography of Brecknockshire from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Brecon: Edwin Poole, 1886), pp. 322-323.

¹⁵ *The Silurian*, 27 November 1852.

of £414 6d had now been promised towards the monument's costs.¹⁶ However, as with many matters concerning the statue, these early signs of interest and success formed a stark contrast with later difficulties and delays encountered in both seeing the promised money paid and raising the remainder of Thomas's required sum of £500.

The list of subscribers numbered 42 individuals, all of whom appear to have been men.¹⁷ The only noticeably non-local subscriber was John Gunter of London, who promised £5 5s. No location was specified for any of the other subscribers, though a statement made by the Mayor at a meeting of the Town Council held on 16 February 1857 suggests that they may all have been townsmen of Brecon.¹⁸ Of the 42 listed, 11 subscribed amounts of £2 2s or greater, while the rest pledged £1 1s or under. The two leading subscribers were Col. Watkins, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart, MP, both of whom pledged £100. These two were also the sole subscribers who declared either a military or noble rank. One subsequent subscriber added to this number: Colonel Pearce, who gave £10.¹⁹ Back on the 11 December 1852, John Parry de Winton and C. R. Morgan, Esq., MP, were next on the list with contributions of £50 each. John Jones, James Prosser Snead, Walter Maybery²⁰ and John Powell formed the last of the major subscribers, all offering £20 respectively.²¹ As previously alluded to, many of the subscribers, both major and minor, held offices on the Brecon Town Council.

The leading subscribers held a number of notable political and, to a lesser extent, military connections, both locally and nationally. Some links with the church and the Freemasons are also apparent, most particularly in the case of Col. Watkins. Watkins was the eldest son of Rev. Thomas Watkins. He served three terms as a Liberal MP for Brecon, from 1832 to 1834, 1847 to 1852 and 1854 until his death on 28 September 1865. He was elected first Mayor of Brecknock in January 1836 and was a prominent member of the Common Council for many years, as well as a member of the first Board of Health which was established in September 1850. He was a Justice of the Peace for the county of Brecon, a High Sheriff in 1836 and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Brecon from 1847 to 1865. Away from politics he held the positions of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Breconshire Militia, also from 1847 to 1865, and Worshipful Master of the old Loyal

¹⁶ *The Silurian*, 11 December 1852.

¹⁷ Three were identified only by their first initials and surname, but when no "Miss", "Mrs" or similar female title was used to distinguish them from their male peers, it appears likely they were also men.

¹⁸ *The Brecon Journal*, 21 February 1857.

¹⁹ *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855.

²⁰ Also spelt "Mayberry".

²¹ *The Silurian*, 11 December 1852.

Cambrian Lodge of Freemasons at Brecon.²² Sir Joseph Bailey served as Justice of the Peace for the counties of Glamorgan and Hereford and as Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for the counties of Brecon and Monmouth. He held office as a High Sheriff in 1823 and was created a baronet on 5 July 1852. On a national level he was elected MP for Worcester from 1835 to 1847, before taking a seat as MP for Brecon from 1847 until his death on 20 November 1858.²³ He had also previously been involved in the monumental commemoration of the Duke on a more personal and private level, when in 1840 he took delivery of a full-length marble statue of Wellington which he had commissioned from Mr Evan Thomas, “a young sculptor of considerable promise”²⁴ and a Welshman, to be displayed at his seat of residence at Glen-usk Park in North Wales.²⁵ This was mostly likely the same artist now seeking to embellish the town of Brecon with another tribute to the Duke, and this previous dealing with Thomas may have endeared Bailey to his cause and encouraged him to offer his support to the present undertaking.

John Parry de Winton held the positions of Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff for the county of Brecon from 1829 to 1830. He was instrumental in organising the rebuilding of his local parish church of Llanfrynach (about three and a half miles from Brecon town) in 1855, which had fallen into a state of considerable disrepair by that time. Various members of his immediate family established notable military and political connections, forged either directly or through marital bonds. Among them was his second son Richard, who died of colonial fever in 1841 at the age of 21 while serving as a Lieutenant of the 52nd Light Infantry at Demerara, a colony in South America.²⁶ C.R. Morgan was a member of the Coldstream Guards and served as MP for Brecon from 1852 until his death on 14 January 1854.²⁷ Of the other leading subscribers, Walter Maybery served as High Sheriff of Brecknockshire in 1843, Mayor of Brecon in 1841, last Prothonotary of the Brecknock Circuit and as an Alderman of the Borough. His wife was also the eldest daughter of the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Fairy Hill, Gower.²⁸ Finally, John Powell was Mayor for Brecknock during 1850 and 1853.²⁹

²² Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock, Volume 4*, p. 282; Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 28 June 1854.

²³ Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock, Volume 4*, p. 276.

²⁴ *The Art-Union*, April 1840, p. 57.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock, Volume 4*, pp. 44-45, 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

5.1.5 Appearance of the Design

A fuller account of the monument's intended appearance was given in a report printed in *The Cambrian* newspaper on 17 December 1852:

BRECON.

THE WELLINGTON STATUE.- Previous to the adjourned Quarter Sessions, on Wednesday week, a model of the proposed Wellington memorial, four feet in height, forwarded by the sculptor, Mr. J. Evan Thomas, "was put up in the Grand Jury Room. It appears that the statue of the departed hero will be cast in bronze, and will stand eight feet high; the figure as represented in the model has all that calm repose, peculiar to the warrior statesman in his later years, and is considered a successful likeness. The pedestal will be composed of Portland stone, and the front will be inscribed with the word "Wellington." On each side there will be large bronze panels, on one of which there will be in alto relief a representation of the death of General Picton at Waterloo; the deceased hero is falling from his horse into the arms of a Highland soldier, while the combat rages round. On the other side will be a fine equestrian group representing the Duke of Wellington thanking General Picton on the field for his successful and skilful movement to prevent the besieged French garrison of Pampeluna from being relieved by the main army. Captain Davies, of the 74th Regiment, a native of the county of Brecon, who was present at the moment, is also introduced.³⁰ The total height of the monument from the base of the pedestal to the top of the statue will be eighteen feet. The site will be the centre of the Bulwark, in front of St. Mary's Church, where it will be seen to great advantage, and will prove an ornament to the town.³¹

As this account illustrates, the visual aspects of the monument were infused with considerable military and political undertones. The Waterloo (Figure 5.1.2) and Peninsular War (Figure 5.1.3) panels establish obvious messages of imperial power and might, while also uniting local and national identities through the combination of Wellington, Picton, Davies and a Highland soldier. The motif of the noble and heroic British soldier is employed consistently throughout the imagery of the panels, and in *The Cambrian's* account of their appearance. The statue of Wellington, the "warrior statesman", conveys a greater combination of military and political allusions. Wellington is depicted in a plain military frock, relatively unadorned by decorations aside from a single medal at his throat and a partially obscured badge on the cloak draped over his left breast. He holds a scroll in his right hand, while in his left he grasps the blade of a sheathed sword. A field marshal's hat with feathered plume lies on the ground behind his left foot, while two volumes of his

³⁰ A similar report in *The Silurian*, 11 December 1852 identifies the local soldier as "Captain Downes, of the 7th Regiment"; however, the 74th Regiment was part of the division which Picton commanded at Pampeluna (Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XV- Owens to Pockrich, pp. 1139-1140.), indicating that this version of the report may be the more accurate.

³¹ *The Cambrian, and General Advertiser for the Principality of Wales*, 17 December 1852.

Despatches lie stacked behind his right foot. In the event, the inscription on the front of the pedestal, facing down the Bulwark, was lengthened to read:

WELLINGTON
MDCCCLII

This suggests that the monument is both a funerary memorial and a celebration of Wellington's whole life and career, military and political, public and private. On the opposite side, facing St Mary's Church, were added the words:

PICTON
MDCCCXV



Figure 5.1.2: Waterloo Relief Panel, Wellington Statue, Brecon

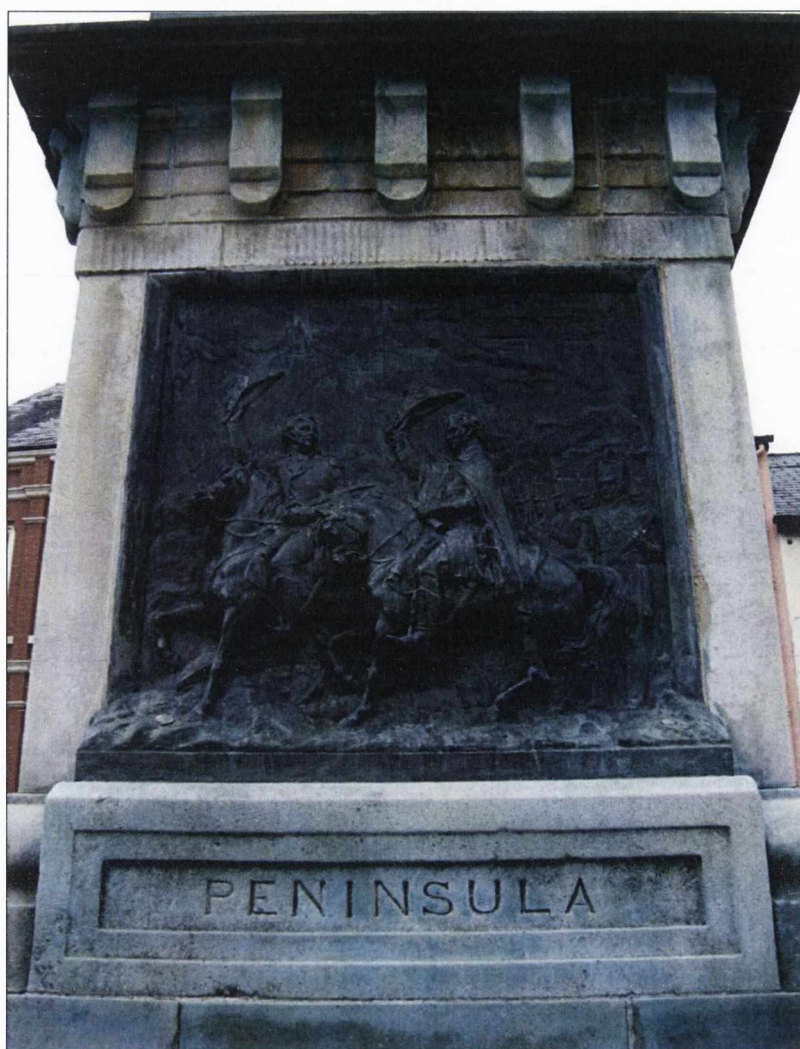


Figure 5.1.3: Peninsula Relief Panel, Wellington Statue, Brecon

Again this holds similar, all-encompassing connotations of life and death to the frontward dedication to Wellington, 1815 being the year in which Picton died. It also brings to mind the Battle of Waterloo, that being the year of the battle at which Wellington triumphed while Picton lost his life aiding in the achievement of the victory. As illustrated in Figure 5.1.2 and Figure 5.1.3, the first planned panel was inscribed with the word “WATERLOO”, while the other was engraved with the word “PENINSULA”, hinting in a general sense at the nature of the events being depicted. The panels are both engraved with the signature “*J.E. Thomas. Sc.*”, thereby linking the sculptor openly with his work. One of the books that lie behind Wellington’s foot has the title “DESPATCHES” carved on its spine, leaving no uncertainty as to their identity.

5.1.6 Decline in Interest, Inauguration Ceremony Postponed

Some time before September 1853, Thomas wrote to the Town Clerk, Mr R.T. Watkins, to inform him the statue would be cast in bronze during the course of that autumn.³² The founders selected to perform this task were Messrs. Robinson and Cottam, whose premises was located at Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico in London.³³ Thomas requested that the Town Council supply him with a contract for the work, a matter which, at their meeting of 1 September 1853, they postponed for consideration at a later date.³⁴ It appears this contract never materialised, a circumstance which would become important when difficulties later arose over gathering funds.

Although seemingly reluctant to be legally bound, the Council was still satisfied to take some interest in the undertaking. Around June 1854, Thomas wrote again to the Town Clerk seeking advice concerning the site and pedestal for the intended monument. In response to his plea, some members of the Council proceeded to the Bulwark to inspect and measure the ground following their meeting of 28 June 1854.³⁵ The Bulwark had been proposed by Thomas as the site for the monument from the outset.³⁶ Five members of the Council carried out the inspection, namely the Mayor Mordecai Jones, Thomas Williams, John Williams, Peter Hodges and Richard Fryer. They determined that a pedestal of eight feet square should be placed in an enclosure sixteen feet square, with a distance of forty-eight feet being maintained between the centre of the pedestal and the wall of St Mary's Church. These details were then reported back to Thomas.³⁷ This sign of the monument's approaching completion may have spurred the Council to order the Clerk on 3 August 1854 to write to the subscribers asking them to pay up their pledges.³⁸

About a year after Thomas's announcement of the commencement of casting, the statue was finally finished by November 1854. It was displayed to the public at Messrs. Robinson and Cottam's foundry in London during the first week of that month, before being transported to Brecon for erection.³⁹ Thomas wrote to the Clerk proposing to inaugurate the monument on 18 November 1854; however, the Council resolved that consideration of the matter should be postponed until the quarterly meeting in February

³² Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 1 September 1853.

³³ *The Art-Journal*, December 1854, p. 375; *The Silurian*, Cardiff, Merthyr, and Brecon Mercury, and South Wales General Advertiser, 11 November 1854.

³⁴ Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 1 September 1853.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 June 1854.

³⁶ *The Silurian*, 30 October 1852.

³⁷ Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 28 June 1854; *The Silurian*, 1 July 1854.

³⁸ Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 3 August 1854.

³⁹ *The Art-Journal*, December 1854, p. 375; *The Silurian*, 11 November 1854.

1855.⁴⁰ This postponement was to continue, with no mention of an inauguration ceremony being made at that meeting.

The subject of the statue was raised again around June 1855, when it was indicated that the request to subscribers to pay up their pledges had not met with complete success. Of the total amount subscribed, £79 13s 6d had still yet to be remitted. In addition to that, the total subscriptions were £70 1s short of the aimed for sum of £500.⁴¹ By 23 October 1855, the matter was considered sufficiently pressing that it was raised at a Board of Health Committee meeting for the town, many of the town councillors also serving on this body. Here it was resolved that the Town Clerk pay Thomas any subscriptions he had collected “after deducting all necessary expenses”,⁴² hinting that the Council intended to maintain strict limits in relation to their financial responsibility for the undertaking.

The issues of payment and inauguration were finally openly analysed a few weeks later by an impassioned letter to the editor of *The Brecon Journal* from a concerned citizen of the town. Writing on 15 November 1855, the author, “Justitia”, stated that it was by that time “many months”⁴³ since the statue had been raised, yet still no inauguration ceremony had been held. They attributed this omission to a failure to properly carry out the Town Council resolution of 9 November 1852 which launched a subscription to cover the cost of the monument. Their position was outlined as follows:

Many months have elapsed since a ... bronze statue, in honour of the immortal Wellington was raised in Brecon. This statue ... would be regarded as a conspicuous ornament in any town or city in the kingdom, and Brecon, especially, ought to be doubly proud of it.

What is the reason that this statue has not yet been inaugurated? Has that enthusiasm for the British hero which first inspired the idea of erecting a statue in his honour, cooled down at the sight of his noble and commanding figure? Or is the postponement to be attributed to another cause, little honourable to the town?

Perhaps the omission may be accounted for by the failure to carry out the ... resolution ... of ... the 9th day of November, 1852...

If my surmise be correct, that the above agreement has not been fulfilled, I am no longer surprised that the inauguration has not yet taken place. I can well understand that the corporation would be restrained, by motives of delicacy, from inaugurating a statue that has not been paid for. If

⁴⁰ Brecon Borough Records: Minutes, B/BR/100/4, 9 November 1854.

⁴¹ *The Brecon Journal*, and *Charles Knight's Town and Country Newspaper*, 9 June 1855.

⁴² Powys County Archives, Brecon Borough Records: Local Board of Health Committee Minutes Book 1851-1861, B/BR/990/2, 23 October 1855.

⁴³ *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855.

this be the case, and I am credibly informed that it is, the sooner this blot shall be wiped away from the escutcheon⁴⁴ of the town the better.

The talented artist, to whose chisel we are indebted for what posterity will not fail to regard as one of the treasures of our municipality, has done *his* part well and nobly. The statue is a monument of his disinterested liberality to his native town- let it no longer remain a monument of our apathy. Shall the dignity and honour of Brecon be bartered for a few paltry hundred pounds?⁴⁵

Following Justitia's letter of 15 November, the matter continued to prove an issue with various reports over the ensuing months and years outlining persistent difficulties both in raising the remainder of the sum and in seeing it remitted to the artist.⁴⁶ These reports, as with Justitia's letter, are often illustrative of the association of the monument with Breconian identity and town pride. The specificity of the link between the statue and the town is highlighted by Mayor David Thomas's testimony at a meeting of the Town Council held on 16 February 1857 that the subscription had been confined to the borough alone rather than being extended to the whole county.⁴⁷ Yet conversely a desire to distance this association may also be detected in the repeated attempts of the Town Council to avoid complete financial responsibility.

This latter sentiment was displayed to its most extreme extent at the next mention of the situation at a meeting of Brecon Local Health Board held on 11 February 1856. Here a letter was read by the Mayor Colonel Pearce from the sculptor stating that a balance of £108 4s was still due for the statue and "hinting a claim upon the council."⁴⁸ Walter Maybery stringently denied the claim, replying in no uncertain terms that "he was of the opinion that the council had nothing to do with the affair".⁴⁹ William Thomas was not so dismissive, contending that "they should certainly take some notice of the application",⁵⁰ an opinion which found favour with several others present. James Williams proposed that some of the gentlemen present at the next Quarter Sessions should be spoken to on the matter. Mr Bevan noted that Sir Joseph Bailey had offered to make up any potential deficiency, and suggested that he ought to be written to. Bailey had sent a letter outlining this intention some time before 23 October 1855.⁵¹ He had already given £100 towards the

⁴⁴ A decorated shield, forming the main element of a coat of arms in heraldry. Kim Dennis-Bryan, Nicola Hodgson and Neil Lockley (eds), *Signs & Symbols: An Illustrated Guide to their Origins and Meanings* (London: Dorling Kindersley Limited, 2008), pp. 318-320.

⁴⁵ *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855.

⁴⁶ *The Brecon Journal*, 16 February 1856; *The Brecon Journal*, 7 February 1857; *The Brecon Journal*, 21 February 1857; *The Brecon Journal*, 16 May 1857.

⁴⁷ *The Brecon Journal*, 21 February 1857.

⁴⁸ *The Brecon Journal*, 16 February 1856.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Brecon Borough Records: Local Board of Health Committee Minutes, B/BR/990/2, 23 October 1855.

monument and provided an iron railing that now encircled the base of the work.⁵² This addition remained in place throughout the nineteenth century until its removal in February 1932 (Figure 5.1.4).⁵³ Whether Bailey eventually stood by this pledge, or if indeed he was ever called upon to fulfil it, is unknown. What is certain is that the matter of costs was still not completely resolved over two years later. In the short term, Walter Maybery's attempts to halt discussion of the topic won out when his motion to postpone consideration of the matter until the Town Clerk, R.T. Watkins, could be consulted was carried.⁵⁴



Figure 5.1.4: The Wellington Statue in front of St Mary's Church in 1899, complete with iron railing. The Wellington Hotel stands to the left of the scene. From The Francis Frith Collection, Ref. 44729. http://www.francisfrith.com/brecon/photos/st-marys-church-1899_44729/ (2 September 2010).

Almost a year later, some half-hearted consideration was again given to the subject when Thomas sent another letter about the balance still due for the statue. Mayor David Thomas stated that "The Council were not responsible for the amount, but he ... thought it a pity Mr. Thomas should lose the amount, and suggested they should make a subscription

⁵² *The Brecon Journal*, 17 November 1855.

⁵³ Powys County Archives, Brecon Borough Records: Works and General Purposes Committee and Other Committee Minutes Book 1929-1935, B/BR/117/8, 8 February 1932, pp. 194-195; Brecon Borough Records: Works and General Purposes Committee and Other Committee Minutes, B/BR/117/8, 29 February 1932, p. 197.

⁵⁴ *The Brecon Journal*, 16 February 1856.

among themselves.”⁵⁵ However, no resolution was fixed upon, and the subject lapsed. Undoubtedly hoping to drive the Council on to some action, John Evan Thomas appeared in front of them in person about a week and a half later on 16 February 1857. He presented a new letter to the Mayor, which referred to the great initial enthusiasm that had met the announcement of the project in 1852 and the generous subscriptions which were quickly promised by several individuals and members of the Town Council, circumstances which had led him and others to believe both the required amount and extra expenses for erecting the statue would easily be met. Referring to the clear cooling of attitude and decline in interest that instead transpired, he summed up his present woes:

It is well known that the amount of this subscription has fallen considerably short of the sum required, and that it has fallen to my lot to be mulcted in a considerable portion of the deficiency. Now my object in addressing you, sir, and through you the gentlemen who form the Council and Corporation of Brecknock, is to request that you and they may be pleased to sanction, and cause to be made, a fresh application for subscriptions, more particularly to those gentlemen who possess property and influence in this county, who have not hitherto subscribed to this object, in order to liquidate the balance that remains unpaid.

I can now only leave the matter in your hands, trusting that my request is neither unreasonable nor unwarranted by the claims of equity and justice...⁵⁶

In response the Mayor stated his belief that a mistake had been made in the first place in confining the subscription to the borough rather than extending it to the whole county, and that although Thomas had no claim “either legal or moral”⁵⁷ on the Corporation, he thought something should be done to clear the debt. Thomas proposed members of the Council should form a Committee and wait on the aforementioned gentlemen of the county to solicit subscriptions from them. The Mayor cast doubt on this approach, saying that “whatever was done by them must be done individually, and not as a Council”.⁵⁸ Mr Banks added that the resolution of 9 November 1852 had referred to a sum of £500 to be raised by public subscription, of which Thomas had now received £456. He believed that the Council “were morally bound to see the remaining £44 paid; but with any further expense they had nothing whatever to do.”⁵⁹ The matter was concluded with a

⁵⁵ *The Brecon Journal*, 7 February 1857.

⁵⁶ *The Brecon Journal*, 21 February 1857.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

promise from the Mayor and Mr Banks to mention the subject to some of the gentlemen who had not already subscribed.⁶⁰

It appears this approach had little effect as by 14 May 1857 a balance of £40 14s 6d was still due for the statue, while nothing had been deducted from the £56 19s Thomas had previously stated as the outstanding bill for his additional expenditure on the pedestal.⁶¹ While his appeal regarding the latter amount was not entertained, the Council again saw fit to take some notice of his former claim. The Mayor stated that “though they could not apply the borough funds to the payment of this debt, ... (t)he Corporation viewed and selected the site, and he thought it was a reflection on them to allow the balance of the £500 to remain unpaid.”⁶² Henry Maybery took this statement one step further, announcing his conviction that “it was a slur upon the town to allow the balance due for the statue to remain unpaid”,⁶³ and proposing that if the gentlemen present would make up the sum he would contribute £5. This appeal to town pride had some effect, as a subscription list was drawn up and handed around. Maybery pledged his aforementioned £5, while some others signed up for lesser amounts.⁶⁴

5.1.7 Subsequent Inscription Addition: John Evan Thomas Honoured

In the wake of this move, it appears the balance on the statue may finally have been settled, as when the matter was again brought before the Council at their meeting of 21 May 1858, it was only expenditure on the monument's erection that was mentioned. Here a resolution to launch a further subscription, but with the caution that the Corporation would not be liable for any shortfall in meeting erection costs, was ultimately decided not to be entertained. In fact, the notion of any resolution on the subject was rejected,⁶⁵ perhaps implying that John Evan Thomas was to be left to cover that additional cost himself. Whether or not this was the case, it was deemed fit to honour Thomas for the contribution he had made to the town's landscape in later years through the addition of the following inscription to the base of the front of the monument:

⁶⁰ *The Brecon Journal*, 21 February 1857.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; *The Brecon Journal*, 16 May 1857.

⁶² *The Brecon Journal*, 16 May 1857.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Powys County Archives, Brecon Borough Records: Draft Minutes Book 1843-1858, B/BR/101/1, 27 May 1858.

THIS STATUE MODELLED FROM LIFE
 BY THE LATE JOHN EVAN THOMAS F.S.A. J.P.
 DEPUTY LIEUTENANT AND HIGH SHERIFF
 OF THE COUNTY OF BRECKNOCK.
 WAS PRESENTED BY HIM
 TO HIS NATIVE TOWN IN THE YEAR 1856.

Thomas having died on 9 October 1873, this addition was clearly made after that date, and may perhaps have been added directly in the wake of his passing as an act of mourning and a more general tribute to the achievements of an eminent citizen of the town.

5.1.8 The Queen's Birthday and Other Wellington Tributes

While payment may have proved difficult to secure and no opening ceremony appears to have marked its erection, no major objections appear to have been raised to this addition to the town. A picture of cheerful acceptance and smooth integration is painted by a report on the celebration of the Queen's birthday in Brecon on 29 May 1856. This day was held as a public holiday in the town. Shops were closed after 2 p.m., while people gathered at the barracks to witness a display by the regiments and their bands. Later that evening, the front of the Wellington statue was selected as the site for a bonfire to add to the celebrations. As the wood burned, fireworks were launched, a display which was kept up until the flames had reduced the wood to ash. Describing the crowd gathered on the Bulwark to witness the event, *The Brecon Journal* wrote that "(joy) and mirth were here visible in the faces of all."⁶⁶ The night concluded with a ball at the barracks.

Two other forms of tribute to Wellington were also employed in the town: the Wellington Hotel was opened beside the monument (Figure 5.1.4) some time before about 1867,⁶⁷ while a street to the north of the monument's site was named Wellington Place at some point before 1887 (Figure 5.1.5).

⁶⁶ *The Brecon Journal*, 31 May 1856.

⁶⁷ Williams, *Brecon and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 88-89.

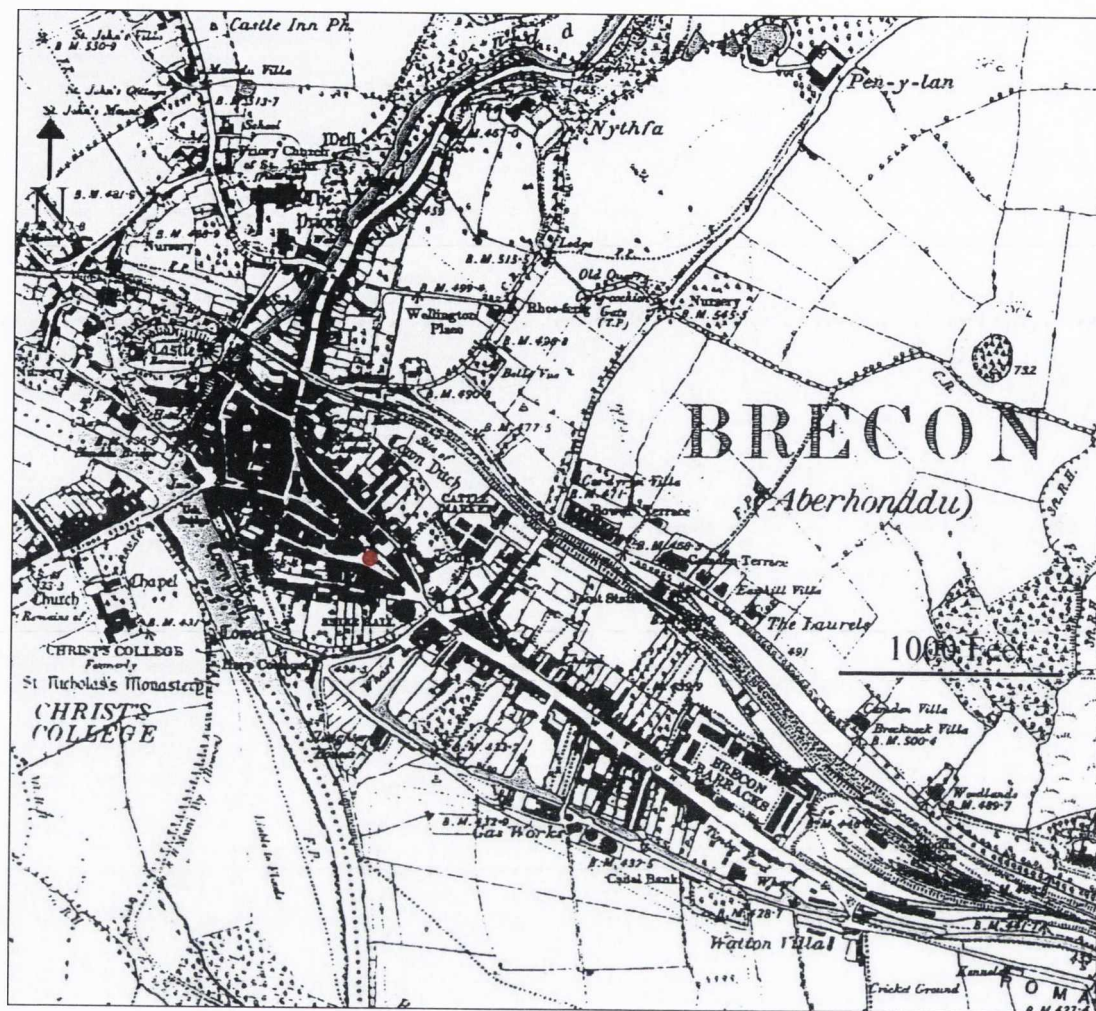


Figure 5.1.5: Map showing the Wellington Statue (marked by a red dot) with Wellington Place roughly to the north. The barracks are also visible. Formed using Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Brecknockshire, Sheet XXVIII SW, surveyed 1887, published 1891.

5.2 Aberystwyth

5.2.1 Site Description

Aberystwyth, a coastal town in mid-Wales, situated in the county of Cardiganshire, is the location of the second oldest Welsh monumental commemoration of the Duke. The monument is columnar in form and has been likened in appearance to an upended cannon or an industrial chimney in various contemporary and modern accounts.¹ Rising to a height of roughly 60 feet with a podium approximately 6 feet tall at the bottom,² it is composed of locally sourced stone rubble and slate slabs (Figure 5.2.1).³

It sits atop the highest point of the Iron Age hillfort settlement of Pen Dinas, which, at about 394 feet above sea level,⁴ dominates the southern skyline of the town of Aberystwyth (Figure 5.2.2). An unimpeded view of the monument may be had both from the town and at various points around the surrounding countryside, as well as from out over the Irish Sea. Browne and Driver give an indication of the prominence of the monument's setting in their description of the views which may be observed from its base in clear weather, stretching "from Pembrokeshire and Cardigan Island in the south-west, to Bardsey Island and the Lleyn Peninsula in the north-west and the peaks of Snowdonia to the north".⁵ The fort itself dates back to about 600 BC and is the site of one of the earliest known human settlements in the area,⁶ thereby associating the monument with a deep historical tradition of human resilience and continuity, as well as the notions of power and conflict that may be associated with such a defensive settlement, encircled, as it was, by protective stone walls and ditches.⁷

5.2.2 Nineteenth-Century Aberystwyth: "a fashionable bathing-place"⁸

The nineteenth century was a period of significant advancement for the town of Aberystwyth. The population of the town rose from 1,758 in 1801 to 8,014 by 1901.⁹

¹ See for example David Browne and Toby Driver, *Bryngaer Pen Dinas Hill-Fort: A Prehistoric Fortress at Aberystwyth* (Aberystwyth: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, 2001), p. 33; *Aberystwyth Chronicle*, and *Illustrated Times*, 13 October 1855; Reverend Henry Edward Tuckey and Frances Isabel Bryant, '1859 Diary Extract', 19 June 1859, (transcribed by Jean Tuckey). <http://www.aberystwyth-online.co.uk/article/diary.shtml> (20 November 2006).

² Browne and Driver, *Bryngaer Pen Dinas Hill-Fort*, p. 36.

³ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Pendinas Monument Aberystwyth, File CD Domestic SN 58 SE Part 1B, The Wellington Monument, Pendinas: Architectural Description, D.B. Hague, 1976.

⁴ Browne and Driver, *Bryngaer Pen Dinas Hill-Fort*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶ W.J. Lewis, "A Fashionable Watering Place": *Aberystwyth* (Aberystwyth: The Cambrian News (Aberystwyth) Ltd., 1990), p. 1.

⁷ Browne and Driver, *Bryngaer Pen Dinas Hill-Fort*, pp. 36-37.

⁸ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales, comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate and market towns, parishes, chapeltries, and townships, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume I*, 2nd edn (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1842), p. 27.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Aberystwyth steadily increased in popularity as a tourist destination, its seaside bathing opportunities and chalybeate mineral water springs, which were noted for their medicinal properties, forming the principal attractions for visitors. Assessing the situation near the middle of the century in 1842, Samuel Lewis wrote:

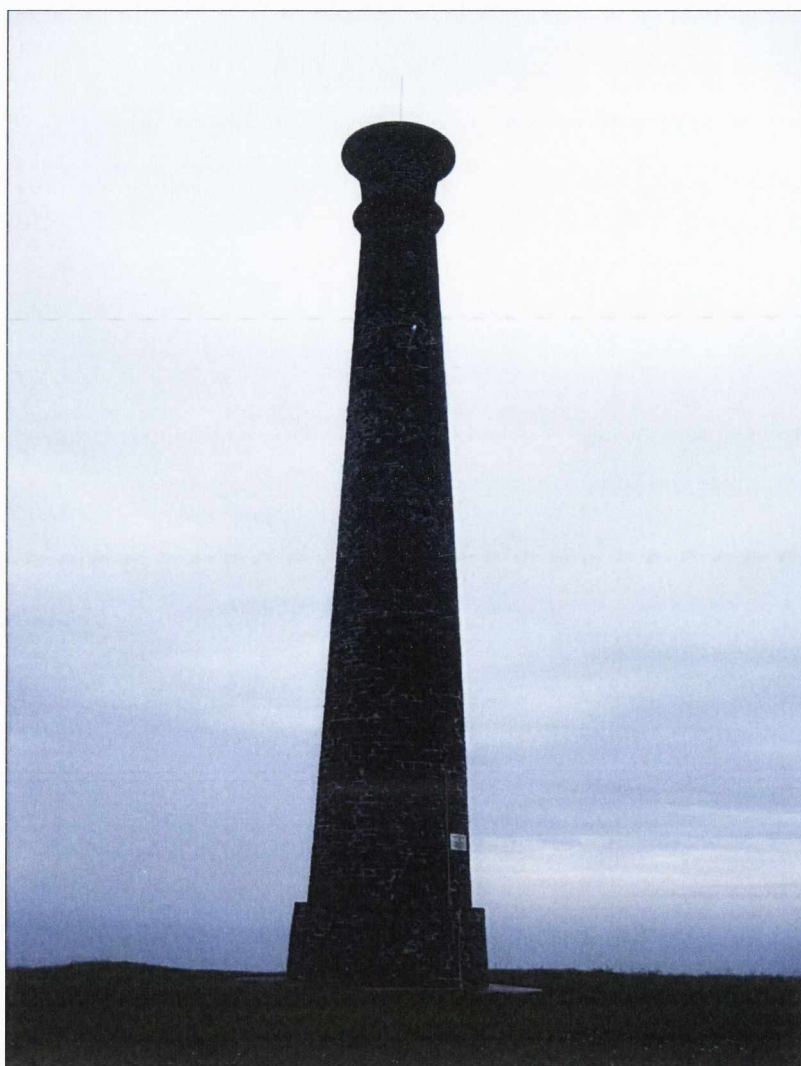


Figure 5.2.1: Wellington Column, Pen Dinas, Aberystwyth

The advantages of its situation on a fine open bay, the purity of its air, and the efficacy of some mineral springs adjacent, have contributed to render it a place of resort for invalids. About the commencement of the last century, it began to rise into notice as a fashionable bathing-place, and, from a series

⁹ Michael Freeman, *Aberystwyth - A History and Celebration of the Town* (Salisbury: The Francis Frith Collection, 2005), p. 108.

of progressive improvements, is now one of the most frequented places of fashionable resort on this part of the coast.¹⁰

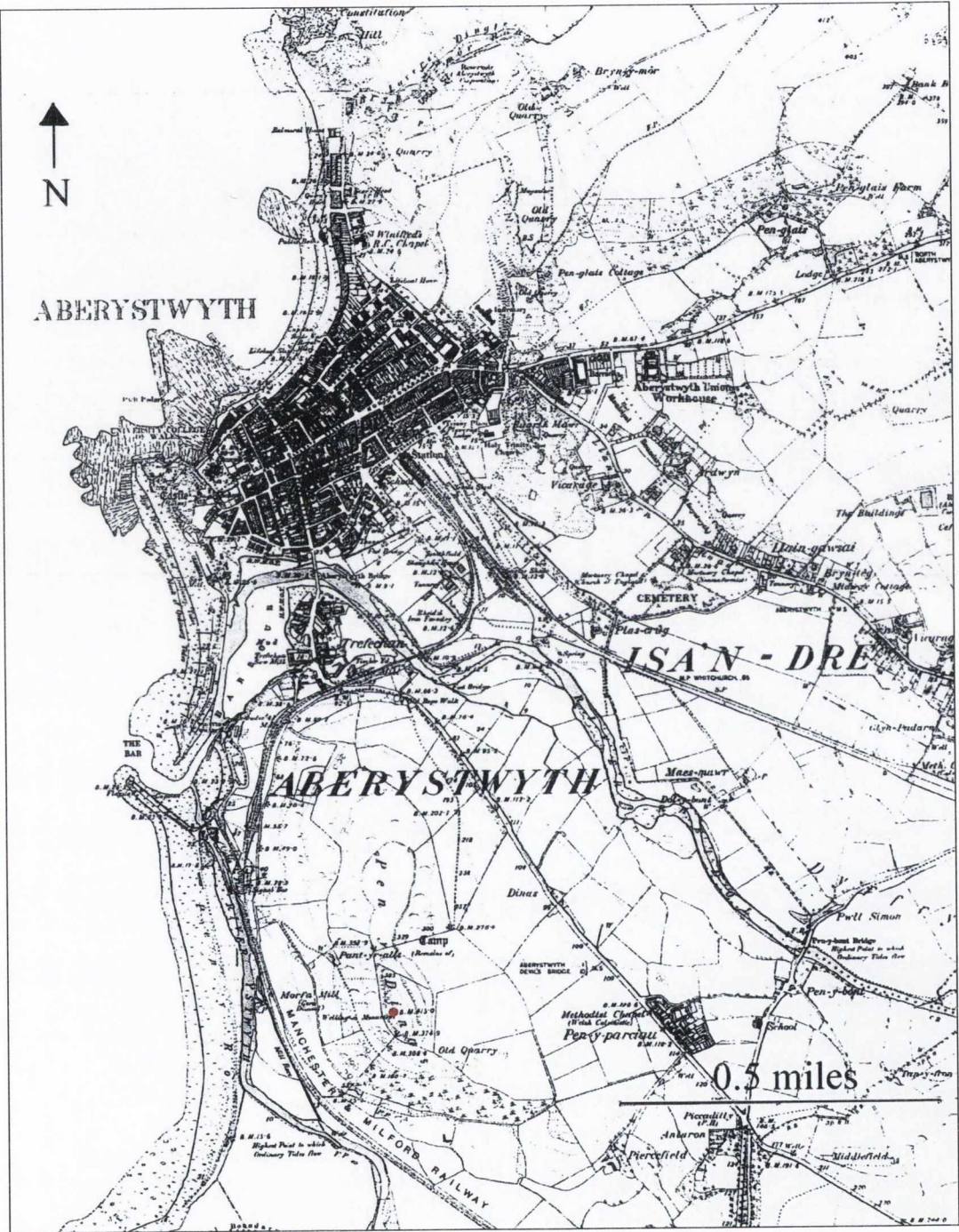


Figure 5.2.2: Map showing the Wellington Monument (marked by a red dot) on Pen Dinas, overlooking the sea and the town of Aberystwyth. Formed using Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 Series Map, Cardiganshire, Sheet VI SW, surveyed 1886, published 1890.

¹⁰ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, p. 27.

5.2.3 Monument to the Duke of Wellington: Origins and Notable Contributors

Plans for the monument's construction were set afoot during the general period of mourning and commemoration that followed in the wake of the Duke's death on 14 September 1852. On 4 March 1853, the following account appeared in *The Cambrian* newspaper:

A project has been started at Aberystwith for erecting a monumental pillar to the memory of the late Duke of Wellington, so that the neighbourhood may not be behind the various places that are now making similar demonstrations. The site proposed for its erection is the very top of the conical hill of Pendinas, which rises between the two rivers Rheidol and Ystwith, a little above their confluence, and close to the harbour. The proposed plan will have the additional recommendation of being an excellent land-mark for shipping driven into Cardigan Bay, from its conspicuous position. The estimated cost does not exceed 80*l.*, of which 50*l.* is already promised. The site is given by Colonel Powell, M.P., the owner of the land.¹¹

The Powell family formed one of the most significant landowners in the region at that time, with the family estate of Nanteos covering an area of 21,900 acres in 1830.¹² Aside from the donation of the site, William Edward Powell (the same Colonel Powell mentioned in *The Cambrian*'s account) contributed a subscription of £5 5s towards the erection of the column, thereby marking him as a significant stakeholder in the undertaking.¹³ Apart from his leading rank among the landed gentry of the region, Powell also served as MP for Cardiganshire and as Lord Lieutenant of the county from 1816 to 1854.¹⁴ He was a Colonel in the Royal Cardigan Militia, a town improvements commissioner and a member of numerous local-government bodies.¹⁵ Powell's positions in parliament, the army and local society hold notable political, military and socio-economic connotations which are reflected and reproduced in the monument's symbolic subtexts.

Further details were added to this account of the monument's origins in the following week's *Carmarthen Journal*:

Our correspondent informs us that the following circular is going its round to the immortal memory of Wellington. It runs as follows:—"As every town

¹¹ *The Cambrian*, 4 March 1853.

¹² Janet Joel, *Nanteos* (Cardigan: E.L. Jones & Son, 1996), p. 22.

¹³ National Library of Wales, Nanteos Estate Rentals, R110, 24 August 1853.

¹⁴ Gerald Morgan, 'W.E. Powell and Rebecca', in Gerald Morgan (ed.), *Nanteos: A Welsh House and its Families* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2001), pp. 83-84; Samuel Rush Meyrick, *The Histories and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (Brecon: Davies and Co., 1907), p. 373.

¹⁵ Morgan, 'W.E. Powell and Rebecca', pp. 83-84; Meyrick, *The Histories and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan*, p. 373.

of importance throughout the Empire is rendering a tribute of respect to the memory of Wellington, it is presumed Aberystwith and its neighbourhood would wish to be of the number. It is proposed to erect a column of stone on the highest point of Pen Dinas, to signify our gratitude to the great Captain who saved us from the yoke and tyranny of France. You are invited to join in this patriotic object by forwarding your name and donation to W.E. Richards, Esq., Bryneithin, Aberystwith. January, 1853.” It must be observed that there could not be found a more suitable site for so desirable an object than the summit of Old Pen Dinas Hill, one of the most striking elevations in view of Aberystwith and its environs. Should that indefatigable gentleman, Mr. Richards, who served in part of the Peninsular war, be successful in collecting sufficient funds to erect such a column to the memory of his glorious commander, it will be a fitting adornment to the “Brighton of Wales.”¹⁶

Here an imperial arena is constructed and Aberystwyth is drawn into its aegis through the medium of Wellington’s memory as enshrined and perpetuated through this monument. France is the menacing “other”¹⁷ standing in opposition to the Empire, both in the struggle for power and dominance, and as a contrasting collective identity. Describing Aberystwyth as the “Brighton of Wales”¹⁸ creates a clear affinity with England, thereby reinforcing the bonds of British unity. Furthermore, local pride is portrayed as being at stake, with the erection of a monument being deemed a reflection on the community’s value as “every town of importance throughout the Empire”¹⁹ has offered up a tribute to the Duke’s memory.

The passage also introduces the other key player in the recorded history of the monument’s instigation: W.E. Richards, or William Eardley Richardes, Esquire, of Bryneithin, Aberystwyth. Richardes held both political and military affiliations, serving as justice of the peace for the county of Cardigan and as a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, fighting on the Continent during the Napoleonic Wars. This service culminated at the Battle of Waterloo, where he was stationed with the reserve forces. On a local level he was instrumental in the founding of the Aberystwyth Volunteer Rifle Corps in 1859, and served among its number until its dissolution in 1866. His eldest son was involved in imperial administration, holding a position in the Indian Civil Service.²⁰

The local Welsh newspaper of the time elaborated on the aforementioned notion of a threatening French “other” opposed and banished by the spectre of Wellington when they proposed an interesting impetus for the monument’s erection. Lamenting the loss of

¹⁶ *The Carmarthen Journal and Weekly Advertiser for the Principality*, 11 March 1853.

¹⁷ Colley, *Britons*. See Chapter One for further discussion of the concept of the “other” in identity formation.

¹⁸ *The Carmarthen Journal*, 11 March 1853.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *The Aberystwyth Observer, Cardiganshire and Montgomeryshire Advertiser, and Merionethshire News*, 5 December 1874.

Wellington, they comforted readers with the notion that “although the old enemy of the French is dead, the erecting of this pillar will be sufficient to frighten them off from ever attacking our defenceless town (i.e. Aberystwyth).”²¹ The same report also gave a further hint as to Richardes role in the proceedings, attributing him with the descriptor of “treasurer”.²²

5.2.4 Project Abandoned?

By July of 1853, significant progress had already been made in bringing the project to completion. Construction was underway and the works were “progressing very fast”.²³ However, despite the initial brisk development of proceedings, it appears the project may have stalled short of its full intended completion. A somewhat ambiguous report in the *Aberystwyth Chronicle* of October 1855 hints that a deficit of funds may have resulted in the abandonment of construction. Taking a relatively ironical tone, the author discussed development schemes that various “illuminated philanthropists” had suggested for Aberystwyth, such as converting the pebbled beech to a “green sward”.²⁴ Pointing out the monetary obstacles that stood in the way of realising those plans, he argued:

However laudable it would be to furnish every accommodation to our summer visitors, we should not forget the long and dreary winter; and before imposing more taxes or begging more money, would it not be wise to examine our present resources, and not to set about building causeways, hanging gardens and castles in the air? Too much of this we have seen of late. We have a pier not yet complete, a town-hall not finished, and for a Wellington monument we have a chimney-like concern, twenty yards high, perched on the summit of old volcanic Dinas, as it were patiently waiting for a fresh eruption. These will remain eternal monuments of our go-ahead age.²⁵

What additional adornments, if any, may have been intended for the monument is a point of contention. It is not known whether an inscription plaque was originally fixed onto the column, but it is certain that any such plaque was no longer present by 1979, when a scheme to erect one was set afoot by Aberystwyth and District Civic Society, a local interest group concerned with, among other things, preserving and promoting architectural

²¹ *Yr Oes*, March 1853 (translated from Welsh by Professor Damian McManus, TCD).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *The Carmarthen Journal*, 29 July 1853.

²⁴ *Aberystwyth Chronicle, and Illustrated Times*, 13 October 1855.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

features of historical interest in the region.²⁶ A 1912 report on Pen Dinas described the monument as “unsightly and unfinished”,²⁷ though again what remained to be added is not specified. The same report described it as a Waterloo memorial, casting doubt on the accuracy of the author’s knowledge of the history of the monument. More modern accounts allude to an equestrian statue of the Duke being intended to grace the summit of the monument. One report even suggests this statue was constructed but not erected, and was stored in a damaged state at the stables of Nanteos Mansion for a number of years.²⁸ Douglas B. Hague reported the discovery of four square holes in the cap of the monument in 1976 which he believed once contained timbers intended to hold a statue in position.²⁹ Another story held that two large stone spheres at the back entrance to Bryneithin Mansion were fashioned to represent cannon balls and were intended to form part of the monument.³⁰ However, no contemporary records or clear extant evidence has been uncovered to prove any of these claims. What is clear is that it has remained an active source of curiosity and concern for the local populace and visitors to the town throughout the years.

5.2.5 Crimean Gun Addition

One failed addition to the monumental space which may be ascertained by contemporary reports is that of a Russian gun used in the Crimean War. In a letter to the editor of *The Aberystwyth Observer*, E. W. (as the author identified himself) spoke of seeing a large Russian gun mounted in a public place in the town of Staffordshire, with a plaque identifying it as a trophy from the Siege of Sebastopol given to the town by Lord Panmure, Chief Secretary of State for War. He then outlined the following proposal:

It strikes me that if some of our influential friends were to apply for a similar trophy, it would be readily granted by General Peel, and would be a real ornament to the town, especially if placed on the Castle Grounds, and a

²⁶ Some records relating to the inscription plaque scheme may be found in: Ceredigion Archives, Aberystwyth and District Civic Society, Committee and A.G.M. minutes 1977–1987, DSO/18/1.1; Ceredigion Archives, Aberystwyth and District Civic Society, A.G.M. minutes and papers 1977–1989, DSO/18/1.2; Ceredigion Archives, Aberystwyth and District Civic Society, Pendinas Monument Plaque 1981–1985, DSO/18/4.1; Ceredigion Museum Aberystwyth, Museum Curator’s Records: Pendinas Monument, 1976–1981, MC44.

²⁷ *Welsh Gazette: Aberystwyth Chronicle and West Wales Advertiser*, 26 September 1912, p. 7.

²⁸ *The Cambrian News (South Edition)*, 6 September 1985.

²⁹ Pendinas Monument Aberystwyth, File CD Domestic SN 58 SE Part 1B, ‘The Wellington Monument, Pendinas: Architectural Description’, D.B. Hague, 1976; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Pendinas Monument Aberystwyth, File CD Domestic SN 58 SE Part 1B, *Cambrian News* extract, 1 May 1987.

³⁰ *The Cambrian News (South Edition)*, 6 September 1985.

monument to the three distinguished young men, natives of the County of Cardigan, who lost their lives in the Crimean struggle.³¹

A second correspondent, John W., took up the debate, but proposed an alternative site for the monument, saying:

If our “influential friends”... will procure a Russian gun, let them by all means give it “a local habitation,” not in our usually peaceful town and quiet castle, but on the summit of Pen Dinas, close to the structure intended to commemorate the martial prowess of the “British Achilles,” where, if it serve no other purpose, it may at least show the “young idea” of the place, how Oliver Cromwell “shot” at the Castle in days of yore.³²

The matter was brought to a head at the Town Council meeting of 23 November 1858, when the Mayor proposed that the Council should apply to the government for such a gun. Councillor F.R. Roberts opposed the motion on the grounds that the carriage and mounting of the gun would cost from £40 to £50, a sum which the corporation could not afford to give. On this note, the subject was dropped.³³ Parallels may be drawn here with the foundering of a similar project in Trim, Co. Meath. In both cases a reinforcing of the military and imperial connotations of the symbolic space of the monument met with abandonment.

5.2.6 Community Landmark and Tourist Attraction

The follow year, the place of the monument as a prominent community landmark and tourist attraction was highlighted by the diary of the Reverend Henry Edward Tuckey and his new wife Frances Isabel Bryant, who came from England to spend two weeks of their honeymoon in Aberystwyth. On Sunday, 19 June 1859, the Reverend Henry took an afternoon stroll to see the Wellington column. The diary rather scathingly pronounced it to be “uglier than the generality of factory chimneys and not half so high”,³⁴ a comment which may have been made by Frances. The Reverend certainly considered it to be worthy of a second viewing, making a return trip to the site on 22 June and exploring the countryside beyond.

³¹ *The Aberystwith Observer, and Cardiganshire General Advertiser*, 23 October 1858.

³² *The Aberystwith Observer*, 6 November 1858.

³³ *The Aberystwith Observer*, 27 November 1858.

³⁴ Reverend Henry Edward Tuckey and Frances Isabel Bryant, ‘1859 Diary Extract’, 19 June 1859, (transcribed by Jean Tuckey). <http://www.aberystwyth-online.co.uk/article/diary.shtml> (20 November 2006).

5.3 Tredegar

5.3.1 Monmouthshire: *English or Welsh?*

Tredegar, an industrial town in Monmouthshire, is the location of the final Welsh monumental commemoration of the Duke. Monmouthshire's status as a Welsh county has been called into question on occasion over the years since around the time of the 1536 Act of Union. A second act was passed in 1543 to expand on and strengthen the 1536 Act. The 1543 Act made provision for the legal administration of Wales, under which twelve of the Welsh counties were to be governed by a system of courts known as the Great Sessions of Wales. Monmouthshire alone was excluded from this system, and instead was to be directly answerable to the courts of Westminster. This circumstance gave rise to a belief that the county had been made a part of England. According to John Davies,

Monmouthshire was no less Welsh in language and sentiment than any of the other eastern counties and it would generally be treated as a part of Wales in the rare examples of specifically Welsh legislation passed between 1536 and 1830. With the abolition of the Great Sessions (in 1830),¹ almost all the differences which had existed between Wales and Monmouthshire came to an end; thereafter, it was increasingly assumed to be part of Wales, although the imprecision of its status did not disappear until 1974, when it was reborn as the county of Gwent.²

Travel writer George Borrow gives us a contemporary assessment of the situation during the mid-nineteenth century following his 1854 tour of Wales: "Monmouthshire is at present considered an English county, though certainly with little reason, for it not only stands on the western side of the Wye, but the names of almost all its parishes are Welsh, and many thousands of its population still speak the Welsh language."³ Therefore, for the purposes of this work, the inclusion of a Monmouthshire-based commemoration is both justifiable and particularly interesting in terms of the perspective it gives on Wales's position within Britain and the particularly close combining of English and Welsh identity concepts that emerged.

5.3.2 Tredegar: *Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century*

The nineteenth century formed a crucial period in the history of Tredegar, during which it underwent a major phase of development and expansion, largely due to the demand for

¹ The abolition was one of the last acts of the Duke of Wellington's government, and with its dissolution the whole of Wales was drawn completely into the English legal and administrative system.

² Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 237.

³ George Borrow, *Wild Wales: Its People, Language and Scenery* (with intro. by Cecil Price, Ruthin: John Jones Publishing Limited, 1998, orig. edn 1862), p. 519.

labour created by the founding of Tredegar Iron Works in March 1800.⁴ At the outset of the century the population amounted to only a few hundred, with the whole parish of Bedwellty (in which Tredegar was situated) registering a figure of 601 in 1801. By 1811 the town had swelled to accommodate over 2,000 inhabitants.⁵ This figure rose again to about 6,000 by 1833,⁶ and by 1874 it possessed a total of 18,000 residents.⁷ Such was the importance of the works to the town that it was widely referred to as Tredegar Iron Works rather than Tredegar on tombstone inscriptions and in letter addresses as late as the 1860s.⁸ Coal mining was the other main industry in the area, with many of the pits operating under the same management as the iron works.⁹ Thus it was known as Tredegar Iron and Coal Company.

The social profile of the town in the first half of the century was sharply polarised with little middle class to speak of. The vast majority comprised poor, working-class men and women. Living conditions were harsh and hygiene and sanitary standards extremely low. Cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1849 accounted for many deaths,¹⁰ epitomising the nadir of such a gruelling existence. In religious terms a strong non-conformist bent prevailed; Methodists, Wesleyans, Baptists and Independents being the main denominations in this sphere. Describing the societal dichotomy, Wyndham Scandrett writes: "There were the proprietors and their skilled higher officials who were mainly English and nominally, at least, Church of England and the workforce, largely of Welsh peasant stock. It was the latter who were attracted to the non-conformist chapels."¹¹

Throughout the town the landscape was stamped with evidence of the power and influence of the company. In its early days at the outset of the century, Samuel Homfray (Senior), manager of the company, laid down some basic rules of town planning. He dictated that a large plot should be left vacant in the centre of the developing town (which became the Market Square, later renamed The Circle) and that cottages and other buildings should be erected according to a grid pattern as far as the contours of the land and the needs of industry would allow.¹² The company erected the Market Hall in the Square in

⁴ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, pp. 37-38; Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England, comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate and market towns, parishes, chapelries, and townships, and the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man, with historical and statistical descriptions. Volume IV*, 2nd edn (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1833), p. 345.

⁵ Wyndham Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)* (Tredegar: Wyndham Scandrett, 1990), p. 77.

⁶ Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England. Volume IV*, p. 345.

⁷ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 142.

⁸ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 41.

⁹ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 136.

1811, established Company Shops,¹³ and, by the 1820s, they owned 254 of the houses in the town.¹⁴ They funded the rebuilding of the Town Hall in 1833 and set up a school for children of the workers within its premises in 1837.¹⁵ They were also in possession of the local Gas and Water Works until 1882.¹⁶ In this and other matters the company often assumed roles and responsibilities that ordinarily would be the concern of local government bodies.

In the religious sphere, they established and controlled Cefn Golau cemetery in the town.¹⁷ Samuel Homfray (Junior), then leading manager of the company, played a central role in negotiations to found St George's Church of England church during the early 1830s. Scandrett informs us that the dedication of a church to St George, the patron saint of England, was a rare act in Wales.¹⁸ However, given the ambiguity of Monmouthshire's status, perhaps such a move is not so surprising. Scandrett posits that there may also have been some connection with the fact that Homfray's eldest son was named George.¹⁹ At any rate, the linking of the town with an English identity via the medium of the company and its leading members is apparent. Despite Scandrett's assertion of a general adherence to the established church among the upper classes, the company owners did not attempt to suppress non-conformist religions. On the contrary, the company managers occasionally provided active support for the activities of these churches. For example, Samuel Homfray (Junior) assisted in the building of Elim Chapel, a Reformed Wesleyan establishment, in 1851,²⁰ while R.P. Davis donated £50 to the Dissenting and Wesleyan Sunday Schools of Tredegar in October 1858 when the company was under his management.²¹

Yet despite the apparent benevolence and positive social contributions of the company on many of these points, the working classes were not universally content with their lot. Occasional acts of protest were the most extreme manifestations of this discontent. Strikes and riots broke out in 1816 and 1822 when the ironmasters announced wage cuts due to a general decline in trade.²² Workers staged a further stoppage in 1832 when notices were posted in the Works outlawing membership of a union on pain of

¹³ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 137.

¹⁴ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 60.

¹⁵ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 35.

²¹ *The Monmouthshire Merlin, and Glamorgan and Brecon Silurian: for the Counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecon, Gloucester, Berford, Bristol, and the whole of South Wales*, 1 January 1859.

²² Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, pp. 76-79.

dismissal.²³ On each occasion the will of the company was to prevail and the workers were forced to return to their jobs under the stipulated conditions. In such an environment it is perhaps unsurprising that the Chartist movement was to find ready support in the town during the late 1830s. This campaign for parliamentary reform aimed at obtaining universal male suffrage culminated in Tredegar in 1839. On 1 May, a demonstration was held in the Market Place with speeches being delivered by Jones the Watchmaker and William Edwards of Newport from the site where the Town Clock would be erected a few years subsequently. Wellington being a notable opponent of parliamentary reform, and 1 May often being celebrated as his birthday, the erection of a tribute to him on that very site about 20 years later could be perceived as a method of appropriating a contested space by the élite, enfranchised few. Jones estimates that a crowd of 4,000 to 5,000 were present for the occasion of the protest.²⁴ Then on the night of 3 November 1839, a large group from Tredegar joined thousands of other Chartists from all over Monmouthshire in a march to Newport. Upon their arrival in Newport a riot broke out, which resulted in the death of nine people, one of whom was William Evans, an employee of Tredegar Iron Works.²⁵

One other occasional source of disquiet among the populace was cultural integration. Following the mid-1820s the employment opportunities offered by the iron works drew what Jones has described as a "continuous stream" of workers from all over Wales, but also from England and overseas, most notably Ireland.²⁶ The Great Famine of 1845 to 1849 in Ireland accounted for a considerable influx of Irish emigrants in particular.²⁷ Their Irish language and Roman Catholic religion set them apart from their Welsh, non-conformist neighbours. In July 1882 any underlying tension caused by their presence in the town boiled over into open hostility. In the foregoing months, fights between the Irish and their English and Welsh workmates had been on the increase. Reports of the recent Phoenix Park murders in Dublin gave credence to rumours circulating at the time that the Irish had poisoned a reservoir at Aberdare and were plotting a large-scale massacre of Welsh people. The iron works were in the process of being converted to steel works, a move which promised to bring considerable job cuts, something which may have stirred grudges at the Irish occupying Welsh jobs. July saw a number of violent disturbances known as the Anti-Irish riots. They were characterised by stone-

²³ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 85.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104; James Davies, *The Chartist Movement in Monmouthshire* (Gwent: The Starling Press Ltd, 1981), pp. 31-37. Other sources cite a death toll of twenty or more. See for example Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 377.

²⁶ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

throwing attacks. Sixty houses were destroyed and over a hundred gutted, mostly Irish dwellings. One woman died from shock and scores of people were injured.²⁸ However, according to Scandrett, matters settled down afterwards and “the whole affair was soon forgotten”.²⁹

5.3.3 *The Clock Tower: An Iconographic Analysis*

The above account illustrates the social, cultural and political background within which this commemoration of the Duke was instigated, erected and stood in subsequent existence. The monument itself takes the form of a clock tower, 72 feet in height, and composed of cast iron (Figure 5.3.1). It differs to the foregoing two in Brecon and Aberystwyth not only in its form and purpose, but most notably in that it was not exclusively fashioned to commemorate Wellington. The memorialisation of the Duke consists merely of a single inscription panel on one side of the base of the clock tower. It reads simply, “WELLINGTON ENGLANDS HERO” underneath a crude depiction of a soldier (possibly intended to be Wellington himself) dressed in military garb, replete with a field marshal’s hat, and with his right hand leaning on the hilt of an unsheathed sword (Figure 5.3.2).

Further inscription panels on the other three sides add to the iconographic milieu and embellish the symbolic subtexts of the monumental space. The main inscription panel (facing in a north-easterly direction) is set above a door by which entrance can be made to the hollow interior of the column, and access may be gained to the clock workings above via a series of ladders. The lettering of the inscription reads: “PRESENTED TO THE TOWN OF TREDEGAR FROM THE PROCEEDS OF A BAZAAR PROMOTED BY THE LATE MRS R P DAVIS ERECTED 1858” (Figure 5.3.3). The north-west facing panel holds the words “CHAS JORDAN IRON FOUNDER NEWPORT MON” beneath the symbol of a lion reared on its hind legs (Figure 5.3.4). Finally, the south-westerly side is embossed with the royal coat of arms above the phrase “DIEU ET MON DROIT” (Figure 5.3.5). The column of the monument is of the Tuscan order.³⁰ The dials of the four clock faces are marked out with Roman numerals, while a weather vane adorns the peak of the whole. The clock facings were illuminated by gas in the evenings, thereby ensuring widespread and constant visibility.³¹ The walls and railing that now surround the base are

²⁸ Wyndham Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume Two)* (Tredegar: Wyndham Scandrett, 1992), pp. 154-156.

²⁹ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume Two)*, p. 156.

³⁰ Identified via the scheme set out by John Fleming, Hugh Honour and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, 5th edn (London: Penguin Group, 1998), pp. 411-413.

³¹ Slater’s (*late Pigot & Co.*) *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the Counties of Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire and North and South Wales* (Manchester and London: Issac Slater, 1858-9), Monmouthshire, p. 48.

post-construction additions, providing a considerably more closed off appearance than that created at the time of its erection (Figure 5.3.6). The colour scheme has been altered several times since its erection, as evidenced by photographs of the clock taken during 1945, in which a different outward appearance to the present day is exhibited.³² All these aspects of the monument's form and appearance provide a wealth of practical information regarding its origins as well as accumulating layers of symbolic subtexts that may be associated with its form.

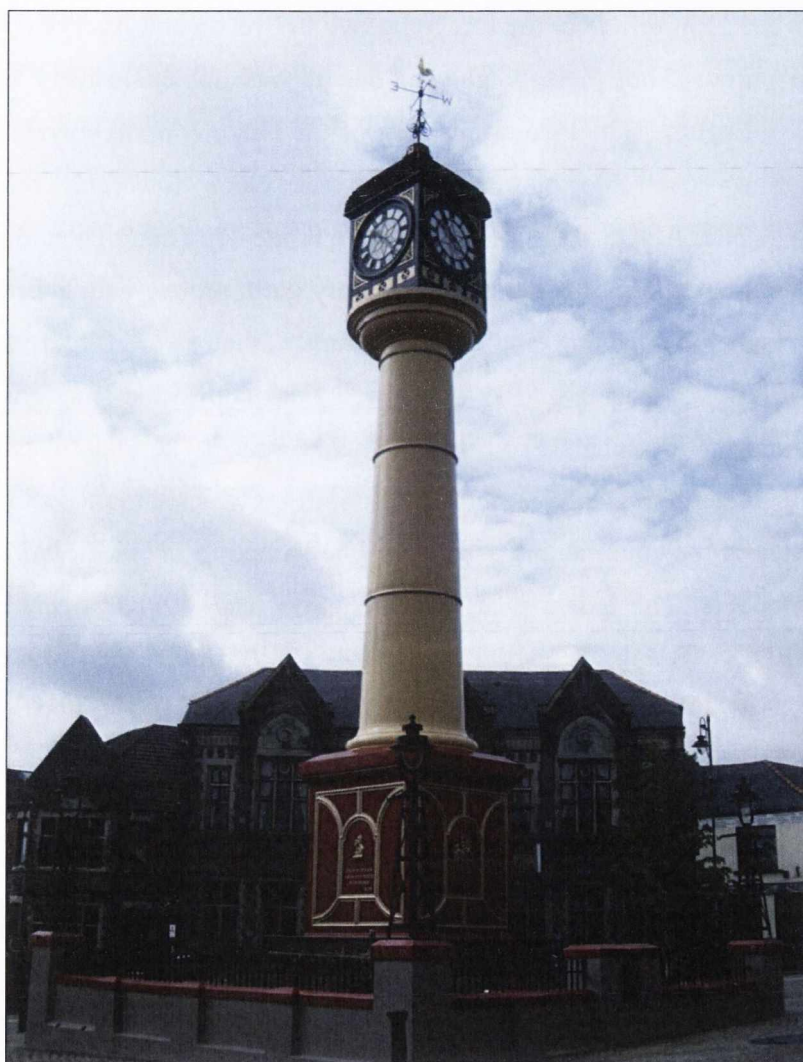


Figure 5.3.1: Clock Tower, Tredegar

³² Gwent Record Office, Scrapbook 1945, D3132.19; Gwent Record Office, Scrapbook 1946, D3132.20.



Figure 5.3.2: Wellington Inscription Panel, Tredegar Town Clock



Figure 5.3.3: Main Inscription Panel, Tredegar Town Clock



Figure 5.3.4: North-West Inscription Panel, Tredegar Town Clock



Figure 5.3.5: South-West Inscription Panel, Tredegar Town Clock

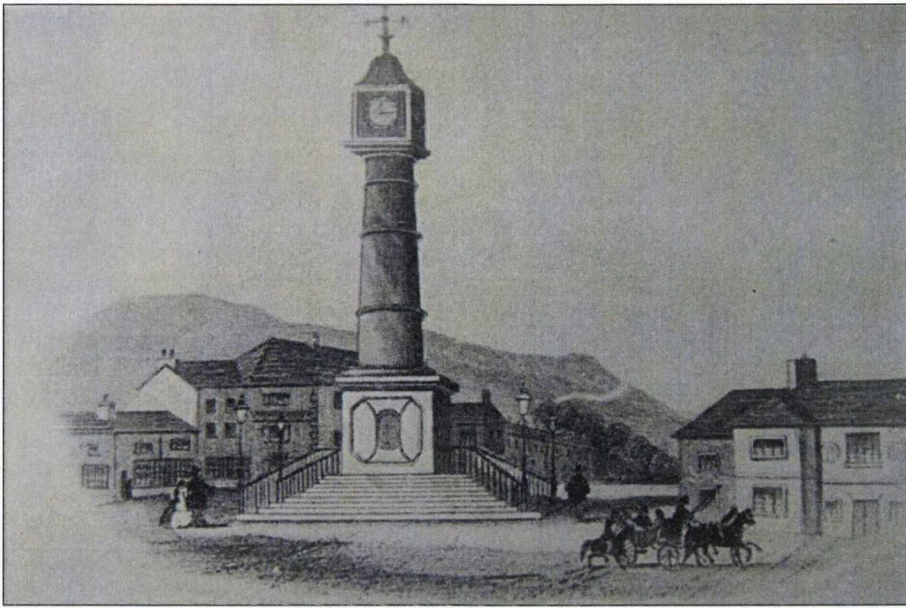


Figure 5.3.6: An artist's impression of the town clock, drawn shortly after its erection c. 1858. From T.J. Jenkins, *Town Clock Tredegar: Centenary Souvenir- A Short History* (Tredegar: T. Bendle & Sons, 1958), p. 4.

The employment of the Tuscan order, one of the five Roman orders of architecture identified during Renaissance times,³³ as well as the utilisation of Roman numerals on the clock facings, imbue the monument with allusions to classical antiquity. The accompanying description of Wellington as “England’s hero” sets him up in exalted terms as a noble embodiment of power and might. The reference to England emphasises his potential as a focal point for unifying notions of identity: an Irishman, being portrayed as the hero of England, in a Welsh context. Alternatively, those unfriendly to the union may perceive his presence, and the clock’s, as an intrusion, an unwelcome imposition on their landscape. The royal coat of arms has been described by Kim Dennis-Bryan, Nicola Hodgson and Neil Lockley as “the ultimate power signal”.³⁴ It is intended to represent England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The presence of a helm beneath the crown, as depicted in this instance, indicates that the arms represent the monarch himself or herself, who at the time was Queen Victoria.³⁵ “Dieu et mon droit”, the French for “God and my right”, was the royal motto, an allusion to the concept of the divine right of a monarch to rule. The lion is a symbol of courage,³⁶ while the unicorn symbolises purity, courage and

³³ Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, p. 795.

³⁴ Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (eds), *Signs & Symbols*, p. 219.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (eds), *Signs & Symbols*, p. 318.

courtly love.³⁷ The main lion and the unicorn in the royal arms are depicted in an attitude that would be described as “rampant” in heraldic terms. This attitude implies magnanimity. The lion above the crown is in a “passant regardant” position, denoting resolve and circumspection.³⁸

The north-westerly panel brings a note of local county identity to the arena with its dedication to Chas (i.e. Charles) Jordan, the founder of the clock tower, who hailed from Newport in Monmouthshire, a town approximately 22 miles from Tredegar on the southern coast. The lion depicted above his name is the founder’s crest.³⁹ The story of the clock’s instigation, funding and erection is somewhat more complex than that outlined in the main inscription. Attempts to reconstruct this history in significant detail have been slightly hampered by a lack of surviving committee or other meeting minutes, invoices or other correspondence relating to its erection. Newspaper reports are also vague and at times contradictory.

5.3.4 Origins

On 30 September 1853, Samuel Homfray (Junior) retired from his role as company manager.⁴⁰ He was replaced by Mr Richard Powell Davis. It was his wife, Mary Elizabeth Davis, who was to play a key role in the initiation of the project. During 1857 she and her sister, Mrs John Jones (wife of another company official), organised the collection of items which were to be sold at a bazaar to raise funds for a town clock. Unfortunately however, both ladies died before the bazaar could be held; Mrs Davis on 13 August 1857,⁴¹ and Mrs Jones within the same month.⁴² Reflecting on the fate of the project, *The Monmouthshire Merlin* of 26 September that year reported:

Some time ago the late Mrs. R. P. Davis and her sister, Mrs. J. Jones, collected a number of articles for the purpose of getting up a bazaar, to procure funds for the purchase of a clock for Tredegar. The melancholy death of the ladies mentioned has frustrated this intention, and the articles are now to be disposed of by tickets at a shilling each.⁴³

³⁷ Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (eds), *Signs & Symbols*, p. 76.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³⁹ *The Star of Gwent*, 3 September 1859.

⁴⁰ Evan Powell, *History of Tredegar* (Newport: South Wales Argus Limited, 1902), p. 72.

⁴¹ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 22 August 1857.

⁴² Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 119.

⁴³ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 26 September 1857.

It appears the sale must have taken place within a few weeks of this, as by 7 November 1857 the same paper was able to report that “all classes have ... liberally contributed to the expense of (the clock’s) purchase”.⁴⁴

A further note on the expense of the clock appears in the 9 January 1858 issue. Here the question of the desirability of erecting an illuminated clock in the Circle was raised at a public meeting held at the Town Hall on 1 January 1858. The meeting was attended by about forty tradesmen and presided over by R.P. Davis.⁴⁵ According to the reporter, “Mr. Davies (sic) with his usual liberality offered to subscribe £400 towards it (sic) purchase, provided the town would gurantee (sic) a further sum of £100. This was unanimously agreed to.”⁴⁶ It remains unclear as to whether this £100 was accounted for by the money raised at the bazaar or sale of 1857, or if a separate subscription list or act of fundraising was undertaken to generate it.

The Star of Gwent of 18 December 1858 reported that the cost of the clock would be “about £1000”, and that “the funds were provided principally by a bazaar got up and carried out by the lady (now deceased) of R.P. Davis, of Bedwelty (sic) House, Esq.”⁴⁷ This may indicate that the money needed was drawn from three sources: about £500 from the bazaar, £400 from R.P. Davis and £100 from the town through some other means. However, the accuracy of this £1000 estimate may be called into question purely from the problematic nature of the latter statement asserting that the bazaar was “carried out” by Mrs Davis, when she was in fact deceased by that time. Oliver Jones also points out that in order to raise even £100 from the bazaar, 2,000 items would have needed to be sold at a shilling each.⁴⁸ Therefore 10,000 items would need to have been sold to raise £500. Even a shilling would have been a large contribution for many, considering the level of privation under which the vast majority of the populace subsisted.⁴⁹ Pressure to support an undertaking closely connected with the company where they worked might have induced people of such limited means to part with money they might not otherwise have been inclined to give. It appears likely though that local businessmen, tradesmen and professionals accounted for some larger contributions. But above all, whatever the true cost of the undertaking, it is apparent that while every class may have made some level of

⁴⁴ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 7 November 1857.

⁴⁵ The article lists his name as R.P. Davies, as do several other contemporary and modern sources. The spelling favoured here is the version inscribed on the clock.

⁴⁶ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 9 January 1858.

⁴⁷ *The Star of Gwent*, 18 December 1858.

⁴⁸ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, pp. 120-122.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

contribution, the whole was both directed and largely funded by leading ironworkers, in particular the Davis family.

5.3.5 Site: *The Circle*

The choice of a site for the clock was another important element of the proceedings. Visibility and centrality appear to have been key concerns in deciding on the best location to install the structure. On 7 November 1857, *The Monmouthshire Merlin* expressed a hope that it would be “erected in a central position”,⁵⁰ perhaps implying that the site choice had not yet been finalised. Two months later, however, at the aforementioned meeting of 1 January 1858, a unanimous vote of approval sanctioned the desirability of its erection in the specifically stated location of the Circle (Figure 5.3.7).⁵¹ Describing this area Scandrett writes: “Until (about 1860) the Circle had been virtually on the southern edge of the built up area but now work was progressing in the building of the Georgetown, Cinder Tip and Troedrihwgair areas. By the seventies the Circle was truly the town centre.”⁵²

For many years preceding this time the Circle (or Market Square as it was also known) had been a focal point of community activity, hosting club and society processions, religious and political open-air meetings and a Saturday market. At the time of the clock’s erection the most notable buildings around the Circle were the Town Hall or Market Hall (which housed, among other things, the company school, a concert hall, courtroom, ballroom, offices, meeting rooms, a library and reading room for the Tredegar Literary Society, a lock-up and the market itself) and four public houses (The Tredegar Arms, The Cambrian, The Black Prince and the Freemasons Arms). A large gasworks was located in the yard of the Freemasons Arms.⁵³ According to Scandrett, anyone travelling to or from Tredegar Iron Works had to pass through the Circle.⁵⁴ This may imply that there was only one entrance gate to the complex at the end of Iron Street, just over 400 feet from the base of the clock tower (Figure 5.3.7). At any rate it highlights the close connection between the clock and the company, with many of its workers passing directly by on a daily basis, the clock’s chimes serving to keep time for them. Reflecting on the matter in June 1859, *The Star of Gwent* reported that: “At first some objection was felt by the inhabitants to the monument being placed in the circle, but now that the work is completed,

⁵⁰ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 7 November 1857.

⁵¹ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 9 January 1858.

⁵² Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, 137; Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 118.

⁵⁴ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, p. 10.

and the convenience which the clock affords is so much felt, the structure is looked upon with much pleasure.”⁵⁵

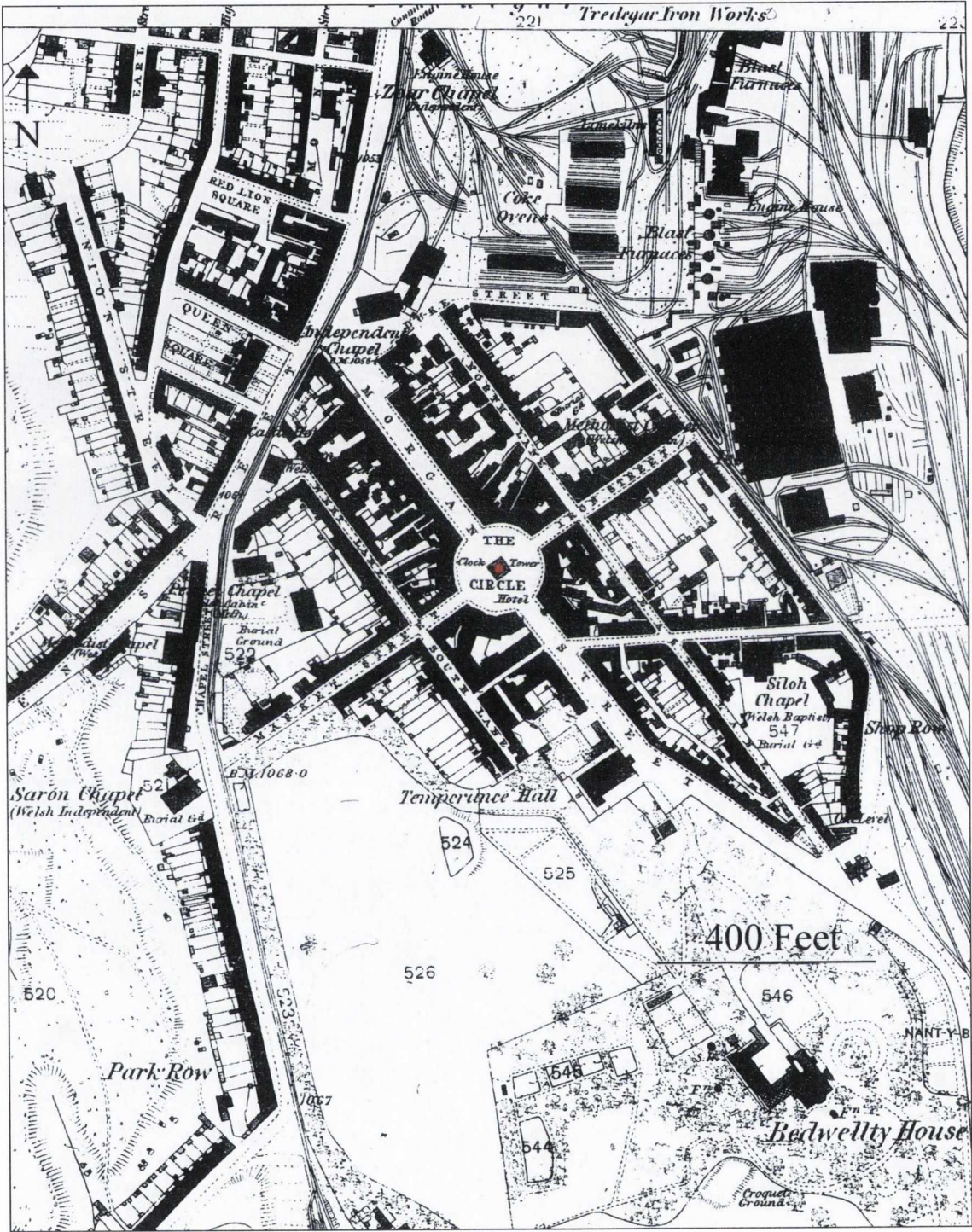


Figure 5.3.7: Map of Tredegar showing the Town Clock at the centre of The Circle. Formed using Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 Series Map, Monmouthshire, Sheet XI-13, surveyed 1877.

⁵⁵ *The Star of Gwent*, 4 June 1859.

Other newspaper reports promised that the clock would be “quite visible at night to the people of Sirhowy and neighbouring districts”⁵⁶ and “elevated and lit above the greater part of the buildings in the town”.⁵⁷ Six chapels in the vicinity add to the religious atmosphere of the milieu, while streets with names such as Duke Street, Union Street and Queen Square advocate British unity, respect for royalty and nobility, and a general pro-English sentiment, echoing many of the messages reproduced in the clock tower’s form. Bedwellty House, the residence of R.P. Davis, is located directly to the south-west of the Circle, establishing a close spatial association between the clock and its principal instigators (Figure 5.3.7).

5.3.6 Associated Personalities

Unfortunately, very little is known of the background of many of the primary contributors to the project. R.P. Davis, apart from his previously mentioned role as company manager and his contributions to non-conformist causes, was also a chief promoter of the Tredegar Volunteer Company.⁵⁸ The Volunteer Force was “an armed civilian body that was intended to act as a home defence force in the case of invasion”.⁵⁹ At the time of its formation in 1859, Britons perceived the threat of invasion as emanating from France in particular,⁶⁰ a sentiment illustrated in Aberystwyth’s local newspaper in March 1853 when reporting on the launch of their Wellington monument.⁶¹ O’Leary contends that the creation of the Volunteer Force served to integrate people into British institutions,⁶² but it also offered its members a chance to identify with and promote a local urban or rural identity.⁶³ In social terms, the movement was open to men of all classes, but “while class conflict was not a feature of the movement, an awareness of the importance of class distinctions was always present”.⁶⁴ Sentiments such as these find clear echoes in Davis’s other favoured project, the Tredegar town clock.

According to *The Star of Gwent*, the clock was under the management of Mr Thomas James, watchmaker, upon its completion.⁶⁵ Charles Jordan, the iron founder based in Newport, was not only responsible for the clock tower itself, but also the iron-work

⁵⁶ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 9 October 1858.

⁵⁷ *The Star of Gwent*, 1 January 1859.

⁵⁸ Powell, *History of Tredegar*, p. 78.

⁵⁹ O’Leary, ‘Arming the citizens’, p. 66.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Yr Oes*, March 1853 (translated from Welsh by Professor Damian McManus, TCD).

⁶² O’Leary, ‘Arming the citizens’, p. 66.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶⁵ *The Star of Gwent*, 4 June 1859.

surrounding the base.⁶⁶ James Watson, engineer, has been attributed with the design of the clock tower and superintendence of the work.⁶⁷ The clock mechanism was designed by Mr J. B. Joyce of Whitchurch, Shropshire,⁶⁸ adding to the English associations imbued in the undertaking. The same company is still in charge of its maintenance at the present day.

5.3.7 Completion and Subsequent Events

Despite the inscription's attribution of 1858 as the erection year, the work was not in fact concluded until the following year. On 9 October 1858, *The Monmouthshire Merlin* reported that the foundation for the clock was "nearly dug".⁶⁹ By 30 October the whole was "being fast proceeded with".⁷⁰ However, by the new year some problems had arisen:

The clock ... is not likely to be of any use for some time to come. The works are at present entirely suspended, although, according to contract, they were to be completed ere this... We understand the delay has arisen from the machinery not being ready at Bristol. The foundry castings from Newport have arrived for the upper part of the structure.⁷¹



Figure 5.3.8: Photograph depicting the clock tower in 1908. From Philip Prosser, *A Look at Old Tredegar in Photographs (Volume 2)* (Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications, 1998), p. 28.

⁶⁶ *The Star of Gwent*, 2 July 1859.

⁶⁷ *Slater's Commercial Directory*, Monmouthshire, p. 48.

⁶⁸ Jenkins, *Town Clock Tredegar: Centenary Souvenir*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 9 October 1858.

⁷⁰ *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 30 October 1858.

⁷¹ *The Star of Gwent*, 15 January 1859.

Matters were resolved within a few months though, and by 4 June 1859 *The Star of Gwent* was able to report that “the monument has at last been completed, and contributes very greatly to the fine appearance of the circle”.⁷² No records exist of any inauguration ceremony or celebrations held to mark the completion of the work.⁷³

The open steps depicted in Figure 5.3.6 were closed off to public access by an iron railing around the late 1870s, apparently due to a number of accidents occurring through people slipping on them.⁷⁴ The revised appearance is illustrated in Figure 5.3.8. Thus it remained until 1933 when an earth bank was employed to cover the steps and the whole was surrounded by a low wall topped by railings with pillars at the corners (see Figures 5.3.1, 5.3.3 and 5.3.9).⁷⁵ Following the clock’s erection the Circle continued to be a focal point for community gatherings and acts of protest. However, the clock now became incorporated into these affairs. For example, the Calvinistic Methodist minister Rev. John Pugh often held open-air meetings in the Circle around the 1860s during which he preached from the steps of the clock.⁷⁶ The closing off of the steps by a railing in around the late 1870s may also have served to obstruct such a usage and thereby distance the clock somewhat from such affairs. It may even be interpreted as a means of restating and reinforcing the messages imbued in its form, fighting back and protecting against any voices of dissent and opposition through a reappropriation of the space.



Figure 5.3.9: Photograph of the clock festooned for VE Day celebrations, May 1945. From Gwent Record Office, Scrapbook 1945, D3132.19.

⁷² *The Star of Gwent*, 4 June 1859.

⁷³ Jones, *The Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar*, p. 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Jenkins, *Town Clock Tredegar: Centenary Souvenir*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Scandrett, *Old Tredegar (Volume One)*, pp. 38-39.

5.4 Conclusion

A tendency to avoid involvement in any of the efforts to celebrate Wellington in the monumental landscape prevailed in Wales until after the Duke's death in the second half of the nineteenth century. As previously outlined, Prys Morgan has identified this period as a crucial era in Wales' political, economic and cultural development, one during which they were drawn into a closer association with Britain and experienced a wave of Anglicisation.¹ A keener interest in the imperial realm was also displayed by some.² Many of these trends and circumstances are reflected in the Welsh Wellington monuments. Aberystwyth's desire to connect with England, Britain and the Empire are displayed in references to Wellington as a "British Achilles",³ and the town as both the "Brighton of Wales"⁴ and a place which should be looking to compete with other "(towns) of importance throughout the Empire".⁵ The concept of a threatening French 'other' is employed in a similar manner to its use in Scotland, hinting at a process of British identity reinforcement. The town's growing reputation as a tourist haven, catering for many English visitors, and the importance of this industry to the local economy may have encouraged attempts to facilitate and identify with British and English connections.

At Tredegar both the influence of English presence and attempts to forge links between England and Wales are apparent in the clock tower. Its founder hailed from the local town of Newport, while its mechanism was designed in England and the figure of Wellington on its base is given the appellation "ENGLANDS HERO". The royal coat of arms also embossed on its form conveys a spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, while its symbolic subtext hints at the unity of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The clock tower also conveys local concerns and circumstances. Erected via a project launched by the industrial élites of the town, its very form is composed of the iron which was central to the economy of the town and to the settlement's enormous expansion from its humble origins at the outset of the nineteenth century.

At Brecon a wish to convey and celebrate local pride and identity was particularly apparent. This was bound up with a promotion of a wider Welsh identity, and through this British identity was shaped and defined as encompassing and co-existing with these other local and national affiliations. All these considerations were condensed into the monumental space and presented through imagery and inscriptions referring to the local

¹ Morgan, 'Early Victorian Wales'.

² Ellis, 'A pacific people- a martial race'.

³ *The Aberystwith Observer*, 6 November 1858.

⁴ *The Carmarthen Journal*, 11 March 1853.

⁵ Ibid.

sculptor who also held county-level offices; and military heroes from the local, national and wider British arena, encompassing the native Breconian Captain Davies, the Welshman Picton, Wellington and an anonymous Highland soldier. The Highlander is depicted catching Picton as he falls dead from his horse, hinting at a sense of unity and aid between Wales and Scotland. The statue's particularly strong association with the town itself is displayed in the central role played by the Town Council in funding and promoting its erection and assisting in the selection of its site. Only one subscriber, John Gunter of London, is known to have stated a non-local place of residence, while the statue itself was also cast in London.

However, some resistance to the project was also apparent at Brecon in later reluctance by the Town Council to accept financial responsibility for a shortfall in subscription pledges. A rapid drop-off in offers of subscription pledges was also apparent among townsfolk as the initial national outpouring of shock, mourning and tribute in the wake of the Duke's death receded. This distancing from the undertaking might also represent a modicum of discomfort with the prevalent trends of Anglicisation, or with some of the other associations imbued in the monument's form. At Aberystwyth an attempt to add to the military connotations of the Pen Dinas column through the addition of a Russian gun captured during the Crimean War to the monumental space was rejected. While practical issues of funding lay behind this rejection, it could also be construed as a disassociation from the revival of Welsh militarism and a desire to realign with traditional Welsh pacifism.⁶ At Brecon a restating and reinforcement of the monument's association with local identity and town pride succeeded in tackling their reluctance to a certain extent, proving that different layers of identity could both co-exist and be mutually beneficial. Town pride was also displayed in Aberystwyth's drive to keep pace with other towns by erecting a tribute, and in Tredegar's satisfaction at having what was perceived to be an attractive and useful embellishment for the Circle.

Women also had a chance to express their identity in the monumental space of the Welsh Wellington tributes, as evidenced by the efforts of Mrs R.P. Davis. However, it should be noted that while credit is given to Mrs Davis in the clock's inscription, most of the funds which sponsored its erection were in fact raised under the direction of her husband after her death. Even the designation of her name as Mrs Richard Powell Davis rather than Mary Elizabeth Davis hints at a sense of male control over female action and involvement in shaping the landscape. The other two Welsh monuments appear to have

⁶ O'Leary, 'Arming the citizens'; Ellis, 'A pacific people- a martial race'.

been entirely driven, shaped and co-ordinated by men. Nowhere in their form does any depiction of or reference to women appear.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Monuments and Landscape Interpretation: Situating the Study

According to Yvonne Whelan, “the thrust of the new cultural geography has been to show how landscape forms an integral, dynamic part of social, cultural and political systems”.¹ Monuments are one facet of the landscape through which this maxim may be illustrated. Power, memory, identity and heritage are key considerations when forming an interpretation of the landscape. Élite groups or individuals may manipulate the symbolic landscape in order to evoke certain memories of the past. These memories promote their ideologies and cultivate identities that legitimate their hold on power. The landscape may also be employed by subversive groups to challenge these dominant memories and identities, thus creating a landscape of contested space and competing ideologies. Time and context are of vital importance as changing political, social, cultural and economic factors have a crucial bearing on how the landscape is shaped and how people react to the messages instilled in it. These factors have all been pertinent to the consideration of the role played by Wellington monuments in the symbolic landscapes of Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

This study adds another voice to the body of works that explore how monuments could express, define and reproduce contemporary ideologies and power relationships. Such works have been undertaken on a global scale in locations as diverse as America,² Canada,³ Australia,⁴ Kenya⁵ and Italy.⁶ Some of the monuments of Ireland,⁷ Scotland⁸ and Wales⁹ have been probed in a similar manner also. In historical terms these comparable studies have focused on monuments in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite the focus on national and imperial identities in many studies of monuments, few studies have set out compare and link the process of identity formation across two or more separate nations. This study focuses on the nineteenth century alone, a period during which the three nations examined were politically linked in the United Kingdom of Great Britain

¹ Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, p. 12.

² Peet, ‘A Sign Taken for History’.

³ Osborne, ‘Constructing Landscapes of Power’.

⁴ Auster, ‘Monument in a Landscape’.

⁵ Larsen, ‘Shaping the Symbolic Landscape’.

⁶ Atkinson and Cosgrove, ‘Urban Rhetoric and Embodied Identities’.

⁷ Whelan, ‘Monuments, Power and Contested Space’; Whelan, ‘The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape’; Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*; Johnson, ‘Sculpting Heroic Histories’; Johnson, ‘Cast in Stone’.

⁸ Withers, ‘Place, Memory, Monument’; Withers, ‘Memory and the history of geographical knowledge’.

⁹ Wilson, *Memorializing History*.

and Ireland. The interplay of imperial, British, national and local identities uncovered highlights the fact that identity can operate at many different geographical scales, all of which may co-exist in a single monumental space and have the potential to interact with each other in a passive, destructive or creative, mutually reinforcing manner. This consideration might be explored further in future studies in the field.

This study also represents a new departure in the emphasis it places on the subject of a monumental commemoration. Wellington represented a core set of values and principles which, at a fundamental level, were brought to every commemoration of his personality. However, various aspects of this personality, or socially perceived persona, were emphasised to greater or lesser degrees at each individual monument in line with the interests of those creating or reacting to the symbolic space. Variations in the many potential aspects of context (geographical, historical, political, social, economic and cultural to name but a few) produced greatly varied results in both physical and metaphysical terms, referring both to the form and appearance of the monuments and the ideological undertones associated with them.

The study of British identity in the nineteenth century as expressed and defined in the cultural landscape through monuments is an area rich with potential and relatively untapped. For Ireland in particular the Union represented a new historical era, one in which they were established as British partner and potential imperial agent, a role in stark contrast to much of their colonial past. The response to this circumstance in and through the Wellington monuments has provided a fresh perspective on the Irish nineteenth-century cultural landscape. Decoding Wales and Scotland's interactions with Britishness in the nineteenth-century cultural landscape has been similarly illuminating.

6.2 Ideology and the Élite

This study has utilised a combination of methodologies and drawn upon a wide range of sources in its aim to be as exhaustive, comprehensive and accurate as possible in reconstructing the nineteenth-century life histories of these monuments and thereby uncovering the contemporary realities and modes of thought that underlay their construction and subsequent events connected with them. Often the landscape being fashioned was observed to be that of an élite grouping. Social divisions were organised along a number of lines: class, gender, religion and membership of social organisations (for example the Freemasons). In those fields power relationships may be observed as being at work. In interpreting Marx's theory of ideology, Jorge A. Larraín writes that:

Ideology is ... a condition for the functioning and reproduction of the system of class domination. It plays this role precisely by hiding the true relations between classes, by explaining away the relations of domination and subordination. Thus, social relations appear harmonious and individuals carry out their reproductive practices without disruption.

In this sense ideology legitimates the class structure and, in general, the whole social structure, thus it becomes indispensable for their reproduction. For this reason it necessarily serves the interests of the dominant class. ... In sum, ideology for Marx ... conceals social contradictions and ... it does it in the interests of the dominant class.¹⁰

Such a model of interpretation presents interesting implications when applied to the Wellington monuments. The inclusion of members of the lower classes in the construction of the symbolic landscapes of the monuments can thereby be interpreted as a conscious élite strategy of consensus building designed to preserve the status quo in which they remained dominant. Such an interpretation might suggest that British identity as presented in and through the monuments was an élite-imposed construct rather than an organically developed, widely held notion. Yet this model underplays the agency of individual choice and ignores the cultivation of oppositional ideologies, such as those promoted by the Chartist movement. By subscribing to, assisting in the construction of and celebrating the erection of these monuments many of the lower classes consciously chose to embrace the ideologies being promoted by them.

Those subscribing to oppositional ideologies also made their mark on the landscapes of the monuments through acts of protest, though such occasions were noticeably few despite the many currents of anti-establishment thought circulating in nineteenth-century Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Marx's concept of ideology as presented by Larrain focuses on class alone. As previously mentioned, the power relations at work in the symbolic landscapes of the Wellington monuments were also based on other markers of difference such as gender. These must be considered both separately and in relation to each other to fully understand their manifestation in the symbolic landscapes of the Wellington monuments, a maxim which may be applied to monumental studies more generally.

6.3 Ireland, Scotland and Wales: A Unified Symbolic Landscape?

In general the processes of monumentality in Ireland, Scotland and Wales display both commonalities and differences. At a basic level, Scotland and Ireland presented the

¹⁰ Jorge A. Larrain, *The Concept of Ideology* (reprint, Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1992, of orig. edn 1979), pp. 47-48.

greatest geographical variation in chosen sites with monuments being instigated in a rural context as well as in urban locations of varying sizes. By contrast Wales's monuments are all located in or overlooking medium-sized towns. While each individual monument reflects and engages with local concerns and contexts, a general drive to forge a British landscape through their erection and in their forms may be perceived at all of the monuments to a greater or lesser extent. This British identity took a different shape and prevailed to a varying extent in each of the different countries, a fact mirrored in the monuments they erected.

In Ireland all three monuments were instigated around the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, just over a decade after the passing of the act ordaining the country's official union with Britain. In Wales, all three monuments were initiated within a few years of the Duke's death, a period which also marked important changes in their political and economic relationship with Britain. Thus both monumental drives came at key periods in the definition of each country's relationship with the British state and the formation of a British identity. In Scotland, monuments were instigated during both the wartime and deathtime periods, as well as at a period in between the two times towards the end of 1839 and around the outset of the 1840s. Wellington experienced a health scare shortly before the official launch of these projects, a circumstance which provoked a consideration of the likelihood of his demise and may have been a decisive factor in spurring on efforts to pay tribute to him while he still lived.¹¹ The period also coincided with the era of Chartism. The spread out and consistent drive towards the monumental commemoration of the Duke in Scotland may represent Scotland's relatively comfortable position within the British state during the nineteenth century and a clear understanding and general acceptance of their role and identity within that sphere. The monuments also served as a successful counter-ideology to the threat to the establishment signified by Chartism.

Attempts to forge links between the three countries specifically are not quite so apparent: rather the main identification was with the central concept of Britishness. The use of the word "British" in discourse surrounding the monuments generally hints at an implicit relationship between the three nations and England, though on occasion it is clear that "British" and "English" are being conflated, a circumstance which implies a core/periphery relationship between England and the other three. Other national and local identities were promoted alongside British identity, in a manner which suggests many different forms of identity could co-exist comfortably in the symbolic landscape of the monuments and that these identities could serve to reinforce each other.

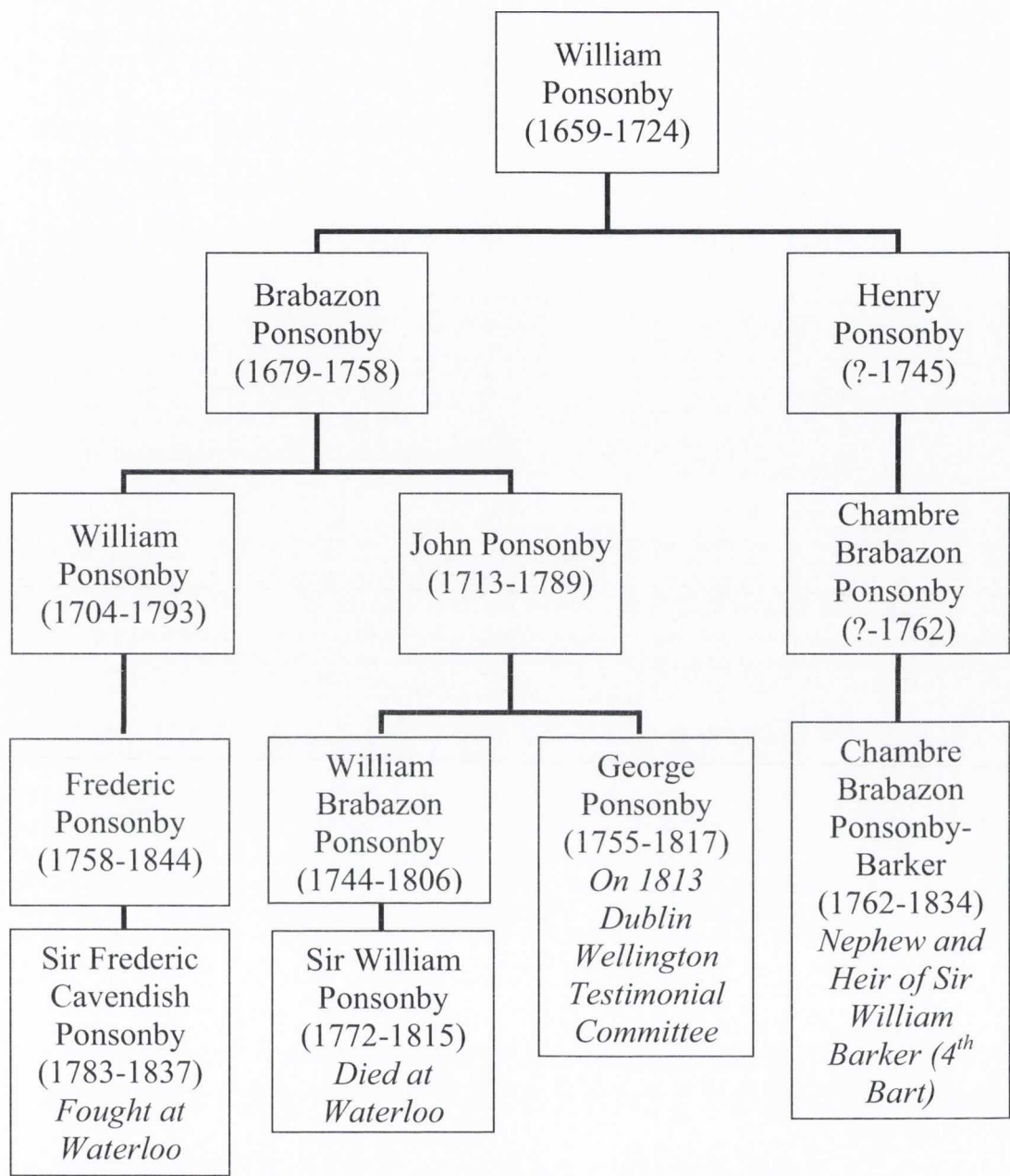
¹¹ A report on Wellington's sudden bout of illness appears in *Glasgow Constitutional*, 23 November 1839.

6.4 Power of an Icon

At the centre of the process of monumental commemoration and identity formation lay the heroic, iconic figure of Wellington. Instantly recognisable to the people of nineteenth-century Ireland, Scotland and Wales, his fame and range of associations were such that a broad range of identities could be conveyed and contested through a commemoration of his personality. Though not universally acclaimed, there was something in his character or achievements that almost every citizen of those countries could find to approve, admire or respect. Perhaps no other figure could have conveyed Britishness through the monumental landscape in a manner potentially palatable to such a wide range of people. Clearly the subject of a commemoration is a powerful and central factor in conveying meaning and as such should be given close attention in an analysis of a monumental landscape.

6.5 Future Research

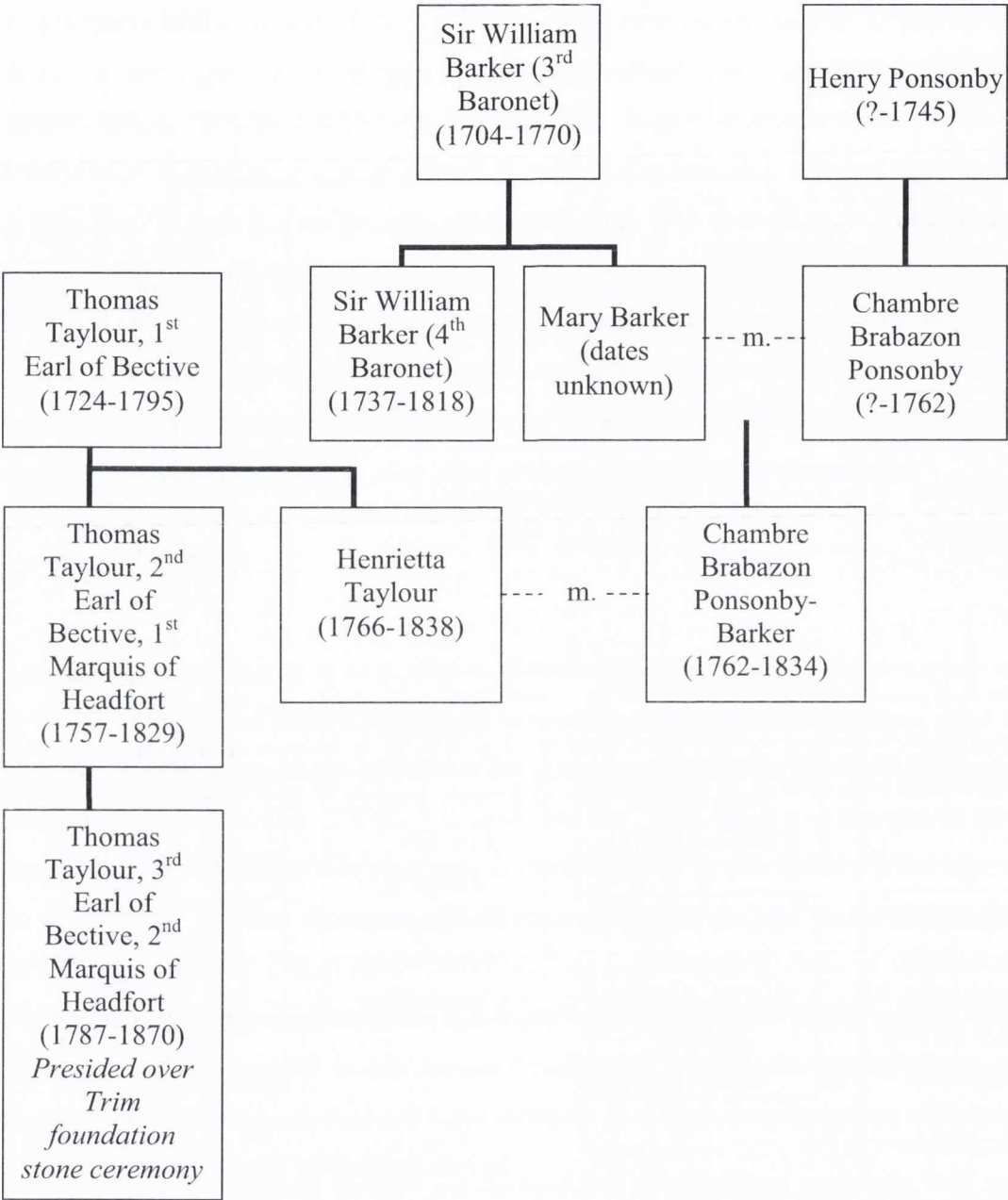
Monumental representations of the Duke of Wellington were used to express relationships to locality, nation and empire throughout the course of the nineteenth century. This thesis has examined his monuments in three of the component nations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Future research into the Wellington monuments of England would give further insight into their role in the process of British identity formation, while an investigation of these structures around the world in current and former colonies of the British Empire could offer further insight on the imperial dimensions of this identity. A study of any Wellington monuments in Europe, especially any that might exist in countries where the Duke engaged in his military campaigns, could offer perspectives on the formation of European national and local identities as well as on perceptions of Britain, the Empire and the Duke of Wellington abroad.



Note: This genealogy highlights the link between Sir William Barker and various members of the Ponsonby family associated with Waterloo, Wellington or the Dublin Wellington Testmonial.

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APPENDIX II: PONSONBY, BARKER AND TAYLOUR FAMILY TREES



Note: This genealogy illustrates the familial and marital bonds that connected the Earls of Bective with Sir William Barker (4th Baronet).

Sources: George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage, Volume IV: 1665-1707* (Exeter: William Pollard and Co. Ltd., 1904), pp. 74-75; George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant or Dormant, Volume II: Bass to Canning* (London: St. Catherine Press, 1912), pp. 169-174; John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, 1858), p. 962; John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*, 2nd edn (London: Harrison, 1883), p. 617; John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. Ltd., 2002), p. 37; John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume I: A to L* (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1846), p. 54; Sidney Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI- Pocock to Robins* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1909), pp. 79-91; Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage of the British Empire as at Present Existing* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1839), pp. 256-257; W.G. Neely, *Kilcooley- Land and People in Tipperary* (Belfast: Universities Press, 1983); Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume I, Abdy-Langrishe*, 106th edn (Crans: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd., 1999), pp. 264, 1362.

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