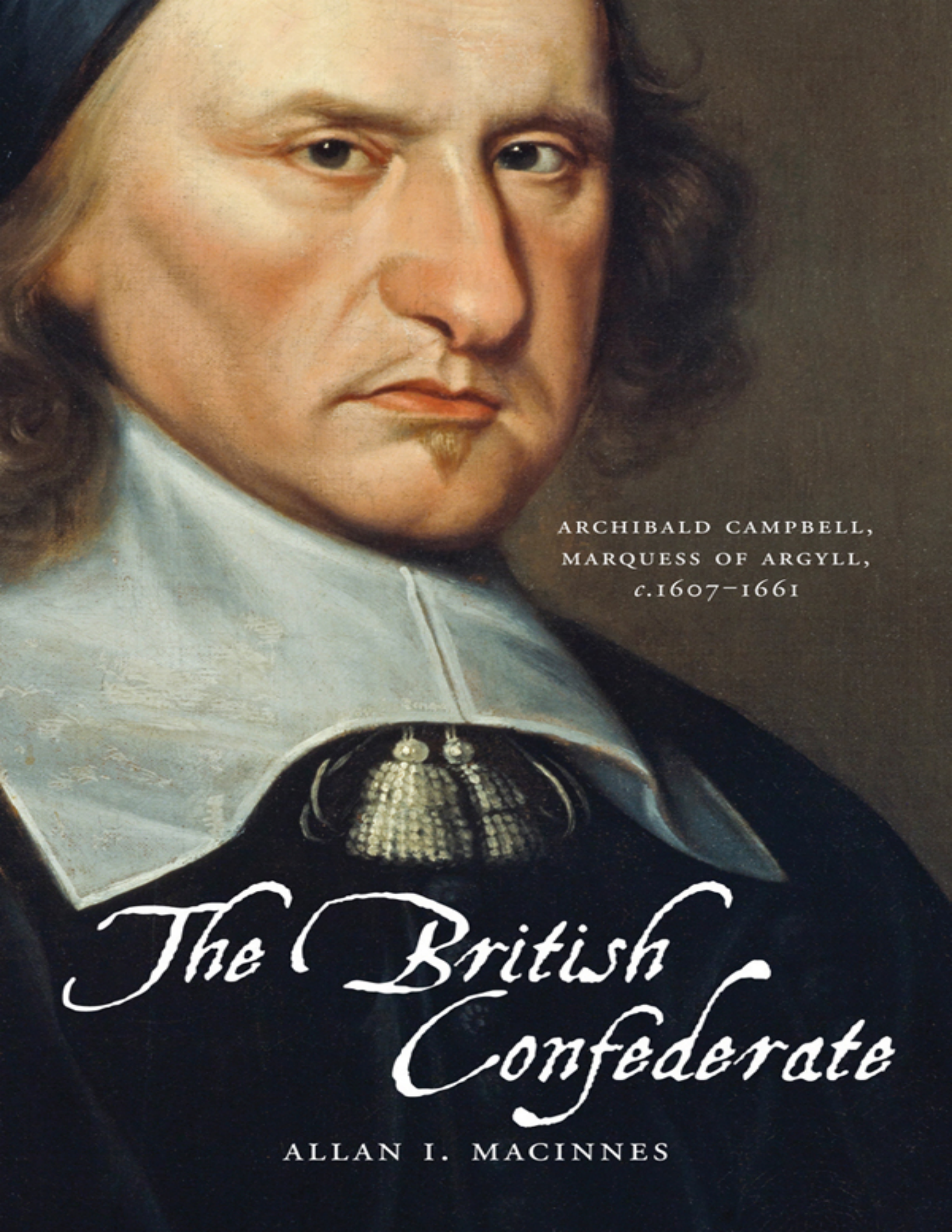
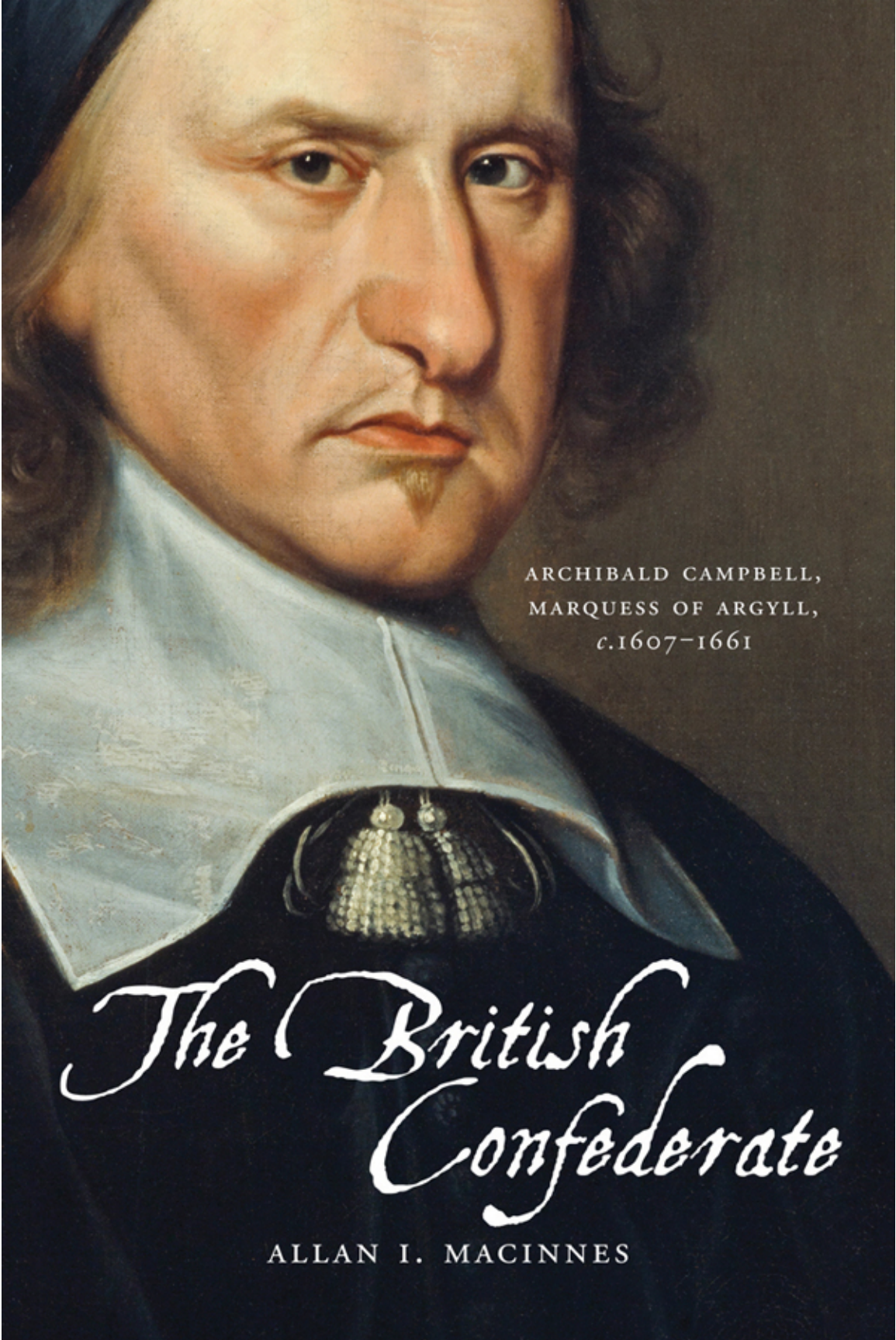




ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
MARQUESS OF ARGYLL,
c.1607-1661

The British Confederate

ALLAN I. MACINNES

A detailed oil painting of Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll. He is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark blue or black garment with a large, light blue collar. A decorative silver brooch is pinned at the center of the collar. He has long, wavy brown hair and a small, neatly trimmed goatee. His expression is serious and contemplative, with his gaze directed slightly to the right of the viewer. The background is a dark, neutral tone.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
MARQUESS OF ARGYLL,
c.1607-1661

*The British
Confederate*

ALLAN I. MACINNES

THE BRITISH CONFEDERATE

THE BRITISH CONFEDERATE

*Archibald Campbell,
Marquess of Argyll, 1607–1661*

Allan I. Macinnes



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To Dougie and Susan

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Fryer, for whose aid in structuring and systematically organising the sources I shall be eternally grateful. My work on the Loudoun Scottish Collection and related papers at the Huntington Library in California was facilitated by three research fellowships in 1993, 2002 and 2005, as it also was by generous assistance from Roy Ritchie (W.M. Keck Foundation Director of Research) and Mary Robertson (William A. Moffet Chief Curator of Manuscripts). In having first a sabbatical and then a relatively light teaching load in the last three years to aid writing up, I must thank my colleagues at the University of Strathclyde and in particular the head of department, Richard Finlay, who was instrumental in bringing me to this 'useful place of learning' in 2007. My researches have been further aided by helpful assistance from staff in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen and Newberry Library in Chicago, the Folger Library in Washington D.C. and the New York Public Library in the United States. George MacKenzie as Keeper of the Records and his staff in the National Archives of Scotland have been particularly helpful, as have the staff in that other Edinburgh institution, the National Library of Scotland, as have those in the British Library and The National Archives in London. I have been very well served by staff at the Bodleian in Oxford and at the university archives in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Hull and St Andrews, as I have in Duke at Durham in North Carolina. I also appreciate the assistance I have received in the city and local archives in Aberdeen, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Dundee, Glasgow, Newcastle and Westminster. Special mention in this context must be given to the sterling support and historical insights received from Murdo MacDonald, now retired as archivist to the Argyll and Bute District.

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The sins of omission and commission in the production of this book are solely mine.

Abbreviations and Conventions

Abbreviations

ABDA	Argyll and Bute District Archives, Lochgilphead
ACA	Aberdeen City Archives
ACL	<i>Aberdeen Council Letters, 1552-1681</i> , L.B. Taylor ed., 6 vols (Oxford, 1942-61)
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
APS	<i>Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</i> , T. Thomson and C. Innes eds, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-72)
AUL	Aberdeen University Library
BBT	<i>The Black Book of Taymouth</i> , C. Innes ed. (Edinburgh, 1855)
Balfour, HW	Sir James Balfour, <i>Historical Works</i> , J. Haig ed., 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1824-25)
BL	British Library, London
BOU	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
Burnet, Memoirs	Gilbert Burnet, <i>The Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton and Castleherald</i> (London, 1838)
CAL	<i>Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancrum and his Son William, Third Earl of Lothian</i> , D. Laing ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1875)
Clarendon, History	Edward [Hyde], Earl of Clarendon, <i>The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England</i> (Oxford, 1843)
CSCL	<i>Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London, 1644-1646</i> , H.W. Meikle ed. (Edinburgh, 1907)
CSP, Domestic	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I</i> , 17 vols, J. Bruce and W.D. Hamilton (eds) (London,

	1858-82)
<i>CSP, Scotland</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Scotland</i> , vols 11-12 (1593-97), A.I. Cameron and M.S. Giuseppi eds (Edinburgh, 1936 and 1952)
<i>CSP, Venetian</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy</i> A.B. Hinds ed. (London, 1913-23)
DCA	Dundee City Archives
DH	Dumfries House, Cumnock, Ayrshire [all material has now been relocated to Mount Stuart House, Isle of Bute]
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DR	Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Denmark
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
Gordon, <i>Distemper</i>	Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, <i>A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper from the Yeare of God MDCXXXIX to MDCXLIX</i> (Aberdeen, 1844)
Gordon, <i>HSA</i>	James Gordon, <i>History of Scots Affairs from MDXXXVII to MDCXLI</i> , J. Robertson ed., 3 vols (Aberdeen, 1841)
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HL	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
ICA	Inveraray Castle Archives, Inveraray, Argyllshire
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>LJB</i>	<i>The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow, 1637-1662</i> , D. Laing ed., 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-42)
<i>MHG</i>	<i>Memoirs of Henry Guthry, Late Bishop of Dunkeld: Containing an Impartial Relation of the Affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Year 1637, to the Death of King Charles</i> (Glasgow, 1747)
<i>MM</i>	<i>Memorials of Montrose and his Times</i> , M. Napier ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1848-50)
<i>MMM</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose</i> , M. Napier ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1856)
<i>Montereul</i>	<i>The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montereul and the Brothers De Bellievre, French Ambassadors in England and Scotland 1645-48</i> , J.G. Fotheringham ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1898-99)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh

Nicoll, <i>Diary</i>	John Nicoll, <i>A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences, Chiefly in Scotland, from January 1650 to June 1667</i> , D. Laing ed. (Edinburgh, 1836)
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
Rosehaugh, <i>Memoirs</i>	Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, <i>Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of King Charles II, A.D. MDCLX</i> (Edinburgh, 1821)
Roths, <i>Relation</i>	John Leslie, Earl of Roths, <i>A Relation of Proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland from August 1637 to July 1638</i> , J. Nairne ed. (Edinburgh, 1830)
RPCS	<i>Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , first series, 14 vols, D. Masson ed. (Edinburgh, 1877-98); second series, 8 volumes, D. Masson and P.H. Brown eds (Edinburgh, 1899-1908)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
SNPG	Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh
Spalding, <i>Troubles</i>	John Spalding, <i>The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, 1624-45</i> , J. Skene ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1828-29)
SPT	<i>A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq. Secretary, First to the Council of State, and afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver & Richard Cromwell</i> , J. Birch ed., 7 vols (London, 1742)
SR	Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden
SRRL	<i>The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters, Relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia from 1615 to 1635</i> , C. Rogers ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1885)
TFA	Tollemache Family Archives, Buckminster, Grantham, Lincolnshire
TGSI	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i>
TKUA	Tyske Kancellis Udenrigske Afdeling
TNA	The National Archives, London
Turner, <i>Memoirs</i>	Sir James Turner, <i>Memoirs of His Own Life and Times, 1632-70</i> , T. Thomson ed. (Edinburgh, 1829)
TWA	Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle
Wariston <i>Diary I</i>	<i>Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-39</i> , J.M. Paul ed. (Edinburgh, 1911)
Wariston <i>Diary II</i>	<i>Fragment of the Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1639</i> , G.M. Paul ed. (Edinburgh, 1896)
Whitelock, <i>Memorials</i>	<i>Memorials of English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to the Happy Restoration of King Charles the</i>

- Second*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1853)
- Wishart, George Wishart, *The Memoirs of James, Marquis of Montrose, 1639-1650*, A.D. Murdoch and H.F.M. Simpson eds (London, 1893)
- Wodrow, Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1721-22)

Conventions

Coinage: All values are principally in £ Scots. From 1603, the exchange rates between Scotland and England were standardised at 12:1 – thus, £12 Scots was equivalent to £1 sterling. The merk is two-thirds of a pound.

Dating: From 1600, the new year in Scotland commenced on 1 January, not on 25 March as in England. However, Scotland and England adhered to *old style* dating whereas *new style*, which was eleven days in advance, prevailed in continental Europe.

List of Illustrations

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ONE

Introduction

The life and times of Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl and only Marquess of Argyll, were marked by upheavals, convulsions and revolution. His childhood occurred in the wake of regal union in 1603, when James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English throne and instituted the Stuarts as a British dynasty. He attained adulthood during the authoritarian rule of Charles I, against which the Scots revolted, expressing their opposition through the National Covenant of 1638, which formally launched the Covenanting Movement. In the Kirk, Presbyterianism, that is rule through a hierarchy of courts, replaced the control by bishops which came to be known as Episcopalianism. In the State, the Covenanters accomplished a revolution that fundamentally limited monarchical powers by 1641. Over the next two years, the Covenanters exported their ideology, practices and aspirations to Ireland and England, most notably by the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. Civil wars for all three kingdoms followed, with Oliver Cromwell coming to power first in England and Ireland, then in Scotland by military might. The Commonwealth, established in the wake of the regicide of Charles I in 1649, absorbed Scotland in 1651, before giving way three years

later to the Protectorate which, in turn, was pushed aside for the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Argyll was executed in the following year, as the foremost Scottish revolutionary and purported collaborator with Cromwell.

The future Marquess of Argyll was probably born in Inveraray Castle, the principal Argyllshire stronghold of the chiefs of ClanCampbell. But we do not know exactly when. He certainly entered the world after 1598 and no later than 1607. While portraiture can be used to support the former date (see Plate 9) it can also more convincingly suggest (see Chapter 2) that Archibald Campbell reached his majority in 1628 (see Plate 8), which affirms the later birth date. His mother, Anna Douglas, daughter of the 8th Earl of Morton, died on 3 May 1607, but not necessarily in childbirth. Her only surviving son was perhaps born around the outset of that year, which would have made him sixteen years of age when, as a squint-eyed, non-graduating student, he won the silver medal for archery at the University of St Andrews in 1623. We certainly know when and how he died. On placing his head on the block of the execution device incongruously known as 'the Maiden', Argyll was guillotined for treason on the High Street of Edinburgh on 27 May 1661.¹ Conscious that his political career had been controversial and that his reputation had suffered from false aspersions that he supported the regicide and resisted the restoration of Charles II, he insisted from the scaffold that he was a Covenanter by conviction not convenience:

I entered not upon the work of reformation with any design of advance for myself, or prejudice to the King and his government.²

Comparative Significance

From his birth to his death Argyll was a complex character, cautious yet volatile, never far from intrigue and as prone to polarise as to conciliate. Clear guiding principles ran his life. First and foremost he was born to become the chief of ClanCampbell, the most ruthless and territorially acquisitive clan in the *Gàidhealtachd* (Scottish Gaeldom). Second, he became a committed and pious Presbyterian which, third, propelled him to the leadership of the radical mainstream of the Covenanting Movement. Fourth, as clan considerations prevented him completing his formal education through a continental grand tour, he lacked the cultural polish of his contemporaries among Scottish magnates. But he more than compensated by his theoretical and practical grasp of politics and statecraft that was grounded in the classical teachings of Aristotle and the Stoics with which he was first imbued at St Andrews³ – teaching that made him sceptical about, rather than deferential to, absolutism or authoritarian monarchy. Fifth, the political stage on which he chose to operate was British. He was not prepared to restrict himself to Scottish any more than to Highland dramas and crises.

Underestimating Argyll's British significance has been a feature of his entries in both the original *DNB* and the new *Oxford DNB*. This British deficit was compounded by the apologetic stance in the only previous biography of substance on the Marquess, that by John Willcock in 1903.⁴ In defending the integrity, influence and intellect of Argyll, Willcock was responding to an ongoing historiographic tradition which has rarely assessed the Marquess on his political merits, preferring to concentrate on his perceived deficiencies rather than his proven prowess. Historians no

less than contemporaries have too frequently judged Argyll adversely in comparison to his enemies, opponents and rivals (see Chapter 2). There have been relatively recent biographies of varied quality on James Hamilton, 3rd Marquess and 1st Duke of Hamilton, on James Graham, 5th Earl and 1st Marquess of Montrose, and on Randall MacDonnell, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquess of Antrim.⁵ Respectively they stand to Argyll as his foremost opponent, his inveterate enemy and his territorial rival. In contrast to the Marquess, all had continental experience as travellers, soldiers or diplomats. But they all lacked Argyll's political nous, his political timing and his political craft.

Hamilton was Argyll's principal Scottish opponent both within and without the Covenanting Movement. Where Hamilton oscillated between acting as a conservative Covenanter or as a pragmatic Royalist, Argyll remained committed to the radical mainstream of the Movement. For his part, Hamilton recognised the revolutionary potential of Argyll when he warned Charles I, in November 1638, that the then 8th Earl, who had still formally to declare himself a Covenanter, must be watched, 'for it feares me he will proufe the dangerousest man in this state';⁶ and so it proved for the cause of this ill-fated king and his Royalist cause, albeit another eight years were to elapse before Charles came to the summative judgement that Argyll was 'very civil and cunning'.⁷ The muchacclaimed campaigning brilliance of Montrose has tended to be accompanied by the denigration of Argyll both as a commander and as a warrior. Notwithstanding the glorious reputation accorded his Royalist campaigns in the 1640s, Montrose attained no worthwhile political accomplishments. Within Gaeldom, Argyll's reputation has certainly suffered from the adverse press generated principally by poets of ClanDonald in

Scotland and Ireland, whose polemical stridency was in inverse proportion to their clan's declining political influence. Since the fall of their Lordship of the Isles in the late fifteenth century, the ClanDonald had fragmented and become embroiled in feuds primarily to the advantage of the ClanCampbell. Attempts to unite this fragmented clan around Antrim at the outbreak of the civil wars were mere political posturing. Antrim's brokering of an alliance between the Confederation of Irish Catholics and the Scottish Royalists certainly led to the stunning guerrilla warfare waged by his kinsman, Alasdair MacColla, in association with Montrose. Their campaign in 1644-45 exposed Argyll's lack of valour and his deficient generalship. But the Marquess was the main political orchestrator who had the Covenanting forces outmanoeuvre and eventually crush MacColla and Montrose. Antrim was left a political bystander in the affairs of the three kingdoms.

While Argyll has been the subject of but one previous biography, there is a veritable growth industry on the life and times of both Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, his main British sparring partners.⁸ Charles I was an authoritarian king with absolutist aspirations. His reign was marked by political ineptitude, patent untrustworthiness and a wilful incapacity to accept counsel that favoured conciliation and compromise. Nevertheless, his dignified refusal to become entangled in a show trial, his majestic bearing on the scaffold and his uncompromising support for Episcopalianism made him a martyr for Stuart monarchy. A cult of kingly sacrifice, based on the twin pillars of justice and piety, was soon developed through *Eikon Basilike*, the purported meditations of Charles I as he awaited execution, and later through the apologetic writings of Anglican

clergy. The cult of Charles the martyr spread to Scotland to become part of the Episcopalian tradition, a cult which glossed over his marked intransigence, his warmongering and his diplomatic isolation.⁹

Notwithstanding the regicide of 1649, Cromwell's political standing has endured as a man of destiny, a strong ruler and a statesman of international repute. Despite a tendency towards glory-hunting, a penchant for bloody ruthlessness towards his enemies and an abiding conviction of his own rightness, Cromwell remains an English national hero in a belligerent line that stretches back from Edward I through Henry V and Elizabeth Tudor, and on to Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher. He is thus lauded as a soldier, politician and statesman who 'towered above his age'.¹⁰ Argyll can be deemed second only to Cromwell as a British statesman of the mid-seventeenth century. Less vilified and less celebrated, Argyll exercised as pronounced a polarising influence in all three kingdoms. Cromwell deemed his exclusive brand of English patriotism to be divinely warranted. Argyll was no less devout but more inclusive in his patriotism as he pursued his unique, non-anglocentric calling as a Gaelic chief, Scottish magnate and British statesman. Cromwell had determined the political agenda of the three kingdoms for less than a decade prior to his death in 1658. From 1638 until he was beheaded twenty-three years later, Argyll personified the Scottish corrective to the Stuarts as an authoritarian British monarchy. Yet, Argyll has no accepted place in any Scottish pantheon of heroes. He remains an enigmatic figure, his reputation sullied by calumny, distortion and neglect rather than glorified or commemorated with respect and honour. His contribution to the British Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century continues to be underplayed.

Nevertheless, without Argyll, the revolt against Charles I would not have retained its radical edge in England as it had in Scotland.

Paradoxical Identities

Charles I, Cromwell and Argyll have added political significance in that they personified different and rival perspectives on what constituted British identity in the seventeenth century. These perspectives should be viewed as normative in that they are prescriptive not just descriptive, being grounded in myth, providence, prophecy and the humanist scholarship of the Renaissance.

The Britannic perspective favoured by the early Stuarts since the Union of the Crowns in 1603 advocated full integration of England and Scotland, failing which James VI and I promoted common foreign, frontier and colonial policies. More controversially, Charles I sought administrative, social, economic and religious uniformity throughout the British Isles. However authoritarian this prescription, it had the merits of an inclusive British agenda centred on the royal court. Nevertheless, in England the Gothic perspective, whose most celebrated exponent was Cromwell, elevated parliamentary statute and common law over the privileges of governance reserved as the prerogative powers of the Stuart monarchy. While the Gothic agenda was propagated as the defence of civil and religious liberties, these liberties were exclusive to the English. Accordingly, any union with Scotland, as with Ireland, was to be based on subordination and absorption. The Scottish perspective – as indeed the Irish equivalent – was based on liberation theology. For the Irish, their prevailing Roman Catholicism was their confessional counter to notions of civility as imposed by the English and,



PLATE 7

Lord Lorne as leading magnate, by unknown artist, possibly but not conclusively by George Jameson for the coronation visit of Charles I, c.1633





PLATE 8

Lord Lorne as courtier and royal councillor, by the German painter Schunemann, c.1630

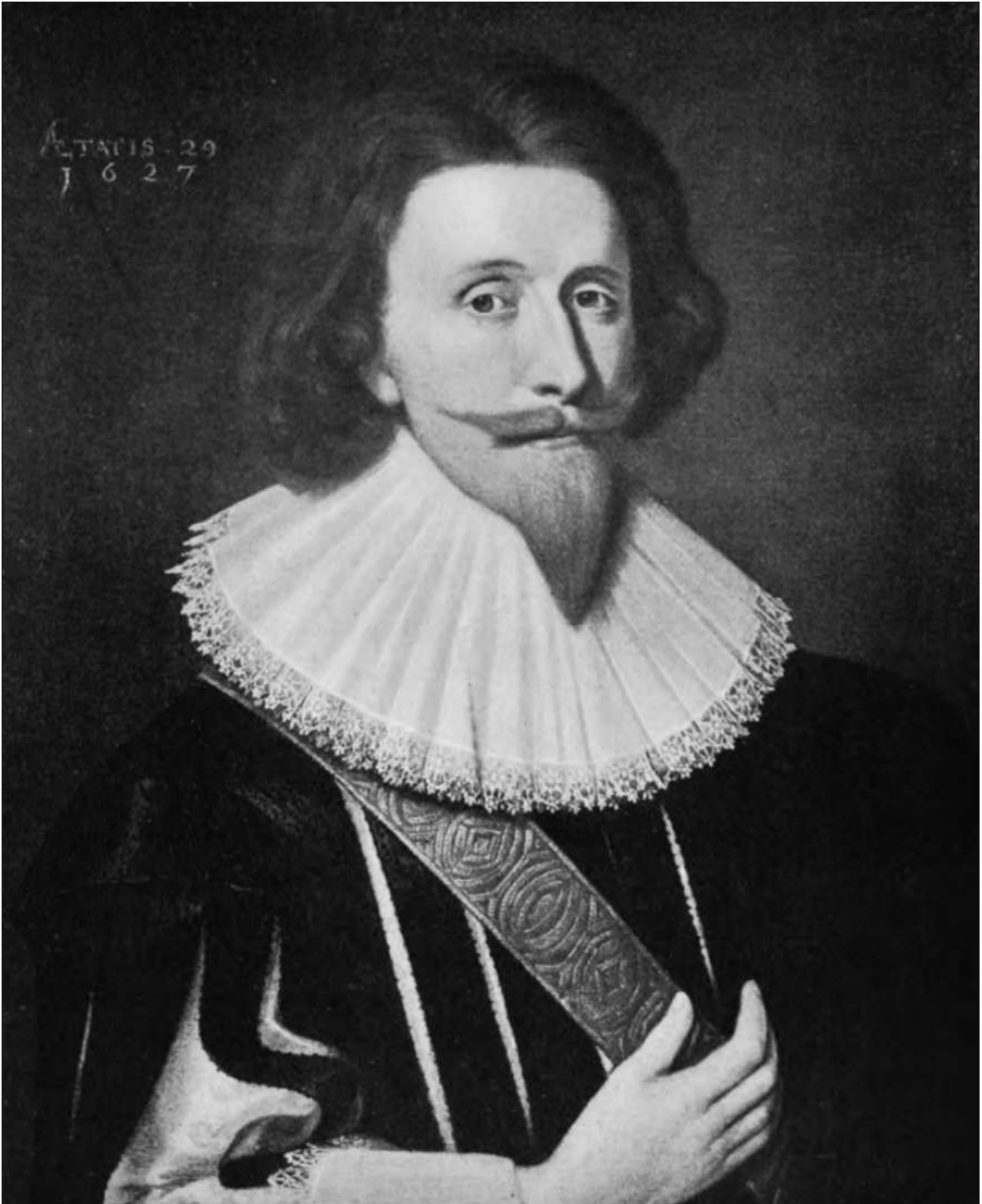


PLATE 9

Lord Lorne, rather anachronistically as a courtier in terms of date and title, by unknown artist, tenuously linked to