

“Georgian Britishness”:

How “Britishness” was Defined During the Reigns of
the First Three Hanoverian Kings (1714-1820)

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis,
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Abstract:

This thesis explores the development of “Britishness” or a British identity during the “long” eighteenth century in Great Britain during the reigns of the first three Hanoverian kings, also known as the “Georgian Kings”, George I (r. 1714-27), George II (r. 1727-60), and finally George III (r. 1760-1820) – looking at how the term British as an identity came to be fostered through the British monarchy, Redcoat regiments within the British Army, neo-Palladian architecture, and the development of British music. In order to understand how “Britishness” came to be, this thesis takes on a chronological approach by examining the evolution of the British monarchy under the governance of the three Georgian Kings, and how by the reign of each Georgian king came forth a gradual crystallization of a British identity, which is illustrated in the military, architecture and music. With this came the stability of the British monarchy, which is currently, the reigning monarchy of the present-day United Kingdom.

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King George I and the House of Hanover (1718-24)

~ Painted by James Thornhill

“Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton.”

- *King George III (1738-1820)*

“The Irish have developed into a kind of West Britons.”

- *Daniel O’Connell (nineteenth Century Irish Politician)*

“...The best of all instruments...”

- *Duke of Wellington (Praising the British Redcoats at the battle of Waterloo, 18 June 1815)*

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Stuart & Hanoverian Family Tree: from James VI & I – George III



This is the family tree of the Houses of Stuart and Hanover. The writing in blue represents the Hanoverian connection and line of succession to the Stuart royal family, which illustrates the connection of George I (of Hanover) to his great-grandfather, James VI & I (Stuart), and how he (George I) was able to succeed to the British throne, legitimately.

Timeline:

1701 – The Act of Settlement establishes the Hanoverian succession

1704 – The Battle of Blenheim and victory for the Duke of Marlborough

1707 – England and Scotland unite under one Parliament

1714 – Death of Queen Anne (August 01)

– Ascension and Coronation of George-Louis of Hanover (son of Sophia, Electress of Hanover and granddaughter of James I) becomes king of Great Britain

1715 – First Jacobite Rebellion, in support of James Edward Stuart, the “Old Pretender”

1720/21 – South Sea Crisis (Bubble); Sir Robert Walpole is Britain’s first ‘Prime Minister’

1727 – George II succeeds his father, George I to the British throne

1740 – War of the Austrian Succession (until 1748)

1743 – The Battle of Dettingen, George II is the last British monarch to lead his men into battle

1745-46 – The second Jacobite rising in support of Charles Edward Stuart, “Bonnie Prince Charlie” (the Young Pretender)

1756-63 – The Seven Years’ War with France

1759 – *Annus Mirabilis*, the “Wonderful Year” (a series of British victories over France)

1760 – George III succeeds his grandfather, George II to the British throne

1775-83 – The war for American independence; Britain loses its American colonies

1789-99 – The French Revolution; by 1792 Britain is at war with France, a war that lasts more or less continuously until 1815

1803 – The Kingdom of Hanover falls to Napoleon’s Armies

1810 – George, Prince of Wales (later King George IV) made Regent of Great Britain

1815 – The Battle of Waterloo; Wellington and Blucher end Napoleon’s hopes of returning to power

1820 – George IV succeeds his father, George III to the British throne

Eighteenth Century Britain: A Time of Change

The advent of the Hanoverian dynasty saw a remarkable period in the transition of British history. It marked the beginning of change from the “Old” England (and Wales), Scotland, and Ireland, to what would become the “New” British Empire – seeing the breakup of the way of life that had lasted for some fifteen hundred years. At the outset of the period, in which most people lived in quiet country towns and remote and distant locales of towns and hamlets, people farmed in traditional fashions such as horse drawn seed drills and double crop rotation. Before the end of the Hanoverian period and the dawning of the Victorian period, the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions, accompanied by the growth of the idea of constitutional monarchy and cabinet government—the emergence of the office of Prime Minister and the reform of parliament all occurred during these years. It came to transform the face of Britain’s position in the world. These transformations emerged Britain from a small [though influential] colonial maritime, mercantile state into the world’s wealthiest, largest, advanced, and industrious imperial power.

Before the eighteenth century Portugal and Spain dominated the colonial frontier, whereas what would be Great Britain was highly localized – any form of Empire building / excavation was solely based on trade and exploration. The English dominance over Wales, Scotland, and to a lesser extent, Ireland, is often dubbed as, “internal colonialism.” By the nineteenth century, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were unified under the ‘Union Jack’ flag of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

Wales:

The first of these lands to come directly under English control was Wales. In December of 1283, the last independent Prince of Wales, Dafydd ap Gruffydd (r. 1282-83), was executed for committing acts of high-treason against King Edward I “Longshanks” of England, who in 1282 conquered Wales, making it a fief of England. For the next two hundred and fifty-four years Wales would be under English overlordship until the 1536 Act of Union, which formally brought Wales under English control. The Act of Union created twenty-seven Welsh parliamentary constituencies; however the Welsh lacked many of the rights taken for granted by the English; this fostered a pattern of inequality and prejudice that would only come to grow after Wales’ formal annexation.

Scotland:

Scotland’s history with England was much more chaotic and complicated. Since Roman times military incursions took place between the borders of England and Scotland. In 1603 after the death of Queen Elizabeth I, King James VI of Scotland was crowned James I of England. James wished to style himself as “King of Great Britain and Lord of Ireland”—the union of the two crowns dynastically unified the two nations; however, it was not until the 1707 Act of Union that the two kingdoms were formally unified, bearing the name of Great Britain.

Ireland:

Ireland would formally join Britain on the 1 January 1801, when Britain was at war with two Catholic powers: Napoleonic France and Bourbon Spain. In 1798, Ireland, with financial and military aid from France, started a rebellion with almost 30, 000 fatalities.

The threat of French foreign aid to the Irish heightened fears of Britain's imperial claims, forcing internal colonialism to fervour and the rallying of all Britons to unify against the threat of the "other." Though tensions were still strong between Protestants and Catholics, Britain's unity withstood the threat posed by Napoleon's invasion of the European continent, and the potential invasion of the British Isles.

The emphasis of British unity became the sole symbol for British greatness and the definitive of Britishness. Unity is what bound the Empire together, and with unity there had to have been a commonality amongst the various nations of Great Britain that made the Empire last as long as it did. The Hanoverian period, however, must have claim to a high rank of all periods in Britain's history. It is a landmark for those people alive to remember the days of the Dictatorial Puritan Commonwealth and the Restoration of the monarchy and to end with the birth of the Second British Empire under the booming industrial age of the Victorians where change assumed even greater rapidity. With this comes the question of Britishness: why it began in the eighteenth century, and why it began with the Hanoverian monarchy?

Introduction:

This thesis focuses upon the forging of Britishness and the development of a British identity during the reigns of the first three Hanoverian “Georgian” Kings: George I (r. 1714-1727), George II (r. 1727-1760), and George III (r. 1760-1820). I have organised this thesis into four chapters. In chapter 1, I analyze the Hanoverian monarchy under the three Georgian Kings, and how these German prince-electors from Hanover were able to establish a stable monarchy and, over time, flourish and crystallize the idea of Britishness and a British identity. In chapter 2, I examine the British Army and how wearing a “redcoat” uniform fostered a sense of fraternity and belonging amongst the soldiers who wore them – how these men in the scarlet-colored jackets felt that they belonged to a greater institution that surpassed the cultural differences of being English, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish. This fraternity within the British Army contributed to forging a British identity and an increasing sense of Britishness during the eighteenth century. In chapter 3, I examine how Palladian-style architecture influenced British architectural designs and patterns and pervaded all social class systems, from country-estate [manor] houses in Buckinghamshire to townhouses in the slums of East London. This Palladian revival, known as neo-Palladianism, influenced the architectural landscape of England (and Wales), Ireland, and, to a lesser extent, Scottish architectural designs. Through this impact I will explain how neo-Palladianism during the eighteenth century became the national architectural element of design in Britain. Finally, in chapter 4, I examine how music during the eighteenth century saw a [British] national revival after the death of English composer, Henry Purcell (d. 1695), honing in the notion of “British” culture,

whether it was through coronation marches, national anthems, patriotic tunes, or sea-songs.

Though these four chapters look at specific aspects of the eighteenth century and how through the lens of the monarchy, the army, architecture, and music a British mandate was forged, there are reoccurring themes throughout these chapters that are undertones within the broader themes of religion (Protestants (Anglicans) vs. Catholics) and the idea of Britain vs. the “other” (France, and the Stuart pretenders).

What makes the eighteenth century such an *eloquent* period is the time after the death of Queen Anne (d. 1714) and the ascension of King George I in which the British identity gradually crystallizes. From an uncertain beginning with a foreigner new king (from Hanover, Germany) who spoke no English and primarily clung to his German-familial dependencies within the European mainland, Britain established a strong and stable [British] monarchy – one that saw Georgian-Britain grow in wealth, and power; trade, wars, exploration, and the ever-expansion of the [first] British Empire, which opened up new imperial dependencies in the Mediterranean (Gibraltar, Minorca, and Gibraltar), Canada, India, and Australia (New South Wales, c. 1788).

The eighteenth century is referred to as the “Georgian” period because for the majority of that one hundred years, four kings all named George ruled Britain; however, the adjective has also come to epitomize a culture. Georgian-Britain was an age of elegance, with a stable monarchy, conquest, architectural breakthroughs, and the birth of a national soundtrack (*God Save the King*). This laid the foundation for the transformation of a country devoid of a unified national identity into one of the world’s greatest empires and longest reigning dynasties that had survived well into the modern

age. The eighteenth century proved a fortunate century for Britain, which assured it of its unity. This unity would not have seen the light were it not for the survival of the Georgian dynasty; those German kings who forged modern Britain. This dynasty survived the age of the Enlightenment, the turbulence of the American and French revolutions, and saw the defeat and collapse of Napoleon Bonaparte's French Empire, and war of world conquest, only to usher in the imperial and industrial dynamism of the Victorians. The Georgian age was an age of high life and low life; every sort of extreme, splendor, and sophistication can be seen through this age – an age that left an elegant and entertaining legacy.

What do we think of when we think “British” or “Britishness?” Do we think of Buckingham Palace, high tea, the Union Jack, the literary works of Jane Austen and Charles Dickens? What does “British” or “Britishness” really mean? Britishness is the state, quality, and the embodiment of being British or having British characteristics. It is what unifies the members of the United Kingdom as one entity. In terms of “nationhood,” and “belonging,” Britishness has provoked a wide range of attitudes and advocacy. There have been arguments that Britishness is an extension of Englishness. Graham MacPhee and Prem Podder's book, *Empire and After: Englishness in Postcolonial Perspective*, (2007), examines the relationship between Englishness and Britishness from nationalism to imperialism. Both historians remind readers of the many paradoxes of Englishness that are vital not only to the long history of the [former] British Empire, but the question of how Englishness offers an important avenue for thinking about the national identity of Britain in a postcolonial and globalized world. One such paradox is the “appearance of Britishness” found in one major defining image of Britishness, the Union Jack, which

combines the crosses of St. George (England), St. Andrew (Scotland), and St. Patrick (Ireland). According to MacPhee and Podder, the major issue arises from having a “full frontal” of St. George’s cross on the Union Jack, the imagery of which visually contradicts the unity of Britain and the cultural and political equality of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, giving instead the impression that the British Empire is really a manifestation of English triumphalism over the other two nations.

On the other hand, the renowned British historian Linda Colley in her book *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (1992) views Britishness as being formed with the Act of Union (ca. 1707). She argues that Britons assumed a layered identity of what it means to be part of Great Britain – this occurred simultaneously, not wholesale. Members of Great Britain were to think themselves as British, and at the same time English, Welsh, Scottish, and to a lesser extension Irish. During this formative period, Colley proclaims that Protestantism bounded Britishness, and through the advents of industry, trade (within the British Isles), and war, an identity of Britishness was established.

It is not easy to define Britishness because within Great Britain there are four nationalities: English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. Each one of these cultural groups, although under one national umbrella (the United Kingdom), sees themselves as primarily as a member of an individual cultural group and secondarily British, or in some cases not at all. When thinking of where, and when to begin in defining the “origins” of Britishness, the Act of Union seems like the most logical starting point for the birth of Britishness. However, the Union merely bounded the kingdoms of England (including Wales), and Scotland together. It did little to forge a cultural unification of the new

kingdom, only a geopolitical union. This is why the most appropriate origin for Britishness seems to be quite fitting with the ascension of George-Louis, Elector of Hanover to the throne as King George I (r. 1714-27).

So what is it about the Hanoverians, those German monarchs that forged Britishness? What events played out during their reigns that set aside the differences of a Welshmen, Scotsmen, Englishmen, and Irishmen? Why did Britishness occur during the Hanoverian (Georgian) period, instead of the Victorian or Edwardian periods? The Georgians may not have given Britons the industry of the Victorians or the sensational head chopping's of Henry VIII, but they championed the idea of liberty, which made Britain a more open and expressive society. They also strengthened British unity through the advocacy of the Protestant faith. It was through liberty, and the strengthening of faith that gave Great Britain a sense of identity - thus the Georgians were able to establish a stable monarchy that is currently the reigning monarchy of the United Kingdom.

1

Why the Hanoverians?

In Chapter 1 of this thesis paper I will examine the origins of the British royal family that has flourished into the modern British monarchy of the twenty-first century, the Hanoverian dynasty (c. 1714-1837). Why care about the Hanoverians also referred to as the “Georgians”? They did not give us the sensational head chopping’s of the Tudors, nor did they give us the industry of the Victorians. They did, however, champion the idea of liberty and made Britain a more liberal, open, and cosmopolitan society. Through the first three Georgian kings, the Hanoverian dynasty that would flourish the Britain into the modern age, gave the people of Britain the sense of a “British” identity – this had occurred in the eighteenth century, and, in a gradual progression: first, by establishing a dynasty; secondly, by securing the dynasty; and finally, by promoting the dynasty. In this chapter I will analyze how a noble dynasty from northern Germany became the royal family of Great Britain and Ireland, focusing particularly on the document that permitted this transition and how it was wielded to facilitate this Protestant ducal family becoming the monarchy of Britain. My analysis in this chapter will further examine the history of the Duchy of Hanover, looking at its progression from a cadet branch of the medieval Guelphic family to the most powerful ducal family in northwestern Germany. By delving into Hanover’s pre-history, I will extort how a Hanoverian *ethos* was developed, and through that ethos stability and rigid military and religious discipline was established. This allowed the future royals of Great Britain to maintain not only the crown of Great Britain, but to secure their family’s legacy as a forerunner of Britishness, and to hone in the monarchy’s role in the development of the British identity. This chapter will focus on the first three Hanoverian (Georgian) Kings: George I (r.1714-27), George II (r. 1727-60), and finally George III (r. 1760-1820). In a chronological order, I will explain how

the foundations of the monarchy, and the foundations of a British identity, were developed through the Hanoverian Kings - how the Georgian monarchs revolutionized Britain from the decadence and corruption of the Stuart [pro-French] monarchy and created a “British identity.” This “British Identity” gradually crystallized through each of the first three Georgian kings – such that by the reign of George III, the monarchy’s role in developing a British identity had reached its pinnacle.

With the use of primary sources – letters, speeches, diaries, annals, quotes, and paintings – along with the aid of secondary accounts from historians and scholars specialized in eighteenth century British history and the history of the Georgian Kings, I will analyze how elements of Britishness fervoured and matured under the Hanoverian monarchy.

Beginnings

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, Britain faced a major issue: Princess Anne (1665-1714), the heir to the British throne, had failed to provide the nation with a child to continue the royal family’s next generation of Stuart Kings and Queens. Anne had endured seventeen pregnancies in a desperate attempt to produce an heir; her surviving son, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester had died at eleven years of age (d. 1700).¹ Parliament took it upon itself to take drastic action by importing a royal family with a legitimate heir to succeed to the throne. Fearing the return of the exiled pro-French-Catholic Stuart royals who were living in exile in France at the [Stuart] Court of Saint-Germain, Parliament passed the Act of Settlement (1701), which quelled the royal

¹ Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambledon & London, 2004), 01

succession of the English, Scottish, and Irish Crowns – prohibiting any Catholic relation of the Queen from ever obtaining the throne. The nearest non-Catholic candidate with Stuart blood was Electress Sophia of Hanover (a granddaughter of King James VI of Scotland, and I of England).² The Act of Settlement provided that the Electress, and her Protestant descendants who had not married a Roman Catholic, would succeed or have claims to succeed to the British throne. Any of the Electress’s Roman Catholic descendants, or those who married Roman Catholics, was barred from ascending to the throne the Act of Settlement (see figure 1.) made it clear that “If you profess the popish religion or marry a papist you shall be excluded.”³

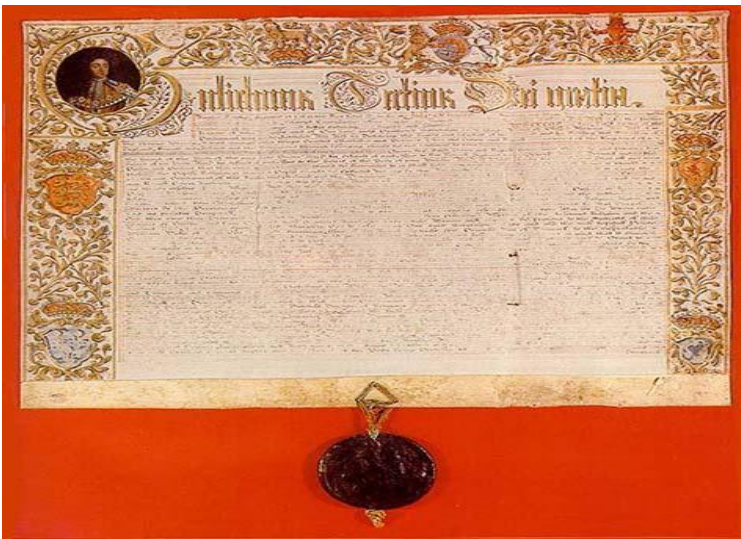


Figure I. The Act of Settlement (1701)⁴

The Act of Settlement played a crucial role in the formation of Great Britain. The Kingdoms of England and Scotland had shared a monarch since 1603, even though they

²William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Four Georges [George I – George IV, Kings of Great Britain] Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court, and Town Life* (Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1860), 25

³ “Act of Settlement 1700”; United Kingdom Legislation, BAILII, http://www.bailii.org/uk/legis/num_act/1700/1565208.html (Accessed: April 17, 2015)

⁴ Georg Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers im Zeitalter der neunten Kur und der englischen Sukzession 1674-1714, Band IV*, (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1982), Accessed: 16 April 2015 http://www.gwleibniz.com/britannica_pages/settlement_act/settlement_act_gif.html

remained as separately governed countries. The Scottish Parliament, which was governed by the Lords of the Articles,⁵ was more reluctant than the English were to abandon the ancient royal House of Stuart. Stuarts had been the Kings and Queens of Scotland since the fourteenth century – long before they became English monarchs. English pressure upon the Lords of the Articles to accept the Act of Settlement was one factor that led to the Act of Union of Scotland and England in 1707.⁶

Sophia died on the 8 June 1714, only two months before Queen Anne; however, she did not die in vain – her very existence proved to be pivotal in the history of the British monarchy. It was her line that came to form the modern British monarchy, which would flourish during the Victorian and Edwardian Periods and into the Britain of the twenty-first century. The line of succession would pass to Sophia's fifty-four year old son, Georg-Ludwig, prince-elector of Hanover, and Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who was crowned on the 20 October 1714 as King George I of Great Britain and Ireland, beginning the Hanoverian dynasty.⁷

Hanover: The Birthplace of Britain's new Monarchy

The Electorate of Hanover was a Protestant princely house located in northern Germany; the Electors of Hanover were descendants of the eleventh-century Guelph dynasty. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Hanover was continuously partitioned amongst several cadet houses of the Guelphic family: the Lüneburgs, Hoyas,

⁵ Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568* (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1844), 88

⁶ *Union with England Act 1707, (1707 c. 7)*, "Article 1"; Accessed: 17 April 2015
<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aosp/1707/7>

⁷ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Yale University Press, 2001), 119

Wolfenbüttels, and [Calenberg]-Grubenhagens were the dominant cadet houses.⁸ By 1634, with the gradual failure of strong and able leaders within these cadet houses, their duchies and principalities were ceded to the house of Lüneburg. In 1635 the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg expanded its boundaries inheriting the lands of some of the minor noble families of the Guelphic line; which was then given to George, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1582-1641), who chose Hanover as his capital or place of *Residenz*.⁹ Duke George's eldest son, Christian-Ludwig, and his brothers were given the rule over the Principality of Calenberg and the city of Celle (in Brunswick). New territory was added in 1665 in the vicinity of the old Principality of Grubenhagen. In 1680 the law of primogeniture was passed and accepted for the two duchies of Brunswick and Lüneburg to unify. The Electorate was thus legally bound to be indivisible: it could add to its territory, but not alienate territory or be split up among several heirs – as used to be the rule before – having led at times to a multitude of Brunswick- Lüneburgian principalities such as: Celle, Lauenburg, Calenberg, Osnabrück, and Göttingen.¹⁰ Its succession was to follow male primogeniture. Since this was against the ancient Germanic Salic Law (6th century AD) *Terra Salica* (Salic Patrimony)¹¹ imperial confirmation was needed in order to validate the territorial inheritances for the ducal family, which was granted by the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I of Habsburg in 1692.

Upgrading to [Holy Roman Imperial] electorate comprised the territories of the Brunswick-Lüneburgian principalities of Calenberg and Grubenhagen, which the line of

⁸ A.D. Innes, *A History of the British Nation* (London, T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1912), 571-572

⁹ Edward E. Morris, *The Early Hanoverians* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 14-15

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 16

¹¹ Roy Cave, and Herbert Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965), 336

the former had already inherited in 1665.¹² Until the confirmation of the electorate by an Imperial Diet in 1708 the “Calenbergian” line would officially inherit the principalities of Celle and Hoya (which it did informally in 1705).¹³

By 1692 Duke Ernst-Augustus from the Calenbergian line acquired the right to be the prince-electoral of Brunswick-Lüneburg through the death of his eldest brother, Duke Christian-Ludwig. Colloquially the Electorate was also known as the Electorate of Hanover (*Kurhannover*). After the death of Ernst-Augustus in 1698, Georg-Ludwig (later King George I), Ernst’s eldest son, succeeded him as prince-electoral. In 1705, less than ten years before the first Elector also became the ruler of Great Britain, Georg-Ludwig inherited the Duchy of Lüneburg with the Duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg upon the death of his uncle Duke Georg-Wilhelm of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1624-1705).¹⁴ In 1715, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and Elector of Hanover, George I purchased the Duchy of Bremen-Verden from King Frederik IV Oldenburg of Denmark-Norway (1671-1730), which was confirmed through the Treaty of Stockholm (9 November 1719). This resulted in the eventual conclusion of the Great Northern War (1700-21) between the Swedish Empire, and the “Coalition Alliance” of the Electorate of Hanover (Including Great Britain), the Tsardom of Russia, and the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway. This acquisition of new territory gained the Electorate [which for centuries had been landlocked] access to the North and Baltic seas.¹⁵

¹² Edward E. Morris, *The Early Hanoverians* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 21-24

¹³ *Ibid*, 24

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 17

¹⁵ Morris, 21-22

During the Napoleonic wars, the Electorate of Hanover fell to Napoleon's *Grande Armée* after it defeated the Russian armies at the battle of Friedland (in Prussia, 1807) following the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). Hanover was merged with the Duchy of Magdeburg, and the Electorate of Hesse, to create the Kingdom of Westphalia (1807-1813).¹⁶ Although the Holy Roman Empire was officially dismantled in 1806 when Emperor Francis II Habsburg-Lorraine (1768-1835) dissolved the Empire on 6 August, after its defeat by Napoleon at the battle of Austerlitz, King George III's government did not consider the dissolution to be final; he continued to be styled as: "Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Arch-treasurer, and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire."¹⁷ French control over Hanover lasted until October 1813, when the territory was overrun by Russian troops during the "Battle of Nations", also referred to as the Battle of Leipzig II (16-19 October). Later during the same month came the definitive end to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia, and the French satellite state, the Confederation of the Rhine (1806-1813), after which Hanoverian rule was restored. At the Congress of Vienna (September 1814 – June 1815), the Electorate of Hanover was elevated to the rank of Kingdom, stylizing itself as the "Kingdom of Hanover," which was due to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and Hanover's acquisition of East Frisia from the Kingdom of Prussia.¹⁸

¹⁶ Frank McLynn, *Napoleon: A Biography* (New York: Arcade Publishing Inc., 1997), 355

¹⁷ John Brooke, *King George III* (London: Constable, 1972), 390

¹⁸ Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812-1822* (Grove Press, 2001), 140 -164.

A Hanoverian Legacy, *Ethos* & The Three Georgian Kings:

Georg-Ludwig, or George-Louis, was born in Hanover, Holy Roman Empire on 28 May 1660; he was the eldest child of six boys and one girl to the Elector-designate of Hanover Ernst Augustus (1629-98) and the Electress Sophia of Hanover (1630-1714).¹⁹

Ernst Augustus and his brothers shared a joint inheritance of the Electorate of Hanover, which was partitioned amongst the family. The Electors of Hanover did not know much about Britain, nor did many of the British subjects like them. This attitude did not change amongst many of the British subjects, even after the Hanoverians ascended to the throne.²⁰ However, many of the British did care about what the new dynasty would do to the country. Modern scholarship has been indifferent towards the reigns of the Hanoverian Kings, mainly because they have been deemed monarchs who had not dominated their age by pressing their royal authority, as had the Norman Kings, the Plantagenet's (including the cadet houses of Lancaster, and York), the Tudors, or the Stuart dynasties.²¹ However, the Hanoverians, unlike their royal forbearers, proved to be a successful monarchical dynasty. It is quite evident, since the current queen of England is from the Hanoverian line.

One cannot deny the fact that at times the Hanoverians (excluding King William IV) were extremely unpopular. During the American revolutionary war (1775-83), Britain lost a vast amount of territory and a significant amount of its colonial subjects. This was the cause of King George III's unpopular and unsuccessful role as the last king of the

¹⁹ Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambledon & London, 2004), 02

²⁰ Ibid, 02

²¹ Ibid, 02

American colonies (except for British North America). Also during the reign of George III, the Electorate of Hanover was conquered and lost to Napoleonic France, remaining under French control for ten years (1803-13). Due to the enduring nature of the Hanoverian monarchy, which not only maintained the lineage of the royal family, but also gave Britons a sense of stability and unity created a “British” monarchy in a “British” society.

(1.) A Hanoverian *Ethos*:

The Hanoverian *Ethos* can be drawn from earlier periods of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg’s pre-history. When George I came to the British throne he was in his middle years, but he was still every bit a soldier and a championed huntsman. Growing up in Hanover, George was introduced at an early age to hunting and horsemanship by his father, who taught him that hunting and horseback riding fostered athleticism and a heightened sense of military tact. Hunting and horsemanship was essential in the Hanoverian court. Since the reign of George’s royal [Guelphic] predecessor Otto V “the victorious,” Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1439-71), hunting and the equestrian life was made a requirement for all Hanoverian monarchs.²²

The equestrian life would indeed prove to be most valuable for George’s education as a royal. George developed steadied nerves and physical courage during his “Spartan” upbringing while living in Hanover. At age fifteen, his father gave him a commission as a cavalry officer, which allowed him to take part in the Franco-Dutch war (1672-78). According to his father, who in a letter to George’s mother, held him in high

²² Christa Geckler, *Die Celler Herzöge: Leben und Wirken 1371–1705* (Celle: Georg Ströher, 1986), 73

praise for his military brilliance during the battle of Conzbrücke (in the Saar region), which forced the French to abandon their position in the Trier: “Your *Benjamin* was worthy of you...he stuck to my side through thick, and thin.”²³

George would soon take command of the Schlütter (Hanoverian) Dragoon Regiment, serving under the banner of Swedish-Pomerania. By 1675, George was given the command of a combined Rhinelander and Celle(ian) Army of 30,000 men, supported with an additional 6,000 Osnabrück(ian) troops that he, with the aid of his father, would command throughout the duration of the war.²⁴ At age twenty-three, George was given another military command during the Siege of Vienna (1683).²⁵ He exclaimed that his years “hunting, and ridding at my father’s palace at Herrenhausen proved most creditable in performing my duties as a warrior-prince.”²⁶

This military-equestrian ethos would continue with fervour after George’s death in 1727, and would become a mandatory requirement of the proceeding Georgian Kings. Their regimentation of marshal discipline gave a sense of headstrongness to the first three Georgian Kings, whose English was quite broken and familiarity with British culture was completely absent (excluding King George III). Aside from being an active-dutiful [soldier]-king, Ernst-Augustus introduced George to the facts about political power and court intrigue – thus this would lead to Ernst’s dynastical goal: the electoral cap, which

²³ E. Bodemann, ed., *Sophia, Letters to the rougravines, 3 December 1704* (Hanover/Leipzig, 1888), 43

²⁴ A. Köcher, ed., *Sophia, Mémoires: Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie, nochmals Kurfürstin von Hanover* (Leipzig, 1879), 88-89. *Note: editorial matter is in German; the memoirs are in original French (written in 1680).

²⁵ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Yale University Press, 1978), 43

²⁶ William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Four Georges [George I – George IV, Kings of Great Britain]: Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court, and Town Life* (Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1860), 52

represents the highest authority / dignity below the emperor.²⁷ With the formal splicing of the duchies of Brunswick, and Lüneburg along with the acquisition of the Bishopric of Osnabrück cemented the ducal-principedoms elevation to Electorate.

(2.) George I (r. 1714-27):

The very moment George I took up the crown of Great Britain and Ireland in 1714, he had already made enemies. Without the Act of Settlement securing George's position and legitimacy as king, his cousin James Stuart would have been crowned King James III.²⁸ Though James was only thirteen at the time of George's ascension to the throne, he was already plotting to regain his crown. The fusion of Britain had only taken seven years prior to George's coronation. This new Kingdom, which George was to oversee, was already unstable. George's coronation was preaching to the newly converted (those who desired a new monarchy); for some of his subjects, the idea of being ruled by a German and a foreigner took some getting used to. His coronation at Westminster Abbey was slightly marred with xenophobia; there are records of spectators yelling: "Down with the German," and "Out with the foreigner."²⁹ The popular protest against George had the image of Hanover as being a backwater duchy governed by rustic-rurals. In pamphlets there are pictures of George hoeing a row of turnips. On his coronation a man was arrested for holding a turnip on a stick. There was even a song dedicated to George and the Electorate of Hanover as the principedom of turnips, calling George the "Turnip Head."

"The Turnip Song: a Georgick" (1714) – Douce Ballads 4(24b)

I am a turnip ho-er, as good as ever ho'd

²⁷ E. Bodemann ed., *Letters to: Sophie Dorothea*, [4 March 1682], (ZHVN, 1882), 130

²⁸ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Yale University Press, 1978), 111

²⁹ Hatton, 159

I have hoed from my Cradle, and reap'd where I ne'er sow'd

And a Ho-ing we will go, &c
For my turnips, I must hoe.

At Brunswick and Hanover, I learn'd the Ho-ing trade
From thence I came to England, where a strange Hoe I have made
I've pillag'd town and country round and no man durst say no,
I've lop'd off heads, like Turnip-tops, made England cry, High! Ho!

A turnip once, we read was, a present for a prince
And all the German princes have, ho'd turnips ever since

Let trumpets cheer soldier, and fiddles charm the beau
But sure 'tis much more princely, to cry Turnips, Turnips, Ho!

If Britons will be Britons still, and horny heads affront,
I'll carry home both head and horns, and hoe where I was wont

To Hannover, I'll go, I'll go, and there I'll merry be;
With a good in my right hand, and Munster on my knee

Come on, my Turks and Germans, pack up pack up and go
Let James take his Scepter, So I can have my Hoe

* * *

Of all Roots of Hanover, the turnip is the best
'Tis his saliad when 'tis raw, and his sweetmeat when 'tis drest
Then a hoeing he may go, &c
And his turnips, he may Hoe

A potatoe to Dear Foy, and a leek to Taffy give
But to our Friend Hanover, a turnip while you live

No root so fit for barren Hanover can be found
For the Turnip will grow best when 'tis sow'n in poorest ground

But if it be Transplanted, 'twill shortly have an End
And the higher still it grows it must the sooner bend

These turnips have a king if we may credit fame
His sceptre is his hoe, The Turnip is his crown, and George is his name

The turnip ne'er should swell like the turban of a Turk

For 'tis best when 'tis no greater than the white rose of York!

May the turnip make a season for a better plant to grow
Lest the Hanover root prove, the root of all our woe³⁰

The turnip was a foreign vegetable that symbolized George's German roots. Indeed, singing the "The Turnip Song" became a popular way of protest against the new King. The Jacobite supporters of the would-be King James III loved it, and promoted the song throughout Britain.³¹ This was not the most auspicious of starts for the Hanoverian royal. During the Stuart period, in particular during the early-Stuart period (c.1603-49), Parliament had to follow the mandates and prerogatives of the King. The coming of the Hanoverians saw a major shift in the balance of power between the King, and Parliament. Parliament thought that their new king ought to follow their rules and do what they wanted. George was not even allowed to leave his new country without Parliament's permission. In addition, the Act of Settlement sought to bar its sovereigns from putting German considerations before British ones: "No monarch may leave the dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland without the consent of Parliament."³² This was mainly to prevent Britain from being drawn into Hanover's wars with other continental powers. If Britain was to fight on behalf of Hanover, it would require parliamentary consent.

George I was a lot less wealthy than some of his contemporary European counterparts. He merely did not have the cash to spend on extravagant palaces like

³⁰ Douce Ballads 4(24b), *The turnip song: a Georgick*, (c. 1714), "Broadside Ballads Online", <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/24255> (Accessed: 1 May 2015)

³¹ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Yale University Press, 1978), 176-177

³² Naamani Tarkow, "The Significance of the Act of Settlement in the Evolution of English Democracy," *Political Science Quarterly* (The Academy of Political Science, 1943), 547

Versailles. Parliament allowed him £700, 000.00 a year,³³ not enough to run a grandiose court. George quickly realized he needed to work with Parliament. Some of his Stuart predecessors had been constantly fighting head-to-head with Parliament in some very violent and destructive confrontations, insisting upon their “divine right” to rule. George, on the other hand, was much more conciliatory. Parliament had given him the throne, and perhaps it could take it away. He was a monarch appointed not by God, but by men. This shift in the “psyche” of the monarchy occurred due to Parliament growing tired of the Stuart mandate of “Divine Right”, which was illustrated in the treatise the *Basilikon Doron* (c. 1599) written by the hand of King James I, VI (Stuart). This was the Stuart family’s ordinance of how a king ought to rule. Essentially James I, VI exclaimed that kings were mini gods on earth and could rule as they saw fit, because their rule was the will of God. In a speech to Parliament in 1610, King James I, VI declared:

...The state of monarchy is the *supremest* thing upon earth, for kings are not only God’s lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God’s throne, but even by God himself they are called gods ... In the Scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the Divine power...³⁴

With the deposition of the [Catholic] Stuart monarchy (in 1689) and the death of Queen Anne, Parliament needed to make sure that their next set of royals would remiss with such farcical beliefs and dogmatic practices.

³³ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Yale University Press, 1978), 143

³⁴ G.W. Prothero ed., *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 293-294



Figure 2. King George I, and the House of Hanover, By Sir James Thornhill (c. 1718-24)³⁵

In order for George to declare that he was the king chosen by the British people to shed a new light upon all Britons, he needed to declare his “mission statement” to his subjects. The Painted Hall in Greenwich contains George’s mission statement, while along the West wall is a painting by Sir James Thornhill (1675 or 76 -1734) of George I and his family (see figure 2). In Thornhill’s portrait of the royal family, the Hanoverians, unlike the despotic Stuarts, are depicted as mortal men just like anyone else – they are not divine, nor even claim to have divinity as the early-Stuarts did. When looking at this portrait, we see many elements of Britishness, or at least the notion that George is making a promise to the British people and to the British nation. For example, George I is sitting on the throne with his elbow resting firmly on the globe, implementing designs for expansion and that he would lead Britain in a new direction; he would work with them and not as a divine essence as the Stuarts upheld. Thornhill exploited the inclination that

³⁵ James Thornhill, “King George and the Royal Family”, (1718-24), *Old Royal Naval College*, Accessed: 17 April 2015, <http://www.ornc.org/press/story/heritage-lottery-fund-supports-appeal-for-painted-hall-conservation>

George was the king of the commons by giving a sense of homely reassurance to this new dynasty, particularly through the way that the grandchildren are presented playing on the steps near the king. This implies that the new dynasty lives an uncomplicated domestic lifestyle.



Figure 3. Painted Hall Greenwich Painted Hall Ceiling, By Sir James Thornhill (c. 1710)³⁶

The ceiling portrait of the royal Stuarts in the Painted Hall (see figure 3) gives the impression that the vault is open to the sky. This suggests that the Stuarts were indeed divine and anointed by God to rule Britain. This depiction of the Stuarts as “holy vessels”, above the laws of the common man, was starkly contrasted by the Hanoverians, who are shown staring at their subjects face-to-face – as much humans, and as much a Britons, as the peoples they oversaw. The King wanted his people to know that he was

³⁶ James Thornhill, “Greenwich Painted Hall ceiling” (1710), Accessed: 22 April 2015 <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/lydia-hamlett-longinus-and-the-baroque-sublime-in-britain-r1108498>

offering a very different proposition as opposed to the tyrannical, absolutist, outdated [old] Stuarts. This became a “Georgian Manifesto.”

George I proved his worth as a British sovereign, fighting to protect his “legitimate” right as king of Great Britain, secure his dynasty, and defend the British faith (Protestantism) during the major crisis of his reign – the Jacobite uprising of 1715, commonly known as “the fifteen.” When George ascended to the throne, many of the Tory members of Parliament, such as Lord John Erskine the 23rd Earl of Mar (1675-1732) – also known as “Bobbing John” due to his mixed loyalties of either siding with the Whigs or Tories – and Robert Harley the 1st Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661-1724), were staunch Stuart supporters.³⁷ There are records of an anonymous Tory member who shouted in a debate that George “could never love Britain.”³⁸ A rumour even reached George’s ear that the Tories were collecting money for a plot to overthrow and replace him with his Catholic nemesis James Stuart – supposedly financed by the Swedish Empire. Feeling betrayed, George put forth all of his support to the Whig party, which prior to his ascension, had heavily supported the Protestant-Hanoverian claim to the throne.

On the 6 September 1715, the Earl of Mar left London for his home in Aberdeenshire, where the Chevalier standards were raised in support for the Stuart monarchy. The insurrection soon spread throughout the Highlands, and many of the Highlander clans who were at one-point ancient kings of the petty kingdoms of medieval

³⁷ Edward E. Morris, *The Early Hanoverians* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 35-36

³⁸ *Ibid*, 36

Scotland rallied their bannermen in support for the [exiled] Stuart king.³⁹ Much of the Jacobite propaganda against George continued to depict him as a turnip-headed yokel, unfit to rule Britain, and lacking the sufficient bloodline of the royal Stuarts. George's portion of Stuart blood passed through the female line, and was therefore not direct and not "pure" according to Stuart sympathizers.

In an effort to counter the Stuart insurrection that had spread throughout the northern reaches of George's "new" kingdom and the image of being a turnip-head, his supporters, including the military tactician Field Marshall John Campbell the 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich (1680-1743), the Lord High-Almoner William Nicolson, 51st Bishop of Carlisle (1655-1727), Charles Howard the 3rd Earl of Carlisle and the Lord-Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmoreland (1669-1738), and those in George's Whig circle, described him as "George the Dragonslayer of Great Britain."⁴⁰ Much of George's supporters associated him with the patron saint of England, the soldier saint, who ever since the Reformation had been shown slaying the Dragon of Popery or Roman Catholicism. Associating German-George with the very English-Saint George did a lot to naturalize his foreignness.

³⁹ Morris, 36

⁴⁰ Ibid, 38



Figure 4. King George I in Profile, the ‘Coin Portrait,’ by: Sir Godfrey Kneller, Bt (May, 1715)⁴¹

This portrait of King George I by Sir Godfrey Kneller (see figure 4.) can be considered the most important portrait of his reign. The image would pass through the hands of every single one of his subjects, as it was used for the image on his coins. The coin image of the King was the closest that most of his new subjects were ever going to get to him. This portrait of George I was painted just seven months into his new reign. He is presenting a serious and somber image, which in addition to the main colour being grey, projects none of the flamboyancy of his Stuart predecessors. Another important element in this portrait is that he is dressed in armour, the intention of which is to give the impression that George is indeed a warrior against popery. George spent most of his childhood and early adulthood fighting either for the expansion of the Electorate of Hanover, or in service of the Holy Roman Empire to defend Christendom from the

⁴¹ Godfrey Kneller, “King George I: Coin Portrait” (May, 1715), Accessed: 20 April 2015, [http://www.1st-art-gallery.com/\(after\)-Kneller,-Sir-Godfrey/Portrait-Of-King-George-I-Of-England\(1660-1727\).html](http://www.1st-art-gallery.com/(after)-Kneller,-Sir-Godfrey/Portrait-Of-King-George-I-Of-England(1660-1727).html)

Ottoman-Muslim invasion.⁴²

George arrived to see the final victory after the Jacobites were defeated at the Battle of Preston (9-14 November 1715), and the battle of Sheriffmuir (13 November 1715).⁴³ Though the Hanoverian cause was victorious, and George I remained as King of Great Britain, he became quite uneasy. George ousted all Tories from his inner circle and the Whigs were allowed to govern unchallenged. The Whig supremacy allowed them to give authority over public order, the defence of the realm and the conduct of foreign affairs, with all the opportunities of enrichment that inevitably followed. Since the Whigs had the support of the Crown, patronage was given to men such as Sir Robert Walpole, who steamrolled Britain into becoming one of the world economic superpowers during the eighteenth century. The increase of jobs, population, industrial produce, trade and commerce allowed Britons to work and flourish their nation into a great economic imperium.

Some people (the Jacobites and Tories) could say that George was a turnip-head, and some people (the Hanoverian supporters and Whigs) could say he was a dragon slayer, because he seemed to have a curious absence of personality. He was quite shy and retiring; he was difficult to get to know. His sobriety and frugality did have a particular appeal, though, to a nation of shopkeepers. After the Jacobite defeat, and the securing of George's royal house on the British throne, Britain would become the most commercially successful country in Europe. In the words of the French philosopher Voltaire,

⁴² William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Four Georges [George I – George IV, Kings of Great Britain]: Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court, and Town Life* (Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1860), 30-31

⁴³ Edward E. Morris, *The Early Hanoverians* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 38

“Commerce, which has brought wealth to the citizenry of England, has helped to make them free, and freedom has developed commerce in its turn.”⁴⁴

(3.) George II (r. 1727-60):

The Prince of Wales, Georg-Augustus (1683-1760), was born in Herrenhausen Palace in the Electorate of Hanover. He was crowned King George II of Great Britain, and Ireland in October of 1727, after the death of his father, George I. The reign of George II saw a different type of Britain, one in which a new social class emerged in the British social order. They were the “town-dwellers” (middle class), also referred to as the “middling sort”, and included people who held professions such as: doctors, lawyers, clergymen, shopkeepers, and men of trade – particularly those who dealt in the new products of sugar, cotton, and indigo.⁴⁵

The Whig Party under the leadership of Sir Robert Walpole remained intact, and the Hanoverian dynasty seemed to remain secure. Why would it not? George II had many sons, and his successor the Prince of Wales, Frederick, also had a male heir (the future King George III). The reign of George II saw the emergence of British music – music that glorified the might of Britain, and the expansion of Empire (music will be further discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis). Unlike his father, George II inherited a dynasty, which was deemed tightly secured. The Whigs who looked towards Hanoverian interests reigned supreme. The Jacobite armies were defeated in 1715, and the would-be King James III was forced back into [royal] exile. However, as cemented as the Hanoverians

⁴⁴ Voltaire (Francois Marie Arouet), *Philosophical Letters: Letters Concerning the English Nation*, translated by Ernest Dilworth; (Dover, 2003), 39

⁴⁵ Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and The Family in England, 1680-1780* (University of California Press, 1996), 14-16

may have thought their family was, they were still a new dynasty with shallow roots in Britain. Therefore, this proved to be a very dangerous moment for the Hanoverians. If any of its members were to make a mistake, it could break the monarchy.

George II made constant visits to his palace and hunting parks at Herrenhausen in Hanover. George II's absence resulted in unpopularity in England; a satirical notice was pinned to the gates of St James's Palace decrying his absence: "Lost or strayed out of this house", it read, "a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish."⁴⁶ George II returned to England in January of 1737, when he had to quell anti-Georgian sympathies stirred up by his son and heir the Prince of Wales, Frederick-Louis, especially during the passing of the Gin Act (1736) where the price of gin rose from 5 shillings retail tax per gallon to 20 shillings. Liquor shops were draped in black to mourn the death of gin drinking, and there was an ominous new chant amongst the crowds on the street, "No gin, no King!"⁴⁷ The Act becoming a law was celebrated with mock funerals: "last Wednesday . . . several people made themselves very merry with the death of Madam Gin, and some of both sexes got soundly drunk at her funeral . . ."⁴⁸ William Hogarth in 1751 published two caricature prints as a response to the Gin laws of the eighteenth century. His prints: *Beer Street* (see figure 5), and *Gin Lane* (see figure 6), which were both published in support of a campaign directed against gin drinking among London's poor. The campaign was eventually successful and an act against gin was passed in 1751. *Beer Street* is intended to celebrate the virtues of thee traditional national drink:

⁴⁶ Charles Chevenix Trench, *George II* (Allen Lane, 1975), 182-184

⁴⁷ Iain Gatley, *Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol* (New York: Gotham, 2008), 171

⁴⁸ *The Daily Gazetteer* (2 October 1736), quoted in Wilkins, W.H., *Caroline the Illustrious, Vol. ii* (London: 1901), 305-306

inspiration of artists, labourers, and tradesmen. Where gin on the other hand was a foreign drink from the Netherlands, which inspired violence and carelessness. In the print the mother is oblivious to her child falling down. The message that Hogarth inspires is that gin and the addiction to spirits leads to negligence, poverty, and death. Also gin is not a British drink, it is foreign. This message could therefore be an undertone of Britishness, the idea of supporting domestic goods of the Empire and not foreign products.



Figure 5. “Beer Street “(1751)⁴⁹

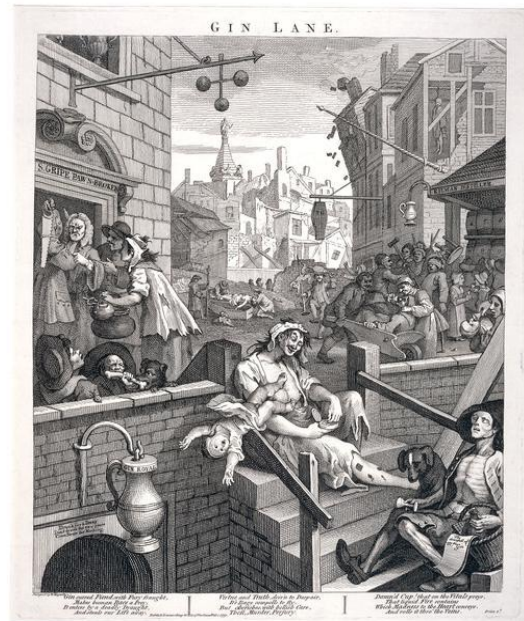


Figure 6. “Gin Lane” (1751)⁵⁰

Instead of acting to repair the tension between the King and his subjects, Prince Frederick did nothing – he was seen going to a tavern, and drinking gin, saying, “I’m just

⁴⁹ William Hogarth, *Beer Street* (published in London, 1751), The British Museum, Accessed: 12 June 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pd/w/william_hogarth_beer_street.aspx,

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, *Gin Lane* (Accessed 12 June 2015)

like you. I like gin, and I don't like the King.”⁵¹ George II, fed up with the damage his son's actions were inflicting upon the monarchy and the security of the royal dynasty, banished Frederick and his family from the royal court – much like the punishment his own father had brought upon him, with the exception that he allowed Frederick to retain custody of his children. Soon afterwards, George II's wife Queen Caroline died on 20 November 1737.⁵² He would eventually recover from her death, and old soldier as he was, would go on to enjoy military victories over the French and the Scots. King George II's love of fighting helped him to overcome the death of his queen, renewing his sense of kingship as he led his troops into battle.

In 1743, at the Battle of Dettingen (June 27), which was part of the War of the Austrian Succession, King George II at age fifty-nine became the last British king ever to lead his troops in person on the battlefield. “Now, boys, for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!”⁵³ The battle of Dettingen was fought between the Allied Coalition of Britain, Hanover (including Hesse-Kassel), and Habsburg-Austria against the Kingdom of France. Some of George II's commanders tried to shuffle him off the battlefield, but George exclaimed, “Don't tell me of danger. I'll be even with them.”⁵⁴ George II was undeniably brave, but was he really acting in the best interests of Britain? German George II was a warrior king, and much like his father

⁵¹ HMC, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, diary of the first Earl of Egmont, 3 vols. (London: 1923), 325

⁵² Lucy Worsley, *The Courtiers: Splendor and Intrigue in the Georgian Court at Kensington Palace* (Walker Publishing Company Ltd., 2010), 248-249

⁵³ John Charles Earle, *English Premiers: From Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1871), 84

⁵⁴ William Coxe ed., *Memoirs of the Administration of Henry Pelham: Collected from the Family Papers, and other Authentic Documents* vol. 1 (London: Paternoster Row, 1829), 69

before him, fought in the interests of protecting his family's legacy and position as King of Britain and Elector of his homeland, Hanover. George reiterated the imagery of being like St. George of England, defending England from the "other." He first needed to make sure he defended his family's lineage and the future for further monarchs of his line that would follow him. British historian Linda Colley writes, that by 1763, after the French failing to win the Seven Years War, any chance of Stuart claimants to the throne was too marginal to influence the course of events that had been shaping in Hanoverian Britain. She continues to say that even the Tories who had been traditionally Stuart sympathizer joined the Georgian cause, making the Hanoverian dynasty once and for all securely entrenched.⁵⁵ During the battle of Dettingen (27 June 1743) George wore the yellow sash of Hanover, not the blue sash of Britain.⁵⁶ Some of George's political opponents went so far as to say that "George was defending Hanover with the blood of proud Englishmen."⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, George's opponents sought to capitalize on this controversy. On the one side were the king's own supporters, who wanted to defend the white horse of Hanover. This group of supporters wanted a strong British Army to get involved in continental wars to protect Hanover's interests, and in more particular to uphold their Protestant King and to defend the Church of England. On the other side were the "patriots" represented by the British lion. This camp thought that Hanover was a chink in Britain's defenses. The patriots were a charismatic group comprised of

⁵⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale University Press, 1992), 103

⁵⁶ Andrew C. Thompson, *George II* (Yale University Press, 2011), 146

⁵⁷ William Coxe ed., *Memoirs of the Administration of Henry Pelham: Collected from the Family Papers, and other Authentic Documents* vol. 1 (London: Paternoster Row, 1829), 73

politicians and poets. They counted both Whigs and Tories among their number. They were the original Euro-skeptics. The patriots believed Britain should go it alone. To them the British identity was that of an island race, they cared not for religion or who had the right blood to ascend to the throne. They believed that Britons should ignore continental disputes and instead build a strong navy to defend the homeland and to gain more colonies in North America and around the world. Where the patriots failed and the loyalists won was the fact that England wanted to uphold its protestant faith. Since the reign of King Henry VIII Tudor (r. 1509 -1547), England (Including Wales) fought off those who sought to impose Catholicism upon the Island nation, the thought of allowing anyone, Catholic or other would have put those who gave their lives to defend England in vain.

British Whig politician, William Pitt “the Elder,” 1st Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), was one of those who felt that the electorate of Hanover was Britain’s weak link. In a speech to the House of Parliament, Pitt complained that Hanover was a tail wagging the British dog. “Britain,” he said, “this great, this powerful, this formidable country, is treated merely as the province of a despicable electorate.”⁵⁸ He was calling for more British self-confidence and aggression towards France, through the seizing of French colonies in the Americas and around the globe.⁵⁹ The French were always looking for ways to destabilize Britain. They did so by conspiring with Jacobite plotters. George II’s exiled rival, the Pretender, James Stuart, had a “good” blood claim to the British crown. The French threw the Jacobites a lifeline – military backing to attempt a coup in Britain.

⁵⁸ Andrew C. Thompson, *George II* (Yale University Press, 2011), 162

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 163

On 23 July 1745, James III's son, Charles Edward Stuart, also known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (see figure 7), landed on the east coast of Scotland, and sounded the rallying cry. Charles Stuart who was an Italian by birth (born in Palazzo Muti, Rome, Papal States) challenged George, a German, to the British throne. Charles, who had been brought up in Rome, was always told that the British throne was rightfully his, if only he could go out and get it. It was mainly the old Protestant dislike and distrust of Catholicism that was keeping King George II on the throne and the exiled Stuarts off it. Many Scots, particularly in the Highlands, rallied to Charles' cause. Charles mustered together an army of between 11,000 - 14,000 troops,⁶⁰ and then set up government at the Palace of Holyrood-house for five weeks.



Figure 7. Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788)⁶¹

During the weeks of Charles' advance into the south of England, tensions mounted in

⁶⁰ Morris, Edward E., *The Early Hanoverians*; Charles Scribner's Sons, (1908), 149-150

⁶¹ Blanchet, Gabriel Louis (painter), "Charles Edward Stuart," located in the British National Portrait Gallery (c. 1738), (Photo taken and uploaded by Nicholas A. Hutfluss on: 11 July 2015)

the Georgian court. George II was ready to get on his horse and lead the charge. Instead, his younger, favorite son, the rotund Prince William-Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765), was hurriedly brought back from the War of the Austrian Succession and sent north to face the Jacobite threat.⁶² Thus, in the crisis of the Hanoverian state and monarchy, the royal family played a vital role. The Duke of Cumberland liberated the city of Carlisle from the Jacobites. As Charles and the Jacobites retreated north into Scotland, the Duke of Cumberland pursued them with real ferocity.⁶³

The struggle for the British throne came to a head at Culloden. After the Highlanders failed to succeed with the tactic of the Highlander Charge due to heavy suppressive cannon and musket fire from the Government troops, Charles fled Britain and returned to France. The Duke of Cumberland ordered the execution of wounded Jacobites. In parts of Scotland, the duke is still known to this day as “Butcher Cumberland”. In London, though, he was feted as the man who had saved Britain. In London, George Frederick Handel, a patron of the Hanoverian court composed his oratorio, *Judas Maccabaeus*, for the Duke of Cumberland’s victory over the [Princely] Jacobite armies. Handel included the words, “See, the conquering hero comes.” This triumphal tune rang out at St Paul’s Cathedral in 1746.⁶⁴ After Culloden (April, 1746), the Hanoverian monarchy was stronger and its legitimacy largely unchallenged. Nevertheless, the relationship between the Scots and the monarchy was important. In order to stamp out future Jacobite insurrections, punitive expeditions were dispatched with instructions to kill Jacobite

⁶² Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambleton & London, 2004), 4

⁶³ Black, 3-4

⁶⁴ G. F. Handel (composer), “Judas Maccabaeus” (c. 1746), Accessed: 2 May 2015, <http://www.choirs.org.uk/prognotes/Handel%20Judas%20Maccabaeus.htm>

supporters, and destroy their property. These draconian methods took place primarily in the western Highlands where reports of killings, rapes, and systematic devastation towards Highlander property were at a high. However, in 1747, the fusion between Scotland, and England became stronger, hereditary jurisdictions, and sheriffdoms of the clan lairds were abolished and power was transferred to the crown. This transfer of clan power to the crown opened a new relationship with the monarchy and Scottish elites.⁶⁵ The willing cooption of powerful Scots through patronage continued, but with no more Jacobite loyalties as an alternative, full union between the Scottish gentry and the British monarchy fostered a stronger union, binding the two kingdoms in a stronger unity to forge the Kingdom of Great Britain. In 1753, King George II granted six English regiments to the Scottish *Lairds* (Lords) in order to promote army patronage in Scotland, and to strengthen the unity of Great Britain.⁶⁶ This reconciliation gathered pace as Jacobitism faded away, and a new order focused on economics and military benefits of the continued expansion of the [first] British Empire. The role the monarchy played in army patronage strengthened Scotland's bond with Great Britain, and saw an ever blossoming of a British identity. For example during King George II's reign Scottish [named] regiments were given British names: the "Royal Scots Dragoon Guards" was changed to the "Royal North British Dragoons"⁶⁷, and the "Scots Guards" was changed to

⁶⁵ Tracey Allen-Hazen, "Sherlock to Edward Weston," (25 May 1746); Farmington, Connecticut, Lewis Walpole Library, *Weston papers*, vol. 3. (Yale University Press, 1948), 32-33

⁶⁶ J.M. Black, "Hanover and British Foreign Policy, 1714-1760," *English Historical Review* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 336

⁶⁷ Diana M. Henderson, *The Scottish Regiments* (HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), 24

the “British 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards”⁶⁸. This was to distinguish that Scotland was in fact a part of Great Britain, and not an independent nation state under English overlordship.

By the late-1740s - 1750s Britain had become the largest naval power in the world.⁶⁹ This naval supremacy drove Britain to become a nation greedy for territory and conquest. In 1754 Britain entered into another war with France, after the French had invaded the British-held island of Minorca (20 May 1756), which ultimately led to the outbreak of the Seven Years War (c. 1756-1763). The Seven Years War was fought over trade and trading routes. The fighting took place throughout much of the world in the Americas, Africa, India, and in Southeast Asia (the Philippines). George II became out of touch with the way warfare was being conducted. No longer was a King to charge at the head of his troops on a field in the European mainland. The wars in Europe became a mere sideshow; it was the outer [European] world where empires glory, and legacy was being forged.

William Pitt, on the other hand, understood that Britain could aspire to have an empire in the present day. He knew that the events in Europe were important, but it was not of ultimate importance. It seems quite clear that Pitt envisioned the massive loss of men and materiel for British expansion within the European mainland. If we look at how costly the casualty rate was during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which resulted in nearly 8,000,000 deaths⁷⁰, or King George II’s Hanoverian expeditions in Europe, such as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) - the costs were great: the Battle of

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 24

⁶⁹ Frank McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World* (Grove Press, 2005), 09

⁷⁰ Norman Davis, *Europe: A History* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 568

Fontenoy (May, 1745) cost the British, (and allies) 12,000 troops; [and] the siege of Bergen op Zoom (September, 1747) cost the British and Dutch to half their army.⁷¹

Kingdoms such as, Prussia, Habsburg-Austria, the north Italian dukedoms, and the various petty-German kingdoms devoted much of their resources into their military and fortress cities such as: Salzburg, Wittenberg, and Milan. Pitt's realization was why should Britain waste its men and resources on affairs that were indirectly its own? It has a large navy, Britain should use it to its advantage. What was at stake in Pitt's vision was domination of the globe.⁷² The [Whig] Prime Minister, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), and Pitt began to lay their plans for shaping British foreign policy. Pitt came up with his masterstroke - to use both the Army and the Navy. He sent the British troops to the Continent to engage the French troops and keep them occupied. He would then send the British Navy all around the globe, snapping up French colonies.⁷³ Oddly, it was only in the last gasp of George II's reign that these two elements, the Army of the king and the Navy, managed to come together – to coalesce in this defining war with the French. The year 1759 became the year of miracles, “Annus Mirabilis”. Frank McLynn declares that 1759 was the year Britain became “master of the world.”⁷⁴ George II's empire as it stood would not exist for long. A generation later, Britain would lose the Thirteen Colonies, which became the United States of America. George II died on 25 October 1760, the last of the German-born Georgian kings who came over from Hanover

⁷¹ Francis H. Skrine, *Fontenoy and Great Britain's Share in the War of the Austrian Succession 1741-48* (London, Edinburgh, 1906), 337

⁷² Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution, and Empire* (Palgrave, 2015), 76

⁷³ *Ibid*, 78-82

⁷⁴ Frank McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World* (Grove Press, 2005), 01

to plug Britain's dynastic gap. The king who succeeded him could not have been more different; George II's grandson, Prince George-William (later, King George III), would reject everything his grandfather stood for. George III became the patriotic British king, and not a Hanoverian-German Elector sitting on a British throne.

(4.) George III (r. 1760-1820):

Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life, will ever consist, in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty, and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest, and most permanent security of my throne.⁷⁵

George III said this during his first public speech; it was to demonstrate to the world that he was a king born in England and not a foreign prince, as his royal predecessors were. This statement also claimed that Britain's new king belonged to a confident and deep-rooted royal dynasty. George's predecessors had seen off every single threat to their dynasty's survival. By 1760 the Hanoverian dynasty had been secured. George III was the King whose role came to maintain its security, stability, and bring Great Britain into the modern age.

Prince George-William-Frederick (1738-1820) was crowned as King George III on the 25 October 1760. The portrait in figure 8 shows George in his coronation robes. He was the third monarch of the Hanoverian line, and the first monarch born in Great Britain (Norfolk House, St. James's Square, London).⁷⁶ Unlike his predecessors, George's first language was English; also, unlike his predecessors who made frequent trips to Hanover

⁷⁵ John Aikin, "A.D. [22 September] 1761 – [Accession] Speech to Parliament" *Annals of the Reign of George the Third: From its Commencement in the Year 1760 to the General Peace in the Year 1815*, Vol. 1 – Primary Source Edition (Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster Row, 1816), 07

⁷⁶ Christopher Hibbert, *George III* (Basic Books, 1998), 08

to escape the English court, George never visited Hanover. In 1810 George suffered a [second] permanent mental illness, known as porphyria, a rare blood disease, which caused bouts of mental derangements and the discoloration of his urine, and according to one of his royal physicians, Sir (Doctor) George Baker, “the king had a profuse stool”⁷⁷. This mental instability remained with him until his final days as King. George III would thence remain as a figurehead, and a grandfather figure for the Empire, but it was his son, and heir, the Prince of Wales, George-Augustus who governed Britain as the Prince-Regent until his father’s death (in 1820), when he was crowned King George IV.



Figure 8. Coronation portrait of King George III (c. 1762)⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Charles Chenevix Trench, “Unpublished Diaries of Sir (Doctor) George Baker and Dr. John Willis” (c. 1788-1790), *The Royal Malady* (London: Longmans, 1964), 143

⁷⁸ Allan Ramsay (painter), “King George III in Coronation Robes”, (c. 1762 or 1765?), Accessed May 23, 2015, <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/king-george-iii-in-coronation-rob/vgGv1tsB1URdhg>

George III's life and reign of sixty years⁷⁹ was marked by a series of military conflicts (the Seven Years War, the American Revolutionary war, the War of 1812, and the Napoleonic Wars) involving his kingdoms (including Hanover), much of Europe, and places farther afield such as: Africa, the Americas, and Asia. During George's early reign, Great Britain defeated France in the Seven Years War (c. 1756-1763), becoming *the* dominant [European] power in North America and India. However, only twelve years later, many of Britain's American colonies, known as the Thirteen Colonies, were lost during the American Revolutionary War (c. 1775-1783). Further wars during George's later reign against the First French Republic, the French Consulate, and the First French Empire (also known as Napoleonic France) from 1793 concluded in the defeat of French Emperor, Napoléon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

Contemporary accounts of George III's life fall into two camps: one, demonstrating, "attitudes dominant in the latter part of the reign, when the King had become a revered symbol of national resistance to French ideas and French power," while the other "derived their views of the King from the bitter partisan strife of the first two decades of the reign, and they expressed in their works the views of the opposition."⁸⁰ It is quite evident that George III was a monarch who wished to forge the definition of a "British King," and distanced himself from his hereditary Germanic titles and affiliations. Hanover was a keystone for Britain to remain part of the European mainland, and shed light of British influence upon the continent. However, George not making any visits to his historic familial homeland along with his pro-British patriotic sentiments as his

⁷⁹ Christopher Hibbert, *George III* (Basic Books, 1998), 409

⁸⁰ E. A. Reith ed., *George III, Tyrant Or Constitutional Monarch?* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964), viii

monarchical mandate sheds light on George's fostering of Britishness through the lens of the monarchy. This would not have been possible without his predecessors laying the foundation for the development and crystallization of a British monarchy: George I by working with and not against Parliament, and George II by fighting for his right to rule against the rival Stuart claims. This was from which a British Identity through the lens of the monarchy was forged.

The monarchy, in the person of George III, served as a potent symbol of national identity and continuity. Through the reign of George III, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (to a lesser extent) saw the dismantlement of cultural and historic quarrels and differences, and the unification of a Great Britain and a British identity. The execution of King Louis XVI Bourbon of France (b. 1754) by will of his own people in 21 January 1793 led to a powerful reiteration of monarchical ideology in Great Britain. This became a process where Britain would differentiate itself from the French, and bring forth the notion of the "other."

Even before the advent of the French Revolution there was a rallying of the social elites and opinions throughout Great Britain about the Crown in the 1790s. Contrasts were made between Britain and France. *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, claimed in 1788 that:

While anarchy, and confusion pervade the French dominions: and irritated subjects of Louis seem ripe for rebellion, the King of Great Britain, and his family are enjoying a pleasing relaxation amongst their subjects, all of whom, from the

peasant to the peer, give the most ample testimony of their fidelity, and attachment.⁸¹

Britain during the reign of George III was so successful, through the lens of the Hanoverian monarchy, George III added a moral dimension to the development of a British culture, through good government and through his Anglican piety. George was an active supporter of the Church of England. George was first Hanoverian monarch to be baptized as an Anglican, which he ardently promoted his piety for the faith. A report in December of 1778 of a plot to kill him en route to a theatre led George to respond by expressing skepticism with a religious tone, which he wrote to British Prime Minister Lord North:

As to my own feelings they always incline me to put trust where it alone can avail in the Almighty Ruler of the Universe who knows what best suits his allwise purposes, this being the week I go to Holy Communion [in an Anglican Parish], I had no thoughts of going unto the play.⁸²

George III, a devout Anglican, took his appointments of bishops, archbishops, and canons seriously. He was concerned with the pastoral qualities and doctrinal orthodoxy of the candidates he appointed. Unlike his predecessors who shared this duty with their ministers, George saw it as his sanctified duty to oversee and strengthen the Anglican faith. George's interest in spreading the Anglican faith stretched overseas: he created the Anglican bishopric for Nova Scotia (1787), projected endowments to support the Church in Upper Canada (1791), supported the Naval, and Military Bible Society – for his

⁸¹ Jeremy Black, "Berrow's Worcester Journal – Britain and France" (14 August 1788), *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambledon & London, 2004), 125

⁸² William Bodham Donne ed., "North to George III and Reply" (21 December 1778) in *The Correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North from 1768-1783, Volume 2 – Primary Source Edition* (London: John Murray, 1867), 54

Hanoverian interests he promoted support for the German Protestant mission to the East Indies.⁸³

During George III's reign the monarchy increasingly became a potent symbol for British national identity, and unity in response to the French Revolution. Royal influence and patronage declined with the abolition of sinecures, the diminishing of court favourites, and the growing accountability of Parliament. Charles James Fox (1749-1806), leader of the Whig party, which was the political opposition to Tory Prime Minister, William Pitt "the Younger" (1759-1806), was unable to free himself from royal conspiracies. Believing that the monarchy always had its own mandate to regain absolute power, as it once did during the early-Stuart period or in earlier periods of English monarchical history. In 1804, Fox exclaimed to his nephew Henry Richard Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland (1773-1840) that "there is not a power in Europe, no not even Bonaparte's that is so unlimited as that in Britain."⁸⁴

George III was also keen on patronizing British culture, which he had linked to British patriotism. The foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 saw much support from George who donated £5,000 from his privy purse for initial funding. In 1769, George knighted the academy's president Joshua Reynolds. Not only did this cement British culture, but it also enhanced the role of the monarchy as a key advocate of Britishness, which can be traced to John Thornhill's celebration of the painting of King George I and the royal family in the Painted Hall in Greenwich. George's interest in promoting British

⁸³ Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambledon & London, 2004), 138

⁸⁴ L. G. Mitchell, "Letter to Lord Holland, 9 January 1804" in *Charles James Fox* (London: Penguin Press, 1997), 194

culture and patriotism continued well into the 1800s. Some of the painters George sponsored were Paul Sandy and Benjamin West. George patronized Benjamin West who would later become the president of the Royal Academy with over £34,000.⁸⁵

One of George III's other passions, which he utilized for the betterment of his people and to make the monarchy closer to his subjects, was music. Not only was he a lover of music, playing the harpsichord and the flute, he also played a major role in holding concerts at Westminster Abbey. In 1788 George held three concerts in London, while he visited a cathedral in Worcester. The festival was intended to be a relief program as it brought together many of George's concerns, including the relief of widows and orphans of the clergy. It had also included a church service. While in Worcester, on 6 August 1788, George went to another concert, which commemorated his Grandfather (George II) during his active duty for the glory of the Empire at the Battle of Dettingen. George took the opportunity to display a royal bounty; he left 10 guineas for the workmen at a china-factory he visited, £50 for the poor of the city, (plus an additional £50 from his wife, Queen Charlotte), £200 for the clergy widows and orphans, £300 to liberate debtors, and his pardon to "such criminal prisoners under sentence of transportation as, from the regularity of their conduct in the gaol, or other favourable circumstances, might appear to deserve it."⁸⁶

George III's cultural patronage: the arts (music and theatre), charity, religion, agriculture, in order to foster a British character, related much to George's moral

⁸⁵ Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambleton & London, 2004), 142

⁸⁶ Jeremy Black, "Berrow's Worcester Journal – George's visit to Worcester, 30 October 1788", *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambleton & London, 2004), 142-143

concerns and mirrored his great-grandfather's (George I) mission statement of *humanizing* the monarchy instead of making it a mystical, despotic, and medieval institution as the Stuart's did. Handel, whom George idolised, said about George, "while that boy lives, my music will never want a protector."⁸⁷ George's morality extended to public finances. In 1770, George informed the prime minister at the time, Lord Frederick North, 2nd Earl of Guilford (1732-1792):

Your plan for the finances this year is so very honorable that it cannot fail of success, I am the more sanguine on this occasion as it shows in a most striking manner the fairness of government in their dealings with the stock holders, at the same time that France has in the most base manner deceived those concerned in its funds.⁸⁸

The morality George III displayed in this letter to Lord North made him an attractive model for the devoutness of those who were concerned with the social order. Such devotees were, Dr. Price who said, "...let future generations rise up and call him-- Blessed!"⁸⁹. Bishop Watson praised Lord North and debouched Mr. Pitt saying, "the American war rendered it [somewhat] manageable for a man of five hundred pounds a-year to support the station of a gentleman . . . Mr. Pitt's war with France made it impossible."⁹⁰ George showed many moralistic and meritorious virtues; though a devout and ardent Anglican, he was applauded and praised by those of the various Evangelical confessions.

⁸⁷ Charlotte Barrett ed., "Continued Improvement of the King", *Diary and Letters of Madame D'arblay, vol. III, 1788-1796* (London: Chatto and Windus Piccadilly, 1876), 154

⁸⁸ William Bodham Donne ed., "George III to North" (20 April 1770) in *The Correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North from 1768-1783, Volume 1 – Primary Source Edition* (London: John Murray, 1867), 23-24

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 25

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 25

By 1810 George fell ill and had little time for the affairs of state. On 29 January 1820 George died in Windsor Palace of pneumonia in seclusion; his high moral compass, which he professed throughout the tenure of his reign, fell short with the coming of the regency and later kingship under George IV (r. 1820-1830).⁹¹ Unlike his father, George IV was a patron of leisure activity, style, and taste. He possessed many good qualities; he was bright, clever, and knowledgeable. However, his laziness and gluttony led him to squander much of his talent. *The Times* wrote, he would always prefer “a girl and a bottle to politics and a sermon”⁹²

The sixty-year reign of George III saw the monarchy gradually lose its political power; it grew, rather as the embodiment of national morality. George’s reign saw the crystallization of Britishness, and a British identity with a British monarch. From George’s quote at his first speech to Parliament, “Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton,” sheds a ray of light upon all subjects of Great Britain that they now have a British King sitting upon a British throne. Through George’s tireless mandates and duties to the peoples of his realm, he manifested Britishness to its potential.

⁹¹ Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* (Hambleton & London, 2004), 151-152

⁹² John, Clarke “George IV,” *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England* (Knopf, 1975), 225

2

Redcoats, Volunteers in Manchester, and Britishness

An Honoured and Loved Army:

...The name of the soldier shall be more honoured and loved than ever. Every true-hearted Girl shall more attach herself to the knapsack than before. The Red Coat shall acquire new charms in the eyes of your Mistresses: Every beat of the Drum shall go nearer than ever to the hearts you have conquered Your Children shall be proud of, and take up, with joy, a profession which you disdained to sully, when Britain, and Britons stood most in need of your services—services which they have always been more ready to reward, even than to punish those who violate their duty... Your conduct shall be recorded to the everlasting honour of the British Arms!⁹³

This is an excerpt taken from *A Letter to the British Soldiers*, composed in 1797. It honoured the British redcoats for their service and valour in defence of the realm when forces of the First French Republic, known as *La Légion noire* (the Black Legion) commanded by Irish-American mercenary Colonel William Tate, landed at Carregwastad Point near the Welsh port of Fishguard with nearly 1,400 men. The campaign, which took place between the 22 and 24 of February 1797,⁹⁴ was the most recent effort by a foreign force that was able to land on the British Isles, but it was eventually repelled by a combined force of eight hundred British soldiers and sailors, and thus is often referred to as the “last invasion of Britain.”⁹⁵

The British Army saw its origins as a national fighting force during the aftermath of the English Civil War (c. 1642-51), with the creation of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, Oliver Cromwell’s (r. 1653-68) New

⁹³ *A Letter to the British Soldiers* (London: Printed for Debrett, Piccadilly, and Richardson, Royal Exchange, 1797), 12-13, Accessed: March 12, 2015, <http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online/>

⁹⁴ Frank McLynn, *Invasion: From the Armada to Hitler* (London: Routledge, 1987), 84-89

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 85

Model Army.⁹⁶ Although some military units claim earlier origins, the latter half of the seventeenth century into the early eighteenth century saw Britain's subsequent rise to an "inner colonial" world and imperial power, accompanied throughout by wars and military expeditions. Though Marlborough's victory at Blenheim in 1704, Cumberland's conquest at Culloden in 1745, Wolfe's success at Quebec in 1759, and Wellington's triumph at Waterloo in 1815 highlight Britain's military prowess, the image of those men in the scarlet coloured uniforms with their tight-fitting *coatee* fastened with a single row of buttons and white lace loops on either side that remained in the people's memory, and formed the British consciousness. These men, comprising people of English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish decent, all wore the same uniforms. A military census shows that in 1781, there were 104 regiments of the line, which had been built upon pre-existing orders since King George's War (1744-1748) - they were numbered and were given territorial designations, which roughly represented the area from which troops were drawn.⁹⁷ This was not entirely rigid, as most regiments had a significant proportion of English, Irish, Scots, and Welsh together, except for certain deliberately exclusive regiments such as the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot or the 64th Highlanders, which were distinctively Scottish regiments loyal to Britain.⁹⁸ Although they wore the British red waistcoats, their major distinction was the regimental tartan that specifically identified them as [a] Scottish-British military regiment[s]. Even when looking at the English-British redcoats, Welsh-British redcoats, or even Irish-British redcoats we can see

⁹⁶ Charles Messenger, *History of the British Army* (Bison Books Ltd., 1986), 16

⁹⁷ Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire* (Palgrave, 2015), 115

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 116

pageantry upon the scarlet jackets that distinguished each regiment from each other. For example: in England, the East Yorkshire Regiment (The Duke of York's Own) wore a scarlet jacket with white buff facings, its badge was an eight-pointed star centered with the white rose of the royal house of York⁹⁹; and the Sherwood (Nottinghamshire) Foresters wore a scarlet jacket with green facings, its badge was a stag upon a Maltese cross.¹⁰⁰ In Wales, there was the South Wales Borders, which wore a scarlet jacket with green-grass facings; its badge was a silver wreath with a Welsh dragon centered in it.¹⁰¹ In Ireland, there was the 88th Regiment of Foot (raised in response to the French Revolution), which the men in this regiment wore a scarlet jacket with green facings, the badge worn was a harp with a crown on it and the motto "Quis Separabit".¹⁰² Even though these regiments had their own facings and emblems, one thing they had in common which unified them was the scarlet jacket of Britain. It was the jacket, which gave the name the British Redcoats and unified the various peoples of the British Isles under a collective military "family".

What was it about the eighteenth century that identified the British redcoats with Britishness? The Redcoats were a professional fighting force which made the backbone of the British Army. Its soldiers came from all [social] classes of eighteenth century British society, and from various ethnic groups: English, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, British Caribbeans, Canadian and American loyalists, and even German (Hanoverian and

⁹⁹ Ray Westlake, *English and Welsh Infantry Regiments* (Spellmount Staplehurst Ltd. 1995), 54

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 155

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 79

¹⁰² John W. Parker, *Historical Record of the 88th Foot: 1793-1837* (William Clowes and Sons, 1838), 13

Hessian). Trained for conventional European warfare, the Redcoats with their effective discipline, superior fighting and maneuvering skills expanded the [first] British Empire from India to Canada. By looking at those men who from various corners of the British Isles served in the scarlet-red made the British Redcoat soldier a dutiful and loyal servant of the British Empire. This section of the thesis will examine the British redcoats nationwide in Great Britain, looking at letters, military rosters, patriotic hymns, and personal accounts of soldiers who wore the scarlet-coloured jackets and carried with them “Brown Bess.” Furthermore this section will examine those who soldiered for the greatness and glory of the British Empire and were proud to be called Britons through a micro-historic lens looking at the development of Britishness through the patriotism and nationalism in the Manchester region of Lancashire during the Napoleonic era – how this region responded to the military threat of invasion by Napoleon with “grit”, and how the inhabitants through the adoption of national propaganda about Britishness filtered through regional structures, social authority and the economy. This developed a distinctive character, which reflected its regional and national identity, demonstrating keen loyalty to the Hanoverian crown. Such evidence will demonstrate that Britishness was fostered and developed under the Hanoverian dynasty, and that through those who served in the redcoat regiments and the men who served as Manchester volunteers during the reigns of the Hanoverian kings was an important element in the unification of all Britons throughout the Empire.

Who were the British Redcoats?

“Scum of the earth” is how Napoleon’s conqueror, Sir Arthur Wellesley the 1st Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), described the men who enlisted as redcoats. Wellington made such comments on a number of occasions, even more so once he became the Tory prime minister of Britain (1828-30, and 1834).¹⁰³ British soldiers during the “age of the musket” had been widely misconstrued and depicted as a band of misfits, criminals, and vagabonds commanded by aristocratic officers of entirely English origin. American military historian John Shy claims “the British soldier was treated a little better than an animal, and behaved like one whenever he dared.”¹⁰⁴ This presents a negative depiction of the British soldier, deeming him as a bloodthirsty felon and a warmonger, and has widely permeated popular culture. For example, Mel Gibson’s film *The Patriot* (2001) gives a gross distortion of the true nature of the Hanoverian redcoat army. It bases the main antagonist of the film, the fictional charismatic sociopath, Colonel William Tavington of the Green Dragoons, on the historical Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarelton (1754-1833) of the British Legion, and grossly distorts an actual event from history, the Waxhaws Massacre (29 May 1780), during which the Americans flew the white flag of surrender, but – as is reported by the Americans – Tarleton ignored the American plea, violated the “rules of war,” and ordered his men to show no mercy to the rebels.¹⁰⁵ This event is widely controversial amongst many historians. The British Army during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) gained a reputation that demonized it due to

¹⁰³ R. Muir, *Wellington: The Path to Victory, 1769-1814* (New Haven, 2013), 533-536

¹⁰⁴ John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, 1965), 227

¹⁰⁵ David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775–1780* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 253

specific events which the British had enacted: The Paoli Massacre (1777), the Wyoming Massacre (1778), and the Waxhaws massacre (1780). Such acts created a caricature of an army little removed from a penal institution – a walking concentration camp ran by [English] aristocratic dilettantes.

Recruited from the poor, landless, and unemployed, they took the “king’s shilling” after being plied with drink, tempted by the glamor of army life, or even as an alternative to imprisonment for petty crime. Yet these “scum of the earth” were turned into resolute fighters who won many victories, notably over the French in the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁰⁶

The British Army during the eighteenth century earned itself a formidable reputation as a fighting force, and laid the foundations for one of the greatest empires in world history. It was, however, a profoundly unpopular institution at the time, and was formed from a far lower proportion of the population than almost any other army in Europe, especially when compared to the French Army. For example, 2/3rds of the entire French Army in 1758 came from aristocratic families, whereas in the British Army 27% of the soldiers were officers, and only 40% of those officers came from aristocratic families.¹⁰⁷

Recent studies have shown that the ranks of the British army reflected a broad cross-section of British lower classes. A sample of 7,055 soldiers from the Duke of Wellington’s army shows that 42% were labourers, 29% were textile workers, and 29% were in other skilled trades.¹⁰⁸ In addition to their differing professions, these men also

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire* (Palgrave, 2015), 124

¹⁰⁷ C. Storrs, and H. M. Scott, “The Military Revolution and the European Nobility, c. 1600-1800,” *War in History*, Vol. III, (1996), 16-17

¹⁰⁸ E.J. Cross, *All for the King’s Shilling: The British Soldier under Wellington, 1808-1814* (Norman, 2014), 253

came from different parts of the British Isles. The redcoat soldiers consisted of Welshmen, Irishmen, and more distinctively Scotsmen, who became a key source of soldiers for the British army.

Though officers such as the Duke of Wellington often spoke harshly about their troops, they also made positive comments. Wellington, after the Battle of Waterloo (1815), described the redcoats as "...the best of all instruments."¹⁰⁹ What Wellington meant by this was during the battle, 5,000 [French] "Old Guard" units of Napoleon's *Grande Armee* charged the British ranks; Wellington raised his saber high and yelled: "Go on! ... Go on! They won't stand! Don't give them time to rally! ... Onward boys!"¹¹⁰ Making sure the French would not retaliate, Wellington waved his hat and his redcoat units charged and with the aid of Field-marshal Blucher's Black Prussian Lancers routed and defeated the French. The steadfastness of the British at Waterloo impressed Wellington, unlike the Dutch, Belgians, and even the Hanoverians who retreated; the British held their ground and fought off the French to the bitter end.¹¹¹ After six years of fighting during the American Revolution, Captain John Peebles (Peoples) said to his men of the Royal Highland Grenadiers, "the very clean ranks of great satisfaction and pleasure in serving with them."¹¹² He offered to help his men in any way he could after they return home [to Britain], concluding, "...Gentlemen...I sincerely wish you all, that honour,

¹⁰⁹ E.A.B. James, (ed.), "Duke of Wellington to W. Wellesley-Pole, 19 June 1815," in *Wellington at War, 1794-1815: A Selection of his Wartime Letters*, (1961), 168

¹¹⁰ Allan Mallinson, *The Making of the British Army: From The English Civil War to the War on Terror* (Bantam Press Ltd., 2011), 250

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 250-251

¹¹² I.D. Gruber (ed.), "8 Feb. 1782, J. Peebles," *John Peebles' American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782*; (Stroud, 1998), 507

Success, & happiness which your merit & good behavior so well deserves.”¹¹³ He noted in his diary:

I could hardly make an end to this little speech, my voice falter'd, and my knees shook under me. I was glad to get into my room where my heart swelled at the thoughts of it. I saw the poor fellows were affected too – I ordered them five gallons of Rum.¹¹⁴

The British redcoat was an ordinary soldier, loyal to his comrades and his country. The British redcoat represents an important element of Britishness and a British identity, as will be further examined in this study.

In order to be qualified as a redcoat soldier there were certain categories of men who could not, in theory at least, be enlisted into *his majesty's* service. Apart from the obviously ruptured, and lame, these included: indentured servants and apprentices, members of the militia, and Roman Catholics. Linda Colley asserts the exclusion of Roman Catholics began to separate Britain from the rest of Europe, and to assume a layered identity for all 'Britons' to think themselves first and foremost British, but also Scottish, and English (including Welsh). This would be bounded by the Protestant faith. The British would hence distinguish themselves from the threat /or imposition of the "Other" (France, the Stuart threat, and the "yoke" of the Romish Church).¹¹⁵ Others, depending upon how choosy the recruiters could afford to be, might include sailors, and colliers – both notoriously prone to bronchial and tubercular diseases – and the usual crowd of petty criminals and vagabonds whom the local authorities were usually keen to

¹¹³ Gruber, 507

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 507-508

¹¹⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale University Press, 1992), 24

wish upon the army. At the end of the day, though, the only real qualifications for a soldier were that he should be at least 5ft 6in tall, sound in mind and limb, and prepared to swear before the [local] magistrate that he was indeed a Protestant (Anglican or Presbyterian were preferable), and not affected by anything else which might debar him from serving.¹¹⁶

There was also growth over time. As the army grew, each period saw mobilization or demobilization, depending on where one's political factions had lay. For the Tories, the army was meant to be an elitist institution where the members were required to be credentialed with the above requirements. During the late-reign of King George I and the entirety of George II reign, however, which was entirely Whig dominated, the requirements to enlist in the army altered. Scotland and Ireland would come to play important roles in recruitment, in order to formalize a "British" army rather than an "English" army.

Soldiers who enlisted in the British Redcoat armies since the days of the Duke of Marlborough right up until the Duke of Wellington's days were ready to endure grueling marches and the bloodiest fighting. Why? It was not just because of their commanders' good reputation, or good administration from the British army corps, nor was it the fear of the lash (Russian, Swedish, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman-Turkish armies had regimental executioners). Even though not all men signed up willingly, there was however, this "pandemic", which "fested" through the British Army - what the men in the scarlet-coloured jackets felt was a sense of belonging, and being a member of a family.

¹¹⁶ Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire* (Palgrave, 2015), 114

According to Field Marshal Lord Carver in his book, *The Seven Ages of the British Army* (1984), the morale of the men in the scarlet red derived from:

The feeling of being a member of a family, in which the opinion of his fellow soldiers, of a community based on sharing common dangers and hardships, exercising mutual responsibility for the lives of comrades-in-arms, mattered more than any consideration of national, moral or personal factors.¹¹⁷

This sense of belonging was followed by another re-emerging factor, the British soldier's yearning for glory. This was a re-emerging factor in the redcoat psyche because it had been seen at the battle of Agincourt (1415) when the English longbow-men had gestured the drawing of their fingers at the French; it had been true of Elizabethan fighting men, soldiers and "sea-dogs" alike. After Marlborough's victory at the battle of Blenheim, Marlborough had honoured Marshal Tallard in the eighteenth century fashion by inviting him to review the allied army:

Marlborough: I am sorry that such cruel misfortune should have fallen on a soldier for whom I have the highest regard.

Tallard: And I congratulate you on defeating the best soldiers in the world.

Marlborough: Your Lordship, I presume, excepts those who had the honour to beat them.¹¹⁸

It is easy to dismiss the banter between two gallants – but it was the men in the scarlet red that believed that as British soldiers they could hit the enemy harder, their volleys were more withering, their bayonet charges were more fearsome. Though music will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis, we can see that the redcoats truly believed in their superiority, and the comradeship of the British redcoat as a family. This will be examined

¹¹⁷ Allan Mallinson, *The Making of the British Army: From the English Civil War to the War on Terror* (London: Bantam Press Ltd., 2011), 95

¹¹⁸ Charles Spencer, *Blenheim: Battle for Europe* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 121

through the military marching tune “The British Grenadiers” where we can see implications of the prowess and superiority of the British soldier.

Scottish Redcoats:

Scotland made a disproportionate contribution to the British army. With only 10% of the population of the Atlantic Archipelago, Scotland provided over 15% of the soldiers in the British army, and approximately 30% of its officers.¹¹⁹ What this says about the nature of eighteenth-century Britishness is that there was a fear of a genuine attachment to the “Old Religion” (Catholicism); therefore this would mean a good many more Highland men to be slain. During the ‘45 rebellion the ‘Young Pretender’ (Charles III Stuart), sailed from France and raised the Stuart standard in the heather. This retrenchment of expanding Scottish regiments into the British Army became policy. Even though the threat of the ‘15 rebellion had past, the entire establishment of re-raising Scottish-British regiments was cut again. Census reports show during the ‘45 rebellion the British Army had 18,000 Scottish enlisted men into the redcoat British Army.¹²⁰ Loyal Scottish regiments, such as, The King’s Own Scottish Borderers, and the Royal Regiment of Scotland had helped defeat the Jacobite armies during the ’45 Jacobite rebellion. In 1751, Major-General James Wolfe (1727-59), who had served as the aide-de-camp to General Henry Hawley at the battle of Culloden and as part of the military occupation, observed that some of the Highland units would be a good addition to the British Army:

¹¹⁹ J.A. Houlding, *Fit For Service: the Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford, 1981), 168

¹²⁰ Allan Mallinson, *The Making of the British Army: From the English Civil War to the War on Terror* (London: Bantam Press Ltd., 2011), 108-109

...They are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country, and no great mischief if they fall. How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good? If this sentiment should take wind, what an execrable, and bloody being should I be considered here in the midst of Popery, and Jacobitism?¹²¹

This sentiment did flourish when British Prime Minister William Pitt (the Elder) pushed for the recruitment of Highland regiments to serve in North America. The 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot, also known as the Black Watch, was the first Highland regiment sent to North America, which saw much action during King George's War (1740-48) and the French-Indian War (1754-63). In 1756, Lieutenant-Colonels Francis Grant (1717-82) and Gordon Graham of Drynie (1720-85)¹²² were authorized to recruit 1,000 sentinels and an additional 600 private men, who were given "rudimentary training, dressed, and equipped with traditional Highland weaponry, and English weaponry."¹²³ They would form the 2nd Division and follow the 42nd Foot to North America.

Posters and printed notices appeared on tavern walls and in public arenas throughout Scotland, including this broadside entitled "A New Song" (ca. 1756), which was published in Edinburgh, claiming:

Lord Loudoun sent to our gracious King
Desiring of His Majesty
For to recruit the Highland Lads
And send them over to North-America

¹²¹ R. Wright, "J. Wolfe to R. Rickson, 9 June 1751" in *The Life of Major-General James Wolfe*, (1864), 168

¹²² Ian MacPherson-McCulloch, *Sons of the Mountains: The Highland Regiments in the French & Indian War, 1756-1767*, Vol. II (Fleischmanns, NY. 2006), 20

¹²³ MacPherson-McCulloch, 10

...Recruit me none but the *Olde Clans*,
Camel's [Campbells], Mackenzy's, Fraser's, and Grant's
For they are brought up to the Sword,
Such warlike men Lord Loudoun wants.¹²⁴

"A New Song" would not have made sense to most potential 42nd recruits, as they did not speak the "King's English." The pamphlet no doubt would have had Gaelic, and perhaps even Latin, translations, as the song's message and awkward phrasing strongly indicate it to be a loose translation from the original Gaelic. This song was crafted to appeal to most Highlanders of the day with its call to "the *Olde Clans*," and its traditional *bardic* emphasis on the honor to be accrued in "Such warlike men..." What the language of the "King's English" tells us about Britishness of the age was to foster a national language for a national identity. The English language would become the official language of the British Empire. It was to signify to all peoples of Britain that they are British first and English, Scottish, Welsh second. This was why on the pamphlets of the song, Gaelic and Latin translations would have been written below.

The Highlanders would come to distinguish themselves fighting under Wolfe during the battle of Quebec, although their attire was considered unsuited for the harsh North American weather. Wearing the dark coloured tartan of the Black Watch led to more death by disease and frostbite than any other British regimental troop.¹²⁵ In addition to the bravery that surrounded the Highlanders, they were also thought to be the better-behaved regiments of the British Army. During the American Revolution, brigadier-

¹²⁴ MacPherson-McCulloch, 10

¹²⁵ Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire*; (Palgrave, 2015), 116

general Charles Lawrence accounted that the Highlanders “are a thrifty, consequently sober and therefore less likely to get into squabbles.”¹²⁶ With their kilts, claymores, and Gaelic tongues, Highlander regiments were among the most unique of regimental Redcoats in the British Army.

Though the Scots wore red waistcoats to signify that they were soldiers of the British Army, their kilts indicated that although these men were formally part of the British Empire, they were *heralds* of Scotland. Figure 1 shows a portrait of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie the 1st Baron of Seaforth, the founder of the 78th Fraser’s Highland Foot Regiment wearing a redcoat waistcoat and the tartan color of the Black Watch. Figure 2 shows a portrait of a Scottish Highlander soldier in his traditional Gaelic attire during the second Jacobite rebellion (1745). From the 1730s until the 1760s, Highland units wore the kilt; in subsequent decades, the kilt became reserved for ceremonial purposes.¹²⁷ The tartan *Philibeg* (the modern kilt) came to be the costume of the Highlander, according to the accounts of James Lesile in his work, *De Moribus et Gestis Scotorum* (1570) that any peculiarities of the Highland dress did not come into effect until the sixteenth century. What these accounts illustrate was that the ordinary dress of the Highlanders was a long ‘Irish’ shirt (in Gaelic, *Leine*), which the upper echelons of Scot-Irish society dyed with saffron (*Leine-croich*) – a tunic or *Failuin* – and a cloak or plaid, which the upper classes had woven in many colours or stripes. In the

¹²⁶ S. Brumwell, “The Scottish Military Experience in North America, 1756-1783”, *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), 397

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 390

Lowlands, Scottish chieftains wore *Trews*: a combination of breeches and stockings. This was a mark of social distinction. Both plaid and *Trews* were of tartan.¹²⁸

After the First Jacobite rebellion (1715) the British Parliament of King George I had considered banning the Highland dress, in order to integrate the Highlanders into modern British society. However, in the end the proposed law was not passed. If the kilt had been banned in 1715 rather than 1746, Scottish dress would have been integrated much sooner into Georgian-British society than it did. It came into existence in 1726 on the reports by an English officer and chief surveyor in Scotland under General Wade, Edward Bur. It was not until the defeat of the Scottish in the second Jacobite rebellion (1746) that King George II enacted the Dress Act (1 August 1746), which made wearing the “Highland Dress” including the tartan / kilt illegal in Scotland.¹²⁹ This Act was part of a series of measures attempting to bring the warrior Highlander clans under government control. This switch of the kilt’s use was to emphasize that the Scottish were to be more British; indeed, they were permitted to wear the tartan colours for ceremonial processions to emphasize Scotland’s loyalty to Britain, however in battle the Scottish were to look like every other British redcoat, in order to ostracize or stigmatize the Scottish from the rest of the British redcoat soldiers. The dress and the weapons of a Highland regiment were, without a doubt, the most distinguishing features that set them apart from a standard Georgian line regiment of the day. The promise of wearing in the traditional garbs of their forefathers cannot be understated, for even the bards mention this great honour amongst young Scottish soldiers going off to fight in the French-Indian War. One

¹²⁸ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 19

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 21

unnamed Scottish poet said, “...the much loved native dress would be restored to all Highlanders on their triumphant return.”¹³⁰ Highland regiments slowly began to adopt the dress of regular British redcoats. Between 1775-1781, thirty-five infantry regiments were raised; twelve of those regiments were distinctively Scottish. As a result the Scottish made up approximately 30% of the British soldiers who fought in [British] North America between 1757-1783.¹³¹



Figure 1. Founder of the 78th Highlanders Foot Infantry Francis H. Mackenzie, 1st Baron Seaforth (c. 1780)¹³²

Irish Redcoats:



Figure 2. Scottish Highlanders “A Private & A Corporal” of the '45 Jacobite Uprising (c. 1744)¹³³

¹³⁰ Ian Macpherson-McCulloch, *Highlander in the French-Indian War: 1756-67* (Osprey Publishing Ltd., 2008), 19

¹³¹ S. Brumwell, “The Scottish Military Experience in North America, 1756-1783”, *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), 390

¹³² Thomas Lawrence (Artist), “Francis Humberstone Mackenzie of the 78th Highlanders” (c. 1780), National Portrait Gallery, London, (Photo taken by: Nicholas A. Hutfluss, uploaded: 10 June 2015)

¹³³ Artist unknown, “A Private & A Corporal”, (c. 1744) this image scanned from: Way, George and Squire, Romilly, *Clans and Tartans* (Glasgow, HarperCollins, 1995), 45

From the late-1600s to the 1730s, nearly half of Britain's army was stationed in Ireland, paid by the Irish parliament.¹³⁴ 15,000 troops were stationed in Ireland by 1769. These units were used as strategic reserve units – 4,000 were to be shipped to North America to combat the rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies.¹³⁵ The garrisoning of half of the British Army in Ireland was not just for strategic purposes, but also to maintain order in a predominantly Catholic country. The Duke of Wellington, who was an Irish Protestant, said that the British garrisoned the bulk of their army in Ireland in order to protect its interests in “West Briton,” declaring in 1807 “Ireland, in a view to military operations, must be considered an enemy's country.”¹³⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century however, British politicians took a less hostile approach towards the Irish because there were signs that the Catholic population, or at least elements of its elite, was becoming reconciled with British rule. Much of this was confirmed with the British Declaratory Act of 1720 (6. Geo. I, c. 5), which clarified Britain's right to impose legislation upon Ireland. Fearing a revolution in Ireland, as had happened in the Americas the act was repealed and in 1782 the Repeal Act For Securing Dependence of Ireland (22. Geo III, c. 53), in which the Irish parliament subsequently passed to amend Poyning's Law—an Irish statute, allowed the British (and before that the English) Parliament to legislate for Ireland. In the words of nineteenth century Irish (Catholic) politician Daniel O'Connell,

¹³⁴ R. Harding (ed.), “Fit for Service,” *Naval History, 1650-1850* (Aldershot, 2006), 10

¹³⁵ I. McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2010), 37-50

¹³⁶ A.R. Wellington, “A. Wellesley to Lord Hawksbury, 7 May 1807”, *Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington*, (1860), 30

“the Irish have developed into a kind of West Britons.”¹³⁷ By the 1740s the manpower needs of the army for the Austrian war of Succession encouraged British politicians to relinquish the penal laws against Catholics. In the 1740s Irish Catholics were being illegally recruited into the Redcoat regiments. Field Marshal George Townsend, 1st Marquess of Townsend and Viceroy of Ireland (1724-1807) in 1771 took the initiative to recruit Catholics with an oath of allegiance to the King and to the Empire, rather than a “traditional religious test.”¹³⁸ The relaxing of penal laws against Catholics made recruitment much more attractive for non-Protestant Britons. Those who wanted to serve for Great Britain, and maintain their traditional faith could do so without further penalty. This fostered a sense of Britishness in the mind of the Irish Catholic who saw himself as much a Briton as an Irish Protestant. The Catholic Relief Measure of 1793 (Act 33, Geo. III. Ch. 21), “opened to Roman Catholics the professions of barrister and attorney on taking the oath of allegiance, also certain civil offices and places of trust.”¹³⁹ This included military service. The timing of the removal of many Catholic civil disabilities by the Relief Act of 1793 owed more than a little to military considerations at the start of the war with Revolutionary France. The revolutionary wars proved to be a prime spur to the creation of Britishness because with that the rhetoric of defending Britain from the threat of the “other” and to maintain British-Protestant independence, rather than to be

¹³⁷ A. Grant, and K. Stranger, eds., “Varieties of Britishness: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian State”, *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*; (London, 1995), 207

¹³⁸ R.K. Donovan, “The Military Origins of the Roman Catholic Relief Programme of 1778,” *Historical Journal*, 28, (1985), 79-102

¹³⁹ R.R. Madden, *Historical Notice of Penal Laws Against Roman Catholics: Their operation and relaxation during the past century, of partial measures of relief in 1779, 1782, 1793, 1829*, (London: T. Richardson & Son, 1865), 22

subjected to the Church of Rome played a major role pro-British nationalism and patriotism. In August of 1800 the Act of Irish Union was passed and came into force on New Year's Day (1801). This abolished the 300-member Dublin House of Commons, and established 100 Irish seats in the British House of Commons. Irish peers got the vote on which twenty-eight of them would take their seats in the enlarged House of Lords at Westminster.¹⁴⁰ Irish soldiers who served for Great Britain could officially claim that they were a part of a "united" British Army and that they themselves were now Britons, not just Irishmen who were permitted to serve in the British Army. Wearing the redcoat became a symbol for all Britons, no longer exclusive to Englishmen, Welshmen, or Scotsmen. By the end of the Napoleonic wars (ca. 1815), in line with its proportion of the population of the United Kingdom, Ireland became the birthplace of almost one third of the British Army. Survived data has accounted that by 1757, Irishmen formed nearly 4% of the regiments stationed in Britain, and were 27.5% of the 14,772 soldiers stationed in North America.¹⁴¹

Volunteers in Manchester:

Every town was . . . a sort of garrison – in one place you might hear the 'tattoo' of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practiced upon the fife, and every morning five o'clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours' drill . . . and

¹⁴⁰ Graham Stewart, "The Anglo-Irish Act of Union (1801)," in *Britannia: 100 Documents that Shaped a Nation* (Atlantic Books Ltd., 2012), 238

¹⁴¹ S. Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74

then you heard the pop, pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or distant thunder of the artillery.¹⁴²

To step away from how the Scottish and Irish had impacted how Britishness fostered through the military, and the notion of a British army and a British redcoat throughout the frontiers of the British Isles, I move towards the local and regional notions of British nationalism and the fostering of Britishness in Manchester and its surrounding towns in Lancashire (see figure 3, a map of Lancashire in the 1750s, and figure 4 a close up of Manchester in the late 1700s). The threat of Napoleon's invasion of Great Britain "zealously" urged the people of Manchester to serve as militia volunteers, and keen demonstrations of loyalty to the Hanoverian crown. The remainder of this section will focus of the region's sentiments towards feeling British and how civic patriotism, in the manner of volunteer regiments and celebratory processions surrounding the Napoleonic wars, reflected the desire of Manchester (and its surroundings) to demonstrate their respectability, wealth, and importance to the British nation. Manchester is a useful case study in emphasizing Britishness from a regional lens. However sincere it was to the attachment of a common British identity, the inhabitants of Manchester accepted Britishness through local particularities and identities. Its measure of northern English grit and regional pride emphasized its strengthening of British national pride and loyalty.

¹⁴² H.F.B. Wheeler, and Alexander M. Broadley, "Quoting Cruikshank: 'Volunteers'", *Napoleon and the Invasion of England: The Story of the Great Terror*, Vol. II (London, 1908), 11



Figure 3. Map of Lancashire, by Emanuel Bowen (c. 1752)¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Helen, M. Sullivan, and Olive Cookson, “A Chronology of the Growth of the County Borough of Blackpool in the County of Lancashire, from 1500-1938,” *Hall Geneology: A Chronology of Blackpool 1500-1938*, (Accessed: April 16, 2015), <http://rmhh.co.uk/blackpool.html>



Map of Manchester, Lancashire¹⁴⁴

Response to the Napoleonic invasion scares: “The Standards of Loyalty” (1799)

When the Demons of Faction hung over our realm
And threat'n'd our law rolls and charters to burn;
Our throne to demolish, our Alters o'erturn,
Then a Patriot Band
The True Sons of the Land
In Armour stept forth at Britannia's command,
The Standards of Loyalty eager to rear
Each proud of his birth-right, a firm Volunteer.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, “History of Manchester in Lancashire Map and description,” *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Accessed: April 16, 2015, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/791>,

¹⁴⁵ Roger Wells, Tameside Archives, DD 41/1, manuscript of the ballad written by Mr William Hampson; “papers relating to United Irishmen and United Englishmen, 1798” in *Insurrection: the British experience, 1795-1803*; (Gloucester, 1983), 200

This song, “The Standards of Loyalty,” was composed on 10 July 1799 and used for the presentation of the Ashton-under-Lynne volunteer regiment to Lord George Harry Booth-Grey the 6th Earl of Stamford and 2nd Earl of Warrington (1765-1845).¹⁴⁶ In the song, the ‘Demons of faction’ referred to the revolutionary French who had made several threats to invade Britain.¹⁴⁷ Major Gore, who was the commanding officer of the Ashton volunteer regiment, informed that the volunteer regiment infused patriotic propaganda with loyalist sentiments, and to keep an eye on working classes in case of any revolutionary actions or avocations.¹⁴⁸

The invasion scares of the First French Republic (1797-99) and the scares of the Napoleonic [First] French Empire (1803-05) motivated the inhabitants of Manchester to collectively defend Manchester and its region. The government’s equivalent of the Republic’s and later Napoleon’s “levée en masse” (mass mobilisation) rallied all Britons to take up arms and serve in defense of the realm.¹⁴⁹ This ranged from the signing patriotic hymns to the establishment of volunteer corps.

The British government normally relied on county-based and aristocratic controlled militia regiments financed by the Treasury. Unpaid volunteer corps had been raised during the American Revolution, and during the first French invasion scare at Ashton-under-Lyne. The raising of volunteer regiments involved almost 1/5 of adult males. Lancashire had raised fifty-three volunteer regiments, with sixty-one officers

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 200

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 201

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 201

¹⁴⁹ Marvin Perry, Joseph R. Peeden, and Theodore H. Von Laue, "The Jacobin Regime", *Sources of the Western Tradition: From the Renaissance to the Present. 4th ed., Vol. II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 108

commanding 14,278 volunteers, by December of 1803. The Home Office (HO) did not accept all the regiments that the towns offered: this was partly because of restricted funds, and partly out of fear of the consequences of arming so large a number of the industrial working classes. Manchester was allowed nine regiments, composed of over 4,000.¹⁵⁰ Volunteers to these regiments were normally reviewed in public squares, racecourses or outside commanders' mansion-houses, all symbols of the "urban renaissance"¹⁵¹ that had brought northern towns to the fore in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This was the repopulation and regeneration of many British cities, particularly prominent in cities of the British midlands and the north, including: Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow (Scotland), as well as parts of the south, such as: London, Bristol, and Cardiff (Wales).¹⁵²

The urban middle-class and officers of the upper echelons of British society sought social order through the observance of hierarchy. The "Fourth class" was composed of men too old or with too many family responsibilities to belong to the other types of volunteers. Manchester Fourth-Class Volunteers (Man. IV) were nicknamed the "Old Fogey"¹⁵³ because of their age. One of the members of the Man. IV a man by the name of James Weatherley, the father of a local bookseller noted in his autobiography:

I recollect on the Parade days when they were turning out they would send out

¹⁵⁰ J. Fortescue, "Parliamentary Papers 1803-4, Returns of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps"; Internal Defence, Lancaster District, Volunteer lists, 3 September 1803 in *County lieutenancies and the Army, 1803-14* (1909), 66

¹⁵¹ Katrina Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798-1815* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 65

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 63

¹⁵³ Navickas, 66

their wives to see if Mr. so and so was ready as they could not forshame to go to Parade singly but would wait until they could muster 7 or 8 to go together in the Group. There would perhaps be one as fat as Falstaff and another as fat as the living Skeleton that was once exhibited in Manchester, one five feet five another six feet one another bow legged and another in-kneed¹⁵⁴

It was quite common for some volunteer corps to reflect the personalities and paternalism[s] of their commanders. This developed an awe-inspiring and legend-like character trait of the local volunteer commanders - an almost hero cult - comparing the personalities, character traits, and charismas of the local commanders to national British heroes such as the victor of the battle of the Nile (c. 1798), the Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson, 1st Viscount (1758-1805), or even the Duke of Wellington. For example, the Warrington volunteers praised each officer at length. Many of the officers were factory owners employing artisans and mechanics that made up the privates of the corps. John Trafford Esq. of Trafford House mustered a regiment of 350 volunteers from the tenants and workers on his estates. When they assembled in Trafford Park in August 1803, he made a speech proclaiming that Napoleon pledged to deprive Englishmen of their right to England as a nation. Therefore, he asserted,

Boney, has vowed to overtake this land, the land of our forefathers. England. Boney will deny all of us [English-men] the right to England . . . the towns of Barton, Stretford, and Eccles have sent Heroes to the field, and victory has crowned their zeal.¹⁵⁵

Trafford's inspirational speech fostered a sense of loyalty and fraternity, not just as

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 66

¹⁵⁵ Navickas, 69

Lancashire-men, nor as Englishmen, but as Britons. A census, which was taken in the Warrington [muster roll] registrar, noted that of the 350 volunteers, 23 men were of Irish peerage, 17 Welsh, 28 Scottish, and 282 English.¹⁵⁶ Though the majority of the volunteers were of English stock, the idea that the registrar census had a representation of all of Great Britain heightened this sense of fraternity amongst all Britons, and to unify and defend the British Isles from the threat of a French invasion. This social motivation proved stronger than national defense patriotism. The French Wars had emotional and cultural, as well as military and political, impacts upon the British populace, fostering Britishness. Such motivations can be dated to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, how she led her country and defended her faith from the threat of the Catholic-Spanish armada; or the Glorious Revolution when on the invitation by Parliament *Stadhouder-Prins* William of Orange-Nassau (King William III) defeated the Catholic-Jacobite armies of King James II, at the Battle of the Boyne (1689), defending Protestant England from pro-French-Catholic, despotic, absolutist, Stuart supporters. Nationalism in Manchester, Lancashire, and its surroundings was distinguished by multiple meanings, and political interpretations. However sincere the attachment to the ideal of a common British identity and the loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy was, the inhabitants of the Manchester region could only accept it when filtered through local particularities and identities. Britishness in Lancashire shared something of the defiance, and independence of the archetypal “John Bull.”¹⁵⁷ It was also accompanied by a good measure of northern hardiness, political, and sectarian tension, and a sincere pride in the contribution of the

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 66-67

¹⁵⁷ Navickas, 69

region to the burgeoning industrial economy of the nation. It therefore proved to be crucial in the development of the Manchester region's identity, politics, and sense of fostering and upholding a British identity.

Redcoats Conclusions:

From 1740-1815, the Army became increasingly British. Before and during the 1740s English people referred to their army as being exclusively of Englishmen, despite the number of Lowland Scotsmen in its ranks. By the 1770s, over 50% of the British officers were of Irish and Scottish descent.¹⁵⁸ By 1765, the birthplace of recruits in the British army began to be officially recorded. The evidence reveals that during the 1750s and 1760s there was an increase in the ethnic diversity of the army. For example, the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment of Foot which saw military action at Quebec (1759) consisted of 553 men in which 55% were English, 17% Scottish, 16% Irish, 10% Welsh, and the remaining 2% Foreign (Hessian-German) and American.¹⁵⁹ In between 1790 and 1815, statistics have shown out of 7,250 men who enlisted in the British Army that: 53% of whom were English and Welsh, 30% Irish, and 16% Scottish.¹⁶⁰ What conclusions that can be drawn from these statistics is that during the 1790s with the scare of a French invasion of Britain, Irish military patronage was promoted throughout the military in order to secure British interests in Ireland to prevent the French rhetoric of "Liberty" from spreading like a wildfire. A soldier song, *The British Bayoneteers* that was

¹⁵⁸ A.J. Guy, "The Army of the Georges 1714-1783", *Oxford History of the British Army*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003), 104

¹⁵⁹ S. Brumwell, "Rank and File: A Profile of One of Wolfe's Regiments", *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, (2010), 79

¹⁶⁰ E.J. Cross, *All for the King's Shilling: The British Soldier under Wellington, 1808-1814*, (Norman, 2014), 247

composed in 1812 ran as:

The English arm is strong boys,
The Irish arm is tough.
The Scotsman's blow the French well know
Is struck by sterling stuff.
And when before the enemy
Their shining steel appears,
Goodbye, goodbye, how they run, how they run,
From the British bayoneteers.¹⁶¹

There was a report from a British soldier, Private William Wheeler, of the 51st (2nd Yorkshire West Riding) Regiment of Foot who exclaimed prior to the Walcheren campaign (1809), “Here, is John Bull from England; Swaney from Scotland, and Paddy from my own country [Ireland]. By J—s, we not only beat the French but we will eat them afterwards.”¹⁶² This quote alone exemplifies the multinational ranks of soldiers and officers that were instituted in the British Army, which was key to the development of a British identity and the ever flourishing of Britishness.

The epithet “Redcoats” became familiar throughout much of the former British Empire. Over a period of nearly three hundred years made red uniform a veritable icon of the British Empire. The significance of military red as a national symbol was endorsed by King William IV (r. 1830 - 1837) when light dragoons had scarlet jackets substituted for their previous dark blue, hussars adopted red pelisses and even the Royal Navy were obliged to adopt red facings instead of white. British soldiers fought in scarlet tunics for

¹⁶¹ L. Winstock, *Songs and Music of the Redcoats: A History of the War Music of the British Army*; (London, 1970), 111

¹⁶² B.H. Liddell Hart, (ed.), “William Wheeler to—, 20 June 1809,” *The Letters of Private Wheeler, 1809-1828* (London, 1951), 21

the last time at the Battle of Gennis, Sudan (30 December 1885).¹⁶³

¹⁶³ John Mollo, *Military Fashion: Comparative History of the Uniforms of the Great Armies from the 17th Century to the First World War* (Barrie & Jenkins 1972), 215-216

3

Georgian-British Architecture

Palladianism & Georgian Architecture:

Through architecture Britishness was fostered with neo-Palladianism - where the starkness of Ancient Rome was blended with Anglo-Saxon England. This new “British” architecture was to differentiate Georgian Britain from the French-showiness of their Stuart predecessors. The Georgians were illustrating through this style of architecture that their imperium was the new Rome, which would flourish the world with their British culture and prosperity. Chapter 3 of this thesis will examine British architecture during the eighteenth century in the Georgian era, looking at how neo-Palladianism came to the fore in British architectural design and became the model for British country homes, villas, palaces and even churches throughout the British Isles. By examining architectural design and style books from the eighteenth century, secondary sources written on Georgian architecture, and surviving Georgian homes in Britain, this chapter explains how Eighteenth century aristocrats, such as Lord Burlington had a passion for building - how this century opened to the sound of neo-Palladian trumpet, and how buildings such as Chiswick House, Stowe House, Holkham Hall, and Harewood House brought forth assertions of grandeur, conceived and executed on a gigantic scale and set the landscapes that were reshaped and modelled as far as the eye could see. Neo-Palladian architecture came to foster a sense of Britishness and brought forth a British identity through the very structures that were erected during the reign of the Hanoverian kings, setting forth a crusade that laid the building blocks for the future of a British architectural mandate.

When George I came to the British Throne many criticized his boorish behavior, his lack of knowledge in the English language, and the members of his court, including his

Turkish valets, Ernst August Mustapha and Georg Ludwig Maximilian Muhammad.¹⁶⁴

These critics – such as James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope (1673-1721), and Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) – who had initially criticized George I were probably as keen as anybody to curry favor with the new [British] regime. This extended to copying George’s taste. The Hanoverian dynasty adopted a brand new architecture style. This style was opposite to the fancy French flamboyancy loved by the Stuart court, examples of which include: Castle Howard (c. 1699), Greenwich Hospital (c. 1694), and Blenheim Palace (c. 1705).¹⁶⁵

An obvious example of Hanoverian (Georgian) style of architecture is the prototype, “King George’s Royal Kitchens”, seen in Figure 1., which is stationed around the back end of Hampton Court Palace which is also referred to as the “Georgian House” (c. 1718).

¹⁶⁴ Lucy Worsley, *The Courtiers: Splendor and Intrigue in the Georgian Court at Kensington Palace* (New York: Walker & Co., 2010), 30

¹⁶⁵ John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa, and Garden at Chiswick* (Yale University Press, 1994), 03



Figure 1. “Georgian House” (c. 1718)¹⁶⁶

This addition to the palace may indeed look like a country house; however, it was the addition to King George I’s royal kitchen, where the king had his German food prepared. This style of architecture is known as neo-Palladian style, and the kitchen was the first structure of its type ever made in Britain. When looking at the Georgian Kitchen of Hampton Court Palace, one sees how symmetrical, stark, and Spartan it is. The prevalence of this style of architecture steamrolled throughout Great Britain, becoming the quintessential British style of architecture – one would find it in country houses throughout the Empire. From Bath to Edinburgh, this fashion of neo-Palladianism became a new orderly and rational way of seeing the world. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are examples of some of the new Georgian architecture that swept through Britain; they are

¹⁶⁶ John Vanbrugh (Architect) “Georgian House [Kitchens]” (c. 1718), Accessed: July 9, 2015, <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/236x/00/72/17/007217573585d9f17d655df3528ea4dd.jpg>

prints from Colen Campbell's neo-Palladian architectural book, *Virtuvius Britannicus* (c. 1715)



Figure 2. Beddington Place (Built in Surrey)¹⁶⁷

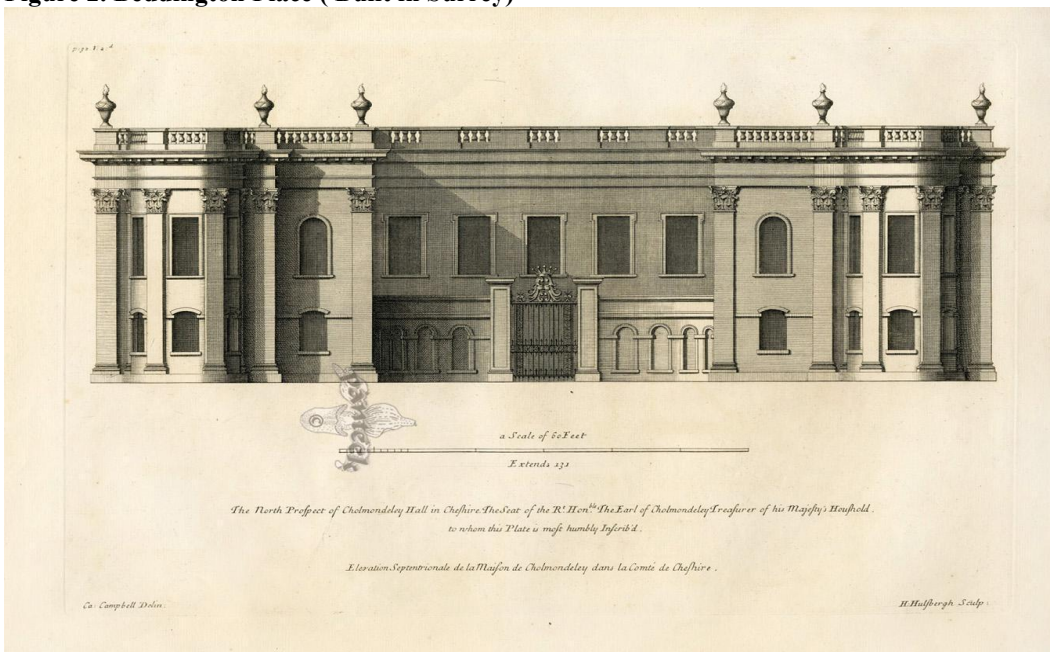


Figure 3. Cholmondeley Hall (Built in Cheshire)¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Colen Campbell, *Virtuvius Britannicus*; London (Printed: Andrew Bell, W. Taylor, Henry Clements, and Jos. Smith, 1715), 43

¹⁶⁸ *Virtuvius Britannicus*, 31

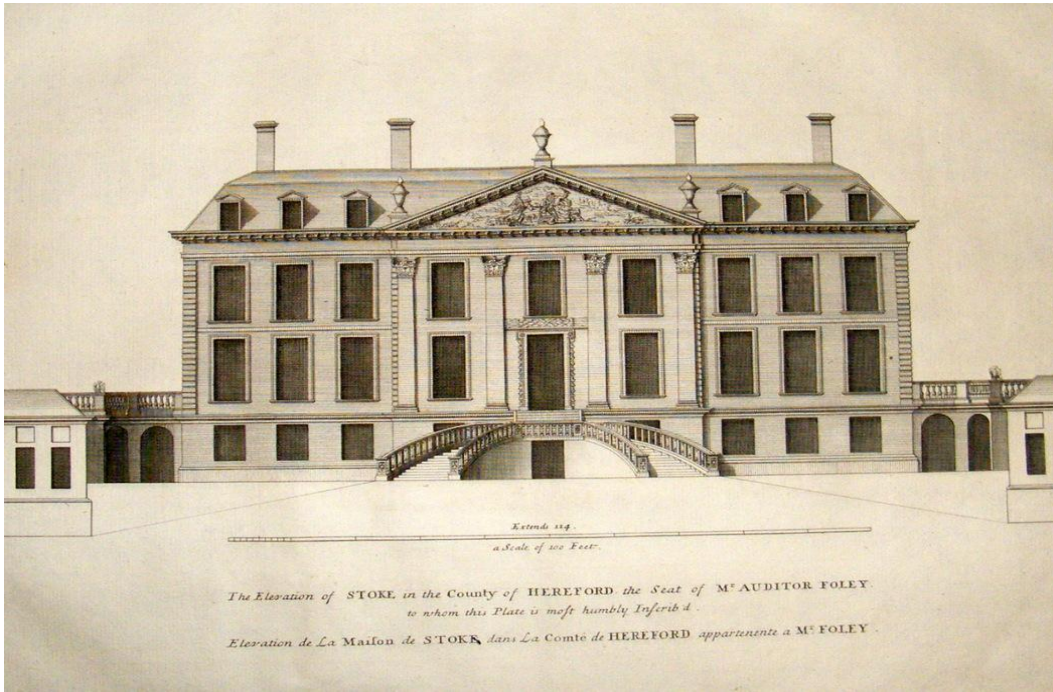


Figure 4. Stoke House (Built in Hereford)¹⁶⁹

The inspiration for this style of architecture came from the sixteenth century Italian architect named Andrea Palladio (c. 1508-1580), whose buildings are characterized by the use of a *pedimented* temple front, symmetrical planning, and the so-called Palladian or *Serlian* window.¹⁷⁰ Palladio's work was a "renaissance," bringing back ancient Rome and classical Greece to life. English architects such as Inigo Jones (c. 1573-1652) and the amateur eighteenth century architect Lord Burlington (c. 1694-1753) made Palladio's style a phenomenal fashion throughout the 1700s, which gave rise to a new sort of Palladianism – one with an Anglo-Saxon flavor. This "Anglo-Saxon flavor" was an essentially [English] neo-Palladianism that was much more basic in its design as compared to Palladio's original work in the sixteenth century. The Italian revisionists during the Renaissance preferred to use white stone, cream wares, and marbles, whereas

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 60

¹⁷⁰ Carol Davidson Cragoe, *How to Read Buildings: A Crash Course in Architecture*; Lewes (East Sussex, Ivy Press Limited, 2008), 38

in England and later throughout Britain, red (herringbone stone) brick was preferably used due to it being a natural resource of Britain (naturalizes the stonework for the buildings) - also, long and short quoins, which can be seen in Figure 5. Figure 6 is the Crown Office Row at Inner Temple in Westminster, London (c. 1737-38) that was reconstructed after a fire occurred in 1737, which destroyed the old Stuart-Baroque Crown office. The eighteenth-century design used the Anglo-Saxon quoin element of design, which truly brings English neo-Palladianism to life, it is seen at the front entrance of the doorway.

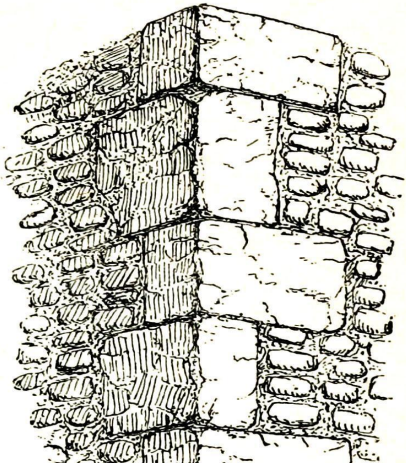


Figure 5. Quoin-stone work, Stow Minster, Lincolnshire (c. 870)¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Baldwin G. Brown, *The Arts in Early England* (London, John Murray, 1903), 87



Figure 6. Crown Office Row, Inner Temple, London (1737-38)¹⁷²

With this fusion of ancient Roman and Anglo-Saxon styles of architecture, the Georgians were essentially saying, “Britons, we (all Britons) are the successors to the might, power, and glory of Rome. Let us build ourselves an empire”.

Lord Burlington and Chiswick:

One of the foremost advertisers of neo-Palladian architecture was Richard Boyle, the 3rd Earl of Burlington (also known as Lord Burlington), who was a member of King George I’s inner circle. Lord Burlington’s estate home in Chiswick, designed by the architect William Kent (1685-1748) in 1729, is a magnificent example of the splendor of neo-Palladianism. Figure 7 shows Lord Burlington’s Chiswick house estate.

¹⁷² *Crown Office Row*, Inner Temple, Westminster (London, 1737-38), Photo taken and uploaded by: Nicholas A. Hutfluss (11 July 2015)



Figure 7. Lord Burlington's Chiswick Home (c. 1729)¹⁷³

Lord Burlington was a key figure in the development of Britain's new architectural fad. The architectural designs at his Chiswick house, though neo-Palladian, were also a blend of neo-Classical, for he drew upon both Roman and Greek antiquity.¹⁷⁴ This style of blended architecture became unique throughout Europe; Chiswick set the footing for a "British" form of architecture that would eventually spread throughout England, parts of Scotland, Ireland (establishing Irish-Palladianism), and into the British West Indies and Thirteen Colonies (later the United States).¹⁷⁵

The Georgian era should not be mistaken as "the" era that Palladianism was ever first thought of in England, since during the Stuart Restoration period in the reign of King Charles II (c. 1630-1685) there was a Palladian revival in such houses as: Gunners Bury

¹⁷³ William Kent (Architect), *Chiswick House*, (1729), Photo taken by Nicholas A. Hutfluss (Uploaded: 11 July 2015)

¹⁷⁴ Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Sutton Publishing, 1998), 39

¹⁷⁵ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 13

House, Middlesex (1658), Amesbury House, Wiltshire (1660), the Somerset House, London (1662), and Charles II's Wing, Greenwich Hospital, London (1664). The difference with Palladian elements and Roman revivalism during the Stuart period was that antique styles of architecture were implemented into structures and building projects as a form of inspiration. Architects such as Inigo Jones and John Webb took elements from *Vitruvius*, antique Rome, and from Palladio's buildings. However, the Stuart Kings, especially King Charles I (c. 1600-1649), preferred to remain influenced by the French Baroque style of architecture, which could have been due to the flamboyancy of the court of Charles I which may have derived from him or from his wife Queen Henrietta Maria (of France)¹⁷⁶ who was in fact a French princess and the daughter of King Henry IV of France. When Henrietta married King Charles I, England's pro-Spanish policies were replaced with pro-French ones. Henrietta, during her coronation as Queen of England was performed by a French Catholic Bishop, the Bishop of Mendes.¹⁷⁷ Within one year of Henrietta being Queen, the English court began to speak in French rather than English because the Stuarts claimed that "French was a much more polite language".¹⁷⁸ When George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, died in 1628, Queen Henrietta replaced Buckingham as the King's new "favorite" and personal advisor / confidant on matters of state and the governing of the realm.¹⁷⁹ It seems quite evident and appropriate to say that especially with the English court being conducted in French that the shape and design of

¹⁷⁶ John Harris, *Georgian Country Houses* (Middlesex: Taylor Evans & Co. Ltd., Watford, Herts, 1968), 07

¹⁷⁷ Michelle A. White, *Henrietta Marie and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 21

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 22

¹⁷⁹ Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War: A People's History* (London: Harper Ltd., 2007), 16

the country (architecturally) would emulate that of France. One key example of the emulation of France is the Queen's House at Greenwich, completed by Inigo Jones (c. 1630-1635), which was to replicate the French Palace at Versailles.¹⁸⁰

By the time Lord Burlington's house at Chiswick was completed, neo-Palladianism had become a major phenomenon throughout Britain. By 1723 new parliament designs had taken place, which were commissioned by Lord Burlington and William Kent. Figure's 8 and 9 show the plans to the new parliamentary houses in 1739 designed by William Kent.



Figure 8. Redesign of Parliamentary Houses "York Assembly Rooms" (1739)¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Caroline Hibbard, "By Our Direction and For Our Use" *The Queen's Patronage of Artists and Artisans seen through her Household Accounts* (Griffey Editors, 2008), 117

¹⁸¹ William Kent, 'Belvedere' Proposal (1739), Taken from the National Archives at Kew, by Nicholas A. Hutflus (July 09, 2015)

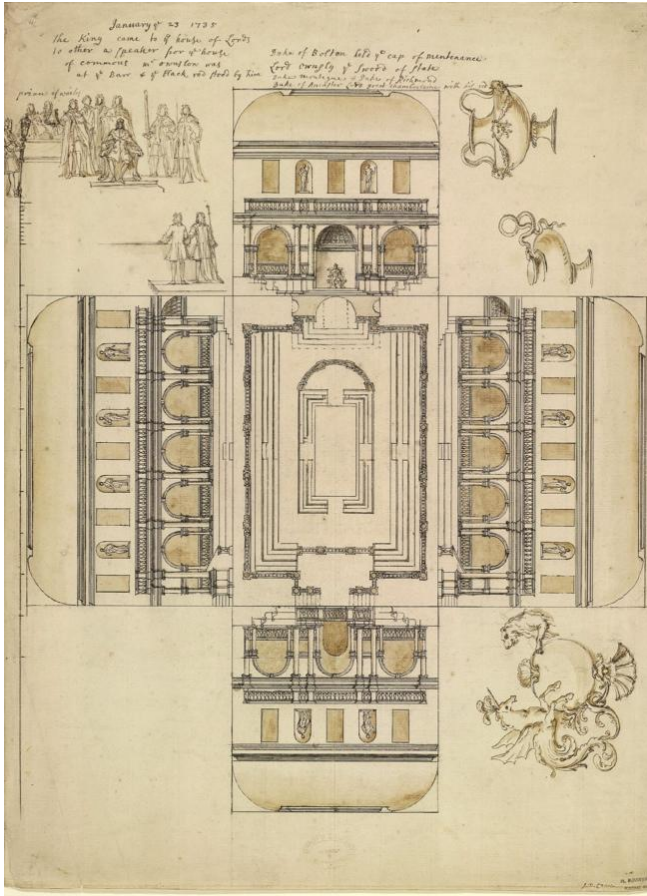


Figure 9. Redesign for the House of Lords (1739)¹⁸²

The York Assembly Rooms in Figure 8 have at the front of the building 430 feet in width, and pavilion wings pushing forward at the ends, with a clasp of an imperial Roman colonnade of 20 columns extending 200 feet. Behind Kent's vast colonnade is a pantheon-like dome.

Palladian rule did not take control immediately over the British architectural world, nor did neo-Palladianism remiss the architectural styles and designs of the Stuarts. One of the last major works of Baroque architecture, Seaton Delaval Hall by John Vanbrugh (c. 1728), occurred after King George II's first year of reign, and was commonly referred to

¹⁸² Kent, William, *Proposal for the House of Lords*, (1725), Taken from the British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects, By Nicholas A. Hutfluss (July 09, 2015)

as English Baroque – a fusion of Baroque aesthetics with Palladian traditions.¹⁸³ In addition to the particular styles of architectural design of Palladian and Baroque-Palladian, was the outside design of [Tory] Scottish-Catholic architect James Gibbs who set his own style, which was neither Palladian nor Baroque. James Gibbs was *the* country house architect of the first half of the eighteenth century. His *Book of Architecture* (1728) was a collection of patterns and designs for country homes that it became immensely influential in the Thirteen Colonies and the British West Indies, but it did not pan out as a major phenomenon in Britain itself as Colen Campbell's neo-Palladian designs had.

The completion of Campbell's third volume of *Virtuvius* (1725) became the "gospel" for the new model of English (later British) country homes. Among these homes which came to seize the day for a national design, we can look towards Flintcroft's Wentworth woodhouse (1733), John Wood's Prior Park (1735) and John Carr's Harewood House (1759). These houses were complemented with another Palladian building, the Villa, which by the later half of the eighteenth century became the more popular national design. The inspiration of neo-Palladianism from Andrea Palladio, who had recreated the works of the ancient Romans, was seen as a part of the Georgian mission statement of bringing Britain to new heights and greatness, as compared to the despotic Stuarts who brought Britain into civil war and parliamentary dictatorship. The Georgians were essentially saying, "Britons, we are the heirs to the power of Rome and together we can build a new empire!"

¹⁸³ John Harris, *Georgian Country Houses* (Middlesex: Taylor Evans & Co. Ltd., Watford, Herts, 1968), 25

The Palladian term *Villa* referred to the country estates in the Tuscan regions of Italy.¹⁸⁴ Campbell commenced building the villas, which he wished to be seen from the Belvedere Tower in Claremont (in Surrey) noting, “the similarities between the estates on the Thames and those on the Brenta are in an English form.”¹⁸⁵ Such homes he was referring to were: Marble Hill House (1724-1729), Whitton Park House (1727), and Orleans House (1710).¹⁸⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century, the villa became commonly understood to be a small country house throughout the British Isles. The villa, unlike the great British houses such as Lord Burlington’s Chiswick House, conformed to a very uniformed pattern – they were square[ish] in plan, cubic in elevation, and had their front and rear facades divided in five bays in a rhythm of 1-3-1, with the center either porticoed or astylar (without columns or pillars).¹⁸⁷ These diminutive houses responded to a growing taste for a simpler and more informal way of life. These homes were decorate with pillars, moulded plaster, and clean-lined, with the emphasis placed on proportion and key details. One example of this style of home is Aaron Henry Hurst’s late eighteenth century design at Wimbledon Lodge in Surrey (1792) shown in Figure 10.

¹⁸⁴Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian, 1715-1760* (Suffolk, Baron Publishing, 1955), 15

¹⁸⁵ John Harris, *Georgian Country Houses* (Middlesex: Taylor Evans & Co. Ltd., Watford, Herts, 1968), 31

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 39

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 39



Figure 10. Wimbledon Lodge, Surrey (1792)¹⁸⁸

Lord Burlington's patronage of the Palladian movement, made neo-Palladian architecture as a major phenomenon for a British style of design; his home (Chiswick), and his designs became the model for [pan] British homes. Elements of his influence spread throughout the outer fringes of England and into other parts of the empire, especially influencing Irish architecture, which would later become known as Irish-Palladianism. This is due to the fact that Burlington had landholdings in Ireland (Cork County). Burlington and other members of the British aristocracy who held land in other parts of the Empire would spread their influence, which would eventually take hold and

¹⁸⁸ Aaron Henry Hurst (Architect), *Wimbledon Lodge*, Surrey (1792), Photo uploaded: July 12, 2015, http://www.wimbledonguardian.co.uk/heritage/news/9397301.Murray_and_the_lions_of_Wimbledon_Lodge/

become part of *Cultural Revolution* whether it be in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and other locales of British imperial claims.¹⁸⁹

Irish Palladianism:

Palladianism in Ireland emerged in the early-eighteenth century, heavily influenced by English practitioners and theorists such as Colen Campbell, whose work had much to do with the spread of Palladian architectural design in Ireland, and through the influence of his patron Lord Burlington who was also the 4th Earl of Cork. Since Burlington was a large landowner in Ireland, Palladian building projects began as early as the 1720s. The first Palladian house in Ireland was Castletown (see figure 11) – designed by Florentine architect, Alessandro Galilei (1691-1737) – which began in 1722 and was completed in 1737.



Figure 11. Castletown House, County Kildare (1722-1737)¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 14

¹⁹⁰ Alessandro Galilei (architect), *Castletown House*, County Kildare, Ireland, (1722-1737), Photo Uploaded: July 12, 2015, https://www.igs.ie/uploads/Castletown_House.jpg

Like in England, Palladian villas expanded into Ireland with a warm reception. British historian, David Cannadine's *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, writes how after the American Revolution "the British vowed to never let such a catastrophe occur again."¹⁹¹ The late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century saw a thwarting of a social revolution in which hierarchies were supported and nurtured. Once the Act of Union occurred in Ireland (1800) Great Britain and Ireland were brought together in a new, "imperial-cum-metropolitan unity."¹⁹² Now, legally, part of the imperial metropolis, the regime established in Dublin provided the proconsular prototype that would later evolve the imperial periphery.¹⁹³ For the poor, housing got better, farm labourers lived in three-roomed cottages, and near factories and coal mines, houses were set in the formation of terraces (rows), which were built very cheaply but accommodated for the workers to go from the workplace to the homestead. As too did Palladio's designs and the practical philosophy that under-laid them. From the late seventeenth century onwards, landowners sought to create new residence at their core.

One example of Palladian design becoming an impact in Irish architecture was the estate Ardraccen, County Meath (see Figure 12), which had been the seat of a bishopric for nearly a thousand years. In the sixteenth century it was a Tudor house called St. Mary's; by the eighteenth century the residence became so dilapidated that a new house became essential. In 1734 Arthur Price, Bishop of Meath started the building project, but

¹⁹¹ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 15

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 15

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 15

in 1738 he was transferred to the Archbishopric of Cashel.¹⁹⁴ The project was then put to a halt and thirty years later reconstruction of the estate was resumed and completed by Price. The architect of the building was Richard Castle (or Kassel's) who in 1725 came to England from Germany, where he encountered Lord Burlington and became influenced within the English-Palladian circle. Castle became a Palladian legend in Ireland. Not only did he construct Bishop Price's estate in Ardraccan, but he was also responsible for the design of Sir Gustavus Hume's manor, Castle Hume in Femanagh, and he took on the commissions for the design of the Parliament House in Dublin.¹⁹⁵



Figure 12. Ardraccan House, County Meath, (1734-1764)¹⁹⁶

When looking back to Archbishop Price's Ardraccan House, the structure is a shining example of neo-Palladianism that would cultivate the British architectural

¹⁹⁴ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 14

¹⁹⁵ Cruickshank, 14

¹⁹⁶ Richard Castle, *Ardraccan House*, County Meath, Ireland (1734-1764), Photo uploaded: July 12, 2015,

http://www.irishtimes.com/polopoly_fs/1.1386139.1368020633!/image/image.jpg

world. To the north and south of the central block of the home run arcaded quadrants that link to the two-story, five bay wings, and their entrances facing one another across the houses forecourt. In classical Palladian fashion Castle provided facilities for the wealth of complementary domestic and agricultural activities. The buildings include: gate lodge house (see Figure 13), stables (see Figure 14), wood bunker (see Figure 15), storage house (see Figure 16) and a slaughterhouse (see Figure 17).



Figure 13. Ardbraccan House Gate Lodge (c. 1790s)¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Richard Castle, *Arbraccan House* “Gate Lodge”, County Meath, Ireland, (c. 1790s), Photo uploaded: July 13, 2015, http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/images/survey_specific/fullsize/14402508_1.jpg



Figure 14. Ardbraccan House Stables (1780)¹⁹⁸



Figure 16. Ardbraccan House, Storage House, (1760)¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ *Ardbraccan House* “Stables”, County Meath, Ireland, (1780), Photo uploaded: July 13, 2015,

http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/images/survey_specific/fullsize/14402403_1.jpg

¹⁹⁹ *Ardbraccan House*, “Storage house”, County Meath, Ireland (1760), Photo uploaded: July 13, 2015, <https://theirishaesthete.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/image2.jpg>



Figure 17. Ardraccan House, Slaughter House, (1770)²⁰⁰

Nonetheless, as much attention was paid to the undertone features of the manor estate, design and construction, in comparison to the residence illustrates the tenets of Palladianism showing its mettle.

The English Counties:

The English counties outside the Greater-London area preferred the showy Baroque designs, which was a favorite amongst the Tories who embraced the distribution of class system and rank. They were reluctant to embrace the Palladian-Whig[ish] tone of architecture which remained stark, plain, continual, illustrating no distinction between the upper echelons of British society and the commons. Even though the Whigs like their Tory counterparts were members of the British aristocracy, the Whigs would oppose anything the Tories proposed, even if that meant lavish, ornate, and intricate building

²⁰⁰ *Ardraccan House*, “Slaughterhouse”, County Meath, Ireland (1770), Photo uploaded: July 13, 2015,

https://theirishaesthete.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/img_2312.jpg

designs. The Tories traditionally were Stuart supporters and patronized much of the flamboyancy of Stuart-England. They were elitists who, in the words of renowned British historian Paul Langford, in his book, *The Eighteenth Century 1688-1815*, "...the Tories disliked those who profited by capitalism and commerce... George I's (who was pro-capitalist and commerce) succession was disputed and contested between the Tories and Whigs. Tory ministers in March 1714 [for the sake of all those in England] would gladly wish to see the Stuarts restored, they (the Tories) proposed to James III Stuart (the 'Old Pretender') to abandon his [Catholic] faith and take up the Crown – to restore "old" Stuart order in Britain"²⁰¹ With such discredit the Tories had towards the Hanoverian monarchy, this looked quite favorable for the Whigs who backed their new [German] King. The united Whig[ist] *junto* headed by Townshend, Walpole, Stanhope, and Sunderland drove most of the Tories from office, securing Hanoverian mandates in Britain.²⁰² In order to maintain Whig supremacy in Britain the Whigs supported the patronizing of George I's neo-Palladian architecture. Some of the great neo-Palladian houses such as, Stowe House became the headquarters of a Whig faction whose influence persisted over several generations.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Paul Langford, *The Eighteenth Century 1688-1815* (London, A. & C. Black Ltd., 1976), 68-69, 71

²⁰² *Ibid*, 75

²⁰³ Michael St. John Parker, *Life in Georgian Britain: From 1700 to 1837* (Pitkin Publishing, 2000), 18

In manufacturing and commercial centers such as: the Cotswolds, Gloucestershire, parts of Lincolnshire, Stamford, and Bristol; major buildings were still embellished with Baroque details right up until the 1740s and 1750s.²⁰⁴

Provincial conservatism and Tory aloofness produced a curious effect in country house building in the early half of the eighteenth century. Lord Bathurst, rebuilding his house at Cirencester Park House, Gloucestershire in 1714-18, (see Figure 18) used architectural designs in the Baroque manner, which was blended with Palladian styles of design. Bathurst's friend Alexander Pope said: "How comes it to look so oddly bad?"²⁰⁵ The answer was that despite his reluctance, Lord Bathurst began to introduce Palladianism into his reconstruction.²⁰⁶



Figure 18. Cirencester Park House, Gloucestershire (c. 1714-1718)²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 16

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 18

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 18-19

²⁰⁷ Stephen Switzer (designer), *Cirencester Park House*, Gloucestershire, (1714-1718), Photo uploaded: July 13, 2015,

http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2015/04/09/14/2766ED3200000578-0-image-a-20_1428585232981.jpg

Apart from national issues there were other more parochial influences on the development of local styles. The presence of a country house designed by an influential architect could generate a local style rather than a pan-national style of architecture. For example details cribbed up from local buildings from Vanbrugh's Blenheim Palace, in Oxfordshire, crop up in Hope House, Woodstock, Oxfordshire (c. 1720) (see Figure 19), and a Terrace house in St. Michael's street, Oxford (c. 1720). Where in other areas, such as Holy Trinity Church in Wolverton, Buckinghamshire (c. 1810) designed by Henry Hakewell illustrates a classical example of Norman revivalism (see Figure 20).²⁰⁸



Figure 19. Hope House, Woodstock, Oxfordshire (1720)²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 19

²⁰⁹ *Hope House*, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, (1720), Photo uploaded: July 14, 2015, <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/b0/b0/01/b0b0014fde0fee2463f5ae223b8ec653.jpg>



Figure 20. Holy Trinity Church, Wolverton, Buckinghamshire (1810)²¹⁰

By the mid-eighteenth century regional design differences began to become ironed out. This was primarily due to the result of architectural pattern books. These books offered advice on construction and design with plates of the latest London fashions (invariably Palladian). Campbell's *Virtuvius Britannicus*, and Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* made the authors of these works humble servants to gentlemen throughout remote parts of the country.²¹¹

The Building Act (c. 1709) & Georgian Elements of Design:

Building act legislations originated in London, and were in far more formulated terms than building acts of the Dublin commissioners, who had a profound influence on eighteenth and early nineteenth century urban [architectural] design. The 1667 building act, which was intended to govern the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire,

²¹⁰ Henry Hakewill (Architect), *Holy Trinity Church*, Wolverton, Buckinghamshire (1810), Photo uploaded: July 14, 2015, https://chipsfromtheoldblock.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/holy_trinity_old_wolverton_bucks_-_geograph-org-uk_-_333034.jpg

²¹¹ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 13

influenced the building and design of terrace house, and town planning, which eventually had a domino effect throughout the country.²¹²

In the early eighteenth century, Stuart period and into the Georgian era the influence of building designs can be seen in the act of 1707. Its main importance was a supplementary act passed in 1709, which had a dramatic effect on the appearance of early-Georgian houses, initially took place in London, and in Westminster (acts first applied) and gradually throughout the country. The 1707 act barred decorative wooden carved cornices in case of a fire where the wood would be exposed. Façades should be above the eaves and party wall, roughly eighteen inches to form a parapet to protect the roof and timber from sparks.²¹³

The Window Tax during the Georgian era was responsible for every blank window on Georgian façades throughout towns and country homes. Houses with seven or more windows became eligible for taxation. In 1766, and 1784 tax was extended to houses with six windows. Towns that were devastated by fire during the Georgian era were compelled to adhere to the London building acts. Such towns that were held under the London acts due to fire were: Blandford Forum, Dorset, Tiverton, and Devon (c. 1731), Wincanton, and Somerset (c. 1747).²¹⁴ London designs were enacted in these locations, and eventually became practiced throughout the country, establishing a new British architectural design influenced through Palladian architecture.

²¹² Ibid, 26

²¹³ John Steane and James Ayres, *Traditional Buildings in the Oxford Region: 1300-1840* (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2013), 400-402

²¹⁴ Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1985), 28

Elements of architectural design, which had originated in London and spread throughout England, had a major impact on Britain's inner-empire. Towns that were devastated from destruction due to tornadoes, thunderstorms, and floods in areas such as: Whitehaven (1 February 1771), Hampshire (12 May 1771), Sunderland (1 December 1771), Lancing (28 August 1774) and Somerset (30 July 1775) were constructed with new homes, and sometimes entire city sectors – this had a small-degree impacts on Scotland and in Wales. The cities of Invernay, and Strathclyde (in 1743) were built for the Duke of Argyll, designed by Robert Mylne (d. 1776), and John Adam (d. 1780). The Earl of Elgin founded the cities of Charlestown, and Fife in 1770. In Wales, Tremadog, and Gwynedd was founded by W. Madock in 1805 (during the later reign of King George III) as a model coaching town, with a market hall, and city square, and a church.²¹⁵

Standardization became crystalized during the industrial revolution, which began to appear in the 1770s. *Coade & Sealy* artificial stone manufacturers of Lambeth (Eleanor Coade, 1733 – 1821), founded in 1769 produced terracotta ceramics and stoneware; statues, tiles, and decorative features made from local Portland stone. This was to give the imagery of an original British design to hone in a naturalization of British culture. *Coalbrookdale Company* supplied vast amounts of decorative ironwork in Roman, classical Greek, and in Anglo-Saxon designs.²¹⁶ This neo-classical detail began to crystalize in the late-1820s - 1830s (during the reigns of George IV and William IV). These details of massed produced neo-classic-British designs became a standard for the most scrupulous designers, having an advantage of identical reproductions, which was a

²¹⁵ Cruickshank, 28

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 28-29

major phenomenon during the duration of the eighteenth century. The products of these companies are found all over England (including Wales) Ireland, and parts of Scotland. The doors of Bedford Square, London (1776-1786) are embellished with *Coade* rustic blocks and River-God-Keystones; Belmont, Pound Street, Lyme Regis, Dorset has a main Façade (c. 1785) with *Coade* details, Keystones, and Impost Blocks, some with cast molds of Masks (Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon [pagan imagery]) and dolphins.²¹⁷ These houses became an advertisement for future house building projects in order to create a pan-British architectural design.

Palladian Conclusions:

Though Palladianism dominated the forefront of the *long durée* of the eighteenth century British architectural world, [architectural] design revivalisms began to take shape and uproot what was the norm for Georgian society. By around 1830, style was a free for all. Gothic, mixed Gothic, Grecian, Castle-style, Indian, Moorish, and of course Palladian became laid open to the whim of prospective builders. Like the Regency era (c. 1800-1830) itself, architectural “morals” (originality and simplicity), which defined the Georgian era, experienced a slackening and dissolution of classical disciplines. One primary example of this slackening in architecture can be seen in King George IV’s Royal Pavilion in Brighton (c. 1787-1815), designed by late eighteenth and early nineteenth century architect, John Nash. The building is designed in the Indo-Saracenic style, also known as Mughal-Gothic revivalism (see figure 21).

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, 29



Figure 21. *The Royal Pavilion* (“Brighton’s Pavilion”)²¹⁸

Despite of this lack of architectural “morals” during the Regency era, Lord Burlington, before he had retired from political life, succeeded in laying the foundations for the Palladian take over of official metropolitan architecture, and by extension, provincial and country house architecture as well. The Office of Works staff “secure in their posts and confirmed in their adherence to Palladian principles . . . were architects not only to George II, but to half of his aristocracy of England [Great Britain] as well.”²¹⁹ By the 1730s the national style had arrived, both in town and in country.

²¹⁸ John Nash (architect), *The Royal Pavilion* (Brighton, Sussex, c. 1787-1815); Photo taken by Nicholas A. Hutfluss (Uploaded: 16 July 2015)

²¹⁹ H.M. Colvin, “Lord Burlington and the Office of Works”, in *Lord Burlington and his Circle* (Georgian Group Symposium, 1982), 101

4

Britishness in 18th Century Music

Georgian Music, Handel & Britishness:

The fourth and final chapter of this thesis will focus on British music during the eighteenth century in the Georgian era, examining how music shaped and forged Britishness and the development of a British identity through coronation anthems, naval sea songs, and military marching tunes. By examining the origins of these British songs, and evaluating the conclusions of historians about their meanings, I will explain how music fostered a British identity and how it came to be so during the century of the Hanoverian dynasty, which – with its gradual Anglicization of the monarchy – forged a national and cultural identity for the British nation that came to endure far beyond the Georgian era.

Music was not entirely distinguished as “British music” during the early-Hanoverian period – after the death of Henry Purcell in 1695, national music in England (and later Britain) was set into a gradual decline – however, one of Britain’s key forerunners for fusing music with a British identity was the Saxon-German musician, George Friedrich Handel (1689-1759), who settled to England in 1712, and became a naturalized British citizen in 1726. When King George I died in the summer of 1727, his son the Prince of Wales, George-Augustus (later King George II) made it clear that the monarchy would be transformed from the dour, Germanized version that the British court and Britain itself had endured for thirteen years. George let Britons know that his reign would be one of British prowess and glory through his pomp and pampered coronation (11 October 1727).²²⁰ The splendor of George II’s coronation could have only been achieved with the

²²⁰ David Starkey, and Katie Greening, *Music & Monarchy: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (BBC Books, 2013), 239

awe-inspiring music composed by Handel, whose great anthem, *Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet Anointed Solomon [the] King*, (see Figure 1) has been played at every subsequent coronation since George II had commissioned Handel to compose at his coronation.²²¹ This songs message is to illustrate the anointing of the the monarch taken from Chapter 1 Kings in the *Old Testament* of the Christian Bible, which symbolizes a new monarch and a new era, in this case this was the dawning of a new Britain. King George II pledged to his people that unlike his father, he would rule as a British king and not a German prince.

Lyrics for Zadok the Priest (1727):

Zadok the priest
And Nathan the prophet
Anointed Solomon king.
And all the people rejoiced and said:
God save the King!
Long live the King!
May the King live forever!
Amen! Amen! Alleluia!²²²

The Anglican faith contributed greatly to the fusion of music with Britishness and the formation of a British identity during the eighteenth century. English Protestantism with its single emphasis on the “pure” word of God had been historically a great enemy of music. Handel responded more imaginatively than any Englishman to the power and poetry of the *King James Bible* (1611), and *Book of Common Prayer* (revised edition 1662), to create a musical language that would forever endure in the memories of Britons

²²¹ Ibid, 240

²²² Ibid, 240

throughout the Empire. The coronation anthems Handel composed became an instant hit. Out of the four anthems, *Zadok the Priest* remained, and still remains, the most celebrated anthem. The movement of *Zadok the Priest* is a 23-bar string introduction, with a slow build-up and an unbearable harmonic tension. The seven-part choir is complemented with trumpets in a blaze of sound. Handel's gift for dramatics is most evident in this anthem. *Zadok the Priest* is pure theatre, which uses biblical passage, describing the anointing of King Solomon, which had been used at the coronations of English kings since the time of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The antiphon is included in the so-called Pontifical of King Egbert (ca. 1000), but probably sometime before 900.²²³ With this anthem having such old religious tones (pre-Reformation) and its symbolism to the age-old Anglo-Saxon kings (which is also pre-Reformation) there is no distinction between British-Anglicans and British-Catholics, other than the monarch who is crowned as a Protestant King. If it were not so difficult to sing, it would make the perfect national anthem over *God Save the King*.

While King George I spent most of his reign listening to Handel for personal enjoyment in the London theatres (e.g. *Water Music*, c. 1717)²²⁴, King George II on the other hand, with the aid of Handel's music, brought forth the sensibility of the theatre into the heart of his coronation ceremony. The music proved to be a grand hit. It was George II's mandate of redirecting the monarchy into a new "British" direction, or so George II seemed to claim. With the coronation and Handel's great success, his anthems

²²³ David Starkey and Katie Greening, *Music & Monarchy: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (BBC Books, 2013), 244

²²⁴ *The Daily Courant*, (17 Jul 1717), 76–77, in Donald Burrows, *Handel* 2nd edition (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), 101

were used throughout the eighteenth century in innumerable charity concerts and services. George II used these anthems as his pledge that unlike his father, a staunch Hanoverian-German, he (George II) would “rule as a British King, not a reluctant German.”²²⁵ George II began his reign off to a good start, which remained in Britain’s interests. Like his father, however, his love for Hanover, and his desire to maintain his interests within the European mainland, drove Britain into conflicts that were not of its own interest. One of Handel’s compositions, *Dettingen Te Deum* (1743) was to celebrate the [pan] British-Hanoverian victory on 27 June 1743 over the French at Dettingen in Germany.²²⁶ King George II was present at the first performance on the 27 November 1743, at St. James’ Palace – the brilliance of Handel’s work quickly became known, and it was performed several times in years to come. The only controversy over this song was that it was not British enough. It did not pride over Britain’s glory or the king’s British subjects; it was a song dedicated to defending the king’s ancestral homeland at Britain’s expense. During the battle George II did not even wear British colors on his uniform, preferring instead to wear a yellow sash of the Duchy of Hanover. Most significantly, the Battle of Dettingen was a peripheral skirmish.²²⁷ The scale and manner of the victory were unlikely to cause the British government to organize a public thanksgiving in the emblematic national cathedral, not least because it would have provoked outrage from the opposition politicians who would be more than eager to point out how Britain’s interests were often being relegated to those of the royal family’s German homeland.

²²⁵ Burrows, 245-246

²²⁶ David Starkey, *Crown & Country: The Kings & Queens of England* (London, HarperCollins Press, 2006), 429

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 434

After Dettingen, George II spent the summer in Hanover, and would not return until late-November. George II's long-term absence from his kingdom, and his preference to remain in Hanover, deterred his British subjects from treating the king's royal precession as one of a conquering hero once he returned. Any notion that a public ceremony might be held dwindled.²²⁸ During this period, musical cravings of the British populace sought a return to the musical forms that were familiar – and crucially – more English (or British). *Dettingen Te Deum*, and some of the music patronized by the first two Georgian kings' were perceived as being too foreign and too German.²²⁹ Though Handel's music became a huge hit amongst the British monarchy and to an extent amongst Britons themselves, Handel's music lacked the national flavor of "British music" which by the mid-eighteenth century Britons yearned for. The monarchy saw itself placed in an increasingly vulnerable position. What was needed to escape this situation was a national music that symbolized the British Empire.

Naturalized Britishness and Thomas Arne:

One key composer of the eighteenth century who embodied British music and Britishness was Thomas Arne (1710-1778), a native born Englishman who had established himself away from the world of the Georgian court and the Chapel Royal.²³⁰ Thomas Arne rivaled Handel, the great patron of both king's George I and II; however, what Arne possessed that Handel did not was his truly British nationality. Arne was commissioned by King George II's son, the Prince of Wales, Frederick-Louis in 1740 to

²²⁸ David Starkey, and Katie Greening, *Music & Monarchy: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (BBC Books, 2013), 247

²²⁹ Ibid, 249

²³⁰ Ibid, 253

compose music for the Prince at an event, which was to be held at his country estate house at Cliveden to celebrate the birthday of Princes' three-year old daughter, the Princess Augusta. In reality Frederick wanted Arne to compose a piece of pro-British music to illustrate the Prince (who was Arne's patron) as the "people's Prince".²³¹ The song Arne composed was the most quintessentially British song yet composed that forged the identity of Britain through the duration of the eighteenth century. Arne's music was the subject of the ninth century Anglo-Saxon King, Alfred "the Great" of Wessex (c. 849-899), who during his reign unified the various feuding Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under the banner of Wessex (and England), against the invading forces of the Danish-Viking "Great Heathen Army". King Alfred was the heroic defender of England, and a patron of the building of towns, commerce, and the founder of the English (later British) navy.²³² Alfred would be Frederick's model and inspiration of how he, like Alfred, would bring Britain to greatness. Arne's song, which he composed for the prince, was called *Rule Britannia*, based on a poem, by the Scottish poet James Thomson (c. 1700-1748)²³³ – it became the most famous of patriotic anthems with its original lyrics:

Original Lyrics (1763) – First Verse:

(1) When Britain first, at Heaven's command
Arose from out the azure main;
This was the Charter, the Charter of the land,
And Guardian Angels (*Angles*) sang this strain;
Rule Britannia! Britannia rules the waves;

²³¹ Starkey, and Greening, 254-255

²³² Anne Savage, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Papermac, 1988), 86-88

²³³ Percy Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* 10th ed. (Oxford University Press, 1970), 897

Britons never, never, never, will be slaves!²³⁴

When *Rule Britannia* was sung at the Drury Lane Theatre (1755), the song was to be a direct assault upon King George II, as a foreigner who was imposing his foreign-Hanoverian mandates upon the peoples of Britain. Some politicians such as, John Russell, the 4th Duke of Bedford, and William Pulteney, the 1st Earl of Bath, believed in supporting the princes' mandate of aggressive foreign politics. One such member of the princes' audience, Welsh aristocrat, Lord Guildford exclaimed:

Methinks I saw you stretching your Melodious Throat in the greatest ecstasy pronouncing those delightful words: "Britons, never will be slaves" is intended for Britain to expand its prowess, and shed the light of a new Britain – One that "Rules the waves".²³⁵

Throughout the eighteenth century, Britain was a pawn used in Hanoverian-German wars, such as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). However, in 1745 during the second major Jacobite uprising led by the exiled Stuart prince, Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), *Rule Britannia* went from uplifting Prince Frederick's popularity and political mandate to a Pro-British patriotic anthem. Even the Hanoverian Army began to sing the song.²³⁶ The song transitioned from being one about an early-medieval king to representing the survival and might of an entire nation.

Rule Britannia was not the only song Arne composed during this time. When Jacobite troops marched south into England, Arne came up with a more widely known statement of Britishness in support for the embattled King George II. This tune was crystalized in

²³⁴ James Thomson, *The Works of James Thomson* (C. Cooke Ltd., 1763), 191

²³⁵ David Starkey and Katie Greening, "Lord Guildford to Prince Frederick (1741)" *Music & Monarchy: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (BBC Books, 2013), 256

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 257

the hearts, minds, and ears of all Englishmen and supporters of Britain. On the 28 September 1745 at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, the *Daily Advertiser* described it as:

On Saturday night last, the audience of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane were agreeably surprised by the Gentlemen belonging to that House performing the Anthem of God Save Our noble King. The Anthem was repeated nightly till nearly the end of November, and the managers of Covent Garden Theatre followed suit. The arrangement of the Anthem for Drury Lane was made by Arne, who had for principal singers . . . in a letter he wrote Garrick on the 10th October 1745, said ‘the stage at both houses is the most pious, as well as the most loyal place in the three kingdoms. Twenty men appear at the end of every play; and one, stepping forward from the rest, with uplifted hands and eyes, begins singing to an old anthem tune, the following word – God save the King’.²³⁷

The patriotic anthem *God Save the King* saw its origins as a tune written by John Bull (1562-1628) and Henry Purcell (1659-1695) in the seventeenth century as a Christmas carol²³⁸ – it certainly gave sound to the ears of the audience at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1745. During the Jacobite uprising, *God Save the King* became firmly established as Britain’s national anthem, making Britain the first country in Europe to have a patriotic hymn as a national anthem.²³⁹ It seems quite fitting that God Save the King would be the national anthem of Britain, but why? On the 8 November 1745, Bonnie Prince Charlie with an army of 13,000 infantry, and 3,000 cavalry invaded England. The city of Carlisle was besieged and lost to the invading Jacobite forces (15 November).²⁴⁰ Edward Stanley the 11th Earl of Derby on the 23 November, abandoned his defence of Manchester, and

²³⁷ William Cummings, *Dr. Arne and Rule, Britannia* (Novello, 1912), 35-36

²³⁸ Graham Stewart, *Britannia: 100 Documents That Shaped A Nation* (London, Atlantis Books Ltd., 2010), 194

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 195

²⁴⁰ Christopher Duffy, *The '45* (Cassell, 2003), 226

on the 26 November the Jacobites took Preston.²⁴¹ By the 4 of December, the Jacobites had reached the city of Derby.²⁴² With such a massive sweep across Northern England, the odds looked favorably for the Jacobites. At the end of October in 1745, as Jacobite forces were amassing towards the English border, *God Save the King* was played in order to boast sympathies and loyalties to King George II and to save Britain from the tyranny of the Stuarts and their Catholic-French supporters. Figure 2 shows the original lyrics Arne had composed in 1745. Despite being a Catholic, Thomas Arne was a staunch Hanoverian supporter; *God Save the King* was intended to rally anti-Jacobite sentiments and become a defining declaration of Britishness (even though there was no real concept of a national anthem at that time).

²⁴¹ Frank McLynn, *The Jacobite Army in England: 1745 - The Final Campaign* (John Donald, 1998), 77

²⁴² *Ibid*, 124

552. *A Song for two Voices. As sung at both Playhouses.*

God save great GEORGE our king, Long live our noble king.

God save the king. Send him vic - to - ri - ous, Happy and glo - ri - ous,

God save, the king. Send him vic - to - ri - ous, Happy and glo - ri - ous,

Long to reign o - ver us, God save the king.

Long to reign o - ver us. God save the king.

2.
O Lord our God arise,
Scatter his enemies,
And make them fall;
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On him our hopes we fix,
O save us all.

3.
Thy choicest gifts in store
On *George* be pleas'd to pour,
Long may he reign;
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause,
To say with heart and voice
God save the king.

Figure 2. *God Save the King* (c. 1745)²⁴³

The original lyrics confounded the politics and knavish tricks of the Jacobite sympathizers, rather than Britain versus the “other” (e.g., France, Spain, the Netherlands,

²⁴³ Thomas Arne, “God Save the King” [taken from] *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (15 October 1745), Photo uploaded July 18, 2015, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/49/Gstk.png>

or Flanders). The fourth verse of the original lyrics expresses the notion of hope for the future of Britain and the British monarchy:

Temporary Fourth Verse During the Second Jacobite Uprising (1745-46):

(4) Lord, grant Marshal Wade
May by thy mighty Aid
Victory bring
May he sedition Hush
And like a torrent Rush
Rebellious Scots to Crush
God save the King²⁴⁴

This fourth stanza was a temporary verse dedicated to Field-marshal George Wade (1673-1748) who was in charge of the British Northern Army during the uprising. Marshal Wade developed a reputation in the British army as being a grandfather figure amongst his men and a hero of Britain; he saw much action During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the First Jacobite Uprising (1715), and the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720), and [part of] the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). This verse including Marshal Wade however was not in Arne's official arrangement, but due to the song's popularity throughout the British and Hanoverian (including Hessian) armies, the verse became an inspiration and a moral boast for the troops garrisoned in Scotland and northern England. This verse was to epitomize a longtime veteran and loyalist to the Hanoverian crown, Marshal Wade, as an inspiration to British soldiers to maintain their loyalties to not just the Crown, but to a "free" and "independent" Britain, one which is Free from despotic Stuart Kings who claimed their

²⁴⁴ Stewart, "God Save the King" (original lyrics, 1745), 195

divine right to rule and free from French-Catholic Oppression, which by extension symbolizes Britain's distance from the "yoke" of Rome.

After Prince Charles Edward Stuart was defeated at the battle of Culloden (April 1746), and fled into royal exile in France, Stuart-Catholic sympathizer claims to the British throne dwindled and officially became extinct by 1788 during the reign of King George III. At that point *God Save the King* became recognized as the official national anthem of Britain.²⁴⁵ The tune to this song became phenomenal throughout the kingdoms of the European mainland, which was played as the melody for the national anthems for the Kingdom of Prussia and the Tsardom of Russia.²⁴⁶

Sea-Song Britishness:

During the mid-eighteenth century, music's very survival depended considerably upon fashionable patronage. Noblemen such as James Brydges the 1st Duke of Chandos (1673-1744) had his own private orchestra, while others patronized the *Academy of Ancient Music*, which had lasted from 1710-1792. In 1761 the Academy founded the *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* to sing glees, which were very popular during the eighteenth century.²⁴⁷

The late-eighteenth century revival of patriotic music is greatly apparent in the sea-songs of the time. Charles Dibdin (1745-1814) wrote sea-songs that accorded with popular enthusiasm for the Royal Navy, including: *The British Fleet in 1342* (c. 1798), *Broken Gold* (c. 1806), and *The Cabinet* (c. 1807). The later two songs were farces in two

²⁴⁵ Stewart, 196

²⁴⁶ L.W. Cowie, *Hanoverian England: 1714-1837* (London, Bell & Hyman Ltd., 1967), 102

²⁴⁷ Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th Century* (Penguin Books Ltd., 1991), 58-60

acts on the occasion of Lord Horatio Nelson's victory and death, produced in Drury Lane.²⁴⁸ Most famous of the British naval patriotic hymns was David Garrick's *Heart of Oak* (c. 1760). Originally written as an opera, it saw first light on New Year's Eve in 1760, which was to commemorate the *Annus Mirabilis* "the Wonderful Year" [of 1759], which is referenced in the second line of the first verse of the song (see Figure 3). The Wonderful makes reference to battles in which the British army and navy were victorious: Minden (1 August 1759), Lagos (19 August 1759), Plains of Abraham (13 September 1759), and Quiberon Bay (20 November 1759). These victories were followed by the battle of Wandiwash in India on 22 January 1760. Britain's success following the 1759 "Year of victories" boosted *Heart of Oak*'s popularity. Looking at the first verse one can see the reference to "the wonderful year". The reference to "freemen not slaves" echoes the refrain from Arne's *Rule Britannia*, which says: "Britons, never, never, never will be slaves" – written two decades earlier.

²⁴⁸ Cowie, 102

Heart of Oak (1760), First Verse:



Come, cheer up my lads, 'tis to glo- ry we steer, To add some- thing more to this
won- der- ful year; To ho- nor we call you as free men, not slaves, for
who are so free as the sons of the waves? Heart of oak are our ships, heart of
oak are our men; we al- ways are rea- dy, stea- dy, boys, stea- dy, We'll
fight and we'll con- quer a- gain and a- gain.

Figure 3. First verse to *Heart of Oak* ²⁴⁹

“The British Grenadiers”:

Another patriotic tune, which captivates the essence of Britishness in the military, seen in Figure 4, is the song *The British Grenadiers* march (17th century). This song has been used in popular culture since, including television series such as the BBC sitcom *The Blackadder: Goes Fourth* (1989), the British-American television drama *Outlander* (2014-), and the AMC period drama *Turn: Washington’s Spies* (2014-). It has also been

²⁴⁹ David Garrick, *Heart of Oak*, (1760), Photo uploaded: July 18, 2015, http://www.8notes.com/digital_tradition/gif_dtrad/heartoak.gif

used in several blockbuster hit movies: *Sharpe's Company* (1994), *Pride and Prejudice* (1995), *Horatio Hornblower* (1998), *The Patriot* (2000), *The Four Feathers* (2002), and *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003). This march has also seen light in video games such as the P.C. game Sid Meier's *Pirates* (1987), to represent English presence in the Caribbean.

The British Grenadiers – First verse:

Some talk of A-lex- an- der, and some of Her- cu- les. Of Hec- tor and Ly-

san- der and such great names as these. But of all the world's great he- roes, there's

none that can com- pare, with a tow- row- row- row row, row, To the Bri- tish Gre- na- dier.

Figure 4. *British Grenadiers March* (1750 lyrics)²⁵⁰

The first known association of this marching tune with the British Army was in 1706, referred to as *The Grenadier's March*. The march's lyrics date back to the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), since it refers to the grenadiers throwing grenades, wearing "caps and pouches". This is a reference to the tall grenadier caps worn by the British troops who carried a satchel in which grenades were held. In addition, it is clear that these were early-eighteenth century grenadiers by the mention of the "Loupéd

²⁵⁰ *The British Grenadiers* march (1750 lyrics), Photo uploaded: July 19, 2015, http://www.8notes.com/digital_tradition/gif_dtrad/britgren.gif

clothes”, which were coats with broad bands across the chest also worn by grenadiers. Finally, the last verse of the song makes use of the term “bumper”, which is an early-eighteenth century evocative word for any container that could be used to clink with another reveler’s in a toast to someone’s health, and as such should always be full or overflowing. It could be filled with beer, canary, grog, sack, posset, cider, ale, shrub or punch. It usually referred to a handled vessel such as a (pewter or ceramic) beer-mug or (leathern) jack, or a (horn or pewter) beaker that could be picked up and passed around for everyone to quaff. The bumper was a wonderful eighteenth century symbol of celebration and plenty.²⁵¹

Fifth Verse:

Then let us fill a bumper
And drink a health to those
Who carry caps and pouches,
And wear the louped clothes.
May they and their commanders
Live happy all their years²⁵²

Strong elements of Britishness are found in the very first verse which compares great heroes such as Alexander [the great], the demigod Hercules, Hector [of Troy], and Lysander [of Sparta] to British grenadiers; however, though they were all great men, they cannot compare to the prowess and magnificence of the British grenadiers.

²⁵¹ Frances Phipps, “Antiques; Drinking Vessels of the Colonists”, *The New York Times*; (18 October 1981), Accessed: July 19, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/10/18/nyregion/antiques-drinking-vessels-of-the-colonists.html>

²⁵² W.E. Studwell, *The National and Religious Song Reader: Traditional and Sacred Songs from Around the World* (Haworth Press, 1996), 56

When one reads the second verse the song refers to how those ancient heroes, as great as they were, still cannot match the British, because they had never fought against cannon fire, or were ever hit by a musket ball, which according to the British was far worse than what the ancients had ever endured in a battle:

Second Verse:

Those heroes of antiquity ne'er saw a cannon ball,
Or knew the force of powder to slay their foes withal.
But our brave boys do know it, and banish all their fears,
With a tow, row, row, row, row, row, for the British Grenadiers.²⁵³

Eighteenth Century Music - Conclusions:

Music during the eighteenth century served to bolster the British monarchy and a British cultural identity, which people could in fact call “British” rather than, English, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish. King George III’s sixty-year reign was rocked by revolutions – in America and in France. The overthrow of monarchies in other countries only served to preserve the monarchy in Britain. Records show that between 1760 and 1781 during King George III’s reign the anthem *God Save the King* received only four formal performances, but from the 1780s until the 1800s (during the Napoleonic wars) there were over ninety performances.²⁵⁴ This was primarily due to the King’s recurring mental illness leaving him vulnerable, and aloof; depicting him as a grandfather-type-figure to the British nation. The French revolution also brought forth a scare to Britons of the horrors of terror, destruction, and death that could possibly occur in their own country.

²⁵³ Studwell, 56

²⁵⁴ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale University Press, 1992), 290

This honed in the fear of the “other” (France), which had strengthened the monarchies position in Britain. This extraordinary achievement of the eighteenth century monarchy, despite being a fragile institution that had lost much of its political and religious influence and power, helped to create not only a powerful nation – which laid the foundation for the Victorian “Second” British Empire – but also forged the idea of Britishness and a created a British cultural identity with a patriotic national soundtrack to accompany it.

Conclusions:

Upon the death of King George III (d. 1820), Great Britain had emerged from the eighteenth century and forged its identity, largely through and conflict (the Jacobite Uprisings, American Revolutionary War, Napoleonic Wars). The Hanoverian monarchy had defended its rights as the rulers of Britain in the two attempted Jacobite coups of 1715 and 1745 had embittered relations between the Scottish and English for much of the century; however, with the promotions and advancements of military peerage and patronage amongst the Scottish redcoat officers and the establishing of Scottish, Irish and even Welsh redcoat regiments diffused the tensions between the once rivaled nations of the British Isles.

King George I and his son King George II thought of themselves primarily as German rulers who had inherited Britain. They spent as much time as they could at their palace in Herrenhausen in Hanover; King George I spoke very little English. They relied much on the aristocracy of Britain. Men like Robert Walpole and William Pitt “the Elder” managed the affairs for them, a policy, which seemed justified by successful wars, (King George II was the last British king to lead his own troops into battle; Dettingen, 27 June 1743) and imperial expansion, and a growth of national prosperity. However, when King George III came to the throne the monarchy became embroiled in new constitutional controversies. He was keenly British, “Born and raised in this country”, and enthusiastically conscientious, rising difficulties both in Britain and abroad. During his later years, King George III became symbolized as a national icon of Britain, being a grandfather-type of figure. Throughout the Georgian age some of the main underlying forces which has been referred to constantly throughout this thesis, which motivated the

process of national unification and the crystallization of Britishness was the prolonged and constant struggle with France, the Catholic faith, and the effort required to seize and hold an empire abroad. This conflict engaged the energies of all the most dynamic elements in British society. What was so remarkable about those who forged what became Great Britain: the British commanders such as, Marlborough, Clive, Wolfe, Wade, Cumberland, Cornwallis, Nelson, and Wellington, and the serried ranks of Scottish engineers, Irish adventurers, and Welsh laborers was that their pursuit of private profit gave rise and time to a powerful British patriotism. An identity which had been frequently expressed in the terms of idealism.

The Georgian era as we have seen opened to the sound of neo-Palladian trumpets. Splendorous homes such as Lord Burlington's neo-Palladian Chiswick House, the Earl of Bath's Stowe House, or the Earl of Leicester's Holkham Hall were all triumphant assertions of grandeur, conceived and executed on a gigantic scale, which reshaped and modeled the new British architectural form. To the modern visitor these "stately houses" can seem like museums, but for the occupants they family homes, and much more besides – estate offices, the headquarters of political and business concerns of learning the arts. These houses swarmed with servants, children, and animals; they were [almost] self-contained villages that provided jobs and security for many. By the 1730s the neo-Palladian style of architecture became the national style in both town and country, for both "prince" and "pauper" alike.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, music was dominated by George Friedrich Handel, both kings, George I and George II patronized him, so many of Handel's compositions were related to royal events, *Zadok the Priest*, *Dettingen Te*

Deum, and *Judas Maccabeus*. Though Handel's music swept the musical floor for Britons it was not the exact flavor the people of Britain wanted in national sense. The people of Britain craved for a national melody, something like English folk music of olden times. It would not be until Thomas Arne's *Rule Britannia* and *God Save the King* came to the musical forefront that music gave an indication to the peoples of Britain of a national revival, a British national revival – a revival that forged a British identity, and flourished into the modern age.

Between 1760 and 1820, Britain became pulled towards greater unity than it ever had been during the *long duree* of the eighteenth century; the elimination of Jacobitism as a serious threat meant that Scotland could become fully incorporated into the United Kingdom, and Scots enthusiastically participated in government, military, and imperial service in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Revolutionary (including the American Revolutionary War) and Napoleonic Wars with France proved to be the strongest unifier, as they directly threatened the nation's survival, requiring massive mobilization of power and resources that virtually touched every Briton, and formed a British identity that would be unchallenged and unchartered and had set forth the ever expansion of British national glory throughout the periods that followed the "heydays" of Georgian-Britain.

Appendix:

A List of Major British Army Regiments During the Hanoverian Age

I have listed major regiments that had served loyally to the Hanoverian court, and for some regiments that had seen much action during the Jacobite uprisings in the 1715 and 1745 rebellions. I recorded what their original regimental name was before the Hanoverian succession, and what it was during the reign of the Hanoverian dynasty. Note that the Scottish named regiments a changed significantly with a more British sounding regimental name. I have also incorporated the Irish formed regiments that were established in response to the French invasion scares of the 1790s and the Napoleonic wars.

Regiments that had fought a the Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746)

British Government Troops:

Commanding Officer:

The Duke of Cumberland

Cavalry:

Cobham's 10th Dragoons

Kerr's 11th Dragoons

Kingston's Light Horse Dragoons

Highland (Government) Militia

Infantry:

Royal Scots 1st Infantry of Foot

Howard's "Old Buffs" 3rd

Barrell's Kings Own 4th

Wolfe's 8th

Pultenet's 13th

Price's 14th

Bligh's 20th

Campbell's 21st Royal Scots Foot

Sempill's 25th

Blakeney's 27th

Cholmondeley's 34th

Fleming's 36th

Munro's 37th

Conway's 48th Ligonier's

Battereau's 62nd Foot

Hanoverian Regiments: Name Changes – By Region within Great Britain

English Regiments:

Queens Royal Regiment [West Surrey] – founded c. 1661
Hanoverian name change in 1721: **2nd Queens Royal Regiment of Foot**
(Named after Queen Caroline of Ansbach, wife of George II)

The Buffs Royal East Kent Regiment – founded c. 1572
Hanoverian name change in 1744: **3rd Kent Royal Regiment of Foot**
(Distinguished itself at the Battle of Dettingen, c. 1743)

The Kings Own Royal Regiment [Lancaster] – founded c. 1680
Hanoverian name change in 1751: **The 4th (King's Own) Regiment of Foot**

The Royal Northumberland Fusiliers – founded c. 1674
Hanoverian name change in 1751: **The 5th Regiment of Foot**

The Royal Fusiliers [City of London Regiment] – founded c. 1685
Hanoverian name change in 1714: **Our Royal Regiment**
(Personal regiment of the Hanoverian monarchy)

The West Yorkshire Regiment [The Prince of Wales' Own] – founded c. 1685
Hanoverian name change in 1751: **The 14th Regiment of Foot**

The East Yorkshire Regiment [The Duke of York's Own] – founded c. 1685
Hanoverian name change in 1751: **The 15th Regiment of Foot**

The 45th [Sherwood] Nottinghamshire Regiment of Foot
Hanoverian established regiment raised in 1741²⁵⁵

Welsh Regiments:

The Royal Welsh Fusiliers – founded c. 1689
Pre-Hanoverian period in 1713 Welsh was altered to “Welch” and was also referred to under the Hanoverians as the **23rd Regiment of Foot**

41st (Welch) Regiment of Foot

Hanoverian established regiment raised in 1719
Renamed in 1787: 41st (Royal Invalid) Regiment of Foot
The South Wales Borders – Founded c. 1689
Hanoverian name change in 1747: **24th Regiment of Foot**²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Ray Westlake, *English and Welsh Infantry Regiments* (Spellmount Staplehurst Ltd. 1995)

²⁵⁶ Ray Westlake, *English and Welsh Infantry Regiments* (Spellmount Staplehurst Ltd. 1995)

Scottish Regiments:

The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards – founded c. 1689

Hanoverian name change in 1716: **The Royal North British Dragoons**

The Scots Guards – founded c. 1642

Hanoverian name change in 1715: **3rd Regiment of Foot Guards**

The Kings Own Scottish Borderers – founded c. 1689

Hanoverian name change in 1745: **Semphill's Regiment of Foot**

(Response to the second Jacobite uprising)

Name change in 1787: **25th (Sussex) Regiment of Foot**²⁵⁷

Irish Regiments:

In 1793, France had endured the horrors of the revolution, the cry of equality was raised by the commons, as the blood of princes, nobles, watered the streets of Paris, Marseille's, Rouen, Reims, and many other major French cities. In fear for republican cries to spread into the British Isles fifty regiments of foot were raised to maintain order and to prevent / defend Britain from French foreign invasion. The first corps established was the **86th Royal County Downs Regiment.**²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Ibid

²⁵⁸ John W. Parker, *Historical Record of the 86th Foot: 1793-1837* (William Clowes and Sons, 1838)

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