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Bank of Scotland Union with England 1707, public acts. Sir David Dalrymple, 1st Bt. That Lockhart was its true author was widely suspected, but he vehemently denied having written this abrasive indictment of the egotism and corruption that had brought about the Union. In addition to being an overtly Jacobite treatise, the Memoirs also contained such defamatory comments on leading members of the Scottish nobility that, if the author were to have been identified, he was liable to prosecution for scandalum magnatum. These Lockhart Papers, therefore, provide one of the most important printed sources for Scottish politics in the reign of Queen Anne. Lockhart, as is evident from his writings and correspondence, was a profoundly moral man, forced into conspiratorial politics by his overriding preoccupations with reclaiming Scottish independence and restoring the Stuart dynasty. His great skill, both as a debater and political observer, was in vividly exposing the fallacies of his opponents, a quality which has, moreover, made him a favourite source for the historian in search of a telling quotation. He was pardoned at the Restoration, however, and obtained a knighthood in 1701. His career was cut short on 31 Mar. He ranked, therefore, among the wealthiest of Scottish commoners, and possessed a significant electoral interest in two counties: His upbringing was thereafter entrusted to the Presbyterian tutors of John Campbell, later 2nd Duke of Argyll. The educational experiment backfired, however, and Lockhart developed a hearty dislike of all things Presbyterian. By he had obtained the appointment of episcopalian guardians and had begun to manage his own financial affairs. In he married the daughter of a notable episcopalian peer, Lord Eglintoun, and, after entering the Scottish parliament in 1703, joined the cavalier wing of the Country party. He was attracted towards a political alliance by the hope of a legal toleration for episcopalians. But the failure to convince existing supporters of the ministry of the benefits of toleration led to the collapse of this coalition in its infancy. Lockhart therefore went into opposition, and remained disaffected with the Court for the remainder of his Scottish parliamentary career. But his friends and those of his party, believing that he might be serviceable by giving an account of how matters were carried on, prevailed with him to alter his resolution. Unable to influence the outcome, he took care to avoid signing the treaty, and in the parliamentary session of 1704 emerged as one of the most vigorous opponents of the Union. Voting generally with the opposition, he nevertheless gave token support to the article on communication of trade; and he abstained, apparently in disgust, from voting on ratification. The caution of the latter saved Lockhart from disaster, however, for Cunningham was a double-agent. He was certainly active enough, canvassing in two counties, Lanarkshire and Edinburghshire, and taking out the additional insurance of a return for Wigtown Burghs on the Galloway interest. He was therefore able to surrender the burgh seat to Cochrane. Although there had been widespread arrests of suspected Jacobites during the invasion scare, Lockhart himself was not taken up because of fears that this might offend Wharton. With hindsight Lockhart became convinced that, apart from the notable exception of Westminster, the Scots had been naive about controverted elections for English seats. In Scottish election cases, his principal contribution was in arguing that the eldest sons of Scottish peers were incapable of election to Westminster. There was a further danger that the Court might have gained a double influence in Parliament through co-ordinating elections to the Commons and the representative peerage. He spoke, probably on 21 Feb. The merchants have a right to demand these drawbacks. It was on the faith of the articles of the Union that the parliament of Scotland entered into this entire Union. Now that we are united, we should reckon ourselves one and the same people and shun every occasion to give jealousy to one another, and if we design to be happy, keep every article of the Union sacred and inviolable; the Union being like a vault which is a foundation very strong and capable to bear a mighty structure, but the alteration of the least stone looses and brings the whole to ruin. He alleged that the hidden agenda had been to intimidate or bribe the Scottish nobility into co-operating with the Court at the general election. This proposal which had originated in an earlier Commons inquiry into the failure to convict

several Stirlingshire lairds for suspicious conduct at the time of the Jacobite descent had nevertheless perished in committee because of Scottish opposition. In late March the measure reappeared as a new bill from the Lords. His opposition was founded upon the principle that the abolition of the Scottish judiciary court was a breach of the Union. His own disaffection was indicated by a lack of urgency to return from Scotland for the second session of this Parliament. He was back at Westminster in early , however, and duly voted against the impeachment of Dr Sacheverell. Lockhart relished the backlash against the Whigs and was happy to bring his personal influence to bear upon the Duke of Hamilton in order to persuade him to desert the Court on this issue. Although his opponent, Sir James Stewart, 1st Bt. Lockhart did his best to encourage concerted action by Scots Members on national issues, but unity could only be fleeting because of divergent attitudes towards the Kirk, the Union and the Hanoverian succession. Even within this small group, however, personal rivalries and tactical differences made unity of purpose difficult to achieve. He spoke next in the committee of ways and means, probably on 26 Jan. He took Harley to task for asserting that an unfettered right of taxation over Scotland had been purchased at the Union: I took him up and said that I was glad to hear a truth, which I had never doubted, now publicly brought to light and owned, for the honourable gentleman acknowledged that Scotland was bought and sold; but I much admired to hear from one of his experience in business and who had so great a hand in the purchase, that the Equivalent was the price, it being as certain as it was no secret that the Equivalent arose and was paid to Scotland on account of a sum with which the Scots customs and excise were to be charged towards paying debts contracted by England before the Union, so that the English got an equivalent for this sum paid to Scotland, and therefore if Scotland was bought and sold, it must be for a price not yet come to light, and I would be extremely glad to know what this price amounted to and who received it. As a result of Scottish opposition the duty was reduced pro rata on shorter lengths of linen, which were common in Scotland. He took care to reassure his English audience that there was no danger of a Scottish backlash: The spirit of Presbytery does not rage as it did, the interest of the Presbyterian clergy is much diminished. Had it not been supported from England, it had long ere this dwindled into nothing in Scotland; and how could it be otherwise when not a tenth part of the nobility and a third of the commons are thus affected? He spoke on 22 Feb. In defence of the age-qualification of Hon. He was not himself a member of the Club, but was closely associated with its aims and objectives. According to Sir James Dunbar, 1st Bt. Lockhart was elected in second place on 19 Mar. He therefore recommended that the Scottish barons of exchequer should be empowered to examine the accounts, and was immediately appointed to draft a bill for this purpose, managing it successfully through the Commons only to witness its failure in the Lords. He was responsible for drafting and presenting this bill in April, also chairing the second-reading committee. But the Scots could never prevail, though they often required that the House would resolve itself in a committee of the whole to take it into consideration, the order for that purpose being postponed from day to day, and every little trifling affair relating to England preferred to it, and the bill left unfinished. On 9 May Lockhart opposed William Lowndes over the introduction of a clause to the lottery bill giving priority of payment to Scottish official salaries over drawbacks and premiums on trade: We the Scots, not being apprised of his motion, were surprised at it and knew not what to make of it; but as we had reason to dread whatever came from that quarter, I first of all opposed the clause, affirming that if it passed, the Scots fishing was undone. A combined opposition of Scots and English Members led to the subsequent withdrawal of the obnoxious clause. Lockhart probably spoke more than once on this topic, but no further details of his speeches are known. Although the relevant act of the Scottish parliament was still in force, it had been tacitly ignored because the Scots customs since the Union had been chiefly in the hands of English officers, who for the most part were such a scandalous crew. I admired to see so small and withal so just a demand meet with such opposition; that I always knew and believed that Scotland must yield to England her elder sister, but expected she might have stood her ground against Ireland. In the same debate he called John Manley to order for arguing that Ireland must not be ruined to placate a few Scots Members. The linen bill perished in the Lords, and was duly cited by Lockhart in an anonymous pamphlet that catalogued all the reverses suffered by Scotland in this parliamentary session. I did on all occasions, and particularly when I was last in Scotland, lay myself out to expose those, of all factions, who pretended to accuse the present administration. Shortly after the opening of the second

session Lockhart was given the honour, on 21 Dec. He told on 16 Feb. Although absent on 7 Feb. A compromise solution had been adopted, namely that the Queen and the ministry had promised to support the bill in this session. Its passage into law was not, however, straightforward, and Lockhart played an important part in combating Presbyterian-inspired wrecking amendments. Not only was this secession opposed by influential Members such as Baillie, but a compromise solution offered by the ministry rendered it superfluous. Before Lockhart had left London Hamilton hinted that he should hold himself in readiness for any confidential missions that might be required. Lockhart inferred that these must be Jacobite in nature, though Hamilton cautiously avoided spelling this out. It came as a bitter blow, the more so as Lockhart came to suspect this had been a deliberate Whig plot to prevent the Duke from advancing the Jacobite cause by means of his diplomatic appointment. Motivated by a desire to defend the interests of Edinburgh, he was instrumental in preventing the reinstatement of a controversial clause in the land tax bill on 29 Apr. On 4 May he reintroduced his bill to regulate Scottish elections, managing it successfully through the Commons. Both of these measures had obvious relevance to his electoral interest. He was a teller on 19 May against recommitting the proposal for a 3d. It was decided to hold a joint meeting with the Scottish peers on 26 May. At this second meeting Lockhart exchanged heated words with Baillie, who was seeking to create obstructions by questioning their mandate for action. He also opposed the suggestion from Hon. He was naturally appointed to the Scots delegation to the Queen advising her of their intention to move for a dissolution of the Union. Although he endorsed the commonsense tactic of bringing forward their motion in the Lords, where the ministerial majority was narrower, he did not intend the Commons to remain passive. He therefore advocated an immediate attack on the Court, and that all ministerial measures should be opposed by the Scots, irrespective of individual differences of opinion on the merits of any particular question. If a unified Scots opposition had been agreed upon, then Lockhart would have found himself in an invidious position when he received instructions from the Pretender that the Jacobites should support the ministry. The exiled court wrongly believed that Lord Oxford was on the verge of negotiating a peaceful restoration. Lockhart made a swift volte-face: It was a measure of his growing status within Scottish Jacobite circles that Father James Carnegie suggested later in the year that the Pretender should make Lockhart a peer in order to allow him, in some measure, to fill the political vacuum created by the death of Hamilton. He departed for Westminster in February, and maintained a regular correspondence with the Scottish Jacobite Harry Maule of Kellie. The key to these letters not having survived, the cant names employed can only be provisionally identified. Lockhart gave the following account to Maule of the current state of politics: The Spider [Lockhart] was and is of opinion that the Shoemaker [Jacobites] should and might be uneasy to [Oxford] till he mended his manners, but those few intimate friends [Lockhart] formerly used to consult and concert with have entirely abandoned him, being absolute slaves to Ash [the ministry]. Apart from such local initiatives as the Edinburghshire highways bill, which Lockhart presented on 15 Mar. They were reluctantly persuaded that Bolingbroke needed further time to outmanoeuvre Oxford before any decisive action could be taken. On the other hand, he drew attention to the far greater danger to be apprehended from the spate of voluntary arming in the Presbyterian strongholds of western Scotland: Had anything like to this been done in the Highlands, we should have had a fine story of it; but there are a certain sort of people in the world who presume to censure others while they do 20 times worse themselves. To conclude; if the Protestant succession is in any kind of danger. Notwithstanding the effectiveness of his own speech and the ministerial victory, Lockhart was disappointed at the general impression created by the debate.

2: Daniel Szechi - Department of History - College of Liberal Arts - Auburn University

Szechi, D & Lockhart, G, Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, Scottish History Society, Fifth Series, vol. 2, 1 edn, Scottish History Society.

3: George Lockhart (politician) - Wikipedia

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4: Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, - CORE

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6: Daniel Szechi - Wikipedia

Lockhart, George, [Subject of text] Jacobites [Subject of text] To find similar items, select the checkboxes next to the characteristics you are interested in, then select the 'Find similar' button.

7: Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, in SearchWorks catalog

By: Lockhart, George, Published: () Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's accession to the throne, to the commencement of the union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, in May,

8: Daniel Szechi | Revolv

Two volumes of his memoirs and letters were published in His 'Papers on the Affairs of Scotland and Letters ' remains an important primary source for the history of the Jacobite movement. Marriage in George Lockhart of Carnwath married Lady Eupham Montgomery on 18 April

9: Books by George Lockhart (Author of Scotland's Ruine)

Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society,). (with Geoffrey Holmes), The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain (Longmans,). The Jacobites. Britain and Europe, (Manchester: Manchester University Press,).

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