



***Robert Burns:***

**Latent Political Activist or  
Political Commentator**

(Prepared by George Muir for the Calgary Burns Club Carnie Group, 2015)

## **Preface**

Robert Burns' writing was inspired by what he saw around him, in nature, in people, and his study and observation of history and current political events. Appendix I of this paper lists his many works with political references. It would be a huge task to cover all of them and so this paper addresses the most radical of his works, namely the Trial of Thomas Muir, the French Revolution, the American Revolution and the Jacobite Rebellions. These are the most sensitive topics and are subjects that would have been most closely watched by the authorities. The question is, did he write about these in a manner such as to incite the people or did he write on them to express his own views on the subject

## Robert Burns: Latent Political Activist or Political Commentator

Robert Burns remains not only an icon of Scottish pride and independent spirit but a worldwide icon of freedom and independence. His works were initially about the local agrarian life in Ayrshire but as his horizons broadened he wrote some very poignant poems aimed at the establishment – both religious and political.

The following lines from an ‘Epistle to Mrs. Scott’ (The Guidewife of Wauchope House), written in 1787 upon returning from his first visit to Edinburgh, show Burns desire to be called a bard; although he did not set out to be the National Bard of Scotland.

*“E'en then, a wish, (I mind its pow'r),  
A wish that to my latest hour  
Shall strongly heave my breast,  
That I for poor auld Scotland's sake  
Some usefu' plan or book could make,  
Or sing a sang at least.”*

This shows no desire or hint of being an activist or radical. It seems he only wanted to preserve the Scottish heritage.

In researching Burns and his political works one finds many different groups, scholars and commentators, political and otherwise, with their own interpretations and speculation as to the meaning/interpretation of them. On reading these it seems as though Burns had written just for them or their cause in today's world or as in the case of Russia, to support their political doctrine. Burns wrote in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and although his work shows his knowledge of pertinent international affairs, the British political scene and the Scottish Parliamentarians, his main interest lay within his own region. The Ayrshire people in his era are the people who can legitimately claim Burns as theirs. Burns wrote for his time and although some of today's events could be classed in a similar vein as those in Burns' time, it does not mean that he would take the same position today because other factors could influence his thinking. I say this because he was a ‘man o' independent mind’, an attribute of which he was very proud and in which he put great importance.

*“I have the advice of some very judicious friends among the literati here  
(Edinburgh), but with them I sometimes find it necessary to claim the privilege of  
thinking for myself.”*

In 1795 he wrote an ‘Inscription for an Altar of Independence’ at Kerroughtree in support of Patrick Heron's election campaign and for Heron whom he admired for his independent mind:-

*“Thou of an independent mind,  
With soul resolv'd, with soul resign'd;  
Prepar'd Power's proudest frown to brave,  
Who wilt not be, nor have a slave;  
Virtue alone who dost revere,  
Thy own reproach alone dost fear-  
Approach this shrine, and worship here.”*

It was this independent mind that resulted in Burns' political allegiances changing with time and why he was watched by the authorities. The single most important reform that Burns sought was for the improvement in the lives of the common people, the tenant farmers and farm workers and those people immortalised in his cantata 'The Jolly Beggars'. They were, in his eyes the soul of the country. It didn't matter to Burns whether the government was Whig or Tory as long as the policies were in favour of the common people.

Sir Henry Craik, (1<sup>st</sup> Baronet of Kennoway), in 'A Century of Scottish History' (1901) wrote of him:

*"It would be hard to give any connected or consistent account of Burns' politics; according to the party shibboleths of the day ... His opinions followed the lead of no party, and were independent of the mood of any age. Jacobite and democratic, Calvinist and Socinian, strongly national by tradition, and yet cosmopolitan in mood -- his views defied all classification, and were moulded into definite form only by the fire of his own temperament and by the indomitable might of his own genius."*

It was a difficult time in Scotland from the mid to end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The people felt very constrained in the aftermath of the 1715 and 1745 rebellions and under the strong Calvinist religious discipline. Although officials for both local and national office were elected, the electorate for both was extremely small. Women and Roman Catholics were barred from voting and in 1782, customs and excise officials were also denied, by law, the vote. Owning land valued at 40 shillings entitled a man the right to vote and in some freemen boroughs only the members of the council were eligible to vote. In Scotland the electorate consisted of just under 3000 men – about 3% of the total population or about 7% of the adult male population.

And so it was that Robert Burns had no chance of being eligible to vote and to feel that he had some input into the political world. He had, however, a talent that provided him the opportunity to express his views in poetry and song written in the language of the lowland Scots or Lallans (particularly that of Ayrshire). Burns had an excellent command of the English language which he got from his father, but his ability to express himself so succinctly in the Scots 'lallans' tongue is without parallel. His careful use of the mixture of Standard English and Lallans in his poems enabled him to convey his passion on the topic and yet by switching to English in appropriate stanzas he was able to present a tone that was more officially permissible. In a letter to Mr. George Thomson he made the point that –

*"I have not that command of the language that I have of my native tongue. In fact, I think that my ideas are more barren in English than in Scottish."*

His style most often reflects that of Scottish traditional songs and ballads. But what is most interesting and original, is the content, which is mainly drawn from the everyday experience of the mass of the Scottish people, ploughboys, soldiers, tinkers, market drunkards, and the serving-wenches of numerous inns.

It is not unreasonable to think that the dissemination of news/information to the Scottish public in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century would be minimal and slow. This was not the case. Newspaper publication was expensive and so pamphlets were used extensively and were issued by both radical organizations and loyalists alike. The two major publishers were the Caledonian Mercury (newspapers) and the Edinburgh Gazetteer (pamphlets). No doubt these would be more

available in the large urban areas and would have been read avidly by Burns when he was in Edinburgh.

There was a high literacy rate in Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, not only in the wealthier populace but across the board and the majority of the people were well aware of what was going on in the country. However, should anyone dare to criticise either the political establishment or the Kirk they were severely punished. Burns made many references to the suppression of free speech and its interpretation by the authorities. In 1787 in his 'Address to William Tytler of Woodhouselee' he wrote -

*“But, loyalty, truce! we're on dangerous ground;  
Who knows how the fashions may alter?  
The doctrine, to-day, that is loyalty sound,  
To-morrow may bring us a halter!”*

As a result the people kept quiet and got on with their lives and there was a general drift towards the Anglicising of the Scots language and culture.

His first visit to Edinburgh in 1786 broadened his outlook and introduced him to men of a different social and political standing. He still maintained his independent mind and support for the common man's rights and freedoms. Both the first Kilmarnock Edition (see Appendix II) and first Edinburgh Editions contain none of his 'political' works; they are based on his life experiences and those of the people and events affecting them. Burns would have been aware of the new publications being scrutinized by the authorities and the only poem in these editions which could be construed as an insult to the monarchy is 'A Dream' written just before publication of the Kilmarnock Edition in July of 1786 in which he brazenly introduced with the words -

*“Thoughts, words and deeds, the statute blames with reason:  
But surely Dreams were ne'er indicted Treason!”*

After his visit to Edinburgh he realised the importance of his work and how it was elevating his status, not only in the literary world but with the people.

In September 1792 the new Theatre Royal opened in Dumfries. Burns was delighted as it was close to his house in the Vennel. A performance of Shakespeare's 'As You Like It' was held in October of that year. Burns was present during the playing of the National Anthem when a disturbance occurred. Apparently he remained seated instead of standing in honour of the King and some called for the French Revolutionary song 'Ça Ira'.

As a result of all of this, his conduct was investigated, which event seemed to surprise him and he wrote a rather groveling letter to Graham of Fintry, Commissioner of Excise and patron of Burns in his application to join the Excise, in December of 1792. Graham replied explaining the reasons for the investigation. Burns in turn replied to Graham on January 1793 and gave his version of the disturbance --

*“I was in the playhouse one night when Ça Ira was called for. I was in the middle of the pit, and from the pit the clamour arose. One or two persons, with whom I occasionally associate, were of the party, but I neither knew of, nor joined in the plot, nor at all opened my lips to hiss or huzza that, or any other political tune whatever. I looked on myself as far too obscure a man to have any weight in*

*quelling a riot, and at the same time as a person of higher respectability than to yell to the howlings of a rabble. I never uttered any invectives against the king. His private worth it is altogether impossible that such a man as I can appreciate; but in his public capacity I always revered, and always will with the soundest loyalty revere the monarch of Great Britain as—to speak in masonic—the sacred keystone of our royal arch constitution.”*

A few weeks later Burns wrote the address ‘The Rights of Woman’ for a Miss Fontenelle on her benefit night in the Theatre Royal. It ends with the lines –

*“Let Majesty your first attention summon,  
Ah! ça ira! THE MAJESTY OF WOMAN”*

Patrick Scott Hogg in his book ‘The Patriot Bard’ suggests that Burns was a founding member of the Dumfries covert branch of the Friends of the People but this suggestion has been challenged by Mark J. Wilson and other anonymous Scottish historians on the grounds that there is no evidence to prove Burns’ involvement with this reform movement, let alone the existence of a Dumfries branch. Burns would undoubtedly have been very familiar with the movement whose members included Lord Daer and other prominent members of the upper class. Since he went to great lengths to distance himself from anti-government publications it is unlikely that he would be closely associated with any organization that publicly promoted parliamentary reform and which was under the close watch of the authorities.

In 1793 the Glasgow lawyer Thomas Muir of Huntershill was arrested following a convention of the Friends of the People held in Edinburgh. He was tried and convicted for sedition and for publishing pamphlets on parliamentary reform. Speaking in his own defence Muir asked -

*“What has been my crime? ... for having dared to be a strenuous and active advocate for an equal representation of the people, in the House of the people.”*

Like Muir, Burns saw the lack of equal representation as oppression and could see an analogy between this and the oppression of the Scots under Edward II, and so inspired by Bruce at Bannockburn he wrote and had published ‘Scots Wha Hae’ to the old tune ‘Hey Tuttie Tatie’ which is in effect a call to arms. Knowing the danger in attaching his name to the song, he had it published anonymously by George Thomson at the end of August 1793, with the title *Robert Bruce's March To Bannockburn*, and a postscript saying that it had been inspired by Bruce's *'glorious struggle for Freedom, associated with the glowing ideas of some other struggles of the same nature, not quite so ancient.'* These ‘other struggles’ are believed to be a hidden reference to the radical movement ‘Society of Friends of the People’, and particularly to the trial of the Thomas Muir who was being tried at the time and who was sentenced to fourteen years in Australia.

Burns knew that if he openly declared any Republican and Radical sympathies he could find himself in a similar situation as Muir. It is worthy of note that when Burns agreed to let the *Morning Chronicle*, of 8 May 1794, publish the song ‘Scots Wha Hae’, it was on condition that they insert it *‘as a thing they have met with by accident, and unknown to me.’*

Did he wish to save his family from poverty if he were to be imprisoned or exiled, or was he being used by the wealthy and nobility who were in agreement with his views but knew how far

to let him go without landing him in court? Or did Burns alone choose to follow the path of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Michel de Montaigne who wrote "I speak the truth, not enough to satisfy myself, but as much as I dare speak"?

The French Revolution gave Burns lots of fodder for his support for free speech and parliamentary reform. He saw the fundamental reasons for the revolution as being the same as the oppression in his native Scotland and was moved to write on the subject. The poem 'The Tree of Liberty' was so revolutionary that it was not published until well after his death. The British government were so scared that a similar revolution would happen in Britain that they clamped down severely on any organization or publication which hinted at an uprising. Hence the reason for Burns' caution in this regard:-

*"Wae worth the loon wha wadna eat  
Sic halesome dainty cheer, man;  
I'd gie my shoon frae aff my feet,  
To taste sic fruit, I swear, man.  
Syne let us pray, auld England may  
Sure plant this far-famed tree, man;  
And blithe we'll sing, and hail the day  
That gave us liberty, man."*

(‘The Tree of Liberty’)

One story used by many to support their claim that Burns was a true radical, was his purchase of four carronades at the sale of the cargo of the ship Rosamond, captured by the Customs and Excise boarding party of which Burns was a member, and then sending them to France for use by the revolutionaries. This would seem to be more legend than true since Burns was being closely watched by the authorities during his employ with Customs and Excise and, further, his decision not to publish a French Revolution poem in order to avoid possible arrest. As he wrote in that time of government suspicion and fear of a British Revolution.

*"The shrinking Bard adown an alley sculks  
And dreads a meeting worse then Woolwich hulks  
Tho' there his heresies in Church and State  
Might well award him Muir and Palmer fate..."*

Also one has to ask that given his poverty and his great concern for his family's wellbeing, how could he afford the £4 to buy these weapons.

Burns eventually became disenchanted with the French revolution as it was not pursuing its original goals but becoming more ambitious in its attacks on other European nations. Dr. Moore had visited Paris in 1792 and had published his account of the visit. This stirred Burns' early enthusiasm for the Revolution and in a letter to Mrs. Dunlop in 1794 he wrote:-

*"Entre nous, you know my Politics; and I cannot approve of the honest  
Doctor's whining over the deserved fate of a certain pair of Personages. –  
What is there in the delivering over a perjured Blockhead and an unprincipled  
Prostitute ito the hands of the hangman."*

There were rumours of an invasion of Britain and Burns joined the newly formed 'home guard' called the 'Dumfries Volunteers'. At a public dinner of the Corps, Burns gave a subtle toast – "May we never see the French and may the French never see us". There was mixed reaction to this toast as many believed that Burns was trying to avert attention from his revolutionary views. He went home from this dinner, wrote The 'Dumfries Volunteers' and sent the verses to a Mr. Jackson of the Dumfries Journal. This poem was very anti-French and supportive of the British monarchy; however, one could be very sceptical and speculate that it was also a veiled threat to the English to leave Scotland alone and that a Stuart would be Scotland's monarch.

Thomas Telford, who apart from being a brilliant engineer was also a reasonable poet. He was very interested in the literary developments of the period and a great admirer of Burns. He felt that Burns was unjustly treated as an excise man and wrote the following after Burns death –

*"The Muses shall that fatal hour  
To Lethe's streams consign,  
Which gave the little slaves of pow'r,  
To scoff at worth like thine.  
But thy fair fame shall rise and spread,  
Thy name be dear to all,  
When down to their oblivious bed,  
Official insects fall."*

Another major event during the life of Robert Burns was the American Revolution. It began in 1776 and continued until the signing of the Treaty with Britain in 1783. Burns followed the events with great interest and was very knowledgeable about the politics, battles and major players involved. In 1784 he wrote the "Ballad on the American War". The poem is so detailed in its description of the American Revolution that it would have been well understood by its readers of the time why it was considered too sensitive for publication. Burns being very much aware of the politics involved, wrote to Henry Erskine in December of 1786, then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates and one of his new-found Edinburgh friends --

*'I showed the enclosed political ballad to my lord Glencairn, to have his opinion whether I should publish it; as I suspect my political tenets, such as they are, may be rather heretical in the opinion of my best Friends..... His Lordship seems to think the piece may appear in print, but desired me to send you a copy for your suffrage.'*

Erskine agreed with Glencairn and the poem was included in the first Edinburgh edition in 1787.

Robert Burns was descended from a strong Jacobite family. His great grandmother's family, the Keiths, fought on the side of the Stewarts, and the Hon. James Francis Edward Keith was a full ally in the 1715 uprising. His great grandfather, James Keith of Craigie, entertained King James VIII at the Keith estate of Fetteresso in 1715. His father, it is told, marched as far as Carlisle with Charles Edward Stewart in 1745. Burns was very much aware of his ancestry as were many of the Edinburgh aristocracy that he came into contact with during his visits there. On December 31, 1787 he attended a birthday celebration in honour of Charles Edward Stewart. Attending an event such as this, by law, was still a treasonable act, especially on toasting 'the King over the water'. Since most of Scotland's leading aristocracy was present no action was taken by the authorities.



He had been introduced to Lady Winifred Maxwell Constable a well-known Jacobite and on 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1789 he sent her a letter from Ellisland in which he refers to their common Jacobite sympathies and the need to keep their correspondence secret. Below are two extracts from this letter ----

*“Ladyship I have the honour to be connected by one of the strongest and most endearing ties in the whole moral world. Common sufferings, in a cause where even to be unfortunate is glorious—the cause of heroic loyalty!” .....*

and further on .....

*“This language and the inclosed verses are for your Ladyship's eye alone. Poets are not very famous for their prudence; but as I can do nothing for a cause which is now nearly no more, I do not wish to hurt myself”*

Burns wrote around twenty five poems which referred to the Jacobite cause some of which were published during his lifetime, some of which were not. Although most showed support for the Stewarts and the Jacobite movement some showed the futility of any furtherance thereof.

He wrote the following on a window of a Stirling inn on seeing the ruins of the Royal Palace in the distance ----

*“Here Stewarts once in triumph reign'd,  
And laws for Scotland's weal ordain'd;  
But now unroof'd their Palace stands,  
Their sceptre's fall'n to other hands;  
Fall'n indeed unto the Earth.  
Whence grovelling reptiles take their birth;  
And since great Stewart's line is gone,  
A race outlandish fills their throne;  
An idiot race to honour lost,  
Who know them best dispise them most.”*

This shows his high regard for the Stewarts and is by no means complimentary to the Hanoverian line.

Burns was first and foremost a poet. His poems ranged from nature, religion, politics and personalities to international events. He did not purposely set out to stir up trouble, he presented his views factually but he recognised that the authorities could put their own interpretation on his works; rightly or wrongly. He never made any public address at political meetings. He knew when to be careful and keep his works on ‘sensitive’ topics between himself and a few trusted friends. His masonic connections were very strong and we can only speculate as to whether they granted him any protection or not. Many of the aristocracy were Freemasons and Jacobites and this may have offered him some protection but he was smart enough to know that even they could not be trusted one hundred percent.

So was Burns a Political Activist? By the definition of ‘activist’ he was ..... radical, enlightened, protester ..... but he did not present his radical thoughts publically. He did not seek political gain for himself with his comments. Many of his works, which were in the hands

of his close friends, were never released until well after his death by which time they could safely be released and quoted by political groups to promote and emphasise their cause. This puts him in what I would term a 'Latent Activist' compared to Thomas Muir and Thomas Paine. Although a Scot, Muir was also pushing hard for Parliamentary Reform in Britain as a whole; Paine was much more cosmopolitan and openly supported the French and Americans. Burns on the other hand was a Scottish Nationalist and more interested in promoting the Scottish heritage.

His works, however, are praised and used to this day not only in Scotland but in Russia and China in the support of political gain or doctrine. I doubt if he foresaw that this would happen.

Was he a Political Commentator? Most definitely yes! He loved to write poetry; he could see poetry in everything and used it to describe situations in which he found himself, natural surroundings, people whom he admired or otherwise, romantic encounters, historical events, current events and politics. He wrote on many current events in a manner which was not necessarily seditious but which irritated many of the aristocracy and politicians. Sometimes the poems were subtle and at other times very direct against the kirk, parliament and politicians. Maybe if he had lived to old age he would have become more publicly outspoken as laws loosened up and the fear of reprisals faded. As it was he was denied that opportunity and so like many others who make claims that they knew what went on in his mind we can only speculate.

## **APPENDIX I      Works with Political References**

<i>“While prose work and rhymes”</i>	1792?
<i>On Glenriddel's Fox breaking his chain</i>	1791
<i>Lines on the Commemoration of Rodney's Victory</i>	1793
<i>Act Sederunt of the Session “In Edinburgh town they've made a law ...”</i>	1784
<i>Awa Whigs Awa</i>	1789
<i>“Copland faithful likeness, friend Painter, would'st seize? ...”</i>	1794-95
<i>Epistle to Mr Tytler of Woodhouselee</i>	1790-91
<i>Epistle to Robert Graham Esq: of Fintry on the Election of the Dumfries string of Boroughs</i>	1790
<i>“Ye true 'Loyal Natives', attend to my song ...”</i>	1793
<i>Here's a health to them that's awa</i>	1792
<i>Lines To A Gentleman</i>	1790
<i>Lines written on windows of the Globe Tavern, Dumfries</i>	
<i>Ode to the departed Regency bill</i>	1789
<i>On Commissary Goldie's Brains</i>	1793
<i>On Johnson's Opinion of Hampden</i>	1790?
<i>On Mr Pit's hair-powder tax</i>	1795
<i>Poetical Inscription, for An Altar to Independence at Kerroughtree, the Seat of Mr Heron (Thou of an Independent mind)</i>	1795
<i>The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer</i>	1786
<i>The Five Carlins</i>	1789
<i>The Heron Ballads : Buy Braw Troggin</i>	1795
<i>The Heron Ballads : John Bushby's Lamentation</i>	1795
<i>The Heron Ballads : The Election : A New Song</i>	1795
<i>The Heron Ballads : Wham will we send to London town</i>	1795
<i>The Kirk of Scotland's Garland (The Kirk's Alarm)</i>	1789

<i>The fete champetre</i>	1788
<i>To Capt Gordon on being asked why I was not to be one of the party with him and his brother Kenmure at Syme's</i>	1793

**APPENDIX II      The Kilmarnock Edition (extracted from a digitized 1786 copy)**

The Twa Dogs, a Tale, - - page 9

Scotch Drink, - - -22

The Author's earnest cry and prayer, to the right honorable and honorable, the Scotch representatives in the House of Commons, 29

The Holy Fair, - - - 40

Addresses to the Deil, - - 55

The death and dying words of Poor Maillie, 62

Poor Maillie's Elegy, - - 66

To J. S\*\*\*\* ..69

A Dream, - - - - 79

The Vision, - - - - 87

Halloween, - - - - 101

The auld Farmer's new-year-morning Salutation to his auld Mare, Maggy, on giving her the accustomed ripp of Corn to hanfel in the new year, - - 118

The Cotter's Saturday night, inscribed to R.A. Elq; - - - 124

To a Mouse, on turning her up in her Nest, with the Plough, November, 1785, 138

Epistle to Davie, a brother Poet, - 141

The Lament, occasioned by the unfortunate issue of a friend's amour, - - 150

Despondency, an Ode, - - 156

Man was made to mourn, a Dirge, - 160

Winter, a Dirge, - - - 166

A Prayer in the prospect of Death, - 168

To a Mountain-Daify, on turning one down, with the Plough, in April, 1786, - 170

To Ruin, - - - - 174

Epistle to a young Friend, - - 176

On a Scotch Bard gone to the West Indies, 181

A Dedication to G. H. Elq; - - 185 To a Mouse, on seeing one on a Lady's bon-net at Church, - - - - 192

Epistle to J. L\*\*\*\*\*k, an old Scotch Bard, 195

—to the fame, - - - 202

to W. S\*\*\*\*\*n, Ochiltree, - 208

—to J. R\*\*\*\*\* , enclosing some Poems, 218

Song, It was upon a Lammas night, 222

Song, Now weftlin winds, and flaught' ringguns, - - - - 224

Song, From thee, Eliza, I muft go, - 227

The Farewell, - - -228

Epitaphs and Epigrams, - - 230

A Bard's Epitaph. - - -234

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- Robert Burns and the Politics of the French Revolution in Scotland* Scottish Tradition  
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- cranntara.org.uk --- Robert Burns* Site 'Preserving the Culture, History, Heritage & Future of  
SCOTLAND'
- Scholar Commons* Robert Burns, John Moore, and the Limits of Writing Letters  
Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

**APPENDIX IV            The Key to the Picture of The Inauguration of Robert Burns as Poet-Laureate of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge 1787.**



- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 <a href="#">Alex. Ferguson esq., of Craigdarroch. Master</a>     | 16 <a href="#">George Spankie. Treasurer</a>                        |
| 2 <a href="#">Hon. Francis Charteris, Lord Elcho. Grand Master</a> | 17 <a href="#">Baron Norton</a>                                     |
| 3 <a href="#">James Sandilands, ninth Lord Torphichen</a>          | 18 <a href="#">Henry Mackenzie</a> , author of "The Man of Feeling" |
| 4 <a href="#">Archibald, eleventh Earl of Eglinton</a>             | 19 <a href="#">The Hon. William Gordon, Lord Kenmure</a>            |
| 5 <a href="#">James Cunningham, fourteenth Earl of Glencairn</a>   | 20 <a href="#">Alexander Cunningham, Jeweller</a>                   |
| 6 <a href="#">David, Earl of Buchan</a>                            | 21 <a href="#">William Dunbar. WS, Senior Warden</a>                |
| 7 <a href="#">Charles More, of the Royal Bank. Depute Master</a>   | 22 <a href="#">Kenneth Love, Tailor, Serving Brother</a>            |
| 8 <a href="#">Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton</a>                    | 23 <a href="#">William Nicol, Teacher</a>                           |
| 9 <a href="#">James Dalrymple. Of Orangefield</a>                  | 24 <a href="#">William Cruickshank, Teacher</a>                     |
| 10 <a href="#">Sir John Whitefoord</a>                             | 25 <a href="#">Louis Cauvin, French Teacher</a>                     |



- 11 [Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo, bart](#)
- 12 [John Mercer, Writer, Secretary](#)
- 13 [William Mason, Grand Secretary](#)
- 14 [James Burnet, Lord Monboddo](#)
- 15 [The Hon. Henry Erskine](#)
- 
- 31 [Alexander Campbell, Organist](#)
- 32 [John Campbell, Undertaker and Teacher of Music](#)
- 33 [Samuel Clark, Organist of the Cowgate Chapel](#)
- 34 [Geordie Cranstoun, Vocalist](#)
- 35 [J.G.C. Schetky, Music Teacher](#)
- 36 [Professor Dugald Stewart](#)
- 37 [William Creech, Bookseller](#)
- 38 [Peter Williamson, a man of "Curious Adventures"](#)
- 39 [William Smellie, Printer](#)
- 40 [Peter Hill, Bookseller](#)
- 41 [Sir James Hunter Blair, Grand Treasurer](#)
- 42 [Francis, seventh Lord Napier](#)
- 43 [James Boswell, of Auchenleck, Esq, Advocate](#)
- 44 [Alexander Nasmyth, Limner](#)
- 45 [James Johnson, Engraver](#)
- 26 [Allan Masterton, Writing Master and Composer of Music](#)
- 27 [Signior Stabilini](#), a celebrated player on the violin
- 28 [James Tytler, Apothecary](#)
- 29 [Thomas Neil, Undertaker](#)
- 30 [John Dhu, Corporal of the Town Guard, Grand Tyler](#)
- 46 [Francis Grose Esq, F.A.S. London & Perth \(Capt. Grose\)](#)
- 47 [James Gregory M.D.](#)
- 48 [Alexander Wood, Surgeon](#)
- 49 [David Ramsey, of the " Edinburgh Evening Courant"](#)
- 50 [John Gray W.S. City Clerk](#)
- 51 [John Miller, Advocate, Junior Warden](#)
- 52 [Captain Fr Bartlett, of Milton House](#)
- 53 [Robert Ainslie. W.S.](#)
- 54 [William Woods, Tragedian](#)
- 55 [A Visiting Brother](#)
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- 57 [Figure representing Secrecy](#)
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- 59 [St. Clair of Roslin, \(William\) Her.Gr. Master](#)
- 60 [Henry Sedgfield, aged 108, Seaman](#)