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## Designs on the Landscape: Paul and Thomas Sandby in North Britain

John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels

In 1749, the architect John Gwynn published a short *Essay on Design*, promoting the wide application of its principles and their manual expression in drawing. Together with the publication of drawing manuals and texts on perspective, or the marketing of optical viewing aids and devices, often with impressive technical names, Gwynn's pamphlet addressed a growing fascination with the practical uses and possibilities of design. It was a modern, rational means of organising and planning the world, of (re)ordering society as well as the environment. Design, as promoted by Gwynn, offered a way of safeguarding the country from the anarchic forces of disorder that had a few years earlier, with the Jacobite rising of 1745, fomented revolt and civil war. In a list of 'generous and elevated Sentiments' deserving of commemoration, Gwynn recommended 'The Suppression of an unnatural Rebellion, the Triumph of Clemency over Faction, a Check put to the Progress of Ambition, the complete Union of this long-divided Island, and the undoubted Sovereignty of the Sea asserted by the *British Flag*'.

In line with the patriotism of these 'elevated Sentiments', Gwynn called for further investment in the training of military and naval officers in the graphic arts to bolster and secure this newly won order. In civil society, he advocated drawing and design as skills vital to the planning and mastery of the physical environment, of value, Gwynn maintained, to 'all whose Business is relative to the Lands'.<sup>1</sup> They were forms of 'useful Knowledge', to be employed in a range of practices and professions, from gardening to the conveyance of property, engaged in the management or 'improvement' of the landscape, in its progressive reorganisation and restructuring, for social as well as economic ends. Still, despite encouraging its wide application, Gwynn was concerned to make distinctions. Design lay in the province of 'Genius', in the mental capacity to abstract and generalise, to imagine. Drawing, 'the Instrument of this Art', was a mechanical facility more readily acquired. Harnessed to an ill-fated scheme for a public academy devoted to the arts of design, Gwynn's *Essay* emerged from the ambitions of certain factions in the London art world, and their claims to liberal status and authority to speak on cultural matters.<sup>2</sup> Stressing the patriotic virtues of their cause, Gwynn aligned the call for the betterment of art education and organisation with the wider improvement of the newly remade nation.

A surviving copy of Gwynn's *Essay* is inscribed to a figure who would go on to become one of the author's closest art world associates; it is dedicated to and 'For my ingenious friend, Mr Paul Sandby'.<sup>3</sup> Only eighteen years old at the time of the *Essay*'s publication, Sandby had already been engaged in the design and drawing of the landscape, putting into practice what Gwynn advocated in theory. Two years earlier, the young artist had been taken on as a draughtsman by the Board of Ordnance to work on the Military Survey of North Britain – the large-scale mapping of the country, undertaken for strategic purposes in the wake of 'the Forty-Five'. Besides its tactical, military role, the survey was part of a series of measures, along with road building and the planning of new settlements, directed at the improvement of the region. Based in Edinburgh, and accompanying survey parties out in the field, Sandby's skills as a draughtsman were employed in projecting as well as recording the progress of the landscape.

In a development of the authors' previous work on these issues, in the catalogue to a 2009 exhibition of Sandby's art, this paper revisits the artist's early work for the Board of Ordnance in Scotland, rethinking its making and meaning, and reflecting further on the complexities of his practice, including the portrayal of landscape in picturing the remaking of the nation state.<sup>4</sup> Taking a lead from Gwynn's remarks, it situates the artist's early career in relation to various designs on the landscape, improvements made on a local level, at particular sites and more regionally, and given form in drawings and maps, as a record of sorts but also as a means of ordering and planning the social as well as physical environment. These issues are discussed here in relation to drawings made of two sites of and in relation to proposed improvement schemes: first, of the west-coast town of Inveraray, made in collaboration with Sandby's elder brother Thomas, who had been attached to the Ordnance before him; and second, a view of a surveying party at work near Loch Rannoch, in the southern Highlands (Figs 1–3). Unfinished and far from pristine in condition, they may seem in some ways rather slight. Moreover, they are drawings of a kind that rarely attract attention outside of specialist circles. Even then, however, there can be a tendency for them to be taken at face-value – more as some prosaic record of a landscape simply seen, than as exemplary of a cultural practice, a way of seeing and knowing, engaging matters of aesthetics and pictorial convention, media, modes, and precedents. Such assumptions owe something perhaps, to the associations of drawings like those made by the Sandbys with forms of mapping, observation, and survey. So, aligned with the collection and collation of geographical and topographical knowledge for antiquarian, natural history, or military purposes, they seem perhaps rather divorced from the cultures and traditions of high-art picture-making. On close scrutiny (and they are images that demand and repay such attention), however, the Sandbys' drawings appear less the relatively straightforward matters of fact they are sometimes taken to be. They become more complex and historically remote perhaps, where and when the assumptions that usually govern scholarly assessment of imagery of this kind are rendered altogether less clear cut and more fluid. In this, much as looking at these drawings anew prompts us to rethink aspects of the Sandbys' art, it also opens up wider perspectives, on drawing and design and the interests they might serve, and their role in the making and circulation of topographical knowledge. Drawing was a means of coming to know the world and taking its measure. Like other forms of enquiry into people and place, it was as much evaluative as documentary, of the past and present state of things, but also its prospects and planning.

### **The Drawing Room, Edinburgh Castle**

In 1747, twelve months or so after the defeat of the Jacobite cause on the field of Culloden, the mapping of the Highlands by the Board of Ordnance began, under the direction of Colonel David Watson and his assistant William Roy.<sup>5</sup> In an early progress report, Watson emphasised 'the Benefit [which] must arise from protecting the Highlands by the Regular Troops' and the need 'to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Country'.<sup>6</sup> Map-making, based on new surveys and expressed in skilled draughtsmanship, was central to the modern reform of military strategy Watson and others envisioned, for planning operations in the field particularly, as it increased mobility of tactics over a range of terrain. Under Watson's guidance, the Military Survey of North Britain, as executed by Roy and others, incorporated drawing skills from various quarters – engineering, architecture, estate surveying, and fine art – producing a range of both official and off-duty imagery displaying the lay of the land and the degree of its physical and social improvement through loyally British governance.

These works also expressed, sometimes self-consciously, the expertise and virtuosity of image making, whether on the ground in sketching and surveying, in finished drawing and engraving, or in copying and adapting existing maps and views.

Drawn up after Culloden by the Ordnance engineer John Elphinstone, *A New Map of North Britain* brought together these claims in a richly allusive, visually striking way (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup> Sampled from a range of sources, Elphinstone's ambitious sheet combined battle plans and perspective views framed with elements of allegory, narrative, and satire. Looking backwards, the draughtsman copied plates from John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, a survey of castles, palaces, and ecclesiastical ruins first published in 1693. Of more recent date, indeed of the moment, was a plan of Culloden after surveys made in the wake of victory. Showing scenes before and after the rebellion, the impression made by the map was of restoration rather than conquest, continuity not change. To the right, the wall plaque of a war memorial lists the clans who were loyal and rebellious. On its plinth, chained to the pedestal, are flanking Jacobite figures: one, the leering likeness of the imprisoned Lord Lovat, copied from a famous print by William Hogarth, in the character of notorious felons; and the other, a noble-looking, kilted highlander, pondering his imprisonment. The title cartouche and elaborate scale bar feature the instruments of surveying as well as weaponry, with the allegorical figures of art and measurement, one holding a palette, the other a pair of compasses. These various images are positioned within the graticule of latitude and longitude, most on the space of coastal waters, the war memorial lapped by waves and backed by a glimpse of a mountainside; the scale bar is strategically placed within the northern coast of Ireland, resting on the parallel which includes the border with England. This has the effect of containing and consolidating the defended or reconquered territory, especially its highland and island geography, reshaping Scotland with a degree of classical symmetry, thereby recalling its Roman antiquity while expressing its enlightened British modernity, and placing the arts of war squarely within the framework of surveying and map-making.

Aged sixteen, Paul Sandby's employment as one of three draughtsmen on the Military Survey of North Britain engaged him in this process topographically, his work focusing on fields of vision as well as the territory in view.<sup>8</sup> Almost certainly secured for him by his elder brother Thomas, who had served in the Ordnance drawing room since 1743, the post introduced the young artist into culturally and politically elevated circles. By the time the younger brother arrived in Edinburgh, Thomas Sandby was on campaign in Flanders, travelling as part of the retinue of his new patron William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. He had laid the groundwork for his younger brother, however, his accomplishment as a draughtsman bringing him to the notice of men of considerable influence and power. Early biographies make much of Thomas Sandby's drawing skills, especially his development of 'a new system of perspective'.<sup>9</sup> On the evidence of the elder Sandby's drawings of these years, often broad and panoramic in format, assembled from several sheets of paper, this advance probably involved compasses or an optical device, a *camera obscura* of some form or other, perhaps in combination.<sup>10</sup> In comparison with the strongly linear, deliberately undemonstrative work of contemporaries in the drawing room, Sandby's drawings are also marked distinct by an atmospheric breadth and delicacy of handling. There are not only striking congruencies between these works and Paul Sandby's early drawings but also a number of instances where both of the brothers' hands are in evidence. Their collaboration might then take a variety of forms, with Paul sometimes animating his brother's views with figures or working up more finished drawings or prints from or over designs and sketches by Thomas. It appears that, on taking up the position of Cumberland's 'Draughtsman &

Designer' (a title that acknowledged the mutuality of these fields), Thomas left his brother with a number of such projects.<sup>11</sup>

Views of Cumberland's Highland base at Fort Augustus, showing the fort and encampment at the south-west end of Loch Ness, edged with cultivated fields and craggy hillsides, are among the earliest known examples of the brothers' collaboration.<sup>12</sup> Taken from a sketch by Paul Sandby, the Jacobite prisoners being escorted to the fort in one of these drawings are not portrayed (as so often in the graphic culture of the period) as wild and scrawny but rather as displaying noble resignation, and even a shapely elegance. Much like in Elphinstone's commemorative map, with its contemplative Highlander, there is a concern to confer worth on the defeated adversary, to make a display of conciliation perhaps in the aftermath of a conflict which had, in Scotland and Britain, fractured a complex matrix of loyalties, identities, and commitments. Various decorative and narrative elements suggest that there were plans perhaps to have these works engraved, to capitalise on the patriotic fervour around Cumberland. Yet, if this was the case, then the failure to advance the scheme may have owed something to a misjudgement of sorts; indeed, the subtle intricacies of the design and the placatory tenor of the iconography were notably out of step with the more direct and overtly bellicose rhetoric and triumphalism of loyalist designs produced by London-based print-makers. Their attempts to reconcile the forces unleashed by the rising, and the brutality with which 'the butcher' duke's forces were now suppressing pockets of resistance in the Highlands, would fix determinedly on Cumberland and his defeat of what was perceived as the Stuarts' popish and tyrannical designs.<sup>13</sup> So very different in character from those produced by their London counterparts, the Sandbys' Scottish scenes were shaped by a cultural and working environment with a more direct, day-to-day stake in the people and places of North Britain.

Unlike his brother, the younger Sandby's attachment to the drawing room appears to have only ever been on a temporary, *ad hoc* basis.<sup>14</sup> He accompanied surveying parties in the early summer seasons, making plans and views of fortresses on the coasts of Argyll, but his main role was in the drawing office at Edinburgh Castle as 'chief Draftsman of the fair Plan'. This involved collating measurements and sketches made in the field, and undertaking some of the graphic work, notably relief sketching, for the so-called 'fair copy', with the main engineer and surveyor, Roy, it seems, supplying some of the fine detail and lettering.<sup>15</sup> Evident in the relief work of the View near Loch Rannoch, too, Sandby's virtuoso style of terrain drawing, in pen and wash, with aligned brushstrokes indicating the direction of slopes and gradation of tones steepness and height, contributed decisively to the artistic and decorative effects of the map. After leaving for London in 1751, four years before the Survey was brought to an end, Sandby made return trips to Edinburgh to work on fine presentation copy reductions. Having launched his career in military draughtsmanship, Sandby was to resume this role in 1768 when appointed Chief Drawing Master at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, working again for the Board of Ordnance, and remaining in the post for some thirty years.<sup>16</sup> Still, on occasion, working with his brother, Sandby sustained an interest in militarised landscapes, and their fields of vision, throughout his career. Indeed, the role of the military in a wider civilian world, including some of its troublesome intersections, was to remain a key form of address in his professional work.

When posted in Edinburgh, Sandby expanded the range of his work, making off-duty sketches in a series of pictorial genres and cultural registers. A scene of makeshift pleasure gardens at the city's Heriot's Hospital portrays the place with a satirical edge, parodying the refined gestures, relaxed

poses, and congenial groupings of the painted theatre of the *fête galante*, in imitation of prints after Jean-Antoine Watteau or Nicolas Lancret. In a view of a horse fair on Bruntsfield Links, with its motley crowd including uniformed British soldiers and plaid-clothed Highlanders, Sandby introduced elegant dancing figures sampled from a design by the then London-based French artist Louis-Philippe Boitard. Doubtless with an eye to eventually establishing himself in the capital's burgeoning art world, these drawings and related etchings of the period show Sandby as familiar enough with recent developments in London's cosmopolitan graphic culture to translate its pictorial language to local circumstances, adapting the vogue for often satirically edged urban scenes 'done from the life' to the social spaces and tensions of post-Culloden Edinburgh and its environs.<sup>17</sup>

A surviving sketchbook from the period, if not in the younger Sandby's hand then by a figure in his circle, contains street scenes in Edinburgh and Leith, local characters and British soldiers, caricatures and portraits, Highland landscapes, garden views, fortification plans, artillery specimens, satires and allegories, with various mixtures of documentation and invention, fact and fantasy. Some of the pages are filled with the barest of outline sketches, while others are more developed and resolved. A drawing of a meeting of the Board of Ordnance stages an extraordinary and enigmatic scene, set presumably in its headquarters in the Tower of London (Fig. 5). Over the mantelpiece, next to a sketch of gun carriages, is a defaced portrait of the board's Master General John, Duke of Montagu, who died in 1749, the canvas slashed and torn. Various figures in the picture, including the stock character of a peg-legged veteran in the foreground, present or study petitions, perhaps for succeeding to Montagu's position—which remained unfilled for a number of years—brought, it seems, from a crowd outside the door, with some papers discarded and strewn on the floor. Enthroned in the chair, amidst the chaos, sits the august figure of the Duke of Cumberland. He looks across at the incident to the right. At the table, as if toppling off his stool, is the figure of Cumberland's elder brother, the foppish Frederick, Prince of Wales. Heir apparent to the throne, but estranged from his father's court and a figurehead of the political opposition, the prince was a source of suspicion among Cumberland's circle of loyalists, unsettled by his securing the release from imprisonment in the Tower of Flora McDonald, who was famous, indeed glamorously so in London, for her role in the escape from Scotland to France of Charles Edward Stuart. Frederick holds a crown, albeit that he appears to be handing it over to one of the board's officers, who seems to be about to draw his sword. Frederick's sudden death in 1751 quelled political fears of a monarch favourably disposed towards the deposed Stuarts, if for some it prompted anxiety over Cumberland and the military's designs on the throne.

Work in the Edinburgh drawing room of the Board of Ordnance, based in the city's historic castle, brought the Sandby brothers into contact with leading cultural and political figures in the region, men who were to employ them on various projects and schemes given over to reforming the landscape of post-rebellion Scotland. Responsible for armaments and munitions, building and the maintenance of barracks, forts, bridges, and roads as well as mapping, the Board of Ordnance was a meeting-point (sometimes, as the clamouring crowd of the sketchbook satire suggests, more a market-place) for civil, commercial, and political culture and the fiscal-military state. For Sandby, work in the drawing-room introduced him to local social and patronage networks of considerable influence, with the young draughtsman associating, among others, with the leading architect William Adam and his sons, James and Robert. Acting as both designer and contractor, Adam had won a series of lucrative commissions from the Ordnance in the wake of the rising of 1745.<sup>18</sup> Of Adam's patrons, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik was of particular importance for Sandby, obtaining the artist his

only known private commission of his years in Edinburgh. Culturally, Clerk's interests and those of his circle were extensive, ranging over architecture and landscaping, mathematics, philosophy, and poetry, as well as his first field, the law. These activities were often framed in classical terms, with Clerk's study of the law, no less than the architecture and landscaping of his Edinburghshire country seats, informed by a fascination with the literary and material remains of the Romans in North Britain.<sup>19</sup> Having been an advocate for Union since 1707, and serving as Baron of the Scottish Exchequer, Clerk had long been prominent in the country's Whig elite, connected culturally and by kinship with many leading nobles. On Clerk's recommendation, Sandby secured a commission to make 'several drawings of the house and policy' at Drumlanrig, the ancestral, Nithsdale seat of Frances Scott, 2nd Duke of Buccleuch.<sup>20</sup> In his *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26), Daniel Defoe had at times struggled to accommodate Scotland in his vision of an ordered, commercial nation, finding the lands around Drumlanrig for example, cut-off, ill-suited for improvement, 'disproportion'd'. Remarkably, for Defoe, Buccleuch had on his estate managed still to fashion a 'fine Picture in a dirty Grotto ...an Equestrian Statue set up in a Barn'.<sup>21</sup> In a surviving drawing of the estate, Sandby exploits for dramatic, scenic effect the conjunction of the raw and improved that troubled the author, showing the hall, set amid gardens, farmland, woods, and floodplain, with the mountains of Galloway as backdrop. Many of the artist's landscapes were to be views on landed estates, including those that survive from the years in Edinburgh and made for military purposes.

There are indeed a number of continuities between Sandby's off-duty studies and works he made in or for the drawing room of the Board of Ordnance. Drawings such as the artist's *View near Loch Rannoch* are to be seen in this wider field of vision, as at once documentary and emblematic, sentimental and satirical. They are images that offer a series of shifting perspectives on the changing face of the country, addressing the play of variously complementary and rivalrous interests that had shaped and were continuing to remake the landscape. Like images of other sites, such as Inveraray, *View near Loch Rannoch* records and reflects on the so often uneasy progress of improvement in Scotland, aesthetic, moral, financial, and political. Much of this concern with improvement was targeted on the landed estate, the focus of Sandby's and before him his brother's landscape views.

### **View of Inveraray**

Stationed at Inveraray, on the west coast of Scotland, in early 1746, Thomas Sandby began work on a large, stained drawing of the loch-side town, viewed as if from a point across the bay, looking along the shoreline (Fig. 1). With its fine, near monochromatic tonal washes and characteristic minuteness of touch and detail, notably in the precise delineation of the architectural elements, there is a level of accomplishment in evidence some way in advance of that conventionally seen in work done for the military. Like many of the elder brother's surviving drawings, it is unfinished, but the framing and elaborate calligraphy of the inscription suggest that it may have been made with the print market in mind, or otherwise intended to demonstrate the draughtsman's prodigious skills to the owner of the estate, Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll.<sup>22</sup> Having engaged several figures attached to the Board of Ordnance of late, there was good reason to believe that the duke would have been responsive to such an appeal. In this respect, Sandby's posting to this remote estate was indeed timely, coming not only at a moment of charged political tensions but one of not unrelated

actual and imagined landscape change. Much like many works in the prospect tradition, Sandby's view of Inveraray is of a precise moment as well as a particular place.

Argyll was perhaps the dominant figure in Scottish political life of the first half of the century. Together with his elder brother, John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, he had been among the most prominent proponents of the Act of Union. Committed Hanoverians, closely allied with Robert Walpole, the brothers had been stalwart in organising resistance to the Jacobite threat since the rising of 1715. Always a controversial figure, the ebb and flow of his political fortunes were such that, with the renewed danger of 1745, the now 3rd Duke of Argyll's actions were more directed to the protection of his own vested interests. Writing to his long-term client and political ally, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the duke had declared himself 'done with Political Ambition', content now 'merely to satisfy my tastes in things than can occasion no disquiet'. Yet, for all his proclaimed devotion to the ideals of rural retirement, to 'laying out Grounds & Gardning', Argyll's taste clearly had a political dimension and was attended by no little 'disquiet'.<sup>23</sup>

On inheriting the title on the death of his elder brother in 1743, the 3rd Duke of Argyll had begun drawing up ambitious plans for the redevelopment of his clan's ancestral estates.<sup>24</sup> These involved the architect Roger Morris, who was responsible for the design of a projected new castle at Inveraray, and William Adam, who was to act as executant, overseeing the progress of works. Their connection with the Campbell family had seen both men secure lucrative appointments with the Board of Ordnance: Morris having been made master carpenter and Adam principal mason to the board in North Britain. They owed their preferment to the duke's elder brother, who had held the post of master general until 1740. Ahead of the Inveraray commission, Argyll had already consulted with Adam a decade or so earlier regarding the design of the landscape at The Whim, an estate in Peeblesshire the then Lord Islay had bought as 'a Comical Bargain'.<sup>25</sup> A bleak, mossy, moorland tract, which he had drained, planted, and established as farmland at great, even careless expense, The Whim had showcased Islay's investment in experimental forms of landscape improvement. Well versed in aspects of natural history and philosophy, Islay's interest in the practical application of such knowledge had also seen him fashion a much-admired formal garden at Whitton Place from the wastes of Hounslow Heath, Middlesex, as a setting for a new Palladian villa designed by Morris. Islay's improvements at Whitton had included the building of a gothic tower, which was employed as an observatory in his astronomical studies, anticipating the Serlio by way of John Vanbrugh castle architecture proposed for Inveraray.

Fearing for his safety as the crisis of 1745 deepened, Argyll had travelled south, in order that 'the King was to see that he was not in Rebellion; the Rebels, that he was not in arms' according to one barbed commentary.<sup>26</sup> Building work at Inveraray had at first been suspended on the outbreak of the rebellion, only for excavation of the castle site to resume in the interests of keeping local men occupied. This was not the only way in which Argyll's plans for the redevelopment of Inveraray took advantage of the military situation, however. Rebuilding the ruinous old castle, now 'Greatly Shattered' according to a mason's report, was only an aspect of a far wider-ranging scheme to transform the local landscape, its outlook, and communications.<sup>27</sup> A few years earlier, a member of the Clerk circle in Edinburgh, James Smollett, had noted the landscape surrounding Inveraray 'as singularly beautiful as the road to it is singularly bad, fit only for Wild Goats to scramble over'.<sup>28</sup> With Inveraray only accessible by sea or long, arduous journey cross-country on horseback, Argyll took a close interest in the survey and laying out of a projected but until this point unrealised military road



along the river Leven from Dumbarton. During 1745, some three hundred men were employed on building the road, which also entailed the engineering and construction of eighteen new bridges. Drawn up along the way by William Edgar, a map showing *The Course of The King's Road making betwixt Dunbarton and Inveraray* and 'The Country Circumjacent' traced the progress of its survey and construction, over some forty-five miles of difficult country, along the banks of Loch Long and Loch Fyne, via Glen Croe and Glen Kinglas (Fig. 6).

Thomas Sandby was presumably attached to the survey party, who made up part of a significant military presence in and around Inveraray at the time of 'the Forty-Five'. As the capital of a large, if thinly populated area, a mercat (or market cross) town, administrative and judicial centre, populated with local lairds and resident lawyers, Inveraray was of some strategic significance. Its church, a 'double', one half serving a lowland congregation and the other the Highland or Gaelic community, was emblematic of the divisions in the area and the region as a whole. With the quartering of military personnel on Argyll's estate, the pressure on local resources added to rather than mollified existing tensions. Troops wintering in the town, under the command of the duke's kinsman Major-General John Campbell, and garrisoned in billets and tents, established gun emplacements and defensive earthworks.<sup>29</sup> While Sandby's drawing may have been made originally as part of these strategic plans, as a means of assessing the lie of the land, its cover, obstacles, and fields of fire, the sightlines are more likely to have been aligned with Argyll's projected vision of the town.

There is another drawing of Inveraray, again in ink and wash, but dated 1747 and likely to have been among the works left for the younger of the Sandby brothers to work up (Fig. 2).<sup>30</sup> Given its correspondences with Thomas Sandby's prospect of the town from the south, this second view was presumably drawn up as a companion. Indeed, the vantage points are matched and precise, the views being from inter-visible stations across the loch. Taken from the parkland around the old castle, the second scene surveys the town from the north, with the river Aray and Loch Fyne adjacent. To the extreme left is an area known as Fisherland Point or Gallows Foreland; the headland viewpoint of the larger, more finished drawing. This wide-angled survey of the town pivots on the historic centre, its castle, church, court house, gaol, and tollbooth. These stone-built and slated buildings are edged by rows of thatched cottages, straggling towards the river mouth and southwards along the loch (Fig. 7).

Gallows Foreland was the proposed site of a new or rather relocated town. Argyll's improvement schemes had harboured plans 'to remove the Town of Inverary about half a mile lower down the Loch' from the beginning, although he had thought it necessary to keep this 'a great secret or else the fews there will stand in my way or be held up at very extravagant prices'.<sup>31</sup> Despite his absenteeism, Argyll had clearly been made aware of growing tensions between the estate and local communities. With the parkland of the estate standing between the town and its commons, which lay some distance away, the duke's plans were drawn up, at least in part, as a means to protect his property from various encroachments.<sup>32</sup> Locals poaching on the estate, helping themselves to fallen timber or purloining fences, had been a growing problem in recent years. Various plans for the new landscape were drawn up, by Argyll himself as well as by Adam and Dugal Campbell, a surveyor attached to the Board of Ordnance. Some of these proposals had been notably martial in character, with Adam's designs including a masonry sea wall with bastions.<sup>33</sup> This early experiment in town planning, rather than haphazard growth, accommodated commercial and industrial zones but these economic and social aspects were also to be weighed against Argyll's concerns to safeguard his own

lands and to enhance the scenography of the place. Rising above the scattering of cottages facing the bay, on the fringes of the projected new town site in Sandby's drawing, are the trees of the duke's parkland, their rows reflected in the water in faint nervous pen marks. Extending nearly a mile southwards out from Inveraray's historic centre, the extensive plantation of the park effectively cut off or screened the flat, windswept headland from the duke's view. A town built on this point offered scope for picturesque composition from a distance. The various designs on the town took into account these sightlines as well as lines along the ground. A network of estate roads and small bridges, carrying them over burns and dykes, were planned to branch off the proposed new routeway into the town. Beyond its military function, the new road from the lowlands had commercial and judicial purpose. But there were also desires that it should heighten the scenic claims of the landscape. Concerned that the road be both 'convenient for me & highly necessary for the publick', Argyll negotiated for the line of approach into Inveraray to take account of the design of his family estate and its improvement.<sup>34</sup> Complaining of there being 'at present 3 Roads to Inveraray which cut my Parks and projected Gardens most miserably to pieces', Argyll contrived to have the new road directed to enhance the approach to his remodelled seat.<sup>35</sup>

Gentlemen of property were, according to Gwynn, among those few who might bring together drawing and design, the supervision of their estates endowing them with the requisite independence of means and wide comprehension. 'Though it is not expected that every Person of great Fortune should be a practical Surveyor', Gwynn submitted, 'and actually plan his own Estate, and draw the Ichnography and Elevation of his own Mansion', there was obvious advantage in their having knowledge of the appropriate arts, allowing the landowner to 'examine, by his proper Skill, such Particulars as create in his Mind', whether 'His Fronts, his Walks, his Parterres'.<sup>36</sup> To judge from surviving ground plans, Argyll was not entirely lacking in the mechanical facility to realise his vision on paper.<sup>37</sup> These were no more than rough draughts, plotting the site, however. They did not so fully comprehend the extensive ground level vistas that structure the Sandbys' drawings.

Drawn and coloured with great delicacy, the feathered trees edging Thomas Sandby's view of Inveraray confer the appropriate scenic status on the duke's schemes for the place. They border a scene of some grandeur, which brings architecture, crag, woodland, river, and inland sea into conjunction. Dotted about the bay, small fishing boats with creels and nets, anchored alongside sailing vessels of some size, at the river mouth, allude to the local economy, which was based on the fishing of herring, as well as Inveraray's place in a wider world of commerce and trade. Stretching across the conjoined sheets of paper is the new road that was intended to extend and ease those connections with places elsewhere. Traced in minute detail, the path into the town leads the eye over a fine, two-arched bridge spanning the Aray, which was to be maintained as an ornamental feature, and along the banks of the river mouth, before entering the ducal park. It is the theatre of this approach, and the play between the broad, open prospect of the bay and the channelled lines of the park wall and the bridge into town, running parallel with an avenue of windswept trees, framing views of the old castle and the wider settlement, that forms the subject of the companion drawing.

Whether as a result of working with the Ordnance or his early training with a surveyor, it seems likely that the elder Sandby had already arrived at a degree of architectural knowledge and ambition by this point.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, by the turn of the decade, he was acting in an executant capacity at his patron Cumberland's Windsor Great Parkestate, where Sandby assumed a factotum or steward-like role.<sup>39</sup> While acting in this role, he was also a major player in the London art world during the 1750s

and beyond, close to Gwynn, whose academic and architectural vision he shared and openly professed. Later in life, delivering lectures to Royal Academy students, as the institution's first Professor of Architecture, Sandby advocated an expressive form of practice, such as would 'captivate the Eye, and engage the attention of the Spectator'. Borrowing from Gwynn and theorists such as Henry Home, Lord Kames, a key figure in the improvement of North Britain, Sandby recommended a painterly and poetic form of building practice. It demanded a knowledge of drawing and the drawing of landscape in particular, as that involved the 'endeavour to select, arrange & combine', to imagine as well as observe.<sup>40</sup> These ideas had been in circulation since the early 1730s, and articulated most fully in a series of publications by Robert Morris, who claimed to be a 'kinsman' of the architect behind Argyll's planned castle development.<sup>41</sup> In their attentiveness to the painterly and poetic aspects of the situation, Argyll and his architects took on the practical application of the principles advocated in such writings. They were to be of lasting significance to Thomas Sandby, but in the drawings he made of Inveraray in early 1746 he was already working his way pictorially through the staging of a landscape, its scenic qualities as well as its practical form, its route-ways, and sightlines.

When, in late 1746, the foundation stone for the great castellated house designed by Morris was laid at Inveraray, it was dedicated to the victor of Culloden and Thomas Sandby's new patron, Cumberland.<sup>42</sup> Six months earlier, Cumberland had greatly angered the duke by ordering the burning of houses and wasting of land on outlying estates to the north-west on the Morvern peninsula.<sup>43</sup> Carried out in retribution for the disloyalty of local people, the command prefigured the bloody, punitive violence of Cumberland's post-Culloden Highland strategy. Though Argyll had protested these acts against his tenants at the time, before the year was out the political advantage of paying tribute in stone to the country's royal protector would seem to have allowed him to overcome his grievances and misgivings. With this expression of loyalty to the Hanoverian state, the foundation ceremony connected the recent remaking of the Union with Argyll's improvement of the landscape. Such schemes were seen as part of that wider project to 'pacify' the Highland clans, with Argyll's lieutenant Lord Milton making the case for 'civilising them by introducing Agriculture, Fisherys, and Manufactures, and thereby extirpating their barbarity, with their chief marks of distinction, their language and dress, and preventing their idleness, the present source of their poverty, Theft and Rebellion'.<sup>44</sup> Overlooking the considerable tensions and laboured, often troubled progress of the development, contemporaries held up Inveraray as a model for what could be achieved. On visiting the estate the year that the road was finally completed, Jean Cameron for one was to note the benefits that had flowed from Argyll's innovations. 'Lands in this deform'd Castaway part of the creation' had been 'quite neglected' by nature, she observed. Still, Argyll had, almost miraculously, fashioned an idyll of sorts, making this 'remote Corner of the Shire more happie', by 'erecting Manufactorys fore employing the younge and a convent to receive the old, then obliging all the Men of the Shire to content themselves with the natural producte of the Countrie'.<sup>45</sup> In the wake of the rebellion, Scottish elites in alliance with the government in Westminster embarked upon a wide range of practical projects of improvement out in the fractured terrain of the Highlands.

### **View near Loch Rannoch**

Whereas Thomas Sandby's *View of Inveraray* is now held by the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, as part of its collection of works on paper, the other drawing of the site is to be found in

the British Library, London. Doubtless, their respective fates are the result of the often haphazard, at times arbitrary or opaque nature of collecting histories and practices around such material. It is also suggestive of a degree of uncertainty about the status of such drawings, as to whether they are better held with maps –as in some sense objective images of place –rather than with paintings, as subjective expressions of the artist.<sup>46</sup> In this instance, the Sandbys' wide-angled view out from Inveraray forms part of King George III's Topographical Collection, donated to the British Library in the early nineteenth century. This is now by and large kept in some five hundred or so large folio volumes. Arranged by place, these albums feature juxtapositions of maps, plans, and elevations as well as views and vignettes, prints, and original drawings, works of the seventeenth century and earlier pasted alongside later images, in surveys of change on the ground and in styles and techniques of landscape depiction. These works were but part of a still more vast geographical and topographical, civilian, military, and naval collection held in the monarch's library, surveying his kingdom and the territories of empire, the wider world, and the celestial realm above. On the one hand, this royal enthusiasm was traditionally princely, a territorial form of statecraft above political faction. On the other, it represented a popular, highly commercial, form of citizenship; an accomplishment and fascination the king shared with his subjects, who travelled the country in search of the picturesque or collected views of Britain's localities in the form of serial prints.<sup>47</sup>

Drawings and maps made by figures associated with the Board of Ordnance feature a good deal in the king's Topographical Collection. Among the works assembled in a volume dedicated to locations in the southern Highlands of Scotland is another drawing by Paul Sandby, dated 1749 and titled on the mount as *View near Loch Rannoch* (and now catalogued as a *Surveying Party by Kinloch Rannoch*)(Fig. 3). Its connection with the Military Survey has ensured that this particular drawing has had wide currency, beyond that of grander, perhaps more obviously ambitious examples of landscape art in the period. Often reproduced, illustrating almost every text on the mapping of Scotland after 'the Forty-Five', the drawing has become in a sense emblematic of the Military Survey, and even perhaps, by extension, George III's vast Topographical Collections, which also contain the striking maps it produced (Fig. 8). Rather than a matter of landscape aesthetics, it is sometimes assumed to be a contemporary, documentary image of a surveying party at work in the Highlands, even by implication an on-site record, if the accumulated effect of its reproduction – including use as a jacket illustration and endpapers – has also enhanced its iconic quality.<sup>48</sup> Yet, on closer looking, the more puzzling the picture seems, with some intriguing details hiding as it were in plain sight, leaving larger questions about its composition and rationale, date, even perhaps its attribution, not easily resolved; for there is little information on its production, circulation, or provenance before it was acquired for George III's collection.

*View near Loch Rannoch* portrays a military survey party at work; it is one of three such scenes by the younger Sandby now known, two of them being of this view. These include an etching by Sandby, dated 1750, published as part of a series of Scottish scenes, some locatable but all with a strong element of capriccio, with pastiches of Dutch, Flemish, and Italianate landscape art, and reissued in the 1760s in a collection of the artist's early prints (Fig. 9). In some editions, the survey scene was printed up alongside views of flourishing local scenery, connecting the mapping of this landscape with its improvement. It is a highly stylised, generic-looking highland scene, featuring a party of five, one at a theodolite, their disposition being compressed by the oval format and the distinction from the ground not entirely clear as the eye is drawn through the group up the pass to the illuminated peak. Two figures dragging the measuring chain for the survey look less like British

soldiers, more like Scottish highlanders, in pointed contrast perhaps to those drawings Sandby made of chained, manacled Jacobite prisoners.<sup>49</sup> *View near Loch Rannoch* is more legible as an account of the practice of surveying, as well as a portrayal of an actual place. It is carefully composed and, in places, highly resolved, in pen and ink, wash and watercolour, over graphite. If it appears as if done on the spot, or based on sketches that were, there is no evidence that Sandby himself was there and that he accompanied this stage of the survey. It is another estate view, a scene on lands forfeited by its former Jacobite landowners, the Robertsons, the Barony of Strowan; so, this is not just pacified territory but Crown Land (Fig. 10). Shortly after the rebellion, thirteen such properties across northern Scotland were placed under the control of the Westminster-appointed Board of Annexed Estates. Subject to civilian survey, and remapping, the board set about progressively reshaping their economy and society, encouraging manufactures and developing planned villages. Kinloch Rannoch's improvement developed from and was enabled by the establishment of military barracks adjacent to the existing settlement, as part of wider measures to suppress the Jacobite rising and clan power. Subsequent projects at Rannoch included planting, draining, and road building as well as plans for a crushing mill for an outcrop of limestone, to manure the ground, and a new nucleated settlement. Situated at the eastern end of Loch Rannoch, in northern Perthshire, in an area that had seen a good deal of fighting, the village was rebuilt as a model settlement for discharged soldiers and displaced crofters, the range of dwellings originally named Georgetown, if the royal name was soon abandoned.<sup>50</sup> It is shown as a square on the fair copy of the Military Survey, although that may, like other postwar constructions on the map, be a projected and not actual feature (Fig. 8). In his picture, Sandby clearly shows the stone buildings, below a finely delineated, quarry-like crag face.

In Sandby's drawing, the survey party is silhouetted against a remarkably level, empty middle ground, a blank portion of the paper, reminding the viewer of the sheets on which this new view of the land will be inscribed (Fig. 11). A stretching prospective view, it has parallels with a number of his brother Thomas's drawings, including the Inveraray prospect. In its conjunction of crag and coulisse, with the rocky hillside framed by a foreground tree, seemingly planted in a rockery, Sandby's view of Kinloch Rannoch also echoes a vignette the artist appended to a *Plan of the Castle of Dumbarton*, drawn up as part of the survey to repair and rebuild damaged and strategically important structures.<sup>51</sup> In the Rannoch view, prospect and profile are joined, the two optics combined. There is perhaps an allusion as well to a further composite, the surveyor's use of field book and sketch book, the mathematical and the pictorial. A later history of the Military Survey, compiled by Aaron Arrowsmith, noted how the surveyor: 'In the first noted the Angles and Measurements of his Stations, in Interconnections made for each, with observations. In the second he delineated his stations on the face of the Country on each side of it which was much less inclosed and woody than at present and was favourably featured for a military sketch'.<sup>52</sup>

Sandby's drawing shows a surveying party whose precise make up was also recorded in Arrowsmith's memoir of his new 1807 *Map of Scotland*. Parties were usually comprised of an engineer, or surveyor, and six soldiers. *A View near Loch Rannoch* features two men with a chain in the middle ground, shown against the blank paper, one man with a staff and flag in the foreground, and another just visible in the distance, an officer standing by one of the horses, and his batman working with the other.<sup>53</sup> The surveyor uses what one of Arrowsmith's informants, a former cadet on the survey, David Dundas, recalled as 'a good plain theodolite ... made by Cole' (Benjamin Cole, the leading London instrument-maker), sometimes called a circumferenter, basically a compass with alidade, a slit, not a lens, for sighting.<sup>54</sup> By default, if not deliberation, as the only surveyor then

working on the survey, the figure represents William Roy, who went on to become the nation's leading surveyor, if he looked back on his work in North Britain as a primitive stage in a progressive advance. In 1785, Roy recalled the survey as poorly equipped and financed, 'being carried on with instruments of the common, even inferior kind, and the sum annually allowed for it being inadequate to the execution of so great a design in the best manner, it is to be rather considered as a magnificent military sketch, than a very accurate map of the country'.<sup>55</sup>

While the personnel of Sandby's surveying party corresponds with reported procedure, this does not, of course, mean it was so observed on this spot as workaday practice. Rather, the Rannoch view is a normative image, as in an instruction manual. Moreover, such surveying parties frequently figured emblematically in cartouches to maps, or title pages to published atlases, to national road traverses such as John Ogilby's much-reprinted *Britannia* as well as estate surveys.<sup>56</sup> And the party itself is shown more grandly than a functioning unit. It features two figures in highland dress, one between the officer and surveyor looking out at the survey, and the one on the far right. There were local guides and interpreters for surveying parties but these figures appear both loyal and more important than the rank and file doing the work, both in demeanour and costume. A highlander at the centre of the group, looking along the line of the traverse, seems an equivalent complementary character to the British officer facing the spectator, almost the same figure in different dress. Indeed, the whole party has a highly formal, symmetrical, appearance, and the figures are more doll-like than most in Sandby's highly animated scenes, almost puppets, like some of the military figures on the cartouches of maps of forfeited estates.<sup>57</sup> Another highland figure on the far right strikes a standard pose of gentlemanly refinement, one foot forward, hand on hip. He is matched on the far left by a figure which looks almost comically out of place in a site of rapid military reconnaissance, a lady in full formal gown. They could be taken from figures in refined conduct manuals of the day, like those engraved by Boitard for François Nivelon, the male figure striking the pose of 'standing', the female 'walking'.<sup>58</sup> They look transposed from the work of another *émigré*, Philippe Mercier, for Sandby often styled his more elegant figures in the manner of the French master. Mercier had played a key role in introducing the *fête galante* to the English market, and Sandby's scene has the pastoral air of that genre, notably as it was adapted to the empirical imperatives of social portraiture, with the central surveying instrument in place of a musical instrument, so it appears as much a garden party as a surveying party. Indeed, Sandby's scene resembles a highly staged polite conversation piece, like those around figures at a globe in an interior or more especially looking through a telescope on a terrace overlooking a park.

How refined an image this picture is becomes evident when it is compared with an altogether more informal version of the same scene by Sandby, in wash and pencil, now in the National Library of Wales (Fig. 12). This is inscribed 'Ramnock [sic] in the Highlands of Scotland 1747 when the military survey'. It is a historical note in the hand of David Pennant, son of the naturalist and travel writer Thomas Pennant, made when he purchased the picture in 1816 for a grangerised version of his father's *Tour of Scotland* (1769–71).<sup>59</sup> In this version, the striking, almost diagrammatic, conjunctions of the British Library drawing are less pronounced, the surveyors sharing evidently undulating pasture with a herd of cows, grazing safely away from the district's infamous cattle stealers. There are far fewer, and less defined buildings in the village. The surveying party itself is more informal: the officer is missing, a highlander is lounging to the right, and the female figure is now a milkmaid and not a lady, rustic rather than polite. In contrast to the fine arboreal specimen, set in its rockery, framing the prospect in the British Library version, the tree looks now more like one which has

seeded naturally, if stunted in bare rock. It is sketchier in execution but no less composed than the more resolved of the drawings, if in style it is distinct, appearing more Dutch than French, so not necessarily closer to documentary reality but rather portrayed in a different pictorial register.

A closer look at the British Library's version raises the question of why it was made and indeed when. It is dated 1749, even if this date was not noted at the time of its composition, and there are indeed stylistic correspondences with other finished drawings made during Sandby's tour of duty, as well as aspects of his work on the fair copies of 'the Great Map'. It may have been done in the early 1750s to accompany some of the presentation copy reductions of the survey, with which it shares its muted palette as well as hatched shading in the relief elements, as a design for a cartouche perhaps, or drawn up to be engraved, as a title page, for a later published account or tour that was not issued, or considered as a contribution to a later print series, such as *The Virtuoso's Museum*, which was produced in the wake of another period of national emergency around the time of the American War.

A number of Sandby's pictures from the 1740s were indeed reworked for *The Virtuoso's Museum*, a long series of prints published between 1778 and 1781 by George Kearsly, ranging over sites covering all three kingdoms.<sup>60</sup> Scenes in Scotland showed changes to a landscape now pacified by improvement. *A View of Ben Lomond from Dumbarton* featured a much-reduced army camp from the original sketch (also part of the extra-illustration of the Pennants' own copy of the *Tour*), presided over by a companion soldier and highlander, performing their guide duties, in their own act of union (Figs 13 and 14). Accompanying letterpress for most of the Scottish scenes in *The Virtuoso's Museum* either quoted or paraphrased from Pennant's famous *Tour*, which portrayed North Britain as occupying the moral centre, rather than the periphery of the nation, offering a testing ground for the state, and a robust reproach to a metropolitan England softened by commerce and luxury.

Based on travels made in 1769 and written up over the next two years, Pennant's *Tour* was very much a response to the effects of the imperial expansion of the Seven Years' War. With some irony, it had been the defeat of the rebellion and the consolidation of the Union that had laid much of the ground for the nation's newfound imperial prowess. Large-scale diplomatic and military recruitment in the Highlands had begun at the start of the Seven Years' War, the involvement of the people from there heightening the perception of this as a war fought for and by Britons. Such were the military contributions of the newly founded highland regiments that the region came to be seen and fostered from that point on as a nursery of martial virtue that had to be carefully cultivated, to be protected from the pressures of commercialisation.<sup>61</sup> Highland improvement had to be balanced against the necessity of maintaining the local population as a military and social bulwark of landed interest in the region. These widely reported and debated enterprises and schemes coincided and overlapped with the cultural promotion of the highland landscape in James Macpherson's contested 'translations' of antique bardic verse, beginning with his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) and followed by the epics *Fingal* (1762) and *Temora* (1763). Yet, the status of cultural, economic, and social landscapes north of the river Tweed in the project of national imagining was of course still more complex and more fraught at the time Pennant was writing. Ossian's verse was implicated in the direct, often vicious debate and satire that had characterised political culture since the end days of the Seven Years' War. Macpherson's 'improbable fiction', as Samuel Johnson was to dismiss it, was caught up in the ferocious Scotophobia aroused by James, 3rd Earl of Bute's role in administering the Treaty of Paris that had brought the war to a conclusion and the undue sway he

was held to exert over the young George III.<sup>62</sup> 'North Britain' as an imaginative geography had come to have a wide resonance in these debates and the political culture of the 1760s more generally. What was understood by this dual-edged term, which asserted the country's connection with and its detachment from the other kingdoms at one and the same time, had been made central to images of Scotland and Scottishness, not least as these addressed the place of the region in the imagining of Britain and Britishness. Historians have seen the very pervasiveness of anti-Scottish sentiment in the 1760s as revealing of the success of the Union, though it may also be seen as indicative of the sense of contest that accompanied that process, its conflicts and contingencies, its fragmentary and uneven passage.<sup>63</sup> While resentments and uncertainties about Scotland's place in the nation remained either side of the Tweed, by the time of the American War, when *The Virtuoso's Museum* was in print, its critical role in providing men loyal to the Crown in the fight for empire was hard to contest or deny.

At Loch Lomond, Pennant found the scenery 'unspeakably beautiful', there being 'scarcely a spot on its banks but what is decorated with bleacheries, plantations and villas', in a wider region encompassing Port Glasgow, Greenock, and the Clyde. Elsewhere, in former Jacobite strongholds illustrated in *The Virtuoso's Museum*, Pennant found salutary signs of the failure of the rebellion, the abandoned mansion of an annexed estate, a fort blown up by rebel forces (shown intact in the print after Sandby's drawing). These extracts from Pennant's writings deferred to their cultural authority but also continued an ongoing dialogue between author and artist. Plates illustrating the various editions of Pennant's *Tour* had included a number after some of Sandby's earliest designs. Word and image reflected on a landscape in a process of transformation, its progress still precarious and uncertain, in danger of 'relapse' into its former state. '[T]here is still a mixture of the old negligence left amidst the recent improvements', Pennant remarked, which gave them the look of 'the works of a new colony in a wretched impoverished country'.<sup>64</sup> On the west coast, at Inveraray, the now late 3rd Duke's plans had advanced only in the most fragmentary, piecemeal fashion, frustrated by a combination of local resentments and mismanagement. Though he was admiring of the new castle and its parkland, for Pennant it served rather to highlight the lack of progress at its edges. On paper and in time, the place promised to 'be very magnificent'. On the ground and for now, however, 'the space between the front and the water' remained 'disgraced with the old town, composed of the most wretched hovels that can be imagined'.<sup>65</sup>

Writing of the Board of Annexed Estates, Pennant was approving of the 'rare patriotism!' shown by its members and operatives, readily endorsing 'the great object' of their enterprise, to promote the values of Anglican worship, 'good government, industry, manufactures, and the principles of loyalty to the present royal line'.<sup>66</sup> Signs of the board's activities were evident in the landscape, in the construction of new bridges, roads, and settlements. Some, he was forced to acknowledge, already lay in ruin, however. Visiting the now largely deserted homes of veterans settled on highland properties, Pennant could not but conclude that the board's 'Utopian' project of establishing colonies (on the forfeited estates) ... by no means answered the intentions of the projectors'.<sup>67</sup> When he described Kinloch Rannoch in his *Tour*, it was in equivocal terms. Hospitably received by the factor of the estate, he found little to dilate on in the view:

Not far off were some neat small houses, inhabited by veteran soldiers, who were settled here after the peace of 1748; had land, and three pounds in money given, and nine pounds lent to begin the world with. In some few places this plan succeeded; but in general was frustrated by



the dissipation of these new colonists; who could by no means relish an industrious life; but as soon as the money was spent, which seldom lasted long, left their tenements to be possessed by the next comer.<sup>68</sup>

Kinloch Rannoch was an island which drew attention to a surrounding sea of 'Utopian' projects and designs, in varied stages of advance and abandonment, in a still fragile landscape, keeping up appearances.

*View near Loch Rannoch*, as with many other of the landscapes Sandby produced throughout his career, is less a matter of fact, of eye-witness observation and record, so much as a work concerned with documenting the various claims on a place, combined and sometimes competing versions, views, and visions, both forward and backward looking, some more secure or reliable than others, with values affirmed here because they were being put into question elsewhere.<sup>69</sup> Sandby often flagged this quite consciously in relation to other pictures, some by him, but also with some critical reflection on looking at a scene and making a picture. *View near Loch Rannoch* might be situated alongside his other essays on civilian observation and spectatorship, such as a scene of a magic lantern show set in a London house of 1753, of view-making with a *camera obscura* at Roslin Castle of 1780, or the spectacle of the brilliant meteor of 1783 observed from the terrace of Windsor Castle.<sup>70</sup> These are pictures about viewing and making images, about the practice and performance of various forms of spectatorship which make up the field of vision, including acts of using instruments of observation and depiction.

### Revisiting the Survey of North Britain

Though the brothers were only based in Edinburgh for a few years, and would not return north of the border, these connections and experiences were to prove a lasting resource. Over a fifty-year career, the younger Sandby frequently revisited works, including his early views of the Highlands, restyling the landscape, moving figures from one period and place to another, translating between various projects and media. Shortly before his death in late 1809, Sandby was still revisiting the episode, recalling his involvement in the survey for its first historian.

Aaron Arrowsmith's rediscovery of the Military Survey, after the passage of half a century, was a revelation. Rapidly copied in the King's Library, for Arrowsmith it was the base for a new map, corrected mathematically by enlisting a series of subsequent surveys, including a manuscript copy of survey work Roy had undertaken on the remains of Roman military antiquities in Scotland. Arrowsmith saw the new map as realising what Roy, 'the Chief Distributor of the Whole' (who died in 1790), did not. He interviewed the few surviving veterans of the survey, including Sandby, who was still professionally active in his seventy-seventh year. He provided Arrowsmith with information on scale, which another veteran of the survey, David Dundas, failed to recall, and may have also supplied other details which are conventionally attributed to the former cadet but which do not appear in the transcript of his answers to the author's questions, such as the precise make up of surveying parties. It was Arrowsmith who called the artist 'the Chief Draftsman of the Fair Plan', noting the terrain was 'shaded in a capital style by the pencil of Mr Paul Sandby, subsequently much celebrated as a Landscape Draftsman'. Arrowsmith demanded that his engraver, John Smith of

Chelsea, paid close attention to the master in striving to 'preserve uniformity of manner in copying'.<sup>71</sup>

Alert to the cultural prestige now attached to the Military Survey of North Britain, not least as it was related to events instrumental in the remaking of the nation state, Thomas Paul Sandby, writing shortly after his father's death, recalled the artist's period of service as 'the source of his eminence as a landscape painter, at least in the formation of his particular style, as, though he there saw nature in her wildest form, the necessity under which he lay of attending to particular accuracy in filling up the plans, may be supposed to have formed in him that correct and faithful habit, with which he after viewed and delineated her'.<sup>72</sup> Collectors like Pennant clearly valued the artist's early highland views, for their historical worth as well as aesthetic merit, as images of a landscape in transition, which otherwise barely featured in the art of mid-century, and so too for their relationship with the survey and the defeat of the Jacobite cause.

Drawings made by the Sandby brothers during their respective terms of service with the Board of Ordnance show that a 'correct and faithful' viewing and delineation of landscape was not narrowly documentary, or merely illustrative, but a rather more complex, synoptic form of picture-making, involving relations of figures and ground, modes of spectatorship, historical or pictorial allusion, and the conflation of the imagined and the observed. Memory and projection were as central to the 'accuracy' with which the artist 'viewed and delineated' the world as eyewitness testimony and measurement. While Sandby was to recycle motifs and themes from drawings made on and off duty during his time in Edinburgh, and that of his brother, throughout his career, this is not to suggest that his *View near Loch Rannoch* was produced so many years after the event. Stylistically, it appears earlier than that. Yet, as with many images of military scenes, even when made in close connection to the events pictured, there is as much a concern to comment on the wider significance of the scene as to observe and record. Something of the significance of the survey itself was always a matter of recollection, with the potential to be reactivated in new circumstances – whether the American War or the Napoleonic Wars – long after the event. *View near Loch Rannoch* may accordingly be seen as a complex, commemorative image, if it is not clear when exactly it was produced. It was perhaps always intended to be emblematic of the achievements of the Military Survey and its designs on the landscape.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> John Gwynn, *An Essay on Design: Including Proposals for Erecting a Public Academy* (London: I. Brindley, S. Harding and M. Payne, 1749), pp. 26, 69.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of Gwynn's proposals for founding an academy in the context of art world debates of the period, see Matthew Hargraves, *Candidates for Fame: The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760–1791* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 12–13, *passim*. On the place of design in this culture, see Matthew Craske, 'Plan and Control: Design and the Competitive Spirit in Early and Mid Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1999), pp. 187–216.

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<sup>3</sup> Beineicke Library, Yale University, CT. Z8217. The inscription is undated, so the author's gift of the *Essay* to Sandby may well have been made some time after its publication. But this does not invalidate the wider point about the roles being assigned drawing and design at this particular moment.

<sup>4</sup> John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> R.A. Skelton, *The Military Survey of Scotland 1747–1755* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967); *The Great Map: The Military Survey of Scotland, 1747–55* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> [David Watson], 'Some Observations concerning the Highlands of Scotland' [September 1747], British Library, London, Add MS 35890, ff. 158–9.

<sup>7</sup> Caroline Anderson, 'Constructing the Military Landscape: The Board of Ordnance Maps and Plans of Scotland, 1689–1815', unpublished PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2010, pp. 236–7; Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: The British Library, 2010), pp. 110–111.

<sup>8</sup> Jessica Christian, 'Paul Sandby and the Military Survey of Scotland', in Nicholas Alfrey and Stephen Daniels (eds), *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography* (Nottingham: University Art Gallery, Nottingham Castle Museum, 1990), pp. 18–22; Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 78–83; Bonehill and Daniels (eds.), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 13–16, 74–105.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Pasquin [John Williams], *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians; Being an Attempt to Improve the National Taste* (London: H.D. Symonds, P. McQueen, and T. Bellamy, 1796), p. 141. For the assembly of such drawings, see Bonehill and Daniels (eds.), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 88–9.

<sup>10</sup> The elder Sandby was eventually to market 'Compasses for Drawing perspective in Architecture, landscapes, and other real objects', through the St James's shop of the mathematical instrument-maker James Simons: see *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 6 June 1775

<sup>11</sup> Cumberland Papers, Royal Collection, Box 68/x.36.5.

<sup>12</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 78–9.

<sup>13</sup> Gordon Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready": Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707–1832', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 229 (2011), pp. 64–95, especially 72–5; Danielle Thom, '"William, the Princely Youth": The Duke of Cumberland and Anti-Jacobite Visual Strategy, 1745–46', *Visual Culture in Britain*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2015), pp. 249–66.

<sup>14</sup> A list of the draughtsmen employed in the drawing room is given in Douglas Marshall, 'Military Maps of the Eighteenth Century and the Tower of London Drawing Room', *Imago Mundi*, no. 32 (1980), pp. 21–44. While this records Thomas Sandby's affiliation, the only direct evidence for his younger brother's employment by the board comes in the form of a one-off payment: see Register of Drafts, f. 26, entry 26, Public Record Office, WO55/2281.

<sup>15</sup> Aaron Arrowsmith, *Memoir relative to the construction of a Map of Scotland* (London: W. Savage, 1809), p. 8.

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<sup>16</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 13–18, 74–93; Michael Charlesworth, ‘Thomas Sandby Climbs the Hoover Stand: The Politics of Panoramic Drawing in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Art History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1996), pp. 247–66.

<sup>17</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds.), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 128–33.

<sup>18</sup> John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle: In Edinburgh and Rome* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1962); John Gifford, *William Adam 1689–1748* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989), p. 173.

<sup>19</sup> Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>20</sup> James Fergusson, letter to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 22 March 1761, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD18/4676.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 4th ed., 4 vols (London: S. Birt, T. Osborne, D. Browne, J. Hodges, A. Millar, J. Osborn, and J. Robinson, 1748), vol. IV, p. 108.

<sup>22</sup> A number of similarly framed and inscribed views of Scottish landed estates and public buildings signed by the elder Sandby survive from this period, suggesting that he may have considered issuing them as a group. There are examples in the Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, and the British Library, London.

<sup>23</sup> Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, letter to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, 12 November 1743, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Saltoun Papers, Box 401.

<sup>24</sup> Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973).

<sup>25</sup> Archibald Campbell, Lord Islay, letter to George Middleton, August 1729, National Library of Scotland, Saltoun Papers, Box 14.

<sup>26</sup> Horace Walpole, ‘Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second’, in *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 7 vols (London: John Murray, 1798; 1822), vol. VII, p. 242.

<sup>27</sup> William Douglas, ‘Report Concerning the Castle of Inverara’ [19 January 1744], Roger Morris Letterbook, Inveraray.

<sup>28</sup> James Smollett of Bonhill, letter to his Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 13 May 1741, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, Penicuik Papers, GD 18/5435.

<sup>29</sup> For a report of this work, see Major-General John Campbell, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Campbell of Mamore Papers, MSS 3733/105, 2.

<sup>30</sup> A third drawing, again dated 1747 and showing the ‘Old Castle Inverara’, is also known. It is pasted in Thomas Pennant’s own extra-illustrated copy of his *Tour of Scotland 1769–1772*, Vol. 3, part 1, facing p. 2, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. This collection is discussed below.

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<sup>31</sup> Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, letter to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, 9 November 1743, National library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Saltoun Papers, Box 402. 'Fews' is an alternative spelling of feus, or the tenure of land for an annual payment or other form of obligation.

<sup>32</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, pp. 146–74.

<sup>34</sup> Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, letter to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, April 1744, National library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Saltoun Papers, Box 402. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, letter to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, 16 June 1744, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Saltoun Papers, Box 43.

<sup>36</sup> Gwynn, *Essay*, p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, pp. 146–7.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Sandby's earliest known drawings and designs were made in relation to a series of overlapping projects surveying the development of his native town of Nottingham, which included a town prospect and plan as well as the illustration of an antiquarian urban history: see Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 166–7.

<sup>39</sup> Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 57.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Sandby, 'Six Lectures on Architecture', Royal Institute of British Architects, London, 'Lecture the fourth', f. 1-2; 'Lecture the First', f.3, On the correspondences between Gwynn and Sandby's architectural thinking, see John Bonehill, "'The centre of pleasure and magnificence': Paul and Thomas Sandby's London", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2 (Autumn 2012), pp. 365–92.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture* (London: J. Brindley, 1734).

<sup>42</sup> For the ceremony and the inscription, see *The Scots Magazine*, 8 (October 1746), p. 498.

<sup>43</sup> Philip Gaskell, *Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 2–4.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, letter to Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 17 April 1747, in C.S. Terry (ed.), *The Albemarle Papers*, 2 vols (New Spalding Club: Aberdeen, 1902), vol. II, p. 447.

<sup>45</sup> Jean Cameron, letter to Donald Campbell of Airds, 29 August 1749, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Saltoun Papers, Box 407.

<sup>46</sup> Felicity Myrone, "'The Monarch of the Plain': Paul Sandby and Topography", in Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 56–63.

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<sup>47</sup> Peter Barber, 'King George III's Topographical Collection: a Georgian View of Britain and the World', in Kim Sloan with Andrew Burnett (eds), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 158–67.

<sup>48</sup> Yolande O'Donoghue, *William Roy 1726– 1790: Pioneer of the Ordnance Survey* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977); Skelton, *Military Survey; The Great Map*.

<sup>49</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> G. Whittington and A.J.S. Gibson, *The Military Survey of Scotland 1747–1755: A Critique*, Historical Geography Research Series Number 18, July 1986, pp. 44–50; A.H. Millar (ed.), *A Selection of Scottish Forfeited Estate Papers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1909), pp. 207–18.

<sup>51</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 90–91.

<sup>52</sup> Arrowsmith, *Memoir*, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Arrowsmith, *Memoir*, p. 8.

<sup>54</sup> Memorandums Respecting the Map of Scotland, 12 June 1806, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, RH i/2/523 (1a–c).

<sup>55</sup> William Roy, 'An Account of the Measurement of a Base on Hounslow-Heath', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, no. 75 (1785), pp. 385–480, 387.

<sup>56</sup> Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (London: The British Library: 1999), pp. 60–61.

<sup>57</sup> For example, as shown in Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes, and Charles Withers, *Scotland, Mapping the Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012), p. 130.

<sup>58</sup> See Francois Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London: n.p., 1737).

<sup>59</sup> Paul Joyner, 'Some Sandby Drawings of Scotland', *Journal of the National Library of Wales*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1983), pp. 1–8.

<sup>60</sup> Finola O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque: Design, Landscape Painting, and Tourism, 1700– 1840* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 129–32; Helen Wyld, 'Re-framing Britain's Past: Paul Sandby and the Picturesque Tour of Scotland', *British Art Journal*, 12/1 (2011), pp. 29–36; Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, p. 187; Andrew Kennedy, 'Representing the Three Kingdoms: Hanoverianism and the Virtuosi's Museum', in Mark Dorrian and Gillian Rose (eds), *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscape and Politics* (London and New York: Black Dog, 2003), pp. 272–83.

<sup>61</sup> Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>62</sup> Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London: J. Pope, 1775), p. 192. There is a large literature on the politics around Bute in the 1760s, beginning with John Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A Case Study in Eighteenth-Century Political Argument and Opinion', *Historical Journal*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1973), pp. 3–43.

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<sup>63</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 121.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX* (Chester: J. Monk, 1771), pp. 40–41.

<sup>65</sup> Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX*, p. 189.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXXII*, Part 2 (London: Benjamin White, 1776), p. 91.

<sup>67</sup> Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX*, p. 140.

<sup>68</sup> Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX*, p. 95.

<sup>69</sup> See John Barrell's review of the 2009 exhibition of Sandby's work, 'Topography v. Landscape', in *The London Review of Books*, vol. 32, no. 9 (13 May 2010).

<sup>70</sup> Bonehill and Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby*, pp. 106, 176; Stephen Daniels, 'Great balls of fire: envisioning the brilliant meteor of 1783', in Stephen Daniels, Dydia DeLyser, J. Nicholas Entrikin, and Douglas Richardson (eds), *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 155–69. For the most recent discussion of Sandby's magic-lantern images, see Joseph Monteyne, *From Still Life to the Screen: Print Culture, Display, and the Materiality of the Image in Eighteenth-Century London* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 214–21.

<sup>71</sup> Arrowsmith, *Memoir*, pp. 7–8, 13, 31.

<sup>72</sup> [Thomas Paul Sandby], 'Memoirs of the Late Paul Sandby Esqre RA', *The Monthly Magazine*, 213 (June 1811), pp. 437–41, 437.

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. Thomas Sandby, *View of Inverary, a Seat belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle*, 1746, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, 12.6 45cm. National Gallery of Scotland Edinburgh, D 76.

Fig. 2. Paul Sandby, *View of Inveraray*, 1747, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, 16.9 68.5cm. The British Library, London. ©The British Library Board, Maps K.Top.49.31.1a.

Fig. 3. Paul Sandby, *Surveying Party by Kinloch Rannoch*, 1749, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, 17.3 23.3cm. The British Library, London. ©The British Library Board, K.Top.50.83.2.

Fig. 4. John Elphinstone, *A New Map of North Britain done by order of the Right Honourable the Lord of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland*, 1746, pen, wash and watercolour, 146 108 cm. The British Library, London. ©The British Library Board, Maps K.Top.48.22.

Fig. 5. Circle of Paul Sandby, from *A sketchbook of drawings made in the Scottish Highlands*, late 1740s, pen, watercolour and wash. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D.5339A.

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Fig. 6. William Edgar, *The Course of The King's Road making betwixt Dunbarton and Inveraray, (So as to Cross no Ferrys,) With the Country Circumjacent*, 1745, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite. The British Library, London. ©The British Library Board, Maps K.Top.48.59.

Fig. 7. Detail of Thomas Sandby, *View of Inverary, a Seat belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle*, 1746, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, 12.6 45cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 76.

Fig. 8. Detail of *A sheet of the fair copy of the Military Survey of the North of Scotland (Loch Rannoch)*, c. 1750, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite. The British Library, London. © The British Library Board, Maps C.C.5.a441.

Fig. 9. Paul Sandby, plate from *A Collection of Etchings* (London, 1765), etching, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.

Fig. 10. Detail of John Lesslie, *Map of Rannoch, the barony of Strowan, one of His Majesties Annexed Estates in North Britain*, 1756, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. Crown copyright, National Records of Scotland, RHP3480.

Fig. 11. Detail of Paul Sandby, *Surveying Party by Kinloch Rannoch*, 1749, pen, wash and watercolour over graphite, 17.3 23.3cm. The British Library, London. ©The British Library Board, K.Top.50.83.2.

Fig. 12. Paul Sandby, *Rannoch in the High Lands of Scotland 1749 when the military survey*, pen and wash over graphite, 209 295mm, pasted in Thomas Pennant's own extra-illustrated copy of his *Tour of Scotland 1769–1772*, Vol. 1, part 1, facing p. 107. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Fig. 13. Paul Sandby, *Ben Lomond, View near Dunbarton*, c.1747, pen, ink and wash over graphite, 165 978mm, pasted in Thomas Pennant's own extra-illustrated copy of his *Tour of Scotland 1769–1772*, Vol. 1, part 2, facing p. 249. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Fig. 14. William Walker and William Angus after Paul Sandby, *View of Ben-Lomond, near Dunbarton*, from *The Virtuosi's Museum; containing Select Views, in England, Scotland and Ireland*, published by George Kearsly, 1 October 1778, engraving, 156 200 mm. Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London, 1870,1008.446. Trustees of The British Museum.