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Becoming English: The Monro Family and Scottish Assimilation in Early-Modern England

INTRODUCTION: THEORISING ASSIMILATION

There are few more famous cases of migrant assimilation than the transformation of the royal house of Stuart from avowedly Scottish, in the person of James VI and I, to unmistakably English by the reigns of his grandchildren, Charles II and James VII and II. Although obviously an atypically elite example, the Stuarts' experience is indicative of what happened to thousands of other Scottish individuals and families over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among these other Scottish migrants were the Monros, a professional, middle-ranking family whose life in England began with the Episcopalian minister Alexander Monro (d.1698), who spent most of his life in Scotland but resided in exile in London throughout the 1690s. His son, James (1680-1752), became famous as the attending physician of Bethlam hospital, a role in which he was followed by his own son, John (1715-91). The Monros generated a rich and varied body of sources during their first century in England, including correspondence, institutional records and press coverage, the value of which to migration history has been overlooked, making their lives and assimilation a favourable topic for micro-historical reconstruction. This article deploys the Monro case-study within a theoretical framing to demonstrate the process of assimilation over the course of three generations, turning an unequivocally Scottish family into an assured English one. The Monros should not be regarded as 'typical' Scottish migrants to England, and indeed the huge range of different migrant-types, and the correspondingly varied migration experiences, among England-based Scots in this period would make any attempt to define typicality futile.¹ But in fusing theory with empirical data, this article contends that the Monro case-

¹ For discussion of the Scottish migrant community and its varied experiences more generally, see K.M. Brown and A. Kennedy "Their Maxim is *Vestigia Nulla Restrorsum*': Scottish Return Migration and Capital Repatriation from England, 1603-c.1760', *Journal of Social History*, forthcoming 2018; K.M. Brown and A. Kennedy, 'Land of Opportunity? The Assimilation of Scottish Migrants in England, 1603-c.1762', *Journal of British Studies*, forthcoming; K.M. Brown, A. Kennedy and S. Talbot, "Scots and Scabs from North-by-Tweed': Undesirable Scottish Migrants in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', working paper. Much of the evidence upon which these papers is based can be freely accessed at http://wiki.angloscottishmigration.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/index.php/Main_Page.

study reveals important truths about the broader context within which Scottish migrants operated. It suggests that early modern England offered a relatively benign destination for some Scottish migrants with valuable skills, that Scottish identity was disposable, and that those migrants might align their identity with the more recognisable paradigm of 'Englishness' rather than any emergent idea of 'Britishness'.

The process of migrant assimilation has been subject to intense theoretical inquiry. Early frameworks, especially those evolving from the Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s, came to be known as the 'classic' assimilation model which conceptualises assimilation in terms of migrant groups' wholesale incorporation into the cultural life of their host society.² The most detailed version of classic assimilation modelling breaks down the 'assimilation process' into seven sub-processes, with each of them representing a distinct step on a road to complete integration. These steps involve acculturation, assumption of primary-group relations, intermarriage, development of a collective identity based on the host society, disappearance of host-society prejudice, disappearance of host-society discrimination, and civic assimilation. This analysis embodies the core proposition of classic assimilation modelling of a straight-line process allowing migrant groups to proceed logically from outsider status to complete absorption into the host society.³ Classic assimilation theory, with its essentially positive perspective on the opportunities for migrant assimilation, has been challenged by the empirical observation that migrant assimilation can become blocked, either by institutional barriers, or by continuing prejudice on the part of the host society.⁴ While these objections have stimulated multiple attempts to nuance the model – for example by downplaying linearity, or by raising the prospect of a cultural mixing (the 'melting pot') rather than convergence on the host society⁵ – they have also spawned alternative theoretical

² Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1964), 149-51.

³ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 70-1.

⁴ Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, 1963).

⁵ Nathan Glazer, 'Is Assimilation Dead?', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530 (1993): 122-36; Elliott R. Barkan, 'Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity: From Contact to Assimilation', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 14:2 (1995): 38-101; Richard Alba and Victor Nee, 'Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration', *International Migration Review*, 31:4 (1997): 826-74; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1832* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 158-67; Alexander

frameworks. Among these models is that of ‘segmented assimilation’ which assumes that, over generations, migrants from the same ethnic group can follow divergent assimilation paths due to structural factors like access to education or professional opportunities.⁶

There is an important point of tension in the theoretical canon on migrant assimilation, that being the role of the individual or family, since primarily it is not groups that are assimilated.⁷ The notion of ‘institutional completeness’ seeks to untangle the linkages between the collective and individual experiences, concluding that the assimilation experience of the individual will be determined, in part, by the extent to which their own ethnic group succeeds in establishing distinct structures such as churches, welfare organisations or newspapers. If a large and vibrant network of such institutions exists, then individuals will assimilate more slowly and less completely. At the same time, high levels of individual assimilation will over time degrade collective structures.⁸ In the case of Scots in England such structures were largely absent. The theory of ‘selective acculturation’ builds upon this idea by suggesting that the most favourable conditions for assimilation occur when individuals, particularly in the second generation, adopt key elements of the host culture while retaining an anchor in their own. This optimum can best be achieved with the presence of strong families and robust ethnic networks as was the case for a number of well-studied Scottish residents of early modern England, and with the Monros.⁹ Absent of these factors, individuals are likely to engage in ‘dissonant acculturation’, characterised by quickly losing contact with the ancestral culture and thereby lacking the support networks necessary to smooth their personal assimilation. However, while there were ‘failed’ migrants among the Scottish diaspora in England, it is difficult to judge from the available evidence whether their

Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (Basingstoke and London: Palgrave, 1998), 62-87.

⁶ Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, ‘The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, 530 (1993): 74-96.

⁷ Barkan, ‘Race, Religion, and Nationality’, 44.

⁸ Raymond Breton, ‘Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants’, *American Journal of Sociology*, 7:2 (1964): 193-205.

⁹ See Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, 2011) on the Johnstons of Westerkirk, and David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995) on a number of Scottish merchants including the MP Alexander Grant.

experiences reflected the ‘dissonant acculturation’ model.¹⁰ ‘Selective acculturation’ addresses the complexity and diversity of individual migrant experiences, while highlighting the limitations of a purely theoretical approach at the micro-level since there is no good reason to assume that the activities of a particular migrant will conform to their ethnic group’s collective assimilation trajectory.

If divergences in individual experience complicate efforts to model assimilation, so too do generational divides. Classic assimilation theory implies that longer-term residence facilitates more complete assimilation and, as a result, the expectation is that the children and grandchildren of first-generation migrants will integrate more rapidly and fully.¹¹ The case of the Monro family demonstrates precisely this process taking place over three generations. Yet increasingly the straightforward nature of this understanding has been called into question. Partly that is because generational division can be unclear. An individual who migrates as a child could be described as either first or second generation, but will have longer to acclimatise to their new homes, and might be expected to assimilate better than their parents, but less well than their own offspring.¹² Perhaps more acutely, theorists have felt compelled to refine their ideas to accommodate potentially non-linear legacy experiences, for example by allowing for delays and diversions leading to ‘bumpy line’ assimilation, some of which is evident in the Monro case, or by tracing the longer-term implications of ‘segmented assimilation’ and thereby emphasising the importance of socio-economic achievement alongside the mere passage of generations.¹³

¹⁰ Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Oakley and London, 2014), 282-86. On ‘failed’ migrants, see Brown et al, ‘Undesirable Scottish Migrants’.

¹¹ Judith Treas, ‘Incorporating Immigrants: Integrating Theoretical Frameworks of Adaptation’, *Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 70:2 (2015): 273.

¹² Rubén G. Rumbaut ‘Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States’, *International Migration Review*, 38:3 (2004): 1167.

¹³ Herbert J. Gans, ‘Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach’, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12:1 (1992): 42-52; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 279-80. ‘Bumpy line’ modelling might well be applicable to other Scots, James Boswell’s multiple connections and re-connections with London being an obvious example G. Turnbull, ‘Boswell, James (1740–1795)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2950>, accessed 2 Aug 2017].

The implications of theory for the study of historical migrant experiences are unclear, especially as migration history has emerged from resolutely empirical enquiry. Key developments have tended to be methodological, including the deployment of microhistory, an approach sometimes criticised for self-indulgence but hailed by its proponents as a means of enriching historical understanding and of recovering potentially revelatory details that might otherwise be overlooked.¹⁴ Most historians working on Scottish emigration patterns have been resistant to sociological or anthropological theorising,¹⁵ but have demonstrated the value of microhistory in recovering a more nuanced and textured picture of the Scottish diaspora.¹⁶ Yet purely empirical approaches, including the microhistorical, are circumscribed by the imperfect nature of source material, which, especially for those working on the pre-modern period and on the lower orders, is insufficient for fully reconstructing individual migrant experiences or collective ethnic trajectories.¹⁷ By utilising theoretical perspectives in a longitudinal, microhistorical case-study of the Monro family, this article provides an exemplar for the integration of theoretical and empirical approaches to historical migration study, offering fresh insights into the experiences of Scots in England during the formative period of Great Britain's development.

SHEDDING SCOTTISHNESS

¹⁴ For an introduction to the debate over microhistory, see John Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:1 (2010): 87-109 and Filippo de Vivo, 'Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:3 (2010): 387-97.

¹⁵ The literature on Scottish international migration in the early modern period is large and growing, but for a wide-ranging introduction see Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005). A standard entry-point into the still more extensive historiography of modern emigration patterns is Tom Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2000* (London, 2012). A good example of a study that engages with sociological theory is Tanja Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand, 1850-1930* (Edinburgh, 2011).

¹⁶ Rothschild, *Inner Life of Empires*.

¹⁷ Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century* (London, 1998), 319-20.

Alexander Monro was born in 1648, probably in Ross-shire, as the fourth son of Hugh Munro of Fyrish, head of a cadet branch of the Munro family's main Foulis line.¹⁸ A successful career as a minister and academic that led to him becoming principal of Edinburgh College in 1685, was cut short by the revolution against James VII in 1688-9. A convinced Episcopalian, Monro's refusal to pray for, or swear allegiance to, William and Mary led to his ejection from the principalship in 1690. His disaffection from the Presbyterian settlement was such that, along with other political and religious dissidents, at the age of forty-three he removed himself to London, where, aside from one brief return-visit in 1691, he remained until his death in 1698.¹⁹ Monro had two surviving children with his (second) wife, Marione: a daughter named Katherine, about whom little is known save that she married in England, and a son, James, the second of this article's subjects.²⁰ James Monro, together with his wife, Elizabeth, had five children who survived into adulthood (and another five who did not). A son named Thomas (1716-81), after completing his education at Corpus Christie, Oxford, forged a career in the Church of England, serving in several charges in Wiltshire, London and Suffolk and possibly acting for a time as domestic chaplain to George Henry, 3rd earl of Lichfield. Of James Monro's three daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth (1709-66), never married, but her younger sisters did. Marione (1710-87), the second surviving daughter, was matched with Robert Pott, an oil-merchant in the City, in 1742, while Ann (1718-40), the youngest, wed the Bath-based physician George Randolph in 1738.²¹ However, for reasons of space and

¹⁸ Alexander was the first of his family to use the spelling 'Monro' rather than 'Munro'. Given the fluidity of early-modern spelling, it simply may have been a personal preference.

¹⁹ For biographical background, see Tristram Clarke, 'Monro, Alexander (*d.* 1698)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18963>, accessed 27 Nov 2015].

²⁰ Many accounts, notably *Ibid.*, name Alexander Monro's surviving daughter as Elizabeth, but this appears to be an error; legal documents dating from both 1700 and 1712 both unambiguously name her 'Katherine'. National Library of Scotland [NLS], MS1393, f.161, Bond of John Mackenzie of Delvine, 23 May 1700; *Ibid.*, ff.161-2, Declarations of inhibition and arrestment, 15-16 July 1712.

²¹ London Metropolitan Archives [LMA], ACC/1063/0001, Family Book of Cecil Monro, ff.1r-6r; Te National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Wills, Prob 11/728/290; *Daily Post*, 13 September 1738, issue 5931; *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 26 December 1739, issue 586; *London Evening Post*, 1 January 1743, issue 2362; 'Thomas Monro (CCED Person ID 114192)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835*, { [HYPERLINK](http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/) "http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/" \o "External website" }, accessed 6 March 2016; 'Thomas Monro (CCED Person ID 117546)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835*, { [HYPERLINK](http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/)

clarity, this discussion of familial assimilation focuses only on James Monro's eldest son, John, his successor at Bethlam and the best-served of the third generation in terms of surviving documentation.

Throughout his relatively short time in London, Alexander Monro retained a strong sense of Scottish identity as was common among the Scottish exile community that included the likes of James Canaries, John Cockburn and George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. He bristled in 1696 when accused of authoring a pamphlet entitled *The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered* (an attack on the theological position of the late archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson, actually written by the nonjuring Irish cleric Charles Leslie). To some degree, Monro thought association with this text to be professionally injurious, but he was irritated by his accuser's denigration of Scottish speaking patterns and the alleged 'Northern frozen head' of the Scots, riposting in print that 'National Reproaches make up the divertisement used Witticisms of Porter's and Buffoon's'.²² Clearly national pride had been pricked. On a more functional level, Monro's commitment to London life was qualified by indications of reticence, for example his delay of more than a year in having his wife, Marione, and two children, Katherine and James, join him; his continued communication with Episcopalians back home such as Andrew Cant and the former Archbishop of Glasgow, John Paterson; and, perhaps most tellingly, his steadfast refusal to relocate his prized private library. All this suggests a conception of his London life as inherently temporary, the city being a bolt-hole until the situation in Scotland became more amenable, this being a path taken by other Scottish churchmen, especially those fleeing the revolutions of 1637-41 and 1688-90.²³ Equally significantly, Monro, in common with many Scots abroad,²⁴ retained a

"<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>" \o "External website" }, accessed 6 March 2016; *London Evening Post*, 10-12 December 1754, issue 4226; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 March 1781, issue 1400; A.

Mackenzie, *History of the Munros of Fowllis* (Inverness, 1898), 433-44.

²² Alexander Munro, *A Letter To the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, Occasioned by a late Book, Entituled, A Two-fold Vindication Of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, And of the Author of the History of Religion* (London, 1696), 7-11. For the original accusation that Monro wrote *Charge of Socinianism*, see [Robert Howard], *A twofold vindication of the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and of the author of The history of religion* (London, 1696), 27-59.

²³ National Records of Scotland [NRS], GD26/13/396; NLS, MS1393, f.48r-v, Alexander Monro to James Mackenzie, 9 April 1691; *Ibid.*, ff.55r-56r, same to same, 16 January 1692; *Ibid.*, f.92r-v, same to same, 22 March 1694; *Ibid.*, f.112r-v, same to same, 18 January 1696; *Ibid.*, f.137r-v, Marione

strongly Scottish social circle that incorporated both adherents to and opponents of the new regime, mixing or being otherwise connected with fellow London-Scots such as Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the merchant James Foulis, Archibald Douglas (son of Lord Neil Campbell), Margaret Hay, dowager earl of Cassilis (who remembered him in her will), and James Johnston, one of William II's former secretaries of state for Scotland, as well as corresponding voluminously with his Scotland-based friend, John Mackenzie of Delvine.²⁵ It is noteworthy that Monro earned his living in London almost exclusively by publishing polemical pamphlets in support of Scottish Episcopalianism and attacking the post-Revolution Presbyterian settlement. Writing polemic was hardly a unique vocation among the London-Scots of the 1690s, but it was one which suggests Monro did not progress very far down the theoretical assimilationist path of conceiving his identity primarily through the cultural prism of the host country.²⁶ Monro's attention was also drawn northwards by the prospect of augmenting his income from Scotland, ideally by securing the rights to a vacant stipend. After much lobbying, he did so in 1693 when he was awarded the previous year's stipend of the Perthshire parish of Meigle.²⁷ These various but powerful linkages were poignantly confirmed by his growing desire to retire homewards,²⁸ summed up in his assertion towards the end of 1696 that London life was now so unbearable that he was ready to quit Britain altogether if he could not retire to Scotland.²⁹ This note of desperation,

Monro to James Mackenzie, 7 March 1700. On Scottish religious exiles returning from England, see Brown and Kennedy, 'Scottish Return Migration'.

²⁴ S. Nenadic, 'Introduction' in S. Nenadic, ed., *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg, 2010), 26-7.

²⁵ NLS, MS1393, f.41r-v, Alexander Monro to John Mackenzie, May 1691; *Ibid.*, ff.99r-100r, same to same, 27 October 1694; *Ibid.*, f.118r-v, same to same, 13 May 1697; *Ibid.*, f.122r-v, same to same, 13 July 1697; *Ibid.*, f.126, same to same, 12 October 1697; GD25/9/79.

²⁶ On Monro's place in London's polemical printing scene, see A. Raffe, 'Episcopalian Polemic, the London Printing Press and Anglo-Scottish Divergence in the 1690s', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26:1 (2006): 23-41.

²⁷ NLS, MS1393, f. 59r-v, same to same, 10 March 1692; *Ibid.*, f. 228r-v, same to same, 5 July 1692; *Ibid.*, f. 81r-v, same to same, 29 April 1693; *Ibid.*, ff. 105r-106r, same to same, 16 March 1695; *Ibid.*, f. 118r-v, same to same, 13 May 1697; *Ibid.*, f. 126r-v, same to same, 12 October 1697.

²⁸ On retiree return migration, see Brown and Kennedy, 'Scottish Return Migration'.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 112r-v, same to same, 18 January 1696; *Ibid.*, f. 113r-v, same to same, 30 June 1696; *Ibid.*, f. 114r-v, same to same, 25 September 1696.

apparently occasioned by a belief that returning home would be unsafe so long as Scotland remained Presbyterian, encapsulated Monro's continuing emotional link to his homeland, a connection that underpinned his relative resistance to the process of assimilation until his death in 1698.

Yet if Alexander Monro retained a strong sense of Scottishness throughout his relatively brief exile in London, his long-running correspondence with Delvine offers a hint that his emotional relationship with Scotland may have been changing in the face of external pressures. As early as April 1693, Monro, having noted that a sitting of the Scottish Parliament (which he referred to as 'your Parliament') was imminent, told Delvine that 'I find that the clashings [and] counter designs, and political subdivisions make your nation miserable'.³⁰ This rhetorical removal of himself from the Scottish scene was repeated in several subsequent letters, for example in March 1694 ('your Scots Presbyterie') and January 1696 ('your officers of State').³¹ Too much weight should not be put on these remarks, especially because such formulations were not ubiquitous; one letter from September 1695 still referred to Scotland as 'my country', for example, while another missive two months later simultaneously spoke of 'your Countrey' and 'our Countrey-men'.³² The linguistic pattern in part reflects the importance of religious sensibilities; it was not Scotland *per se* that was 'other' to the Episcopalian Monro, but Presbyterian Scotland specifically. Nonetheless, Monro's developing ability to speak of Scotland as somehow 'other' suggests the beginnings of the kind of attitudinal shift often associated with the more advanced stages of assimilation.

As theoretical frameworks would predict, this process accelerated markedly in subsequent generations. The result, admittedly, was not a complete rejection of Scottishness. James Monro and John Monro both maintained several Scottish relationships. For example, Alexander Cruden, the famously eccentric biblical scholar, was treated privately by James during his nine-week confinement in a lunatic asylum at Bethnal Green in the late 1730s, a case James allegedly became involved in through the intervention of another Scot, Edinburgh merchant Robert Wightman.³³ In 1708, his legal affairs prompted the twenty-eight year-old

³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 80r, same to same, 4 April 1693.

³¹ *Ibid.*, f. 92v, same to same, 22 March 1694; *Ibid.*, f. 122r, same to same, 18 January 1696.

³² *Ibid.*, f. 108v, same to same, 19 September 1695; *Ibid.*, f. 111r, same to same, 24 December 1695.

³³ On Cruden and the Monros, see John Andrews and Andrew Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind: John Monro and Mad-Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2001), 93-111; [Alexander

James to resume his father's correspondence with Delvine, whom he described as 'the only man in the world that professed any frindship to me' and to whom he wrote regularly for at least the next four years, soliciting advice, asking for loans and requesting legal services.³⁴ In a pair of financial instruments signed at Oxford in 1709 and 1711, all James's witnesses were other Balliol College-based Scots drawn from fellow Episcopalian emigre families.³⁵ Maintaining a Scottish network carried forward into his post-university life; when he agreed to sell his Scottish estates of Fyrish in 1713, the disposition was signed at that favoured haunt of London-Scots, the British Coffee House.³⁶ In the next generation, it was probably a sense of Scottish commonality that convinced John Monro to offer discrete support to the pioneering Roxburghshire paediatricians George and John Armstrong, whose children's dispensary, the first such institution in London, found its inaugural home in his house at Red Lion Square in 1769 and 1770.³⁷ Even when long-established as eminent London physicians, James and John Monro did not entirely lose their Scottish connections. A significant minority of their patients were of Scottish extraction, suggesting an ongoing relationship with the Scottish community in London, including among the higher ranks of Scots in the city.³⁸ Scottish associational networks could help drum up business. For example, one Mr Hamilton, visiting the capital from Edinburgh in 1766, came to John Monro to be treated for depression on the advice of another Scot, 'Mr Dempster' (perhaps referring to George Dempster, MP for the Perth Burghs).³⁹ Moreover, the Monros' Scottish ancestry did not go unacknowledged by others; one correspondent of the *St James's Chronicle*, reacting against the episodic

Cruden], *The London-Citizen Exceedingly Injuyred; Or A Journal or Narrative of Mr. C-'s Sufferings at Bethnal-Green, by one Wightman and his Accomplices* (London, 1739), 10.

³⁴ NLS, MS1393, f. 157, James Monro to John Mackenzie, 5 March 1712.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 150r, same to same, 2 May 1709; *Ibid.*, f. 154r, same to same, 2 July 1711.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 164-5, registration of disposition, 19 September 1713; Barry Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1963), 132-5.

³⁷ Andrews and Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind*, 12.

³⁸ John Andrews and Andrew Scull, *Customers and Patients of the Mad-Trade: The Management of Lunacy in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2003), 34; J. Stuart, ed., *Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Volume Third* (Aberdeen, 1846), Lord Grange to Thomas Erskine of Pittodry, 14 June 1731, 16-22, at 18; John Andrews, 'A Respectable Mad-Doctor? Dr Richard Hale, F.R.S. (1670-1728)', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 44:2 (1990): 178.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, C.6-7.

Scotophobia that flared up in opposition to the Bute ministry of 1762-3, offered John Monro as an example of the many medical practitioners in England who helped ensure that ‘the Scotch Diplomatists far excell those, that are dupper M.D. by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge’, a comment that reflects an interesting native view of a third-generation migrant.⁴⁰

These lingering linkages notwithstanding, there is limited evidence that either James or John Monro retained much emotional investment in Scotland. Certainly, their reading habits suggest at least a passing interest on their home country. In middle age, James subscribed to at least two publishing projects related to Scottish history.⁴¹ Yet he patronised these volumes alongside others that had no connection to Scotland,⁴² and he helped finance fellow Scotsman William Maitland’s 1739 *History of London* as well as John Pine’s lavish twenty-four page engraved map of the capital, published in 1746.⁴³ Similarly, while it is true

⁴⁰ *St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 22-24 June 1762.

⁴¹ David Scott, *The History of Scotland. Containing all the Historical Transactions of that Nation, from the Year of the World 3619 to the Year of Christ 1726* (Westminster, 1727), xii; Robert Mentieth, *The History of the Troubles of Great Britain: Containing a Particular Account of the Most Remarkable Passages in Scotland, From the Year 1633 to 1650* (London, 1738).

⁴² See subscriber lists included in: Andrew Michael Ramsay, *The Travels of Cyrus* (London, 1730); Roger Bacon, *Fratri Rogeri Bacon, ordinis minorum, opus majus ad Clementem quartum, pontificem romanum* (London, 1733); Mary Barber, *Poems on several occasions* (London, 1734), xxxix; Thomas Oughton, *Ordo Judiciorum*, 2 vols (London, 1738); John Martyn, *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Georgicorum Libri Quatuor. The Georgicks of Virgil, with and English Translation and Notes* (London, 1741), xxi; Jacobus Houbraken and George Vertue, *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain* (London, 1743); Conyers Middleton, *The history of the life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 2 vols (London, 1741); Leonard Twells, *Twenty-four sermons preach’d at the parish church of St Mary le Bow, London, in the years 1739, 1740, 1741, at the lecture founded by the Nonourable Robert Boyle, Esq; and eight sermons preach’d at the cathedral church of St Paul, in the years 1738 and 1739, at the lecture founded by the Honoured Lady Moyer*, 2 vols (London, 1743), i, xxix; Giovanni Battista Gelli, *Circe* (London, 1744); James Kirkpatrick, *A. Popii excerpta quaedam* (London, 1749), Colin Maclaurin, *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton’s Philosophical Discoveries, in Four Books* (London, 1748); Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and Back to England* (London, 1747).

⁴³ William Maitland, *The History of London, from its Foundation by the Romans, to the Present Time* (London, 1739); Anonymous, *An Alphabetical Index of the Streets, Squares, Lanes, Alleys, & c. contained in the Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark* (London, 1747), x.

that John Monro's extensive private library included Scottish volumes with historical, lexicographical, topographical, cultural and religious foci, some of these books – like Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775) – were simply part of the appropriate reading material for any educated gentleman.⁴⁴ Moreover, any sense of cultural connection to Scotland must be balanced with extensive evidence of John Monro's participation in England. The notes he kept during a whistle-stop tour of England's regions in August 1735 reveal a keen interest in English history and heritage that, if his possession of such books as Joseph Sturt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England* (1773) or Stebbing Shaw's *Tour of the West of England* (1788) is any indication, persisted as he aged.⁴⁵ He was acquainted with William Hogarth, whom he was commissioned to approach in 1751 about providing a painting to adorn the altar of Bridewell Hospital's chapel. Monro's artistic expertise was sufficient to assist in the production of a biographical dictionary of British engravers published by Joseph Strutt in 1785. He assisted George Stevens and Samuel Johnson in producing a new edition of Shakespeare's plays in 1773, activity that reflected his keen interest in classical and modern literature.⁴⁶ John Monro, in short, was an individual whose social and cultural interactions in no way singled him out as anything other than an English gentleman.

Two discrete pieces of evidence connected with James Monro, John's father, neatly exemplify the family's increasingly lightly-worn Scottishness. As early as 1708, while (unsuccessfully) pursuing the recently-vacated professorship of anatomy at Oxford, James Monro remarked that 'there is nothing in the world I more desier than to setle in this place', a throwaway but revealing comment.⁴⁷ Monro confirmed his attitude after inheriting from his uncle, John Munro, the Ross-shire estate of Fyrish that same year. He never displayed the least intention of taking personal possession of these lands, nor does he seem to have visited, and by 1710 was in talks with his kinsman, George Munro of Culrain, with a view towards selling the estate to him. James was blunt about his willingness to sell for a modest price,

⁴⁴ *Bibliotheca Elegantissima Monroiana. A Catalogue of the Elegant and Valuable Library of John Monro, M.D. Physician to Bethlehem Hospital, Lately Deceased; Which will be Sold by Auction By Leigh and Sotheby, Booksellers, At their House in York Street, Covent Garden, On Monday, April 23d, 1792, and the Fourteen following Days (Sundays excepted)* (London, 1792), items 717, 1301, 420, 29, 880, 3409, 1135 and 1074.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, items 1234 and 1296; Andrews and Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind*, 5-6.

⁴⁶ Andrews and Scull, *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade*, 36-7.

⁴⁷ NLS, MS1393, f. 160r, James Monro to John Mackenzie, 15 November [1708].

justifying his posture partly on account of money problems – ‘Necessity has no law’, as he put it in March 1712 – and because an injection of capital would assist him in establishing his career in England. The Culrain deal fell through, but Monro remained determined to exchange his distant Ross-shire patrimony for hard cash, selling Fyrish in 1713 to none other than Delvine.⁴⁸ In his conscious decision to jettison Fyrish in order to assist in establishing his life in southern England, Monro betrayed a different, much more detached attitude towards Scotland than that which had animated his father during the 1690s.

Monro’s will, drafted in 1747, confirmed that this attitude had become securely entrenched. As with their countrymen residing overseas, it was not uncommon for Anglo-Scots, even those who, like Monro, left young and never returned, to remember Scotland in their testaments, often through legacies to friends of family at home, or else by charitable endowments.⁴⁹ Monro’s strikingly utilitarian will requested that his worldly goods, minus debts, be divided between his wife, two sons and one unmarried daughter, his only specific provision being for the modest sum of one guinea each to be gifted to his two sons-in-law, one surviving married daughter, and two grandchildren. He instructed that he was to ‘be buried in the Church yard of the Parish where I shall happen to dye’, which in the event was Sunnighill in Berkshire.⁵⁰ This absence of any legacy interest in Scotland reinforces the sense that, for James Monro, as for his son but not for his father, his northern connections were of limited consequence and contributed little to his sense of identity.

MAKING THE TRANSITION

The rapid waning of the Monros’ Scottishness in the second and third generations cleared the way for a comprehensive process of assimilation that conformed in many particulars to classic assimilation theory. Yet some of these processes had been in evidence even during Alexander Monro’s brief London exile. As with other Scots, the Monros were fortunate that England placed in their way few of the barriers highlighted by critics of classic assimilation modelling. Scotophobic sentiment was relatively muted and low-level, and did not compare,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 144r-v, Marione Monro to John Mackenzie, 18 March, no year; *Ibid.*, f. 148r, James Monro to John Mackenzie, 17 September 1708; *Ibid.*, f. 153r, same to same, 22 July 1710; *Ibid.*, f. 157r-v, same to same, 5 March 1712; *Ibid.*, f. 162r, execution of inhibition, 15 July 1712; *Ibid.*, ff. 164-5, registration of disposition, 19 September 1713.

⁴⁹ Brown and Kennedy, ‘Scottish Return Migration’.

⁵⁰ TNA, Prob 11/738/290.

for example, with the hostility faced by Irish, Dutch (during the seventeenth century), or French (during the eighteenth century) immigrants.⁵¹ There was little to stop Episcopalian Scots like the Monros from transitioning into the Church of England (as, famously, was contemporaneously done by the Saltoun minister turned bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet). The Scots may have been assisted by a pronounced English self-image at this time as a refuge for persecuted Protestants derived from the large-scale Huguenot influx that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, albeit this posture weakened markedly from the 1710s onwards.⁵² On the Scottish side, meanwhile, the ‘institutional completeness’ of the emigre community in England was, notwithstanding a substantial degree of informal networking, relatively low, perhaps because the comparative openness of English society meant there was less need for it.⁵³ There were no wholly Scottish cultural organs like newspapers or magazines; Scots did not establish their own specialist alehouses or coffeehouses (although some existing institutions, such as the above noted British Coffee House on Cockspur Street, seem to have attracted high numbers of Scots); there is no evidence of Scottish schools; Scottish-owned businesses were rarely ethnically-closed shops in terms of clientele; Scots-affiliated Churches, like the Scots congregation of Founder’s Hall, were open to non-Scottish worshippers and indeed ministers; and Scottish associational institutions – common in the Scots’ other major migrant destinations – were lacking until the establishment of the Highland Society in 1778. The only exception was the principally charitable Scots Corporation.⁵⁴ In short, Scots like the Monros were presented in London with a remarkably benign environment in terms of assimilation theory, free from significant

⁵¹ Colley, *Britons*, 376; Steve Pincus, ‘From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s’, *Historical Journal*, 38:2 (1995): 333-61; Jacob Selwood, ‘English-Born Reputed Stranger’: Birth and Descent in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44:4 (2005): 728-53.

⁵² Matthew Lockwood, ‘Love ye therefore the Strangers: Immigration and the Criminal Law in Early Modern England’, *Continuity and Change*, 29:3 (2014): 361; William O’Reilly, ‘Strangers Come to Devour the Land: Changing Views of Foreign Migrants in Early Eighteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 21 (2017): 153-87.

⁵³ On Scottish networking, see Murdoch, *Network North*.

⁵⁴ Justine Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a London Charity, 1603-2003* (East Linton, 2003). On formal associationalism in the Scottish diaspora, see Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool, 2015).

institutional or attitudinal barriers, and light on formal mechanisms reinforcing any sense of Scottish distinctiveness.

Against this background, the basic process of acculturation presented few challenges. Crucially, the Monros did not have to learn the language, usually the biggest initial challenge faced by new immigrants, and one of the strongest predictors of successful assimilation.⁵⁵ But they quickly moved beyond acculturation to display more advanced markers of assimilation. They established relationships outside the Scottish community; Alexander Monro was on convivial terms with the London pamphleteer, Gilbert Crockatt, whom he described as ‘my friend’ in November 1690 and to whom he entrusted his incoming correspondence when absent from London the following year.⁵⁶ Alexander Monro’s writings were published through the London printers and booksellers Joseph Hindmarsh and Walter Kettinly, and at least some of them were advertised in English newspapers, among them his *Sermons*, notification of which was carried by the *London Gazette* over two successive issues in May 1693.⁵⁷ He was in contact with London’s Anglican clergy in (unsuccessful) pursuit of a job, while his familiarity with John Flamsteed, the English Astronomer Royal, was sufficiently close that he corresponded with him in 1694 about a pair of recently-published mathematical treatises, reporting that Flamsteed was not convinced by their arguments.⁵⁸

James and John Monro enmeshed themselves even more completely in English society. Like many other Scottish men in England,⁵⁹ they both married English women;

⁵⁵ Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller, ‘A Model of Destination-language Acquisition: Application to Male Immigrants in Canada’, *Demography* 38:3 (2001): 391-409.

⁵⁶ NRS, GD26/13/396, Alexander Monro to Marione Monro, 20 November 1690; NLS, MS1393, f.50r, Alexander Monro to John Mackenzie, 24 September 1691.

⁵⁷ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 156-7, 178-9; *London Gazette*, 22-25 May 1693, issue 2873, and 25-29 May 1693, issue 2874.

⁵⁸ NLS, MS1393, ff. 99r-100r, Alexander Monro to John Mackenzie, 27 October 1694; *Ibid.*, ff. 55r-566, same to same, 16 January 1692 .

⁵⁹ This is particularly well-documented among the aristocracy, see Keith M. Brown, “The Origins of a British Aristocracy: Integration and its Limitations before the Treaty of Union,” in *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725* ed. Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London, 1995), 222-49. Less august Scots are also known to have married English women; Robert Carr of Kelso was a humble London tailor when he married Ruth around 1725. St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 14 September 1739, T. Hitchcock et al., *London Lives, 1690-1800*

Elizabeth, daughter of the London solicitor Thomas Hoy, in the case of James, and Elizabeth Smith of Hadley, Middlesex in the case of John.⁶⁰ As we have seen, James Monro ensured that his two youngest daughters married respectable Englishmen, while the successive wives of his second son, Thomas, were English, Ellen, daughter of Adam Soresby of Derbyshire, and Mary, daughter of Christopher Taylor, steward of St Bartholomew's Hospital.⁶¹ These marriages are significant since intermarriage has long been recognised as a key mechanism for, and a strong marker of, assimilation.⁶² Indeed, their marriages may well have helped smooth the Monros' assimilation in more active ways. For example, James's father-in-law fed his desire to settle in England by promising to buy him a house in Oxford once he gained his BM, albeit we do not know if this happened. Later, John's marriage to Elizabeth Smith raised his social *cache* by attaching him to an up-and-coming family. His new mother-in-law, Cullen Smith *nee* Horne, was the sister and co-heiress of John Horne, governor of Bombay, and was wealthy enough to leave cash legacies exceeding £2,500 pounds in her will, dated 1775. John and Elizabeth – the former also appointed co-executor of the will – were left £600. The family would ascend still higher in 1802, when John's brother-in-law, Culling, was raised to the baronetage.⁶³

(www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 24 April 2012), smdsset_117_59209. Some Scottish women married English men, and again they might be drawn from a wide social spectrum, from Anne Scott, 1st duchess of Buccleuch, who married Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, to Anne Haggis, whose husband after c.1697, William, seems to have been a Stepney man. LMA, DL/C/247, Consistory Court Depositions, 1701-1703.

⁶⁰ LMA, ACC/1063/0001, f.5r; Joseph Lemuel Chester (ed.), *The Parish Registers of St Michael Cornhill, London, containing the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials from 1546 to 1754* (London, 1882), 73. *London Evening Post*, 17-20 November 1753, issue 4060.

⁶¹ LMA, ACC/1063/0001, ff.1r-4r.

⁶² Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Migration* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2003), 90.

⁶³ NLS, MS1393, f. 149r, James Monro to John Mackenzie, 15 April 1709; TNA, Prob 11/1008/86; LMA, ACC/1063/0013, Pedigree of the Smiths of Hadley. James Monro's marriage would ultimately facilitate some degree of landholding within the Monro family since Thomas Hoy's will, dated 1729, left a tenement of land in Farnham, Essex, to John and Elizabeth's daughter, Marione. Why Thomas chose to honour Marione with this gift, while leaving only modest cash legacies to his other four grandchildren and not mentioning his daughter or son-in-law at all, is unclear. TNA, Prob 11/645/320.

Social linkages were not restricted to the family. Thomas Dover, a well-known physician and inventor of the cold and flu remedy known as ‘Dover’s Powder’, boasted in 1733 of a long-term ‘intimate Friendship’ with James Monro.⁶⁴ Friendships like these were complemented by associations growing from James’s hobbies. He shared an interest in plants with the amateur gardener, John Cowell of Hoxton, who reported in 1730 that he visited James’s home in Greenwich where he made observations about how fruiting plants blossomed.⁶⁵ Monro maintained contact with the pioneering botanist Richard Bradley, who acknowledged that Monro had passed on data from an experiment aimed at stimulating plants to fruit at a younger age.⁶⁶ James Monro had an additional interest in ornithology which brought him into the orbit of the naturalist, George Edwards,⁶⁷ and in horseracing.⁶⁸ Moreover, James’s early work on smallpox inoculation (see below) allowed him to forge professional networks with English physicians, including James Jurin and the French-born surgeon Claude Amyand.⁶⁹ Cultivation of such linkages was on-going. Alexander Cruden’s account of James’s treatment suggests working connections with several medical professionals, including the apothecary Job London.⁷⁰ More concretely, in 1734 James was one of the pall-bearers for the internment at Tottenham of the London apothecary Thomas Richardson, suggesting not only some form of relationship with Richardson, but, given that each of the other six pall-bearers were medical men, integration into a wider professional milieu.⁷¹

The evidence of social assimilation is even stronger for John Monro. Part of his time as Radcliffe Fellow in the 1740s (see below) was spent travelling around Italy in the company of three Englishmen, John Bouverie, Rowland Holt and Richard Phelps, in whose

⁶⁴ Thomas Dover, *The ancient physician’s legacy to his country* (London, 1733), 145.

⁶⁵ John Cowell, *The curious and profitable gardener* (London, 1730), 40.

⁶⁶ Richard Bradley, *New improvements of planting and gardening, both philosophical and practical* (London, 1731), 597.

⁶⁷ George Edward, *A natural history of birds*, 4 vols (London, 1743), i, 40; ii, 69.

⁶⁸ *London Evening Post*, 6-8 July 1738, issue 1661.

⁶⁹ RS, Cl.P/23ii/32.

⁷⁰ Cruden, *London-Citizen*, 7, 10 and at 12, and see [Alexander Cruden], *The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector*, 3 vols (London, 1753), i, 18.

⁷¹ *Read’s Weekly Journal Or British Gazeteer*, 9 March 173, issue 468.

company he flirted with Jacobitism at the Roman court of the Old Pretender.⁷² Later in life, his known social circle included numerous English friends, many of them, such as Dr Swithin Adee, Dr Thomas Reeve, Richard Crowther (Bethlem's surgeon) and Dr Thomas Southwell, fellow medical men. This sense of broad social networking was confirmed by John's nomination as a governor of Bethlem in 1748, since his sponsor was not, as might have been expected, his father, but rather the antiquarian and nonjuring clergyman Dr Richard Rowlinson.⁷³ As a governor, John in turn sponsored the elevation of others, among them Sir Thomas Stapleton of Greys in Oxfordshire in 1761, Serjeant Leigh, a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn, in 1769, Dr Richard Warren of Sackville Street, later famous for treating George III, in 1776, and one John Pardoe junior of Bedford Row in 1785.⁷⁴ Moreover, relationships with other mad-house owners in London, especially John Miles, who ran a large asylum at Hoxton, William Clarke at Brooke House in Clapton and Michael Duffield in Chelsea, allowed John Monro to maintain referral and consultation networks across the city's psychiatric institutions.⁷⁵

These social connections were enhanced for both James and John Monro by institutional assimilation. In 1729, the year after his appointment at Bethlem, James Monro was appointed a governor of St Bartholomew's Hospital, and four years later he became that institution's treasurer.⁷⁶ He similarly enjoyed appointment as a governor of Bridewell and Bethlem in 1747, making a customary donation of £100 in the process.⁷⁷ This position facilitated the appointment in July 1751 of John as Bethlem's second physician, a transparent effort to secure his succession.⁷⁸ James was civically active beyond the walls of London's hospitals, being involved with the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, a charity aiming to assist poverty-stricken Anglican clergymen, serving as a steward at one of its feasts in 1726,

⁷² Lewis *et al*, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xix, 191, Horatio Mann to Horace Walpole, 4 January 1746.

⁷³ BA, BCB-21, 360 and at 387.

⁷⁴ BA, BCB-22, 352 and at 363; BA, BCB-23, 254, 261 and at 532; BA, BCB-24, 174.

⁷⁵ Andrews and Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind*, 160-70; Andrews and Scull, *Customer and Patrons of the Mad-Trade*, 42-3 and at 104.

⁷⁶ *British Journal of The Censor*, 30 August 1729, issue 87; *London Evening Post*, 26-28 July 1733, issue 883.

⁷⁷ BA, BCB-21, 323, 330; *London Evening Post*, 26-28 May 1747, issue 3052.

⁷⁸ BA, BCB-22, 9, 15, 91; *General Advertiser*, 5 July 1751, issue 5213; *General Advertiser*, 25 November 1752, issue 5640.

and being elected a gentleman of its ruling court in 1728.⁷⁹ It was widely rumoured in 1730 that James was being groomed to replace Sir Hans Sloane as physician to Christ's Hospital, a charitable school founded by Edward VI in 1552, and he was made one of its governors around the same time.⁸⁰ Moreover, although never attaining high office in the Royal College of Physicians, into which he enrolled as first candidate (1728) and then fellow (1729), James delivered what one newspaper described as an 'excellent oration' before it in 1737, this being the college's annual Latin-language Horveian Oration, which he used largely to praise its work.⁸¹

John Monro outstripped his father with regard to institutional assimilation. Aside from Bethlem, John cultivated interests in other London hospitals, most significantly Brooke House, established by Clarke in the late 1750s, of which he was licensee (1774-83) and in due course, owner. He also bought an asylum at Wood's Close in Clerkenwell, the running of which he bequeathed to his son Thomas.⁸² The extensive medical experience denoted by this miniature healthcare empire was reflected in John's association with the Royal College of Physicians, to which, in emulation of his father, he was admitted candidate in 1752 and fellow in 1753. He delivered his own Horveian Oration in 1757, precisely twenty years after his father. Unlike James, however, John Monro proceeded to hold high office within the College, serving as censor (the College's disciplinarian and enforcer) for seven one-year terms at intervals between 1754 and 1785.⁸³

Becoming part of this English milieu was facilitated by education, a course taken by several other Scottish migrants, especially after 1707.⁸⁴ Alexander Monro's ambitions for the

⁷⁹ John Dolben, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Sons of the Clergy* (London, 1726); *London Evening Post*, 14-16 November 1739, issue 147.

⁸⁰ *The Governors of Christ's-Hospital, London* (London, 1733), 8.

⁸¹ Munck, *Royal College of Physicians*, ii, 113-5; *Grub Street Journal*, 20 October 1737, issue 408. Monro's address was published as James Monro, *Oratio annivesaria in theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium; Ex Harvaei Instituto, Habita Die 18 Octobris, 1737* (London, 1737).

⁸² W.A. Eden, M.P.G Draper, W.F. Grimes and A. Williams, 'Documentary evidence' in *Survey of London: Volume 28, Brooke House, Hackney* (London, 1960), 52-66 [*British History Online* {[HYPERLINK "http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol28/pp52-66"](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol28/pp52-66) }], accessed 7 April 2016]; TNA, Prob 11/12/1213; Andrews and Scull, *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade*, 43-4, 106.

⁸³ Munck, *Royal College of Physicians*, ii, 160-1.

⁸⁴ Some well-known examples include Robert Creighton, bishop of Bath and Wells (1593-1672), Emelia Geddie (1665-81), Alexander Hume-Campbell, later 2nd earl of Marchmont (1675-1740),

education of his remaining children, Katherine and James, had taken shape by March 1695, when he expressed an interest in enrolling James in Eton or Winchester, which would provide ‘for all his life time’.⁸⁵ The details of James’s education as it unfolded are unclear, but they were sufficient for him to gain access to the University of Oxford, into whose Balliol College he matriculated in July 1699, aged eighteen. There he remained until 1709, graduating successively BA (1703), MA (1708) and BM (1709), before returning in 1722 to take his MD.⁸⁶ John Monro received his initial education from London’s Merchant Taylor’s School, before enrolling at St John’s College, Oxford, from where he graduated BA in 1737 and MA in 1740, aged twenty-five. The following April, John was appointed to the coveted Radcliffe Fellowship, a ten-year post that required him to travel around Europe to receive a medical education at various universities. This experience, he later recounted, provided him with the social polish necessary to thrive as a top physician. Oxford granted him degrees of BM (1743) and DM (1747) during his tenure as a Radcliffe fellow.

These educational *bona fides* allowed James and John Monro to forge their careers as London physicians. James set himself up in a private practice, based first at Greenwich and later in London proper. By 1726, he was sufficiently well-established to become involved in early experimentation with smallpox vaccination, attending on both the inoculation and after-care of Edward, the three-year-old son of John Perceval, viscount Perceval and one of England’s earliest recipients of this treatment.⁸⁷ By the time James Monro began his association with the Royal College of Physicians in 1728, he had secured his most consequential appointment when, that October, he emerged victorious from a highly competitive, three-stage election to become physician to Bethlam, the oldest and most renowned institution for the treatment of lunacy in the British Isles.⁸⁸ Monro’s remit also covered the jointly-run Bridewell Prison and Hospital. He remained in-post as Bethlem’s

William Murray, 1st earl of Mansfield (1705-93), and Sir Archibald Macdonald (1747-1826). See the relevant entries in *ODNB* for further details.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 105r, same to same, 16 March 1694.

⁸⁶ J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Borth, with a Record of their Degrees* 4 vols (Oxford, 1891), iii, 1020.

⁸⁷ Royal Society Library [RS], Cl.P/23ii/32, James Monro to James Jurin, 19 April 1726; Cl.P/23ii/63, Catherine Perceval to Unknown, 6 August 1726.

⁸⁸ Bethlem Archives [BA], BCB-20, 163. On Bethlem Hospital, see John Andrews, *The History of Bethlem* (London, 1997).

physician – a semi-honorary position that required him to examine new patients and attend occasional meetings, but which did not preclude him from continuing to practise as a private physician – until his death in 1752, aged seventy-two. To this post John Monro succeeded seamlessly, remaining in position until his own death in 1791.⁸⁹

The Monros' professional *cache* earned them contemporary renown as experts in the treatment of mental illness. Although his approach attracted occasional adverse comments such as those of Cruden, and were criticised after his death,⁹⁰ James Monro's work was sufficiently respected during his lifetime that Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals presented him with a ceremonial staff in 1747.⁹¹ He was occasionally consulted as an expert witness in legal cases involving lunacy,⁹² and such was his prominence that James's name was often invoked as the archetypal mad doctor. In the run-up to the battle of Dettingen in 1743, Horace Walpole, assessing the leadership of the opposing French and Allied armies, observed that 'Marshal Noailles is as mad as Marshal Stair – Jesus! twice fifty thousand men trusted to two mad captains, without one Dr Monroe over them!'.⁹³

John Monro achieved still greater eminence. His status and public profile was unflatteringly exploited in 1784 by the propagandist, Thomas Rowlandson, in an engraving that satirised the Whig statesman Charles James Fox as a lunatic by having a grotesque caricature of Monro scrutinise him with a looking-glass and declaring him beyond hope of recovery.⁹⁴ John's standing was confirmed by his interactions with the authorities as an expert witness on insanity. Along with Dr William Battie, physician to St Luke's Hospital and a man with whom John had previously sparred in print over the treatment regimen of

⁸⁹ John Monro's life and professional achievements have been extensively reconstructed, see Andrews and Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind* and *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade* as well as John Andrews, 'Monro, John (1715–1791)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18976>, accessed 7 April 2016].

⁹⁰ See, most prominently, William Battie, *A Treatise on Madness* (London, 1758), vigorously parried by Monro's son in John Monro, *Remarks on Dr Battie's Treatise on Madness* (London, 1758).

⁹¹ *London Evening Post*, 14-16 May 1747, issue 3047.

⁹² Henry Roberts, *The case of Henry Roberts, Esq; a gentleman, who, by unparalleled cruelty was deprived of his estate, under the pretence of idiocy* (London, 1747), 11-4.

⁹³ W.S. Lewis *et al*, eds., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols (New Haven, 1937-1983), xviii, 224, Horace Walpole to Horatio Mann, 4 May 1743.

⁹⁴ William Schupbach, 'Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library. John Monro MD and Charles James Fox: Etching by Thomas Rowlandson', *Medical History*, 27:1 (1983): 80-3.

Bethlem – he was one of two ‘very eminent Physicians, distinguished by their Knowledge and their Practice in Cases of Lunacy’ called before a House of Commons committee on private madhouses in 1763. Both mad-doctors considered that greater regulation of private asylums was needed, and their evidence was crucial to the committee’s recommendations to this effect.⁹⁵ John testified on individual cases, such as in 1760, when Laurence Shirley, 4th earl of Ferrers (whose lunatic father both James and John Monro had treated) attempted to evade accusations for having murdered his steward, John Johnson. Ferrers summoned John to testify to his own insanity before the House of Lords, but to little avail since Ferrers was convicted and hanged.⁹⁶ More sensationally, John and his son, Thomas, were entrusted with examining the mental health of Margaret Nicholson, who attempted to stab George III in 1786; their testimony was key in convincing the privy council that Nicholson was insane, leading to her life-long incarceration at Bethlem.⁹⁷ John was even involved in the treatment of George III himself during the king’s first mental breakdown in 1788-9, albeit (probably on account of his failing health, but also, allegedly, because of the unwelcome gloomy prognosis he offered) as an august adviser rather than an active physician.⁹⁸

The fame enjoyed by both James and, to a still greater extent, John Monro facilitated, and was in turn no doubt fuelled by, an impressive list of high-status clients. Among them were Henry Shirley, 3rd Earl Ferrers, Ralph VERNY, Lord Fermanagh, John Newport, illegitimate son of Henry Newport, 3rd earl of Bradford, Sir Robert Walpole, George Walpole, 3rd earl of Orford, and Admiral Nicholas Haddock, this latter receiving emergency care from James Monro for physical rather than mental illness.⁹⁹ Not that their private

⁹⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons, Volume 29, 1761-1764*, (London, 1803), 488-9.

⁹⁶ Thomas B. Howell and Thomas J. Howell (eds.), *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials*, 34 vols (London, 1809–28), xix, 942-4.

⁹⁷ *The Annual Register, Or A View of the History, Politics, and Literature, For the Year 1786* (London, 1788), 234; Joel P. Eigen, ‘Nicholson, Margaret (1750?–1828)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20145>, accessed 14 April 2016]

⁹⁸ Andrews and Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind*, 256-60.

⁹⁹ *Daily Post*, 23 October 1730, issue 3462; Lewis *et al*, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ix, 148, Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 22 May 1753; *Ibid.*, xix, 210, Horace Walpole to Horatio Mann, 7 February 1746; *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 254, Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, 17 December 1780; M.M. Verny, *Verny Letters of the Eighteenth Century from the MSS. At Claydon House*, 2 vols (London, 1930), ii, 202, Joseph Girdler to Lord Fermanagh, 25 October 1733; Andrews and Scull, *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade*, C119-120; *London Evening Post*, 5-8 June 1742, issue 2274.

practices relied solely on elite patients. In 1740, for example, James Monro treated one Peter Shaw, son of a 'poor woman', who had allegedly been driven mad after hearing a sermon delivered by an unidentified evangelist.¹⁰⁰ Others came from further field to consult the Monros, including one Mr Stansfield, a clergyman from Huntingdonshire, and Mr Rosat of Switzerland, both of whom sought treatment from John Monro in 1766.¹⁰¹ All this allowed the Monros to grow rich (perhaps suggesting some truth in their reputations for charging high fees).¹⁰² James Monro possessed at least two successive country houses outside London, first at Croydon in Surrey by at least the 1740s, and then at Sunninghill. He was able to offer a £5,000 dowry to his daughter, Ann, in 1738, while providing another daughter, Marione, with sufficient money for her to be described in 1742 as 'an agreeable young Lady with a handsome Fortune'.¹⁰³ John Monro was even wealthier; by the time of his death at the end of 1791, he owned three properties in London plus his on-going private business. He left cash legacies totalling £10,000 to his three sons, James, Charles and Thomas, as well as £2,500 to his wife, Elizabeth.¹⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

The Monro family's relationship with Bethlem did not end with John Monro. His two immediate successors were his son, Thomas (1759-1833) and grandson, Edward (1789-1856), while his great-grandson, Henry (1817-91), though not connected to Bethlem, was for many years consulting physician at another London insane asylum, St Luke's Hospital.¹⁰⁵ This on-going prominence in the institutional treatment of mental illness in England reflected the success of the family's assimilation experience. Even in the first generation, Alexander Monro established some primary-group relationships, demonstrating limited evidence of identification with his English host society, even if his strong emotional attachment to

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Benson, ed., *The Works of the Rev John Wesley*, 17 vols (London, 1809-18), ii, 52.

¹⁰¹ Andrews and Scull, *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade*, C119-120; Lewis *et al*, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxiii, 78, Horace Walpole to Anne Ossery, 19 December 1778; *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 148, Horace Walpole to Edward Wallace, 21 April 1777, 117-120; *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 309, Henry Seymour Conway to Horace Walpole, 14 July 1751; *British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal*, 27 July 1781, issue 1095.

¹⁰² Verny, *Verny Letters*, ii, 202.

¹⁰³ *Daily Post*, 13 September 1738, issue 5931; *Daily Gazetteer*, 31 December 1742, issue 2348.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, Prob 11/12/1213.

¹⁰⁵ Mackenzie, *History of the Munros*, 447-55.

Scotland ensured that his assimilation experience was shallow. Yet neither James Monro nor his children shared Alexander's robust sense of Scottishness, allowing them to become English with relative ease, an achievement confirmed by the ability of James and John to rise to the top of the mad-doctoring profession in London without attracting any adverse comment on account of their origins. Their Scottish antecedents were not forgotten, but became little more than a lingering curiosity. The experience of the Monros thus offers an unusually detailed historical case that vindicates classic assimilation theory, at least when situated in a benign environment and involving a suitably skilled, educated family. Admittedly even this relatively straightforward experience was subject to some 'bumpy line assimilation', such as James Monro's forced reconnection with Scotland when he inherited Fyrish in 1708, or a lingering sense of outside descent that prompted the highly integrated John Monro to associate disproportionately with other Scots and to be identified as a 'Scots' physician. Such evidence suggests that those theorists who question the linearity of classic assimilation modelling have a point.

As is often true of case studies, the Monro experience was in its details unique to that family, meaning that its representativeness of Scottish migrants more generally was limited, especially given the multifariousness of that community. But the value of the Monros' example does not depend on typicality, but on the way it encapsulates one possible Scottish response to the challenge of being a migrant in early modern England. In tracing assimilation in detail over the course of three generations this study has reconstructed the process by which one Scottish family became English, demonstrating that they did so with remarkable ease and rapidity. How many other Scots followed their example is unknown and unknowable, and it is clear that assimilation was just one possible strategy among a range of others, some of which have been studied elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ In deconstructing one experience of it in depth, this study confirms that apparently seamless assimilation was a viable option for some Scots.

The Monro case-study also serves as an exemplar of the potential value of combining micro-history with theoretical perspectives. Migration theory has tended to emerge from

¹⁰⁶ See, for instance, Brown and Kennedy, 'Scottish Return Migration' on Scots who returned home, or Brown *et al.*, 'Undesirable Scottish Migrants' on marginalised Scots who did not to assimilate. Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclathing or Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984) is also very useful on one particular type of non-assimilated Scots, namely wandering hawkers.

contemporary studies, but the evidence presented here suggests that it can fruitfully be applied to earlier periods. Of course, clarity is needed about the purpose of a theoretical approach. Statements aiming to generalise the experiences of discrete groups are of limited value at the micro-level, while those models that do appear applicable – in the Monro case, classic assimilation theory – fail to capture fully the texture of their experience. In other words, theory is not a wholly useful explanatory or predictive tool. Instead, its utility is in providing a framework for opening up and making sense of empirical data, a framework that can in turn be tested and refined against the evidence. In this case, applying theory has allowed this study to interrogate the Monro experience in a systematic manner, helping to reveal a story of multi-generational assimilation that is richer, fuller and more highly textured than provided by most previous studies, which have tended to eschew theoretical frameworks and focus exclusively on the first generation.¹⁰⁷

The dialogue between theory and empiricism allows for a number of broad conclusions to be drawn from the Monro example about the potential for, and process of, Scottish assimilation in early modern England. The ability of the Monros to assimilate fully into English society over the course of three generations serves as a counter-point to narratives about the growth of ‘Britishness’ in the eighteenth century as the primary vehicle that united natives of Great Britain and Ireland.¹⁰⁸ It also casts some doubt on the resilience of Scottish identity, which is a prominent theme within the historiography of the Scottish diaspora.¹⁰⁹ The locus of identity for the second- and third-generation Monros, despite their Scottish roots, was predominantly English. Indeed, the peeling away of their Scottish identity was relatively effortless as it was increasingly confined to a shrinking circle of relationships alongside a residual interest in fading cultural memories. For all the apparent distinctiveness of Scottish identity it was, for the Monros and others like them, a skin that was fairly easily shed. Furthermore, the Monros demonstrate that the practice of retaining assets and investments in Scotland, which was common among successful Scots in London, was not the

¹⁰⁷ Nenadic, *Scots in London*.

¹⁰⁸ On the growth, nature and role of ‘Britishness’, the most influential statement remains Colley, *Britons*, but her thesis, and in particular the centrality to it of the Napoleonic Wars and the galvanising influence of the French ‘other’, has been extensively challenged, for example in the Marxist-inspired Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London, 2000).

¹⁰⁹ The best study of this phenomenon is Tanja Buelmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh, 2013).

only possible strategy for migrants, who might instead opt for full consolidation south of the border.¹¹⁰ Finally, the Monro experience is striking proof of the capacity of early-modern English society, particularly in London, to absorb immigrants and exploit their skills and potential – real-world evidence of the sort of mongrel Englishness so memorably described by Daniel Defoe in his satirical poem, *The True-Born Englishman* (1701).¹¹¹ As the Monros could testify, one did not have to construct an innovative ‘British’ identity to be successful as a Scot in eighteenth-century London – for some, it was much easier simply to become English.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Hancock, *Citizens of the World*.

¹¹¹ Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman* (London, 1701), 21.