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Scotland within Empire: the Quest for Independence with or without Union

Michaela E. Brady

Bates College, mbrady4@bates.edu

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Scotland within Empire: the Quest for Independence with or without Union

An Honors Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
Bates College
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts

by
Michaela Brady
Lewiston, Maine
March 21, 2014

DEDICATION

To my grandfather, Thomas Bowen, for inspiring my love of Irish history that led me to travel abroad and find my love for Scottish history in Edinburgh. Although you passed before I had the chance to really know you, your stories have built up my fascination with history since I was a child. Thank you from your 'yittle girl'.

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ABSTRACT

Scotland Within Empire: The Quest for Independence With or Without Union

Since Union in 1707, Scotland has moved from armed insurrections against the British state- first in 1715 and again in 1745- to public assertions of equality within the British Empire. As Scotland moves for referendum in 2014, scholarly debate is lively, questioning the terms of Scottish involvement in Union and debating why Scotland should or should not continue its partnership.

This thesis focuses on the ambiguities surrounding these two paradoxical worlds of sovereignty and equality within Empire. I seek to understand how Scottish involvement in Empire developed from initial discussions for Union in the late seventeenth century through the early twentieth century. Other scholars have sought to explain why Scotland entered Union but fail to address how these ambiguities are framed in a broader Scottish history that allowed for this continued debate since the end of open rebellion in 1745. In examining this core paradox, I find calls for independence transformed following the '15 Rebellion. Scotland ceased to exist in that moment as a singular nation and formally divided between Highland and Lowland, a divide allowing for the Highlands to participate in the '45 Rebellion and the Lowlands to participate as a partner in the Anglo-Empire. The chapters follow this divide in critical areas of contestation tracing that dramatic transition and discussing the themes central to Union debates: economy, religion, cultural assimilation, and the position of women.

INTRODUCTION

As snow fell over the Highlands in February of 1692, the Clan MacDonald of Glencoe was massacred as they lay sleeping in their beds, at the hands of the clan Campbell joined by English forces, on the orders of King William. The solemn ballad of their death conveys the bitter senselessness of ‘British’¹ treachery:

They came in the night when the men were asleep...
Like murdering foxes, among helpless sheep...
They came through the blizzard, we offered them heat...
We wined them and dined them, they ate of our meat...
They came from Fort William with murder mind
The Campbell’s had orders, King William had signed...
Some died in their beds at the hands of the foe
Some fled in the night, and were lost in the snow.
Some lived to accuse him, that struck the first blow
But gone was the house of MacDonald.²

The Massacre of Glencoe poignantly conveys a silent respect for the deaths of those members of the clan MacDonald; the same foreboding silence that washes over the fields of Culloden, where the last Highland Jacobites were slaughtered by English troops. The massacre of Glencoe signified the fears of the English towards the Highland clan. Glencoe quickly became a symbolic memory in a longer history for English subjugation of the Scottish people and more specifically the Highland clans.

Scottish nationalism developed out of this opposition to their Anglo-British oppressor. Scottish cooperation in Union is a figment of their struggle with the British. Scotsmen were expected to maintain their historic rights to independence against their enemy yet also had to assert their equality with the English to subsist as their partner.

¹ ‘British’ treachery refers to a longer story of Highland subjugation by the British; even if the treachery involves Scotsmen it is coded as British. In the instance of Glencoe, Scottish and British attackers came from Fort William, the British military base, and in that sense they came as outsiders on the orders of a geographically foreign king.

² Jim Mclean, *The Massacre of Glencoe*, 1963, Duart Music Publishers.

The core shifts in Scottish ideology over economic, religious, cultural, and gendered concerns for autonomy directly correlate with national discussions for and against Union. Chronologically these issues are relevant to general Scottish involvement in Union yet become particularly critical to the development of Scottish nationalism as a vehicle for insurrection versus incorporation at varying moments. In examining this core paradox over maintaining debates for independence while asserting rights for equal recognition in the Empire, I find calls for independence transformed following the '15 Rebellion.

Scotland ceased to exist in that moment as a singular nation and formally divided between Highland and Lowland, a divide that allowed for Highland participation in the '45 Rebellion and Lowland participation as a partner in the Anglo-Empire. The chapters follow this divide in those critical areas of contestation, tracing that dramatic transition and discussing the themes central to Union debates: economy, religion, cultural assimilation, and coding of gendered relations.

The chapters are divided in two parts because they deal chronologically with different periods of Scottish rebellions: the initial political resistance and physical rebellion followed by the later silent rebellion and sociopolitical revolution. Political resistance and physical rebellion are coupled as issues confronting the more readily accessible elements of Scottish debates for and against Union: economics and religion. The cooperation of gender and culture in the later period of Scottish resistance and cooperation in Union are bridged as mechanisms for the continuation of the narrow debate over Empire that extends into the modern day.

In the existing scholarship, most historians do not adequately confront the ambiguities over these narrow shifts between Scotland's causes for independence from the Empire versus their reasons to remain in Empire. A large part of this problem is the inherent issue of the Highland-Lowland divide and its complication in discussing the Union. I am choosing to focus on the

Lowlands as the majority factor in the microcosmic movements from one state within Union to the other. The Highlands were largely complacent to either stay or remain in Union until it affected their national pride. The Lowland reaction to the Highlands after the '15 was the decisive agent in determining Scotland's national position within the Union. The Lowland focus confronts the core issues outlined as economics, religion, culture, and gender. English recognition of Scotland in each of these key areas is the persistent element that answers why this debate oscillates, often quickly, between the two opposite extremes of the spectrum for participation in Empire.

The preliminary stage of rebellion saw the agency of a national Scottish consciousness in advocating for rights in Union and protecting those rights following 1707. The Highland Lowland split following the 1715 Rebellion redefined the nature of Scottish involvement in Empire. The Lowlands assumed an active role in advocating equality within the Union by means of integration into British foreign policies; the Highlands maintained an allegiance to the national pride of an independent Scotland. The disunion of the two 'countries' allowed Scotland the unique opportunity of pursuing two alternate forms of participation within the Empire: as the revolutionary and as the partner. With the success of British initiatives against the Highlands, this disunion became critical to the character of Scotland cooperation based on Scottish recognition by the English.

The Treaty of Union preserved for Scotland a fantastic number of trading rights. Political advocacy before Empire initiated the narrow debate over independence versus partnership along with the key issues of economics and religion. Economically, the Union offered Scotland a long-term ally and launching pad for Scottish industry. Religiously, Scotland was given an independent Church whose role in the community was both the moral and judicial. The

immediate repudiation of these set terms by the English motivated a Scottish national rebellion in 1715. The '15 was the first and last successful national war for Scottish independence.³

The available discussions of Union do not get at the issue of economics as it relates to minor shifts in Union debates. Instead, Thomas Devine and Theodora Keith argue for the perceived economic necessity of Union and the blatant effects economy had on the Highlands and Lowlands. Christopher Whatley argues for the divide of national interests with the turn of the Union economy but fails to confront the profound effects such a shift from 1715 into the industrial revolution had on the Scottish Union debates. Within each historian's respective treatment of the economics issue there is a general consensus that the Union was a class issue and a geographic issue. These historians treat the Highlands and Lowlands as completely removed from one another because of their geographic divide, focusing on how the elite and southern interests of the Lowlands developed independently of the more colloquial interests of the Highlands. I disagree with this methodology.

The story of Union, especially when considering economics, is the progression of the Highlands and Lowlands in their cohesion and separation. The development of Scottish partnership in Union was decided by Lowland entry into an industrial market; the subsistence of their claim to independence was because the Highlanders maintained Jacobean interests in Stuart restoration. The economic question is a Lowland issue more than it is a Highland issue, but to truly get at why Union is 'bad' or 'good' the effect of Lowland economic issues on national cooperation in Union is necessary.

On religious issues, Esther Breitenbach argues for the centrality of the Church to development of Scottish interests. Devine blatantly argues for the Church as a quasi-government

³ I believe it was the first and last successful national war because it was the final Highland-Lowland unified front against the English that involved the physicality traditionally associated with war.

and British colonizing agent within Scotland. Both historians' works lack a cohesive development on how the Church's propagation of national cohesion— first in Union debates, then with the '15, and finally with missionary work— was necessary to both Scottish partnership and independence. Historians are unwilling to confront the ambiguity of the narrow shifts in debate for Scottish recognition.

The longstanding narrative of British imperialism and the relegation of new territories to the status of 'colonial appendage' had been an issue since the Union of the Crowns in 1603. While the Lowlands had spent the decades following 1715 asserting their contributions to Empire, the defeat of the Highland Jacobites in 1745 placed Scotland in crisis. The Anglo-British imperial dominance now had the means and the motive to subdue the Scottish nation and relegate them to the status of 'colonial appendage.' As such, Lowland assumption of British ideals and their harsh treatment of the Highlands became a necessary component of the Scottish national struggle. The Lowlands had to assert their position as imperial agents capable of assimilating the Highlands. In doing so the Lowlands preserved Scottish global place in the Empire. From this state, the Lowlands were able to re-appropriate of the Jacobean Highlands' clan culture onto larger Scottish national identities.

The later period ostensibly experienced the peak in division between the Highlands and Lowlands with the Highland Clearances. In reality, this was the period of ultimate cohesion. The Lowlanders protected the memory of the Highlander and the Highlander protected the Lowland's development of an international Scottish presence. The Highlands lost their revolutionary voice while the Lowlands found it. Highland women and the effeminate culture of the industrialized Lowlands preserved a distinct notion of Scots. The Highland male was able to

recover from his state of despair and utilize the silent revolutionary period of culture retention to assert the masculinized place of Scotland as soldiers in Empire.

The cultural debate surrounding Union deals with the modern implications of a national identity having been contrived around the romantic fictionalization of an ‘extinct race,’ the Highland Jacobean soldier. Nevertheless the preservation of Scottish ‘traditional heritage’ is a main concern for how the Highlands and Lowlands deal with the contingent problems of partnership versus independence. John Murdoch and Neil Davidson treat culture as a contemporary issue for Union when evaluating the Scottish military and aesthetic contributions to the British state. The issue they fail to directly confront is how culture was preserved by means of Highland-Lowland reunification and its profound effects on Union debates. Culture alleviates the issue of why Union is so bad on the one hand yet beneficial on the other. Scottish tradition is based on the rediscovery of a romantically altered national culture; most historians, like Alistair Moffat, address this false sense of nationhood as a negative commentary on Scotland’s assertions of cultural independence.

I see the fictionalized romanticism around Jacobitism as a development of Scottish nationhood. The Lowland preservation of a culture they had participated in decimating was a passionate attempt to remedy the Highland-Lowland divide in a greater interest for the collective tradition of partnership co-opted with independence. Culture alleviates the issue of why Union is so bad on the one hand yet beneficial on the other. The cultural component of Union allowed Scotland to form a national identity of a sovereign nation when the physicality of rebellion had been stripped from their hands.

Outside of the accessible primary material, Devine’s innumerable publications on Scotland’s history as both a partner and an aggressor within the Union were invaluable in

developing my understanding of Scottish history's broader trends and the more particular aspects of Union. The sheer number of works Devine has written, edited, or overseen concerning the topics I have outlined above provides a great depth for viewing how the contingent issues of Union shifted within a narrow debate for either inclusion or exclusion from Empire. This thesis aligns quite well with Devine's work in this respect because it takes the perspective that English recognition of Scotland within Empire was the decisive factor in Scotland's ultimate motives to push for or against Union. Devine's work focuses more heavily on the tangible aspect of Union— economics, religion, legislation, and war. I chose instead to develop the issues of politics versus war as indications of the Scottish debates progression over time.

The issue for Union began in the political arena, where Scotland formed its basis for inclusion as an equal partner. Scottish physical assertions of power only served to solidify these parliamentary concessions. My decision to focus on gender as a primary issue for the independence debate is less prevalent in Devine's work. I chose to focus on this aspect of Scottish history because it confronts how the twined issues of gender and culture evolved during what should have been a period of crisis and national defeat. Instead the defamation of the Highland clans by Lowlanders and lairds became a turning point for the national cohesion of Scottish culture. These issues have brought the Scottish debate to the fore in the modern day.

Through the examination of Scottish laws, the articles around Union, the travels of Englishmen through Scotland, the divide of Scotsmen between north and south, and the private letters of individuals within its borders, we see how the discussion around these tense issues began in the eighteenth century and persisted until the modern day. The available sources offer the possibility to view the psyche of Scotsmen from an elite perspective while also viewing the

romanticized development of the Scottish Highlands at the hands of women and literary writers. Limitations are however present with the lack of class differentiation in these reports.

The bulk of our evidence is from landowners, not the cottars, who were driven out of Scotland or forced to survive on the bare minimum. We are forced to use the fictional material from the Scottish literary tradition against the reports of the upper class to develop the discussion of Scottish involvement in Union on multiple levels. There is the secondary issue that many of these texts were also written for an elite English audience and therefore convey intense biases towards the Scottish situation. If I had greater access to women's diaries perhaps this discussion could be further evaluated by viewing how the marginalized voices of society understood Union.

The hardest question to answer when viewing Scottish partnership versus independence from the Empire is why Union was so bad? Scotland's economic prosperity and their voice in global politics were secured through Union. Scotland retained a sovereign Church, with roots in Scotland since the sixteenth century. Scotland's arbitrarily divided Highlands and Lowlands developed a cohesive national identity around Jacobitism even though, Jacobites had attempted to overthrow the British state less than a few decades before. Within Union, the Scottish state grew into not only an industrial leader but also a leader for equality, advocating for female inclusion in societies, politics, and education before its English counterparts or Western allies. So then why are there these narrow shifts between desires for partnership to desires for independence when viewing Scottish perspectives on economics, religion, culture, and gender? The debates are hinged on the larger issue of whether the English recognize Scotland as equal partners within the British state. The narrative of national pride associated with Highlanders in the physical rebellions of 1715 and 1745 transitioned Scotland into the silent revolutionary

period with Lowland preservation of the Highland culture in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Scotland evaluated its position in Empire through an Anglo-British lens; while Scotland attempts to assert their active equality within the British Empire globally, they have become agents of the Anglican dominance of English Empire— by virtue of Scottish ambiguities over their value in the Empire, they have preserved the debate both for and against their allegiance to the Empire. This thesis develops the core shifts over the Scottish debate, focusing on the Lowlands as the primary agents of Scotland's fluctuating value in Empire. Scottish position on this debate manifests itself in the evaluation of Scotland against England and whether England's treatment of Scotland is perceived as an affront to Scottish national pride or a verification of their public worth.

PREFACE PART I

Scottish place in Union is a tense topic because Scotland constructs both its causes for independence from Empire and causes for partnership within Empire around a set of core issues. The state of these core issues only ever changes slightly, yet Scotland's debate over independence versus partnership are hinged upon their narrow fluctuations.

The first half of this thesis seeks to understand how Scotland oscillates between its position as partner or independent nation by examining the influence economics and religion has had on Scotland as a whole and the greater divide between the Highlands and Lowlands. The first two chapters deal specifically with the early framework of Union to develop the preliminary argument for why Scotland has the political, economic, and religious backing for both of its aims. English treatment of Scotland is used as a catalyst in determining how those issues are presented in Union debates. Both chapters emphasize a single chronology, focusing on the 1715 Rebellion because it deals with the unified resistance of the Highlands and Lowlands against the British state. The Lowlands fought for economic and religious concerns while the Highlands fought for national pride and potentially greater rights under a Stuart restoration.

Chapter One argues, economic concerns preceding Union provided Scottish industry with a viable market to develop in. The 1715 Rebellion was a reaction against the lack of short-term prosperity; the 1745 Rebellion conversely lacked the participation of the Lowlanders because economic interests were more secure within Union than outside of Union. By developing Scottish industry around textiles, Scotland rose from a country in economic ruin to a leader in the industrial age. The Lowlands capitalized on economic opportunities afforded by Scottish parliamentarians in Union debates. Scotland was subsequently able to claim that it had the

economic fortitude to succeed without Union while also claiming it was instrumental in the development of British industry.

Religious concerns preceding Union, as Chapter Two discusses, allowed the Church of Scotland to assert its authority within the Lowlands as the foremost authority of the people. While the Highlands were occupied with clan ideology, the Lowlands clung to the Church as a quasi-government of the people. The English refusal to recognize the Church's sovereignty post-Union allowed Lowlanders to align their religious convictions with revolutionary ideologies. English gradual acceptance of the Church shifted Lowland interests in the '45 away from rebellion and towards the assimilation of the Highlands into British society. The distinct qualities of the Scottish Church and missionary activity in the Highlands allowed Scotland a national means of articulating their identity as a unified member of the British state. The expansion of missionary activities globally and the propagation of those activities at home gave both Lowlanders and Highlanders a sense of active partnership in the British Empire. The international framework in which missionary work was conducted allowed Scotland to establish itself outside of the Scottish borders as a key component of British imperial success. Focusing chronologically on this development from 1715 through missionary activity in the Highlands and a fortified place in Union by the Lowlands, the tangible aspects of Scottish revolutionary behavior are readily available.

In this respect, the discussion of rebellion is a Lowland issue more than it is a Highland issue. Lowland participation in the independence movement and their attempts to define a partnership is why Scottish debates for and against Union have persisted. The 1745 Rebellion was not as successful as 1715 because it was the sole initiative of Highlanders; meanwhile Lowlanders secured international markets and the Church of Scotland's authority as a quasi-

government. The physical revolution in 1715 was followed by the development of Scottish partnership in Union and is why Scottish arguments for independence and equality are able to coexist. The later chapters will discuss the less palpable issues of culture and gender as they have influenced Scotland since 1745 and into the present.

CHAPTER I: ECONOMICS

I. INTRODUCTION

Scottish independence is hinged on the question of economics. The Lowlands were invested in the global market success of Scotland, while the Highlands were involved in private clan economics. Holding the majority of Parliamentary interests, Lowland elites influenced Scottish entry into Union. The Rebellion of 1715 was central to the independence movement in Scotland because it represented the united Scottish front, against Union, along varying terms: the Lowlands fought for economic injustices, the Highlands for national pride. The disregard for Union terms by the English was the necessary cause for national Scottish rebellion in 1715; the long term benefits of monetary union tempered the revolutionary spirit of Lowlanders in the later years and forced a marked attempt by Lowland Scots to form a partnership with England in Empire while Highlanders attempted rebellion in plight of national fidelity.

Scotland possessed an infrastructure for economic success in global markets. However the lockdown of continental markets coinciding with increased Western economic nationalism and the failure of Scotland's Darien enterprise necessitated swift measures by Scottish parliamentarians to secure immediate trade within the global market.⁴ The loss of foreign markets aggravated the Scottish situation with the only feasible resolution in the short term being diplomatic trade assurances with the English. Reflecting on these economic trends, Scottish motives for Union appear publicly and privately as characteristically Lowland bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie capitalized on English political and military concerns to parlay Scottish fiscal considerations into Union debates and the ultimate Act of Union.⁵

⁴ A global market that had become increasingly dominated by English overseas settlements in Ireland, North America, the Caribbean, the West Indies, East Indies, and the Indian subcontinent.

⁵ The elite nature of the Scottish Parliamentary tradition is an interesting point when considering geographical and class divide. Parliamentary business was carried out in the fifth century largely by the 'Lords of the Articles' - a

Union was selfish. Lowland noblemen and merchants invested their wealth in Empire, where the institutions for power, patronage, the liquidation of Darien losses, and English markets were culturally familiar and tangible opportunities.⁶ When reviewing the considerations for Union the outright demands for trade considerations are thoroughly bourgeoisie as summarized by the Earl of Roxburghe in 1705 stating, “the motives will be, Trade with most, Hanover with some, ease and security with others, together with a general aversion to civil discords, intolerable poverty and...constant oppression.”⁷ Scottish risks in joining Union took far less precedence in the minds of those whose livelihood was merged whole-heartedly with market successes. The success of Union on the Scottish front relied on three interdependent factors: the fear of continued economic insecurity, English patronage and promised influences in the English parliamentary system, and the lack of any cohesive, popular opposition.

II. BACKGROUND

Economic insecurities immediately preceding Union pushed a desperate class of Lowland investors into Union as a means of safeguarding Scottish enterprises globally. The interactions of Scotland with global markets and English diplomacy in the years before Union set up Scottish potential as a recognized economic partner within Union while making English ‘greed’ into a scapegoat for Scottish incorporating rather than monetary union. Prior to the Act of Union,

committee chosen by the three estates to draft legislation. It was quickly dominated by royal nominees- especially during the reign of James VI. Later Kirk interests also weighed heavily on the Parliamentary debate. Mild gains were made for independence from the crown but with Cromwell, these revisions were short-lived. After Charles II came to power, the Parliamentary tradition became more prone to corruption and political management. As such, many historians focus on the bribery of Parliamentary figures as a leading issue in Union. Undoubtedly when viewing the Parliamentary tradition, its bourgeoisie composition cannot be removed from consideration as a constitutional cause in the Parliament’s decision for Union. However class considerations alone are not decisive enough to bring about Union. As seen in University of Scotland, “A Short History of the Scottish Parliament,” *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.rps.ac.uk/>.

⁶ The Lowlands allied culturally with the English more so than with the clan-based neighbors in the North, the Highlanders. The cultural aspect of this geographical dissidence is covered in depth in Chapter Three.

⁷ Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 41.

Scotland's agricultural sector modernized with enlarged single tenancies, longer written leases, expanded rural market centers, the use of lime in soil regeneration, and improved crop rotation methods.⁸ Estate ideology shifted from military concerns of defense towards economic interests in extracting optimum revenue from the land with an increasing consideration for small town and village development. By the time of Union, landowners had established over 300 new burghs of barony— typically seaport burghs granted by the crown to a tenant-in-chief, who thereafter reserved the right to hold weekly local markets⁹ engaged in the buying and selling of wine, wax, corn, cloth, and other goods.¹⁰ In the northeast, landowners focused on seaborne grain trade to Edinburgh and Scandinavian countries; the Highlands drove cattle south and took advantage of their natural abundance of woodlands; while the great borough landlords developed sheep and cattle farming.¹¹ Elite investment in Scottish enterprises developed within seaport districts by such notables as the Duke of Hamilton at Bo'ness, Sir Robert Cunninghame at Saltcoats, and the Erksines of Mar at Alloa— all of whom were landed men that developed harbor and port controls beneficial to water trade.¹² These priorities manifested in parliamentary and Privy Council acts focused on expediting national economic progress with the Bank of Scotland in 1695, removing royal burgh monopoly rights in 1672, and facilitating agricultural improvement through a series of statutes.¹³ The global reach of Scotland expanded vastly over this period,

⁸ Thomas Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 50.

⁹ The tenant-in-chiefs were however prohibited from outright participation in foreign trade.

¹⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 51; Theodora Keith, "The Trading Privileges of the Royal Burghs of Scotland," *The English Historical Review* 28 (1913): 467.

¹¹ According to Theodora Keith, the monopoly of trade did little to hurt Scottish commercial progress in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However because this convention was devoted to maintaining old lines of trade rather than attempting to develop new routes, it impeded global market reach during the later seventeenth century Scottish attempts to colonize. Argument is further explained in Keith, "The Trading Privileges of the Royal Burghs of Scotland," 467; as well as in Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50-51.

¹² Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 51.

¹³ *Ibid.*

emigrants appropriated foreign interest in Scottish commodities as they looked home for material comforts.¹⁴

With such unprecedented growth across the agricultural sector, the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council adopted radical means in addressing the problem of recurring grain surpluses, driving down prices by passing the 1695 “Act for Encouraging the Export of Victual” otherwise known as “the Corn Bounty Act.”¹⁵ The Act “aimed to increase the profitability of grain production for landowners by placing a 20-shilling bounty on each boll of grain exported” similar to a successful English act during the Glorious Revolution.¹⁶ Yet subsequent harvest failures drove farmers into a frenzy buying back their grain as Scottish merchants shifted from exportation to importation.¹⁷ Merchants paid cash for grain shipments driving food costs up and luxury spending down.¹⁸ The period between 1695 and 1699 now coined the “ill years” suspended Scottish modernization and generated massive population decline.¹⁹ Climatic deterioration eroded existing Scottish crops and provoked an estimated population decline of 15 per cent through famine related deaths and increased emigration.²⁰ Magnifying the loss of

¹⁴ Estimates run between 55,000 to 70,000 emigrants to Scandinavia, Poland, and Holland in the first half of the seventeenth century. By 1700, 60,000 and 100,000 Scots originally from Galloway, Ayrshire, Fife, and Argyll are estimated to have emigrated to Ulster. In the Americas, East Jersey, and Carolina there were over 1,000 settlers and 100 Scottish investors. New Jersey elected a Scottish governor in 1683. While Scotland failed to hold territorial interests in the years leading up to Union, it maintained a cultural sphere in foreign markets partial to Scottish industries and invested in the success of Scotland as a mother country. Historically Scotland maintained a tradition of emigration in favor of filling opportunities abroad as mercenary soldiers, traders, and merchants.

¹⁵ For the Act in full please see appendix A.

¹⁶ Karen Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The ‘ill Years’ of the 1690s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 31; Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50.

¹⁷ For approximate figures correlating to harvest trends over the seventeenth to eighteenth century, please see appendix B and Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The ‘ill Years’ of the 1690s*, 31.

¹⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50.

¹⁹ Prior to this era, Scotland survived agriculturally with minor harvest failures; never confronting such unimpeded depredations on a massive scale. For further information on the ‘ill years’ see Gordon Donaldson, “c. 1700 ‘the Seven Ill Years,’” in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 264-265.

²⁰ Christopher Whatley argues that these downward trends are atypical in Scottish history as they remain an isolated incident in Scottish agriculture. I tend to disagree with this assessment as Scotland did suffer famine in the mid-nineteenth century yet maintained a stronger landed class by incident of mercantilism and joint ventures with England that enabled their support of famine rather than their absence from it as seen with Irish landlords in the same period. Thomas Devine’s argument that the innovations of the seventeenth century offered a context for

agricultural markets abroad and imported goods at home, the French Wars of 1689 and 1697 coinciding with English involvement in the War of Spanish Succession, ravaged potential foreign market opportunities.²¹ The loss of foreign markets²² aggravated the Scottish situation with the only feasible resolution in the short term being diplomatic trade assurances with the English. The lack of a strong ally on whom Scotland could rely for famine relief exacerbated the common fear of protracted decline brought by the Famine to the peasantry, landowners, and merchants.

The ‘Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies’ in 1695, otherwise known as the Darien Scheme, routed moneyed investment into Scottish trading colonies. In theory, allocating the economic opportunities London and Amsterdam benefited from in overseas trade, to Scottish markets.²³ Poor planning together with devastating disease and food shortages led to the overall failure of the Scheme in 1700 thereby curtailing future Scottish investment interests. The Earl of Stair offered an interesting perspective on the Darien failure during later Union debates arguing:

We followed the example of other nations and formed a company to trade with the Indies... What we lacked were not men or arms, or courage, but the one thing most needful: the friendly co-operation of England. The pitiful outcome of that enterprise is too sad a story to be told again. Suffice it to say that the English did not treat us as partners or friends or fellow-subjects of a British king but as pirates and enemy aliens...

continuity into eighteenth century Union thereby placing the constitutional change of 1707 in perspective of larger Scottish trends towards modernization is more apt in describing Scottish reaction to Union as a complimentary rather than a competitive force for Scottish economic security. As seen in Christopher A. Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 68 (1989): 166. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50.

²¹ Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The ‘ill Years’ of the 1690s*, 31; Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50.

²² The continent remained closed during the Nine Years’ War as government spending was directed at wartime efforts and consolidating continental markets rather than supporting Scotland. French prohibition of major Scottish exports (fish and woolen cloth) with additional levies on coal and other goods, offered little opportunity for Scottish economic recourse outside of the agrarian sector during the Famine. The Baltic markets on the Isthmus of Panama offered partial relief to the French prohibitions during the Nine Years’ War with close to a quarter of the nation’s liquid capital allocated to fostering the trading colony.

²³ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey.” 152.

we were exposed to the hostile rivalry of Spain; our colony was sacked; we suffered every cruelty an enemy can inflict.²⁴

Stair's correlation between Scottish failure in founding a viable trade colony and the lack of support reflects the detrimental state of Scottish allies, specifically the English. The Scottish portrayed the consequences of the Darien scheme's failure alongside the lack of English support as an English diplomatic maneuver to undermine Scottish vitality. Post-Union discussions against incorporating Union justified anti-British opinions across Scotland by characterizing England as the historic aggressor whose foreign policy was decisive in forcing Scotland into Union.

The reduction of continental markets coinciding with harvest failure and economic losses in the Baltic was accompanied by Western economic nationalism during the War for Spanish Succession. England's extensive presence in Spain and conflict with France redirected English interests towards protecting their own markets against foreign sedition. Scotland's increasing reliance on southern markets rendered them dependent on these English consumer markets—by 1700 England accounted for over 40 per cent of Scottish external commerce in cattle, sheep, linen, coal, and salt.²⁵ The impending loss of these markets would cripple the Scottish nation beyond a doubt; Union offered short-term guarantees primarily for Lowland merchants and landowners whose personal investments were vested in defending Scottish mercantilism.²⁶

²⁴ D. Duncan, ed., *History of the Union of Scotland and England by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik* (Edinburgh, 1993), 114. Quoted in Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 60.

²⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 50.

²⁶ For example, the Earl of Cromartie and Lord Banff's corn-growing estate holdings focused their political efforts on the maintenance of viable trading routes into the south. The Earl of Wenys also expressed personal interest in securing coal and salt markets abroad as overseas ports remained closed and the only sign of commercial success as of late was during the experimental Cromwellian Union of 1654. As seen in Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 153-154.

England capitalized on Scottish economic dependence in these southern markets by the Alien Acts.²⁷ The Scottish economy depended on maintaining these trading routes without which the country would lose its industries, work force, and any diplomatic positioning it had in advocating Scottish rights within Union. English trader and journalist, Daniel Defoe's records from the Order of Parliament on September 4, 1705, reflect Scottish parliamentary assiduity in asserting trading rights within the impending Empire:

agreed, and ordered, by the Estates of Parliament, *Nemine contradicente*, That the Commissioners, to be named by her Majesty for the Kingdom of Scotland, shall not commence the Treaty of Union, until the Clause in the English Act, declaring the Subjects of Scotland Aliens, be rescinded.²⁸

Scottish political ideology focused on the English as an aggressor against Scottish industry; Scotland would require Union in 1707 for the sole purpose of safeguarding the economic base it still had. Scottish Union was political; it was not won by war but fought on the House floor as politicians levied against one another to assert the rights of both Scotland and England entering Union.

III. LOWLANDS: ELITE AND LOWER CLASS MOTIVATIONS FOR UNION

²⁷ The Alien Acts were essentially an attempt by the British at economic blackmail, prohibiting entry of all key Scottish exports (black cattle, linen, and coal) into English ports. Thomas Christopher Smout argues had the act gone into effect "Scottish trade as it had developed in the new seventeenth-century environment with its increasing dependence on England would have been decapitated" while any possibility for re-opening continental trade remained slim. Further information in Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 153.

²⁸ Defoe was a pro-Unionist emissary, sent to Scotland by the English Government. His task was to report on Scottish opinion and ease the transitory period into Union. Defoe's perspective and audience are pointedly English. Those Scotsmen he agrees with (Earl of Cromartie, William Patterson of the Company of Scotland, Clerk of Penicuik, and Seton of Pitmedden) were all English favored commissioners negotiating for Union. His interactions with the Scots, while tempered towards the end of his time in Scotland, are highly biased and offer an interesting commentary on Union hearings. Defoe's frustrations with Scotland serves the present understanding of Scotland as a partner in Empire given their intense political attempts to enter into an equalized Union with England rather than submit to the status of 'colonial appendage.' Please see Daniel Defoe, "History of the Union Selections," in *Hume Tracts* (UCL Library Services: 1843), 25. Biographical information on Defoe gleaned from T.C. Smout, "The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707: The Economic Background," *The Economic History Review* 16 (1964): 463.

As a political battle, the Lowland elites who occupied the majority of Parliament are especially useful in understanding how economic security was levied within the treaty and why Lowlanders participated in the subsequent 1715 Rebellion. Undisclosed bribes preceding Union were issued to those men whose political intervention was appreciated and exploited by English pro-Unionists. According to Sir Walter Scott, after the equivalent was to be disposed of

There remained a disposable fund of about three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which was to be bestowed on Scotland in indemnification for the losses of Darien, and other gratuities, upon which all those members of the Scottish parliament who might be inclined to sell their votes, and whose interest was worth purchasing, might fix their hopes and expectations.²⁹

Bribery was a means of securing the votes and future allegiances of Lowlanders as well as select Highlanders in the event of Union.

P.W.J. Riley argues in *The Union of England and Scotland* that the Union “was made by men of limited vision for very short-term and comparatively petty, if not squalid, aims,” placing minor emphasis on English bribery tactics and discounting the centrality of trading interests in Union factors.³⁰ Riley’s argument is valid in that many of the bribed men were among the pro-Unionist majority interested in securing the protestant succession and discouraging French invasion of Scotland. His account that the sums involved in Union bribes were relatively modest and therefore insignificant influences is however too near sighted:

Queensberry’s £12,325 was less than half his recorded arrears...the only persons, apart from Queensberry, to receive really substantial sums were former lord high commissioners: Tweeddale, Marchmont and Atholl...the only man to receive money and subsequently vote against his former political allegiance was Elibank, whose payment was £50.³¹

²⁹ Sir Walter Scott, *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Rebellion 1745-46 contained in the Tales of a Grandfather* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1864), 695.

³⁰ P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), xvi.

³¹ Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland*, 256-258.

While these sums may seem insignificant they served as monetary assurances to the men who received them that their needs would be met during the Union and their ascendancy secure.

Bribery was in form an insurance system on the side of the Scottish for sustained bourgeoisie holdings and on the side of the English for uncontested political and military backing.

The Duke of Hamilton, with lands in England, met with English officials and proposed the Queen select the commissioners appointed to draw the Union treaty. Given the extensive bribery tactics, the majority of Scottish parliamentary members seconded this proposal and were open to the biased commissioners' work on the treaty.³²

Publicly, anxieties over Union were pronounced among the peasantry and working orders in the Lowlands whose fortunes were less likely to face immediate catastrophe without English markets, yet still felt the burden of living standards dependent on available wage labor. Among the working classes, the Alien Acts were seen as a considerable threat on future livelihood. The burgh of Montrose wrote a letter in October of 1706 requesting their parliamentary representative, James Scott, vote in favor of Union and save Scotland from any future Alien Acts “which would ‘deprive them of the only valuable branch’ of their trade, which was almost certainly the linen cloth.”³³ The trade considerations reached farms, workers, and peasants alike as the coal industry was faced with increased taxation without Union. As the main source of heat in urban dwellings and stoves, the coal industry motivated lower class political engagement calling for stricter measures in lowering potential taxes. Equally considerable was the salt and brewing industries whose dominance in civilian life catapulted their taxation concerns from the

³² Of note, the heavily pro-Unionist opinions of the commissioners appointed to draw up the Union treaty may very well have offered Scotland more concessions. Because these men were willing to engage in Union for private economic welfare, they also had to secure larger trading and consumer rights for the Scottish public. As is evident in the extensive effort placed on securing Scottish trade and taxation rights within the Articles of Union.

³³ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 157.

lower class to the parliamentary debate.³⁴ Consumers in this effect were as considerable in advocating Union planning, as were producers.

The weakened economy of the 1690s remained relevant to consumer and producer concerns, as many Lowland farmers were still working off rent arrears at the time of Union debates. Lord Belhaven best summarizes Scottish concerns in determining Union as largely economic and determinist of Scottish future:

we are an obscure, poor, people, though formerly of better account, removed to a remote corner of the world, without name and without alliances, or ports mean and precarious so that I profess I do not think any one part of the kingdom worth bringing after.³⁵

These economic fears in joining Union are directly evident in the terms of Union. The question of entering into Union with an established global market brought with it the consequences of competition against a more technologically advanced industrial partner and trading region. Devine refers to this predicament as the ‘development of underdevelopment,’ entering into Union could at once save and dismantle Scottish industry. Scotland risked entering into a quasi-form of slavery— becoming a satellite state producing food, raw materials, and cheap labor for English achievement.³⁶

Many recognized the potential backlash Union would have on consumers if Scottish politicians were unable to grant extreme trading and taxation rights in Scottish favor. Stirling issued a petition against incorporating union, which protested first and foremost against the ‘Insupportable burden of Taxation’ which ‘all the grant of freedom of Trade will never Counterballance,’ and expressed the fear that a British Parliament would discourage ‘the most Considerable Branches of our Trade’ if they thought they interfered with English interests.³⁷

³⁴ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 156.

³⁵ Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present*, 40.

³⁶ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 55.

³⁷ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 163.

IV. ENGLISH MOTIVATIONS FOR UNION

Consumer and trade concerns, which manifested across the Scottish Lowlands and in parts of the Highlands, were less pronounced in England. For the English, their economic stake in Union was unequivocally linked with their political and military ambitions as they emerged from the Nine Years' War and found themselves again entangled in the War of Spanish Succession against the French-Scottish allies. Commercial fears pertaining to these French allies permeated English discussion of Union with Scotland. Whig mercantilist fears focused heavily on French activities in the Stuart restoration.³⁸ In foreign enterprises, restoration was a gateway to increased French commercial privileges with concurrent global supremacy in trading markets and a greater claim to Spanish American colonies.³⁹ Domestically, Whig propaganda linked the Stuart restoration with the cancellation of national debt and subversion of the capitalist revolution.⁴⁰ Propagandists⁴¹ further associated these ploys with Catholic fears, arguing any divine restoration would in turn equal the restoration of Church lands, now held under private ownership by socially mobile families: the Hollises, Pelhams, Russels, and other nobles.⁴²

Petition quotations taken from Perth Archive Center, Perth Burgh Records, B59/34/17/3, "The Address of the Provost, Baillies, Town Council and other Inhabitants of the Burgh of Stirling, 18 November 1706."

³⁸ The only English entity in contact with France as an economic partner was the East India Company (EIC) who relied on the French bullion.

³⁹ F.J. McLynn, "Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745," *The Eighteenth Century* 23 (1982): 130.

⁴⁰ F.L. McLynn reasons in this vein that Whig moneyed interests relied on debt as an investment outside of land and as such "the debt was an interest-bearing form of wealth which the public owned; to extinguish it would be to destroy wealth rather than cancel a debt." See in McLynn, "Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745," 128.

⁴¹ Propaganda was ingrained in Union debates since their inception. Politicians, writers, church ministers, and landed gentry, circulated vast tracts for exposing their perspective on the impending Union. According to the National Library of Scotland, because pamphlets were cheap and quick to produce, their impact was well found in the public. Pamphlets were well circulated and contributed to the heated debate. The discussion of propaganda and trade requires its own analysis. For a more in depth look at the interaction of trade and propaganda, please visit Patrick William Joseph Riley's "Trade and Propaganda" in *The Union of England and Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978). Images of relevant pamphlets reflecting different positions across various social chains are available in the appendix C.

⁴² McLynn, "Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745," 127.

The attack on Jacobite interests appears largely successful as it aroused public mention by Charles Edward who asserted on October 10, 1745:

That [the national debt] has been contracted under an unlawful government, nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the Nation; yet in regard that is for the greatest part due to those very subjects who he promises to protect, cherish and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it.⁴³

Whatley describes the radical shift in English attitudes towards Scotland as remarkable.

Scotland was in form a sinking ship, which may very well have made it through the storm with allied help but the reality is that they had none. England took them on out of need, a “happy outcome of the coincidence of the divergent interests of the two countries” as G.S. Pryde describes it.⁴⁴ Or as J. MacKinnon argues in *The Union of England and Scotland* “Incorporation, at the price of free trade, is the secret of the union.”⁴⁵ English motives as a whole were not focused on securing economic gains by means of Scotland. Outside of Whig mercantilist fears of Stuart restoration, the economic considerations of England bore little weight in the Union debates. The lack of English economic ambitions is central to Union because their absence allowed greater political space Scottish economic concessions.

V. DRAFTING UNION BETWEEN LOWLANDS-ELITES AND THE ENGLISH

England’s defensive focus on Union as a strategic necessity against France and other continental threats allowed Scotland to secure substantial terms for greater Scottish economic equality than any other British state. Daniel Defoe’s *History of the Union* published in 1709 records two parliamentary initiatives made by Scottish commissioners advocating Scottish trading rights prior to the Union draft. The Resolve of Parliament, July 17, 1705, “Resolved,

⁴³ McLynn, “Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745,” 128.

⁴⁴ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 151.

⁴⁵ J. Mackinnon, *The Union of England and Scotland* (New York: Nelson, 1950), 14-15.

That, this Parliament will not proceed to the Nomination of a successor, till we have had a previous Treaty with England, in relation to a Commerce, and other Concerns, with that Nation.”⁴⁶ Seconded by the Order of Parliament, September 4, 1705, which, agreed that the clause of the English Act declaring Scottish subjects aliens be rescinded.⁴⁷ Scottish refusal to enter into deals for Union without a fantastic number of written statements asserting Scottish economic equality with England in the Union provided a basis for later Scottish development as a partner in Empire. The apparent disregard for these concessions by the English was also the basis for Lowland grievances in the '15.

In April of 1706, thirty-one commissioners met from England and Scotland respectively and by July 2, 1706, had developed an agreement by which the Scots enjoyed the same trading rights as England along with a series of other concessions.⁴⁸ These men, drawn mainly from the Lowlands, were committed to Union but at the same time drawn to it by the economic assurances it offered them. It was in their best interest privately in terms of financial gain and future holdings, and the publicly for popular opinion of the Scottish mob. Winning Scottish rights during this political battle that pinned Scottish equality against English supremacy within Empire was critical to majority support.

The Articles of relevance to the above economic considerations are here are as follows.⁴⁹ In respect to trading privileges: Article 4, for equal privileges of subjects with full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any port of place within the United Kingdoms and the Dominions and Plantations thereunto belonging; Article 5, that all ships belonging to her

⁴⁶ Defoe, “History of the union. Selections,” 25.

⁴⁷ See above in section II for full quote from Defoe, “History of the union. Selections,” 25.

⁴⁸ Peter Somerset Fry and Rosalind Mitchison, *The History of Scotland* (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1982), 188.

⁴⁹ Information on the relevant articles taken from multiple sources and cited where relevant. The overall source used for the Articles was Donaldson: Gordon Donaldson, “1706-7 The Articles of Union” in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 268-275.

Majesties subjects in Scotland at the time of Union pass as ships of Great Britain. In respect to taxation and duties on imported and exported commodities: Article 6, whereby all parts of the United Kingdom enjoy the same Allowances, Encouragements and Drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions and regulations of trade liable to the same customs duties on import and export; Article 7, in respect to the tax on liquor, all parts of the United Kingdom are liable to the same excise on all excisable liquors; Article 8, the tax on salt being charged at the same importation duties as those other salt imports into England while foreign salt duties may increase, meat and fish must be exported with Scottish salt only; Article 9, on proportionate taxation; Article 10, the English stamp tax not to apply to Scotland; Article 11, the English window tax not to apply to Scotland; Article 13, the English malt tax not to apply to Scotland; and Article 14, any other pre-existing English taxes are not to apply to Scotland;⁵⁰ Article 15, the economics of balancing taxation; Article 18 on common trade laws concerning regulation of trade, customs, and excises. In respect to securing the rights of those landed men advocating Union: Article 20, that all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved to the owners thereof as rights of property in the manner they are currently enjoyed in Scotland; Article 23, the equal rights of Scottish and English lords.⁵¹ And finally more general articles influential in fiscal affairs: Article 16, concerning the monetary union, standardizing coin and mint values across England and Scotland which were thereby subject to the same rules and regulations; Article 17, establishing common weights and measures. The Act of Ratification was made at Edinburgh on January 16, 1707, at which time

⁵⁰ All of which relieved Scottish paper, windows, malt, coal, culm, and cinders enjoyed in Scotland from English duties with Article 14 placing limitations on such exemptions to the current war with France. Whatley also argues that Scottish coal reserves were nearing exhaustion; trade opportunities for Scottish coal were therefore largely limited to within the Scottish borders rather than overseas. See Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 156.

⁵¹ These hereditary titles and rights were previously under attack by the Alien Acts. The Alien Acts provided that all Scottish nationals in England be treated as alien and their estates held as alien property.

“The Estates of Parliament considering that Articles of Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England were agreed on the Twentieth and Second day of July, 1706...her Majesty...doth ratify, approve, and confirm.”⁵²

Given these economic terms for Scottish equality within the Union, have the Scottish movements for independence⁵³ since Union been economically motivated? The quick answer is yes. English policies post-Union did not uphold the Act of Union to the extent to which Scotland assumed. England viewed Scotland as another colonial appendage while Lowlanders in Scotland viewed the Empire as a partnership in which they were to play a decisive role. This fundamental ideological difference in conjunction with the lack of immediate economic resolution of the ill years led Scotland into the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715.

VI. LOWLAND JACOBITE REACTION

The Lowland Jacobite reaction in 1715 was instrumental to the positioning of Scotland in Empire. While the '45 is romanticized in literature and Scottish history as the great Highland stand against English injustices, the later success of Scotland within the Empire is owed largely to the Lowland reaction in the '15. By standing against English sedition, the Lowlanders secured their public status as a perceived equal partner.⁵⁴

The £400,000 ‘equivalent’ promised to Scotland by the English government under Article 15 in the Act of Union, failed to deliver after the conclusion of the Act. The equivalent took into account the contribution Scottish taxpayers would henceforth make towards servicing the

⁵² Defoe, “History of the union. Selections,” 27.

⁵³ Movements, which were radicalized in 1715 and 1745 with the Jacobite rebellions and later echoed in Scottish parliamentary debate, with a modern campaign for referendum.

⁵⁴ ‘Perceived equality’ is the highlighted term here. Scottish cultural opposition to Union is largely focused around this issue of perception. While Scotland secured greater equality than any other country within the Empire, what matters to their debate for or against inclusion within the Empire is whether or not this equality is perceptible first, in Scotland and second, by the world.

English national debt, and was intended to mitigate the economic strain higher taxation would have on Scotland's struggling economy. The measure was one of the many political bargaining tools intended to cover shareholders and creditors who lost large sums of money in the Darien scheme. The delay of the equivalent drove the Edinburgh mob to riot, stoning the troops guarding the train on which it finally arrived.⁵⁵ Sir Walter Scott recalls as

The treasure for making good the equivalent was sent down in waggons from England, to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; and never surely was so valuable an importation received with such marks of popular indignation. The dragoons who guarded the wains⁵⁶ were loaded with execrations, and the carters, nay, even their poor horses, were nearly pelted to death, for being accessory in bringing to Edinburgh the price of the independence of the kingdom.⁵⁷

For Scott this action was justified, as "this large sum of money [the equivalent] in fact belonged to the Scottish nation, being the compensation to be paid to them, for undertaking to pledge their revenue for a part of the English national debt."⁵⁸ The bribery of the Parliamentary figures had permeated the lower orders of Society: "the Parliament of Scotland was bribed with the Public money belonging to their own country. In this way, Scotland herself was made to pay the price given to her legislators for the sacrifice of her independence."⁵⁹ The opportunities of Union were overshadowed by these immediate losses and perceived disregard for Scottish rights based on the terms of Union.

Despite the potential for dynamic growth across industrial and agricultural sectors, discontent persisted over the economic consequences generated by the Union in Scotland.

English competition crushed the woolen trade in Scotland with levying duties on linen in 1711

⁵⁵ Fry and Mitchison, *The History of Scotland*, 190.

⁵⁶ Scottish slang: 'wain' refers to a child.

⁵⁷ Scott, *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Rebellion 1745-46*, 711.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

and 1715.⁶⁰ Brewing and papermaking were both hit immediately following the Union as well. These downward trends are fairly isolated as Scottish industry shifted towards textiles, however their demise was indicated in the years prior to Union with market stagnation.

English officials were sent to Scotland in the hopes of establishing English taxation methods and ensuring all taxation policies be met.⁶¹ The Scottish people took this as an affront seconded by the overall patronizing attitude with which England regarded Scotland within Empire.

Taxation rose on salt in 1711 and malt in 1725.⁶² The public responded in Glasgow to the malt taxation with riots. Modern estimates average that only 15-20 percent of tax revenue ever left Scotland in the decades following Union.⁶³ The majority of spending was funneled into civil and military expenditure to cover Scottish assets.

Old Whig propaganda for the expulsion of debts upon Stuart restoration worked as a motivator for those debtors whose interests had not improved by way of Union. Sir John Wedderburn, James Hepburn of Keith, Patrick Walland of Abertrothock, and David Carmichael of Balmeddie were all members of the Scottish gentry and all in bankruptcy while those lesser gentry depending on a void agricultural boom joined the Jacobites out of necessity. Others joined the Jacobite movement for pure political gain, the success of a Stuart restoration would equate to major land and title endowment under a new sovereign.⁶⁴

In 1713 a bill for the disbanding of the Union was proposed in Parliament and brought down by only four votes. The ‘Scotch-man’ writer of *The History of the national Address for Dissolving the Union* argues that the movement for dissolution is peculiarly Lowland. Highland

⁶⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 55.

⁶¹ Fry and Mitchison, *The History of Scotland*, 190.

⁶² Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 55.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ McLynn, “Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745,” 125, 126.

interest is focused on restoring ‘the Pretender’ to the throne, whereas Lowland interest is solely in dissolving Union. The matter for dissolution is made more imminent for the security of Britain because

if Certain Advice were come, That the Pretender were ready to make an Invasion, whilst the Parliament of *Britain* is fitting...many of the Pretender’s Enemies would appear for him, in Hopes of being free of the Grievances of the Union; and therefore, should advise the King, and parliament, immediately to pass a Bill for dissolving it.⁶⁵

The bill emphasizes the growing discontent on the Lowland-Scottish side concerning the government and monarchy. The debilitating health of Queen Anne, who left only an unknown heir, George Lewis of Hanover, to take the throne legitimized national Jacobite motions for a Stuart restoration.⁶⁶ James Francis Edward Stuart’s successful propagation of himself in Scotland, despite spending his life in exile, was fairly successful especially in the Highlands where economic considerations bolstered support. The attempted rising in 1715 was driven by a combination of factors which relied heavily on religious considerations and economic variables.

VII. BENEFITS OF UNION

The downward economic trends immediately following Union were checked by unprecedented growth across the Scottish textile industry. The national growth seen in the eighteenth century across Scotland was unmatched by any other unionized territory in large

⁶⁵ The ‘Scotch-man’ writing the address challenges his reader to decide “whether the Author is *Whig*, or *Tory*” as the work is “a plain homeStyle, to *Scotch*-Men, with a fair Design to confirm honest Men of both Parties, And to reclaim (if possible) those who have been misled.” This makes the work an exceptional source as a Scottish piece on Union written for a Scottish audience. Much of the available Union debates we have are aimed at a wider British audience or strictly English audience. Many of the writers are also writing from an English perspective or an upper class, Lowland perspective in line with British ideals for Union. See in Scotch-man, *The History of the National Address for Dissolving the Union* (London: 1715), 2.

⁶⁶ Three risings were planned around this bill; aimed at southeast England, north England, and Scotland, dividing government forces and promoting Jacobitism among those unsure about the new successor. Scottish Jacobites were supported by the secret English Jacobites, Duke of Ormonde and Viscount Bolingbroke, yet the plans fell awry as coordination was lacking and government officials caught wind of the plot. See also Fry and Mitchison, *The History of Scotland*, 190.

effect because areas like Ireland lacked a cohesive unit of landed elites present on their estates and vested in domestic production.⁶⁷ Collective memory of the 1690s famine had not dissipated however, as many laborers in port towns rioted against shipping- fearing that while Scotland was at a high in grain export during the 1720s, the potential for failed crops and famine was looming in their memories.⁶⁸ Increasingly the burden of modernization fell on workers whose occupations shifted by necessity towards large-scale factory-based production industries in urban centers.

Manufacturing industries felt modest recovery by the 1730s with increasing popular linen sales across foreign markets.⁶⁹ With the increasing labor base found in displaced peasantry, the linen industry soon grew to prominence between 1740 and 1780 as the most dynamic Scottish market. The Board of Trustees records that the output of linen cloth rose fourfold, peaking between 1740 and 1780. The trading protections afforded by Union encouraged exportation and by the 1760s over two-thirds of stamped linen output was exported directly to the English, American, and Caribbean markets.⁷⁰ Without Union, Scotland would arguably never have experienced such dynamic trade growth at this stage in the Industrial Revolution given harsh Dutch and German competition. Also, the much-resented Alien Acts of 1705 would have established a tariff wall against Scottish industries such as linen.

Modernization influenced impressive levels of growth in agricultural sectors with grain and oatmeal exports doubling to over 57,000 quarters between 1707 and 1722, peaking in 1717 to 1722. Land improvements had a significant value in coastal communities as merchants exploited

⁶⁷ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 61.

⁶⁸ Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 169; Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 56.

⁶⁹ Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 174.

⁷⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 58; Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 166.

the transatlantic network given the permeation of European, English, Irish, and American experienced trading practices into Scottish methodologies.⁷¹

The landed class whose interests remained within Scotland became increasingly influential in their holdings. The moderate movement towards agrarian improvement in the Lowlands drove the agrarian market forward however, full modernization was not seen until the 1760s.⁷² By 1724, the increasing presence of the landed class motivated estate redevelopment. This resulted in the Galloway ‘Levellers’ Revolt’ protesting cattle enclosures in southwest Scotland, which increased cattle stock but also drove farmers off of land. In other Lowland regions the widespread dependence on a rural economy was replaced by larger single tenancies and payment by coin instead of kind.⁷³

Union offered a space for the development of capitalist enterprises by revolutionizing market patterns in the rural countryside. The loss of a central political body within Edinburgh contributed to absenteeism yet also redirected those merchant, landlords and businessmen whose interests were not in Westminster towards a heavier focus on Scottish industry, which now benefitted from unrestricted access to Atlantic colonial trading networks.

Scottish absenteeism effectively drove rent up as the Duke of Montrose joked in 1708 “London journeys don’t verie well agree with Scots estaites” given the time and money taken to

⁷¹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 62.

⁷² Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 61.

⁷³ The agricultural shifts towards industrialization in the Lowlands have been characteristically referred to as the ‘Lowland Clearances’ (1760-1830). The name suggests a correlation with the Highland Clearances that are of particular relevance in Chapters Three and Four. While this topic would be interesting to explore in more depth, its relevance to the independence versus partnership in Empire is only pertinent to the overall industrialization process across Scotland. The removal of Lowland cottars from the land forced industrialization across the Lowlands of Scotland; conversely following the ’45 in the Highlands, the Clearances meant forced emigration and a high number of deaths. Devine’s work in *The Scottish Nation* covers this topic in more depth, specifically in his chapter on ‘the Rural Lowlands: the Old World and the New.’ See also Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 169; and Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 56.

travel and establish residence.⁷⁴ Those Landlords who were partial to English enterprises departed from their Scottish estates in favor of London residence where they were able to capitalize on the social and political influences afforded to them by means of Union advocacy prior to 1707. Despite the negative connotation around ‘clearances’ with the later Highland Clearances, the Lowland situation offered Scotland a means of entering the industrial sector of the British Empire it had been absent from.

VIII. LOWLAND DEVELOPMENT INTO PARTNER IN EMPIRE

Victorian literature and contemporary historians argue widely that the Anglo-Scottish Union was ““an epoch making event in Scottish economic history’: hence, ‘when after the 1780s the Scottish economy was resting on a basis laid by achievement apparently its own, it was in reality resting on a foundation established through Union with England.”⁷⁵ Scottish adaptation and improvement upon English methods in iron manufacturing, pottery, wool, and glass making contributed directly to Scottish industrial organizations. Scotland was not a parasite draining funds and resources from England, but an active contributor who used Union to its ‘national advantage’ and in turn established itself as an economical equal if not dominant partner in the eighteenth century.

Scotland came to prominence through Union, but they are a unique element of the British Empire as no other incorporated territory realized such significant gains. The reason for this rests in the discussion of Union and the Scottish parliamentary and Privy Council’s unyielding fight for Scottish markets. Scots broadened the scope of industry growth afforded them by Union through illegal enterprise— namely, smuggling.

⁷⁴ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 56.

⁷⁵ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 165.

Scots development of smuggling on a grand scale was an industry within itself, as Devine characterizes it, the greatest unofficial growth industry in Scotland after 1707.⁷⁶ The widespread dissatisfaction with English taxation believed to be in direct opposition of the terms of Union motivated Scottish merchants and customs agents to engage in systematic fraud, under weighing the imported cargo. Modern estimates suggest Scots only paid duties on two thirds of their colonial imports. Smuggling became so widespread, Englishmen rallied in protest against the Scots whose smuggling cost English markets large sums. Westminster ordered the reorganization of customs services in 1723 along with the foundation of a professional customs bureaucracy. George Bishop reflects English anxieties over Scottish smuggling in his

Observations, remarks, and means, to prevent smugglings:

in Scotland there are upwards of ten thousand private stills which make and send immense quantities of spirits to London with some other that have paid the duties, to the very great hurt of the honest trader, by which practice the revenue had been defrauded of upwards of 100,000l. this year; if some mode is not found to put a stop to this illicit trade the duties on spirits will come very short.⁷⁷

Scottish traders optimized revenues within their trades by engaging in smuggling on a widespread scale across a number of industries. In this respect the Union was the context, not the cause for Scottish Atlantic trade growth. Alongside smuggling, Scottish firms drove down cost by business innovations in purchasing, marketing, and shipping. Scottish trade emerged in direct competition with American and European markets as the most cost effective option.⁷⁸

The communal shift towards industrialization as a source of capital, labor, and skilled workers in linen was pivotal in establishing the later cotton industry.⁷⁹ This ‘new’ Scottish

⁷⁶ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 57.

⁷⁷ George Bishop, *Observations, remarks, and means, to prevent smuggling*, (London: F. Graham, 1783), 10.

⁷⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 59.

⁷⁹ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 178.

economy in turn owed an equal debt to the Union as the facilitating force that transferred industrial progressions and technological fortitude to Scotland from England.

Scotland remained active in holding England to the demands made by Union in securing Scottish taxation rights; a key difference between Scottish participation in Union as opposed to the ‘colonial appendages’ status of many other contributors. Rioting in 1725 against the Malt Tax produced such a storm against England, Westminster established the Board of Trustees for Manufacturers and Fisheries for distributing grants in the interest of improving the linen, woolen, and fishing industries.⁸⁰ The Board was intended to build an economy, which worked alongside English industry. This endeavor for developing Scotland as a complementary force to England rather than competitor helped Scotland’s transition into a partner within Empire.

‘Mercantilist urges’ had existed prior to Union considering the economic concern among elite, merchant, and landowning powers who had motivated Scottish Parliamentary and Privy Council protection of Scottish trade. Accordingly ‘the Board of Trustees and the other eighteenth century public bodies were not a new beginning but rather a logical continuation of...policy,’ which capitalized on the English technological groundwork to skyrocket Scottish industry to the front lines.⁸¹

Exports more than doubled from the 1770s to 1790s.⁸² The existing scholarship on Scotland’s rise is slightly mixed, without seeming too indecisive I am inclined to side amidst the two arguments. Smout argues the cotton industry’s unparalleled growth “would not have occurred unless British social and economic developments had already reached a certain high

⁸⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 58.

⁸¹ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 166.

⁸² More exact figures show that these numbers were averaged at £0.5 million per annum, 1770-1774 to £1.35 million, 1769-1800; by 1810-1814 that figure exceeded £5 million. Cotton is identified as the chief export- in Clyde the rises are as follows: 0.15 million lbs per annum 1770-74; 2.0 million, 1789; 2.8 million, 1798; 3.2 million, 1799; 4.8 million 1800; 7.5 million, 1801. Also see Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 250.

plateau.”⁸³ Devine associates the Scottish success in the Industrial Revolution “within the texture of society, the institutional and social inheritance of the period before 1707.”⁸⁴ Taken collectively these two explanations offer great insight into not only why Scotland’s growth was so pronounced in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but also why later calls for repeal of the Union are largely remiss. Between 1740 and 1780 the Scottish economy shared in the growth Empire promised in 1707. The social implications the burgeoning cotton market had on Scotland correlates directly to general support for Empire in the Lowlands. Opportunities for social mobility grew remarkably with the development of classes based on economic success and merit rather than lineal claims.

The tobacco trade represented another key business in Scotland prior to Union, which saw considerable growth following 1707. In the 1720s, Scotland controlled 15 percent of legal tobacco trade from America to Britain. By 1758, Scottish tobacco imports surpassed London, bringing in the highest recorded level of tobacco to Glasgow in 1771 at 47 million pounds. Profits made on tobacco trade served as capital for a number of Scottish industries: banking, agricultural improvement, and merchant investment.⁸⁵ In turn raising Scotland from an economically desperate nation willing to enter an incorporating union to the industrializing center of British trade. This is largely the result of Scottish capitalization on British technological and trade foundations.

Scotland offers a slight contradiction to the typical discussion of the Industrial Revolution as both a decisively underdeveloped state yet equally adaptable one. The Lowland Clearances at the onset on Union preconditioned Scotland for growth within the industrial sector as large

⁸³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 248.

⁸⁴ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 166.

⁸⁵ During this period there was also large-scale illegal importation of tobacco, which is a contributing factor to the industry’s success in Scotland. Without Union, such activity would not have been condoned and the Scottish tobacco industry would not have prospered. See Devine’s opinion in Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 59.

proportions of Lowlanders moved into urban centers and took up skilled labor. Statistically nine out of ten Scots resided on rural land holdings prior to Union. Agriculture was the largest sector of Scottish export trade and, excluding the poor harvests of the 1690s, Scottish experience in balancing food and raw material trade surpluses “pre conditioned [Scotland] for later social diversification, urban expansion and increase in capital.”⁸⁶ By 1780 Scotland’s towns had caught onto expanding industries as English competition drove Scottish markets down and required diversification into complimentary rather than rival markets. Scottish industry clung to traditional crofting methods within rural communities, hesitant to embrace steam and factory advancements yet quick to modify daily life in accordance with industrial aims.

IX. WHY THE HIGHLANDS STILL REBELLED VERSUS THE LOWLANDS

The long term economic benefits of Union mollified anti-Union efforts in the Lowlands, while the Highlands maintained their discontent with the English and their nationalist endeavors to restore the Stuart monarchy. Economic concern had not manifested to such an extent in the Highlands as it had in the Lowlands. The fairly isolated Highland clan system offered greater security in terms of standards of living for clan members despite any downturns in trade.

Attempts by the British at bribing Scottish Highland chieftains prior to Union indicate that later Highland rebellion was a mix of both economic and national concerns for pride. According to Sir Walter Scott:

The Earl of Breadalbane, a man of great power in the Highlands, and head of a numerous clan of the Campbells, was intrusted with a sum of money, which some authors call twenty, and some twelve thousand pounds, to be distributed among the chieftains, on the condition of their submission to the existing Government, and keeping on foot, each chief in proportion to his means, a military force to act on behalf of Government, at home or abroad, as they should be called upon. This scheme, had it succeeded would probably have rendered the Highland clans a resource, instead of a terror, to the Government of

⁸⁶ Whatley, “Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey,” 166.

King William. Their love of war, and their want of money, would by degrees have weaned them from their attachment to the exiled King, which would gradually have been transferred to a Prince, who led them to battle, and paid them for following him.⁸⁷

Scott couples the Highland threat with economic concerns: had the Earl of Breadalbane equally distributed the money entrusted to him, the Scottish story of Union may have manifested itself quite differently. Instead Breadalbane bought off the leading chieftains and forced lesser chieftains into submission, while retaining a large sum for himself. Alongside these economic concerns was the ingrained Highland disposition of pride and honor as many chieftains brought to the government's attention the nature of Breadalbane's agreement as he "advised them only to submit to King William for the present, until an opportunity should occur of doing King James effectual service."⁸⁸ The discontent among the Highlanders with Breadalbane and the subsequent inability of the English to reprimand him, given Breadalbane's high status, allowed Scottish Highlanders to remain Jacobites in the interest of their clan's future economic security under the Stuart restoration⁸⁹ and overt national pride against English intimidation.

General discontent among Highland clans rose significantly with Union and by 1715 the Jacobite rebels in the Lowlands and Highlands had joined together in armed rebellion against the Crown. History focuses on the romanticism around the Highland's last charge at the Battle of Culloden; the 1715 rising however is much more indicative of the Scottish national attempt at independence due to economic concerns and shifting attitudes towards Union. The two to three decades post-Union saw little relief from the economic depression of the 1690s.⁹⁰ The majority of commissioners who advocated Union were bribed, but also came significantly from Lowland estates. This class and geographic differential between Highland and Lowland Scotland split the

⁸⁷ Scott, *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Rebellion 1745-46*, 650-651.

⁸⁸ Scott, *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Rebellion 1745-46*, 651.

⁸⁹ As suggested in the above quote by Scott, there was a general assumption within the clans that their service in the interest of a Stuart restoration would be generously rewarded following successful rebellion.

⁹⁰ Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 169.

country in the years post-Union. Those Highland men who had gained nothing from Union only stood to gain from the overthrow of the Whigs thereby creating “Jacobites through interest rather than conviction.”⁹¹ Aiding in the cause were the Northern Catholic gentry who saw limited opportunities in the current regime alongside pathetic fiscal holdings.⁹²

X. SCOTLAND AS MORE THAN A PARTNER?

The freedoms afforded to Scotland in the Act of Union provided space for Scottish authority over England in fiscal management and industrial profits. Landed interests capitalized on these freedoms by investing their capital from agricultural developments into banking ventures.⁹³ Scotland upheld a strong banking tradition: the Bank of Scotland was formed in Edinburgh in 1695 and by 1727 Scotland had founded the Royal Bank of Scotland. Minor problems with available credit to those outside of Edinburgh presented themselves at the onset of Scottish banking endeavors, however these issues remained short lived and non-catastrophic. Private banks in Glasgow and port cities borrowed heavy sums of money, which they in turn lent out; the gradual process transferred to merchants who established their own banks. In 1746 the British Linen Company formed in formal support of the Scottish Linen industry, founding its own banking services available throughout Scotland. After failed attempts in the 1690s and 1730s, the Bank of Scotland succeeded in branching their banking out of Edinburgh into localized centers of trade. Fiscal irresponsibility with the production of banks notes by virtually every bank in Scotland contributed to instability in the 1760s with Scottish currency. Within the next five years, Scottish initiatives in bank regulations and a regularized note exchange managed to stabilize the Scottish economy while providing stronger inter-bank relationships. In 1810

⁹¹ McLynn, “Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745,” 125.

⁹² McLynn, “Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745,” 126.

⁹³ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 61.

banking opened up beyond large organizations with the introduction of the first savings bank to Dumfries-shire by Reverend Henry Duncan. The Industrial Revolution offered steady cash flow in greater numbers, which in turn undervalued provincial banks who were unable to meet customer needs. The establishment of the Union Bank of Scotland in 1830 and the Clydesdale Bank in 1838, created a homogenous banking system throughout Scotland accessible by organizations whose growing monetary bases required larger, more secure banking networks.⁹⁴

The ascendancy of Scotland within the Union and cause for Scottish pride in Empire contributions is remarkably apparent in the comparative analysis between Scottish and English banks. Where Scottish banks took off in early eighteenth century, English banks faltered. The incapacity of English banks to maintain holdings effectively and regularize bank notes resulted in Westminster legislation curbing banknotes in favor of coinage and limited bank roles during the mid-nineteenth century. Sir Walter Scott, literary champion of Scotland, brought strong opposition against Westminster for the unlawful institution of such laws on the basis of Scotland's bank sovereignty. The Articles of Union secured Scotland's banking platform on the premise that Scottish banks offered no threat to the Empire; the Articles also assured Scottish fiscal primacy within the Union.

The active lending processes of Scottish banks equally worked in maintaining the Scottish burgeoning commercial economy. These processes relied almost exclusively on the practice of issuing bank notes given the precarious state of Scottish gold and silver at this stage. Scotland's bank succeeded because the commercial industries afforded by 1707 maintained Scottish investments in banks while the innovative character of the Scottish state motivated constant preservation of the recently fortunate economy. Regularized loans and credit permeated society

⁹⁴ Charles Munn, "Scottish Banking History," The Committee of Scottish Bankers, accessed September 17, 2013, http://www.scotbanks.org.uk/banking_history.php.

while investors implicated themselves throughout the Scottish country in matters of trade. Scotland increasingly defined its role in the Union as a banking center, whose fiscal responsibility secured commercial interests in outlying colonies. The Clydesdale Bank capitalizing on these successes opened three offices in England by 1874; English concerns over Scottish power manifested quickly into Parliamentary committees focused on limiting the expansion of Scottish banks south of the territorial border. The committees never produced results as the growing friction pressed Clydesdale into abandoning its expansion plans. The capacity for Scottish takeover however set precedent for Scotland's assertion of equal power within the Empire.⁹⁵

XI. CONCLUSION

Economic necessity drove Scotland towards preliminary Union hearings. Economics is fundamental in discussing Scottish incentives for Union and the later shifts between remaining an active participant in the Empire versus a separate state. Scotland understood that by voluntarily joining in a single binding Union with England, Scottish control over economic matters would be virtually lost to the larger Parliament.⁹⁶ As Union drew closer Scottish concerns over Union increasingly manifested in arguments that Union was a shortsighted solution to the economic depression wrought by the ill years.⁹⁷ Following Queen Anne's acceptance of the Scottish Act of Security in 1704, allowing Scottish appointment of a protestant

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 155.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

successor to Queen Anne's throne in the event of her death, English pressure for incorporating union rather than federal union emerged.⁹⁸

Scotland acknowledged the loss of economic controls and for that reason fought for trade, taxation, and fiscal rights within the binding Articles of Union. The disregard of these articles was a major cause for 1713 attempts at Union repeal by those men who had until then been labeled pro-Unionist and gave justification for many participants in the Jacobite rebellions of 1715.⁹⁹ English motives for Union reflected economic considerations as a secondary concern to military invasion and diplomatic subversion by France. Scotland secured economic relief, which England offered in return for the security of their sovereign possible only through incorporating not federal union.

Union was unmistakably a driving force in Scotland's economic survival. However the Scottish initiative in drafting the Act of Union, rioting for their continued rights within the Union, agency in asserting Scottish business development, and general predisposition for success, is why Scotland thrived. Scotland possessed abundances of coal and iron, was situated close to water, and had large urban centers for distribution and marketing—all of which predisposed them to industrial greatness. Union was not immediately accommodating; trade in Glasgow succeeded in the infancy of Union because of Scottish smuggling. The legitimization of Scottish industry came after Scotland had already asserted its capacity for dominance in trade.¹⁰⁰ The majority of the Scottish landed class invested its assets back into the state, making Scottish banking a premier institution compared to its southerly neighbor. The fundamental reasons for modernization lay in the undercurrents of Scottish society, the Scots capitalized on

⁹⁸ Gordon Donaldson, "(iii) The Act of Security (1704)" in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 267; Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 155.

⁹⁹ The Duke of Argyll, who received massive bribes and patronage by advocating Union, joined the repeal movement after English taxations that directly violated the terms of Union.

¹⁰⁰ Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," 175.

English exposure to world markets in advancing as a global trading partner. The historical emigration of the Scots offered a loyal customer base in the international American markets where, by the American War of Independence, over 75,000 emigrants had settled.¹⁰¹

Domestically, Scots inserted themselves into English society as major players: Henry Dundas became the first Scottish president of the East India Company Board of Control after 1784, while those returning from their involvement in the EIC invested their fortunes in Scottish businesses.¹⁰² As summarized by Devine:

this diaspora itself was not caused by union, because the Scots had been mobile internationally long before 1707. What the Anglo-Scottish connection did, however, was to open up an unprecedented range of new opportunities where success was not guaranteed but depended on skills, enterprise, drive, education, and luck.¹⁰³

Economic uncertainty motivated Union; the debasement of Scottish economic assurances by the English motivated rebellion; the success of the Scottish in English markets motivated Scotland's advocacy of an equal partnership and stake in the success of the British Empire.

¹⁰¹ Exact numbers are 15,000 Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in Georgia and the Carolinas; 60,000 Lowlanders in the Chesapeake, Carolinas, New Jersey, and Boston. As seen in Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 60.

¹⁰² John Ramsay from Stirlingshire and Thomas Somerville from Roxburghshire identified men returning from the East Indies as prime influences on the active land market in Scotland; money from the colonies helped sustain agricultural advances and the financing of rural industries. See also Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 61.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

CHAPTER II: RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the economic considerations of Union and how Scottish economic needs were met in negotiations because English motivations were strategic rather than personal economic concerns. Scottish parliamentarians were able to secure Scottish partnership in Union through politics while the unified Highland-Lowland Rebellion of 1715 and the assiduity of Scottish merchants capitalized on the terms articulated within the Treaty to establish a narrow space in which discussions for independence and partnership in Empire could coexist. Within this narrow space for discussing both independence and partnership, religion emerges alongside economics in virtually every discussion preceding Union, in the portentous years following its inception, and in the long-term growth of Scotland within the Empire. Where the Church of Scotland once caused anxiety within Parliament over national control, the Scottish Parliament now acquiesced to the Church a degree of respect for their mutual legislative concerns and the security of the Kirk's sovereignty¹⁰⁴ in the event of incorporating Union. Advocacy for the Church by its members and the members of Parliament secured for Scotland a culturally independent institution capable of governing the Scottish people locally under a cult of discipline.

Why then was a predominantly Presbyterian society willing to subvert its ideological integrity by actively engaging in rebellion against a Protestant country- England- as in the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite Rebellions; especially when we consider that the Rebellion was for the restoration of a Catholic king? And in the aftermath of such a massive movement of collective resistance and theological compromise, how did the Church of Scotland verify Scottish

¹⁰⁴ Until the 17th century, *The Kirk of Scotland* was used as the official name for the Church of Scotland. The general term 'Kirk' refers to a church and in the context of this thesis, the Church of Scotland more particularly.

partnership in Empire? Scotland has maintained a varying stance towards its place in Empire since its conception in 1707 in part because the Kirk's position on Union has shifted depending on its official recognition by England. Scotland verifies its position as an independent nation as well as a partner in Empire by manipulating propaganda around the Church's role as a quasi-government. When the economy was in disarray, the perceived success of the Scottish Church against the negligence of it by British authorities bolstered Lowland opposition to Union; when the economy was prospering, the perceived success of the Scottish Church alongside the negligence of it by British authorities bolstered Lowland attempts to verify Scotland's global stance as a partner in Union.

Missionary efforts by the Church of Scotland following the '45 forced the assimilation of the Highlands into the British Empire, thereby creating greater potential for Scottish recognition as a British partner rather than colonial appendage. As those efforts expanded abroad, the discussion of Scottish partnership became more viable in a global context. This partnership was conveyed within the Scottish borders by means of propaganda centered around the promotion of a mutually beneficent Anglo-Scottish-British Empire. The interests of the Kirk were continually focused on maintaining global recognition and ideological centrality in Scotland through political efforts before Union and missionary efforts after the '15 Rebellion.¹⁰⁵ The development of the Church through its reformation, Union, the 15' Rebellion, Lowland missionary activities, and larger Scottish missionary activities reveals the narrow debate over which Scotland discusses its role as independent nation or partner.

¹⁰⁵ The 1715 rebellion is focused on here because it is more pertinent to the Scottish struggle for independence as it reflects the activation of the entire country- Lowlands and Highlands- against English tyranny. The later '45 Rebellion is a Highland focused initiative and reflects less on the conclusive resistance of Scottish people and more on the attempt for the Scottish chieftains to secure Scottish traditions and a potential status in a new reign. The Highlands were seen as a 'foreign' country following the '15 as Lowlanders assimilated into the British economy while Highlanders continued the struggle for independence. The first missionary movements by Scotland occurred within Scotland; Lowlanders established a stronger partnership within Empire by assimilating the Highlands and then expanding their missionary activities abroad.

II. ESTABLISHING THE QUASI-GOVERNMENT

Institutionally, the Church established itself throughout political doctrines and its reformation as a quasi-government for the Scottish people; a mechanism for law and order since the absence of a present monarch after King James VI's coronation as James I of England in 1603. The development of the Scottish Church under James VI & I, its recovery from crown control, and the years of struggles it endured with the Disruption of 1843¹⁰⁶ and later union of churches in 1929 are far too involved for the purposes of this thesis. Instead the background of the church relevant to this chapter focuses on the articulation of the Church as a quasi-government in political doctrine.

Since the Reformation in 1560, Scottish religious politics have retained a strong sense of national pride and willingness to challenge the immutable power of the monarchy. Reformist, John Knox's sermon to the mob to be "vehement against idolatry"¹⁰⁷ and strictly opposed to corruption by the Catholic popery directly refuted the religious convictions of Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. The debate came to arms, with Mary ordering troops to march on Perth against Knox and his followers; Knox assembled his own army of Lowland nobles and lairds willing to wield 'the sword of just defense' for Jesus Christ against the nepotism of the Catholic Church. Mary was presented with a constitutional divide between her own religious associations and the larger demands of the people; meanwhile Parliament passed the Reformation settlement, despite lacking crown ratification. The Church remained in an ambiguous state in Scotland as the

¹⁰⁶ The Disruption of 1843 refers to the conflict over patronage and spiritual independence, which led to factional splits within the national Church of Scotland in 1843. The split ended with two churches: the established church and the United Free Church.

¹⁰⁷ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 53.

religion of the people but not the crown.¹⁰⁸ Under the later reformer, Andrew Melville, Presbyterian courts received parliamentary approval with the Golden Act in 1592.¹⁰⁹ The overarching Melvillian aim was the subjection of the monarch to the authority of the Kirk. This introduced a series of reforms by James with the purpose of securing the monarchy through episcopacy,¹¹⁰ placing the Church of Scotland under the direction of crown appointed bishops and archbishops while simultaneously limiting the democratic power of the General Assembly.¹¹¹ James' policies toward the Church of Scotland reflect a sincere fear of religious power rivaling crown authority and serves as a basis for why the Church of Scotland's reaction against these terms allowed for the establishment of the Church as a quasi-government in Scotland.

At the forefront of his reign as King of both England and Scotland, James instituted a number of policies reflecting a desire to secure his monarchy and to assert English ascendancy. In 1606, James reinstated the Estate of Bishops as a part of his long-term restoration of Episcopal government:

Thairfoir his majestie with express advyse and consent of the saidis haill estaittis of parliament, being cairfull to repone, restoir and redintegrat the said estait of bischoppis to thair ancient and accustomed honour, digniteis, prerogatives, privilegis, levingis, landis, teyndic, rentis, thriddis and estaitt, as the samyn wes in the reformit kirk maist ample and frie at ony tyme befor the act of annexatioun foirsaid, be the tennous heirof retreittis, rescindic, reduces, cassis, abrogattis and annullis the foresaid act of annexatioun...¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ T.C. Smout argues that despite the eventual overthrow of Mary in favor of James VI & I in 1567, the collaborative effort with England to remove Catholicism is a unique commentary on the Scottish people's committed adherence to Presbyterianism even in its infancy. The lack of monarch and public concord over religious worship resulted in an overarching ambivalence towards extreme religious persuasion; the early Church's establishment and Catholic responses to it were fairly moderate. As seen in Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 62.

¹⁰⁹ The Golden Act allowed Presbyteries to be set up; however, James maintained control over where and when the General Assembly would meet. This gave him the power to hold the General Assembly in areas more likely to draw a conservative pool, in favor of the monarchy's absolute power.

¹¹⁰ Episcopacy refers to the governance of the Church by bishops or by hierarchy.

¹¹¹ The General Assembly is a convocation of elders who deliberate on judicial and legislative matters.

¹¹² Gordon Donaldson, "1606 Restitution of Estate of Bishops," in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 168-169.

Because the King reserved greater power in bishop appointment, the security of the episcopacy reflected a security of crown politics. If the King could manipulate the opinion of the Church, he could manipulate sermons and consequently the opinions of the people. Reducing and eliminating the episcopacy was critical to Scotland's reformation; James' reinstatement of it was an unmistakable attempt to bring biased crown politics back into Church proceedings.

Similar attempts at marginalizing the impartiality of the Church took place with the Acts of General Assembly at Glasgow in 1610, requiring the cooperation of ministers and bishops and subordinating bishops to the General Assembly. While this act seemingly respected the institution of the General Assembly, it was used as a deliberate policy of the king to subvert the impartiality of the General Assembly by establishing bishops as permanent presidents of presbyteries and synods.¹¹³ Effectively this act undermined the judicial sanctity of the General Assembly by relegating religious consciousness to state interests. According to the desires of the king,¹¹⁴ the "assembly contained adequate representation of the more conservative north, where Melville's principles had not proved congenial, and the Episcopal constitution was approved."¹¹⁵ The power of the Church and its followers in face of crown authority was eventually proven in 1638 with the annulment of this act:

Because the election of them was not free, seeing they were nominate by the King's Letters, as the Presbyterie books of Edinburgh, Perth, and Hadingtoun, declare. And the Bishop of St Andrews, in his letter to some Presbyteries, required them to send such Commissioners as the King had nominate, assuring them that none other would be accepted.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 65.

¹¹⁴ The Act of Revocation echoed these desire in 1625-33, reflecting "Charles I's plea for a comprehensive and permanent settlement of the ecclesiastical property once again." As seen in Donaldson "1625-33 The Act of Revocation," in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 185.

¹¹⁵ Gordon Donaldson, "1610 Acts of General Assembly at Glasgow," in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 176.

¹¹⁶ Church Law Society, ed., "Acts: 1638," in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, (British History Online: 1842), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=60083>.

The people and members of the Church recognized the subversion of their institution to state interests at the hand of the King. While the Church was able to regain its strength against the monarchy, the theme of crown suppression of the Church of Scotland and attempts to confine the Kirk to English religious ideology¹¹⁷ is central to understanding why Scotland held the Church at the center of its national pride for independence.

Other attempts to affirm Presbyterian worship practices present in the records leading up to Union indicate less of a Scottish weakness against the crown and more so a Scottish religious dialogue entwined within popular politics. In 1634 the ‘Balmerino’ Supplication shows an attempt by Lord Balmerino, on behalf of churchgoers, to persuade Charles I against his religious tyranny. The supplication reveals a sincere attempt to placate Charles’ ego while asserting religious rights:

We do also most humbly beseech your majesty to believe that all our supplicants do, in most submissive manner, acknowledge your royal prerogative in as ample manner... We do therefore dis-assent from the foresaid acts [1606 and 1609], as importing a servitude upon this church unpractised before, and giving ground for introduction of other new indefinite devices...¹¹⁸

The supplication failed to persuade the King and Lord Balmerino was tried for treason. Charles’ reaction against Balmerino reveals his uneasiness over crown power compared with the Church; the Church posed a viable threat to the ‘undisputed’ authority of the crown.

The legitimacy of such anxieties was proven by revolutionary reactions across the British Isles against Charles’ Anglican common prayer book in 1637. Reactionary representatives of the Scottish people congregated at Greyfriars Kirk in central Edinburgh and signed the National Covenant, asserting Scottish historic struggles to eradicate popery and their formal declaration of

¹¹⁷ In 1633 Charles went so far as to restrict the attire of the Scottish clergy to the English norms with ‘The King’s Prerogative and Apparel of Churchmen.’ As seen in Gordon Donaldson, “1633 The King’s Prerogative and Apparel of Churchmen,” in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 189.

¹¹⁸ Gordon Donaldson, “1634 ‘Balmerino’ Supplication,” in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 191.

resistance to any state attempts at reforming worship not approved by the free assemblies and parliaments at risk of initiating open rebellion by the Scottish people. The Covenant was signed on two separate dates: first by the nobility and the barons, and on the following day, by the burgesses and the ministers. Those who signed the Covenant's allegiance with the new church did not constitute a refusal of the King, who many later fought for in the civil wars.¹¹⁹ The National Covenant was strictly determined by religious concerns rather than political. Such a strong reaction denotes Scottish ideological separation of church and state yet willingness to oppose state for the sake of religion. In response Charles called a General Assembly but his religious policies were undermined by the General Assembly's abolition of the bishops; he then threatened an army against Scotland, which the Scottish people met by forming an army of their own.¹²⁰ The eventual outcome of these contingent shifts between church and state assertions of power was the formal establishment of one lawful Scottish church: the Church of Scotland.¹²¹

By 1690 Scotland was able to remedy the religious violations of its previous majesties by enacting the Acts of Establishing Presbyterian Government and Transferring Patronage for the establishment of the Church of Scotland, stating:

Their majesties, with advyce and consent of the saidis three estates,...doe establish, ratifie and confirme the presbyterian church government and discipline, that is to say the government of the church by kirke sessions, presbyteries, provincially synods and generall assembles, ratified and established by the 114 Act Ja. 6 parl. 12 anno 1592, entituled Ratification of the liberty of the true kirke etc., and thereafter received by the generall

¹¹⁹ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 66.

¹²⁰ Of note is that the English Civil Wars ended with Charles' capture by Scottish forces, the relinquishment of him to the English authorities, and his summary execution in 1649.

¹²¹ While the main argument here is that the Church developed into a separate governing body from that of Parliament, it cannot be said that the Church was entirely free from state rulings. In 1653, Cromwell abolished the General Assembly and forced religious toleration in Scotland; in 1660, Charles II re-instituted episcopacy but refused the inclusion of the General Assembly in Scottish religious affairs. Only with the ratification of the national Convention of Estates and the reinstatement of the General Assembly by William III in 1690 was Scotland assured in its religious governance. The church was still entirely dependent on state recognition and as such the integrity of the Church system was a major concern in Union debates. For further insight into this argument see Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 70.

consent of this nation, to be the only government of Christs Church within this kingdome....¹²²

The Act specifically lays out the government of the Church as a democratic institution with a series of checks and balances by the various enacted bodies. The parish maintained its centrality to church life while the laity was instituted as a check against the priests whose previous control of Catholic institutions riveted the country with corruptive practices. The elders, deacons and ministers, Kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods and General Assembly, characteristically formed a democratic institution within Scotland for the inclusion of its people regardless of economic stature or provinciality.¹²³ Congregations elected elders and deacons on an annual basis for Kirk sessions with the minister. The minister was expected to preach and administer the sacraments and was chosen by the congregation and subjected to subsequent review by the Kirk-session.¹²⁴ The democratic nature of the Kirk was furthered by the establishment of the General Assembly as the sovereign and highest court within the Church; effectively, the governing authority of the Church given the absence of a Protestant ruler within the Scottish borders.¹²⁵ The council mirrored the composition of the old Scottish Parliament with three representative spheres: lords and barons were appropriated to one part, burgesses from towns to another, and superintendents with selected ministers to another. The solidification of the Protestant faith as the classical Presbyterian Church of late, established religious governance for the people. When the Scottish people would later lose their Parliament to London, the Church offered security as a quasi-

¹²² Gordon Donaldson, "1690 Acts Establishing Presbyterian Government and Transferring Patronage," in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 260.

¹²³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 61-63.

¹²⁴ In the beginning, the roles of church officials were more of a guiding principle than an absolute practice. Because the Church was in its infancy, adequate staffing for such operations was not fully developed and locals were used in reading prayers, teaching lessons, and officiating baptisms and marriages, until the church was able to solidify its ecclesiastical staff. Also see Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 63.

¹²⁵ An interesting side note is that after 1929, the General Assembly met in Assembly Hall, a building specifically designed for the Free Church. The design of the stairway leading to the gallery of the reigning monarch or lord high commissioner was built separately from the hall, symbolizing the spiritual separations of Scottish church and British crown.

governmental institution with the established welfare and interest of its people at the core of its development.

III. SECURING THE QUASI-GOVERNMENT WITHIN UNION

The long road to religious assurances in Scotland made securing the Kirk as Scotland's quasi-government a necessary component of Scottish Union debates. Through incorporating Union, the episcopacy, still existent in England, would at once be reintroduced into the fabric of Scottish religion. The Kirk would lose its central authority with the preponderance of bishops allied under state initiatives and the spiritual welfare of the Scottish people would lose out to Westminster political initiatives. As a result, the General Assembly and the presbyteries banded together in the opposition of the Union and together formed a collective resistance with the people.

The definition of the Church as a quasi-government within the Scottish state was recognized by and initially seen as a frustration for the English in the processes leading up to Union. Traveling to Scotland in October of 1706, Daniel Defoe was under English direction by Secretary of State Robert Harley, to encourage the parliamentary union between England and Scotland. Defoe records in a series of correspondences with Harley his frustration with the Church of Scotland, whose preachers' inflammatory sermons were emotionally driven and lacked the intellectual accord to see Union's beneficent effects. Defoe writes on 29 October 1706, "there is an entire harmony in this country consisting of universal discords. The Church men in particular are going mad," and on 2 November, "They are a hardened, refractory and terrible people."¹²⁶ Defoe, while Presbyterian, felt foreign to the church government within

¹²⁶ David Macree, "Daniel Defoe, the Church of Scotland, and the Union of 1707," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1973): 64.

Scotland. Defoe's frustration with the religious convictions in the Lowlands reflects the intense incongruity between Scottish and English religious idolatry, which contributed to Scottish resistance. As David Macree argues, The National Covenant of 1630 bound the Scots to defend the Scottish Presbyterian Church while the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 required,

the Scots representatives and the English parliamentarians to work not only for 'the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland' but also for 'the reformation of religion in the kingdom of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, and...to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity of worship.'¹²⁷

Morally the Scots could not agree to Union without breaking their spiritual oath.

And by September 13, 1706, the Church's unwavering presence throughout Lowland society forced Defoe to redefine his struggle from political persuasion to "remov[ing] the jealousies and uneasiness of people about secret desires here against the Kirk."¹²⁸ The shift of his message from that of encouraging public approval of Union to defining Union aims as in line with the Kirk presents the authority of the Church within Scotland's incorporation.¹²⁹ Scottish concerns over the sanctity of their treaty with the English were well founded, as seen with the subversion of the economic policies of Union following 1707.

As a basic condition for Union, the Kirk secured the historic rights of the Church and the Presbyterian system of government by an Act of Security, in November of 1706.¹³⁰ The Act of Security and the Union formally acknowledged the position of the Kirk as a quasi-government within Scottish society:

¹²⁷ Macree, "Daniel Defoe, the Church of Scotland, and the Union of 1707," 68.

¹²⁸ Macree, "Daniel Defoe, the Church of Scotland, and the Union of 1707," 65.

¹²⁹ Not allowing the resurgence of episcopacy within Scotland.

¹³⁰ Thomas Devine argues that there was a huge gap between Parliament and the people on the issue presumably because of Church influences denouncing Union as a threat to the Scottish Protestant tradition. For Devine's argument in full see T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 8-12.

That the True Protestant Religion, as presently professed within this Kingdom with the Worship Discipline and Government of this Church should be effectually and unalterably secured; Therefore Her Majesty with advice and consent of the said Estates of Parliament Doth hereby Establish and Confirm the said True Protestant Religion and the Worship Discipline and government of this Church to continue without any alterations to the people of this Land in all succeeding generations....¹³¹

This recognition mediated the loss of the Scottish Parliament's independence by establishing the Scottish Kirk on equal footing with the Church of England. Looking at the Rebellion of 1715, motivations within the Lowlands against the English state were validated by the realization of English marginalization of the above terms.

IV. ARTICULATING NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PRIDE IN 1715 AND BEYOND

The Scottish Lowlanders were driven to rebellion in 1715 in part because the English government failed to secure the religious terms of Union as expressed and promised in 1707 under careful consideration of the Scottish Parliament and the Kirk. In 1710 the Tories, whose High Church policies sought to undermine the Church of Scotland's privileges, replaced the Whig government at Westminster.¹³² While Tory motivations were aimed at both English and Scottish Presbyterians, the movement questioned the inviolability of Union terms and the value of Scotland within Empire. Specifically in 1712, with the subversion of Scottish Presbyterianism by two Acts: the first the Toleration Act,¹³³ granting freedom of worship to Scottish Episcopalians if they prayed for the reigning monarch; the second, the Patronage Act "to restore the Patrons to their ancient Rights of presenting Ministers to the Churches vacant in that part of

¹³¹ Gordon Donaldson, "1707 Act for Security of Church of Scotland," in *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), 276.

¹³² Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, 18.

¹³³ John Raithby, ed., "William and Mary, 1688: An Act for Exempting their Majestyes Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certaine Lawes. [Chapter XVIII. Rot. Parl. pt. 5. nu. 15.]," in *Statutes of the Realm* (British History Online: 1819), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46304>.

Great Britain called Scotland.”¹³⁴ Such legislation fundamentally defaced the integrity of the Act of Union, similar to the economic considerations. The Church of Scotland was the only remaining institution that secured Scottish rights; by subverting these terms the English were effectively belittling the remaining vestiges of Scottish institutional independence from the English crown.

The decision of the Tory government to pass such legislation in 1712 fired Scottish discontent. Westminster gave Scottish Lowlanders reason to question whether the Treaty was inviolate or if the terms were subject to change by Anglo-British politicians with the eventual outcome being Scottish marginalization to colonial appendage. The religious incongruities after Union allowed Lowlanders religious convictions alongside their economic concerns to rebel against England in 1715. The consequent national pride in a church free from the corruption of episcopalianism was avid throughout the Highlands and Lowlands following the Jacobite Rebellions.

The stark contrast of the Presbyterian Church to the English Church by Scotsmen marks a strong sense of perceived Scottish moral superiority within the Empire following the '15. Edward Bannerman Ramsay records in his *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* an anecdote of Sir William Forester on such a juxtaposition of morality between the two churches: a man visiting from the country asked his Edinburgh friend while passing St. John's, “‘Whatna kirk was that?’ ‘Oh,’ said the townsman, ‘that is an English chapel,’ meaning Episcopalian. ‘Aye,’ said his friend, ‘there’ll be walth o’ images there.’”¹³⁵ The Scotsmen assumed that because the English church filled itself with ornamentation of worship, its religious convictions

¹³⁴ Archibald John Stephens, “LIII. Stat. 10 Anne, c. 12. A.D. 1711,” in *The Statutes relating to the Ecclesiastical and Eleemosynary Institutions of England, Wales, Ireland, India, and the Colonies; with the decisions thereon* (London: Harrison and Co., Printers, 1865), 702.

¹³⁵ Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons: 1877), 13.

were less personal and more concerned with avert attempts to solidify a corporal identity as devout men. A woman, when asked of what she thought of singing in the English church after attending a service responded: “Ou, it’s verra bonny, varra bonny. But oh, my lady, it’s an awfu’ way of spending the Sabbath.”¹³⁶ While toleration for ornamentation and musical orchestration was coming into the Scottish church experience during the nineteenth century, the Scottish people were opposed to the practices of the Episcopalians as corrupted forms of worship. These examples are not concrete for all of Scotland however, as one Englishman visiting the countryside had the fortuitous experience after asking a man the difference between two churches erected opposite each other, of receiving the response: “There may be a difference of sax feet in length, but there’s no aboon a few inches in breadth.”¹³⁷ Despite such examples of tolerance or indifference, I agree with Ramsay’s opinion that the gradual shift away towards toleration began first in the cities and then in the countryside, in line with an increasing economic, urban role in Empire alongside decreasing personal affiliations with the Jacobite era.

In the Scottish Highlands, where the Highland Jacobites were oriented around the clan as their own personal quasi-government rather than the Church, religion is often seen as a less relevant issue. Securing the sanctity of the Church of Scotland held less sway in the north. Catholics and pagans were accepted in the Highlands as many members of the clans retained stronger associations with their Celtic heritage than their Lowland counterparts. The Highlanders fought alongside Lowlanders in the ’15 because of national pride and an interest in securing future patronage under the Stuart restoration. Despite the lack of Highland religious convictions against the English, Ramsay explains toleration as “Jacobite anecdotes are fading

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 14.

from our knowledge.”¹³⁸ While the Highland Jacobites were oriented around the clan as their own personal quasi-government, their suspicion of the English’s moral convictions was retained in the romantic depiction of their struggle. The Highland attempt to restore a Catholic king was rewritten by Lowlanders as an unwavering commitment to moral conviction and with that rephrasing, religion became another means of identifying the English as subversive to Scottish partnership.

Ramsay relates the tale of the former Mr. Stirling, the Laird of Keir who favored the Stuart cause and was a leader during the mustering of forces at the Brig of Turk in 1708. When called in for questioning over Stirling’s involvement, the miller of Keir swore positively that the Laird was not present. When those who knew the truth asked how he could lie under oath, the miller replied “quite undaunted, and with a feeling of confidence in the righteousness of his cause approaching the sublime—‘I would rather trust my soul to God’s mercy than trust Keir’s head into their hands.’”¹³⁹ The relevant religious leanings of the Laird or the miller are unknown, however it is clear that the Scottish history of the Jacobite struggle was portrayed as a fight against English moral corruption. The national discussion of Scottish place in Empire utilized the propagation of Scottish moral superiority in asserting why Scotland maintained a constitutionally equal if not greater part in Empire than the English.

In this vain the Lowlands became increasingly open to toleration following the ’15 with policies affirming that the Church of Scotland was the foremost, recognized authority in legislative, judiciary, and cultural concerns. Lowlanders began to assert their partnership in Empire by creating a religiously unified country in line with Scottish-British ideals, shifting their religious concerns away from rebellion and towards the assimilation of the Highlands. The

¹³⁸ Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 19.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Highland Jacobite struggle of the '45 was reworked as a romantic vision of moral conviction rather than religious compromise. The role of propaganda in asserting Lowland convictions of moral superiority extended throughout Scotland as many developed the theory that “Scotland has ever borne the character of a moral and religious country; and the mass of the people are a more church-going race than the masses of that English population.”¹⁴⁰ Following the '45, Scotland focused its preliminary missionary activities on the Highlands. From this home base, Scottish missionary activity extended outwards as a means of securing global, moral ascendancy.

The perception of Scotland internationally as a religious and moral nation was central to Scottish conceptions of nationalism, as Ramsay argues: “An interest has been raised on the subject [of Scotland’s character] from Bible societies, missionary associations at home and abroad, schools and reformatory institutions.”¹⁴¹ Consequently the articulation of Scottish place in Union through missionary activities at home and abroad became central to the establishment of Scotland as a partner in Empire.

V. MISSIONIZING THE HIGHLANDS

Examining the missionary efforts of The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), the ideological divide over what role Scotland played in the Empire is seen more coherently and shows why the Highlands continued in efforts for independence rather than efforts for securing equality within the Empire. Notably the SSPCK grew out of a Scottish Lowland concern for the educational state of the Highlands. According to the official site for SSPCK, it was formed by Royal Charter in 1709 to bring religion and virtue to ‘uncivilized’ societies. The first area tackled by the SSPCK was the Highlands where, in 1711 they had

¹⁴⁰ Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 10.

¹⁴¹ Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 11.

established five schools, growing to 25 schools by 1715, 176 by 1758, and 189 by 1808 with a total of 13,000-recorded students.¹⁴² Arguably the Highlands remained fairly abject to these efforts given the slow rise in established SSPCK schools, whose statistics are unavailable during the later period of Jacobite rebellion and then jump significantly in number following the '45. The efforts of the SSPCK to integrate the Highlands with the rest of Scotland along with the industries established in the north following the '45, dissuaded cause for another rebellion despite the extreme discontent and romanticized image of Scottish resistance manifesting in the Lowlands after Culloden.¹⁴³

A fundamental initiative in the SSPCK's mission was the defense of British colonies against French and Spanish enemies. By tackling the Highlands, who had recently aligned themselves with France in the restoration of Charles Edward Stuart, the Scottish Lowlands were asserting their capacity to act as a partner in the Empire. Without Lowland intervention the Highlands would have categorically been defined as a colonial enterprise at risk of French invasion, thereby undermining the entirety of Scottish inclusion within the Empire as a full partner rather than a colonial appendage. As the SSPCK became more successful in its integration endeavors, it secured the Highlands as a part of Scotland and motivated the recognition of Scotland as a whole in the global colonial efforts of Britain. In the later eighteenth century, international missionary movements from Scotland began with the foundation of the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS)¹⁴⁴ and the Glasgow Missionary Society

¹⁴² "History and Origins," The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.sspck.co.uk/page4.html>; Esther Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. John MacKenzie and T.M Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 207.

¹⁴³ There is a tension immediately following Culloden between the losses of Highland masculinity at the hand of Lowlanders alongside the appropriation of that masculinity by Lowlanders. This is however a cultural discussion, which is more aptly addressed in Chapters Three and Four.

¹⁴⁴ The Scottish Missionary Society was originally named the Edinburgh Missionary Society, but it was changed soon after its foundation.

(GMS) in 1796 to rival English missionary institutions.¹⁴⁵ The participation of Scotland in these missionary movements offered Scotland a place in Empire as an evangelizing source of British expansion by developing Presbyterian churches in Scottish emigrant communities and establishing foreign missions in colonial territories.

Examining these claims of Scotland's equal role in establishing a global Empire, the question remains as to whether Scotland was piggybacking on an existing Anglo-British Empire or if they were creating Empire by extending the Church beyond their own borders. Essentially missionaries were tools of imperialist expansion and the propagation of British rule. The missionary movement had a profound effect in solidifying Scottish definitions of British Empire in a global context while the social consequences at home offered increased nationalism and inclusion.¹⁴⁶ I believe that by establishing an allegiance between the Church of Scotland and the missionary initiatives driven at imperial expansion, Scotland was able to transform its characterization within the Empire from that of a colonial territory arguing for partnership within the Empire to that of a partner instrumental in developing an international network understood as the larger British Empire.

VI. MISSIONIZING ABROAD—SCOTLAND BECOMES A PARTNER IN EMPIRE

Scotland began with establishing Presbyterian churches in Scottish emigrant communities and slowly working into ethnically and culturally diverse colonial territories. Compared with the Church of England, the Church of Scotland was relatively slow in engaging with colonization efforts abroad. Esther Breitenbach suggests that the formal entry of the Kirk into missionary

¹⁴⁵ Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," 210.

¹⁴⁶ Women's role in missions and the subsequent participation of women in higher education as a result had a profound effect on the home front. Such gender issues will be confronted however in the final chapters as it is more pertinent to how gender affected Empire than it is the discussion of religious influence on Empire.

enterprises was motivated by the renewed efforts of the Anglican Church in expansion following the loss of the American colonies.¹⁴⁷ Given the extensive attempts at Highland assimilation, the expansion of Scottish missionary activity abroad is an extension of their wavering position on how religious issues influenced their place in Union. Because the economy was more secure and the risk of Highland rebellion was subdued, the Lowlands could capitalize on Anglican missionary expeditions to benefit Scottish missionary activity abroad and strengthen their global partnership within the Empire.

Debates are ongoing as to whether these foreign missions were in fact tools of imperialist expansion and if their impact on conversion abroad has been exaggerated. Many historians argue that the missions could not have reached many people and therefore had little impact on the religious sentiments of foreign communities. Others argue that missions worked against Empire by educating cultures, which were then capable of resisting Britain beyond just physical protest. The research on the exact impact of Scottish missionary enterprises in this respect is lacking. However I believe the larger issue is the perceived nature of missionary work at home. Because the Scottish people were told and understood the missionary exploits of the Church as a verification of their contribution to Empire, the national culture focused on Scottish inclusion within the British Empire, regardless of the validity of such statements. Scotland depicted Britain as an Empire that would not have reached its peak without Scotland and therefore owed to Scotland a degree of respect for its role in expansion.

The emigration of Scots to North America was a categorically diffuse group of religious identities whose integration into the tolerant North America made leaving Scotland an

¹⁴⁷ Rowan Strong argues ‘an official and conscious Anglican concern for Empire, and for missions by the Church of England, dates continuously from the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in 1701.’ Anglican missionaries prompted reactionary colonial efforts by Scotland in an effort to display their strength within the Empire. As seen in Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 204, 206.

ideologically worthwhile practice. The emigration of Scots was not wholly Catholic or Episcopalian however; many Presbyterians emigrated in the eighteenth century. By 1825 Presbyterian churches were being built up in North America along with The Glasgow Colonial Society devoting itself to the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America.¹⁴⁸ A number of these Presbyterian settlers, along with the other denominational emigrants from Scotland, identified with the patriotic aims of Scottish endeavors to assert place within Empire while other Jacobite sympathizers clung to the religious affiliations of their homeland and the identity it offered them in a new world.

Gradually the sentiments associated with missionary work shifted from protecting Scottish interests in new settlements to a moral superiority and need to civilize other societies incongruent with the British Isles. In 1910, *The Scotsman* declared, “in proportion to its population Scotland has done more for missions than any country in the world. It has sent some of the best of its manhood to establish and to man the outposts of Christianity.”¹⁴⁹ Scotland was able to verify its participation in missionary work because their efforts represented an enterprise espousing discipline, virtue, and salvation, rather than the selfishness of English territorial or economic exploitation of the other.¹⁵⁰ Because England was the political center of the British Empire the reasonable conclusion drawn internationally was that British imperialism had a distinctively English attitude. *The Scotsman*’s declaration attempted to solidify Scottish position within

¹⁴⁸ In addition to the Glasgow Colonial Society, a number of Ladies and Female Missionary Societies grew up in the 1820s: the Lanark Ladies’ Scottish Missionary Society and the Dunfermline Ladies Association. These organizations were complemented in the more ethnically foreign regions with the Edinburgh Ladies’ Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India (1837) and the Glasgow Ladies’ Association for promoting Female Education in Kaffaria (1839). See also Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 211.

¹⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that this declaration of Scottish role in colonization coincided with the World Missionary Conference. Prime attention was paid to missionary endeavors and therefore placed Scottish work on the center stage alongside recognitions of larger British expansion. See also Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 215.

¹⁵⁰ Breitenbach reasonably argues, “the missionary enterprise provided a prism through which Scots at home perceived the Empire, colonial territories, and peoples while at the same time fostering national pride in the Scots role in Empire.” Please see Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 223.

Empire in face of these popular, global perceptions. Figures by Eugene Stock on missionaries in 1901 indicate that at this period in time however, the Scots only constituted 9.7 per cent of the total missionary force while the Scottish population figured around 11.6 per cent of the total UK population.¹⁵¹ Stock's investigation refutes the claims of *The Scotsman* yet simultaneously offers evidence as to how Scottish popular conception of their role in Empire was being manipulated by local and national press to propagate the equality, if not superiority, of Scotland within Empire.

Regardless of its statistical impact, the Scottish missionary experience actively sought the expansion of Scottish religious and ideological culture into foreign, 'other' communities. The SMS was engaged in missionary work with Jamaica. Three missionaries were active there by 1800 and instrumental in the establishment of educational institutions for Jamaicans.¹⁵² In South Africa, the first Scottish Presbyterian Church was founded in the 1820s. Scotland worked at the forefront of human rights, advocating for abolition within the Cape and running a mission specifically aimed at saving former slaves.

Scottish colonies were unique in their temperate approach to colonization, compared to those English initiatives, which infamously left the Indian population starving.¹⁵³ Scotland offered communities a level of respect as a nation who resonated with those cultures being taken over. The overall aim of the Scottish missionaries was first educational and then ideological making the Scottish missionaries unique in their activities abroad and possibly offering reason for the success of Scottish integration into foreign cultures as reformers. The missionaries also

¹⁵¹ Statistics pulled from Eugene Stock, *A Short Handbook of Missions* (London, 1914) in Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," 215.

¹⁵² Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," 199.

¹⁵³ The Anglo-British Empire is characteristically cruel, with the supposition of racial biases against foreign communities and the exploitation of their people. A full analysis of English colonization efforts is not fully relevant in discussing the Scottish experience and therefore will not be covered in depth by this thesis.

worked on providing medical facilities, developing local infrastructure, and encouraging the cultivation of a community both independent of and included in the British Empire.¹⁵⁴

Scottish pride in the temperance and morality of its missionaries is evident throughout press depictions of the notable Scotsman, David Livingstone in South Africa. Livingstone was born in Scotland, received his medical degree from the University of Glasgow, and continued onto South Africa with the London Missionary Society. Alan R. Light's more recent commentary on Livingstone's book *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* records Livingstone as the ultimate, temperate Christian and intellectual: "Livingstone does not write about Africa as a missionary, nor as an explorer, nor yet as a scientist, but as a man meeting fellow man."¹⁵⁵ Livingstone was distinct in his endeavors because he occupied a tense space as both a Scotsman, who understood the negative memory of British colonialism, while also a scientist and Christian now asserting his value as a Scotsman in the Empire. The respect for Livingstone on this score is apparent throughout Britain and his recognition by the English as well as the Scottish served as a means of protecting Scottish notions of partnership in Empire. According to *The Nottingham Evening Post* "a stained glass window in memory of the late David Livingstone is about to be placed in Westminster Abbey."¹⁵⁶ The *Edinburgh Evening News* ran articles concerning English recognition of Livingstone as an immense award for the Scottish nation: "a statue of David Livingstone is to fill a vacant niche in the north wall of the [Royal Geographic] Society's house at Kennigton Gore."¹⁵⁷ Livingstone became a symbol of Scottish missionary achievement; he was a Scotsman, working for the London Missionary

¹⁵⁴ Breitenbach argues the Presbyterian churches became centers of "respectability" within the colonies, associated with industriousness, temperance, professional success, and intellectual improvement. See in Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," 217, 202-203.

¹⁵⁵ Alan R. Light, introduction to *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, by David Livingstone (Project Gutenberg: 1997), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1039/1039-h/1039-h.htm>.

¹⁵⁶ "The Late David Livingstone," *The Nottingham Evening Post*, December 4, 1878.

¹⁵⁷ "David Livingstone: Statue to be Erected in R.G.S Building," *Edinburgh Evening News*, June 21, 1932.

Society, and making headlines across all of Britain. Similar articles reported the Anglo-British celebration of Scotsmen as the Dean of Westminster reportedly

took as his subject ‘The Scottish Factory Laddie—David Livingstone,’ and praised the Scottish people for keeping anniversaries and bearing in mind Scotia’s illustrious sons far more than people did in London. It was, he said, the hard training of his youth in Scotland which enabled Livingstone to bear such unparalleled hardships in Africa.¹⁵⁸

The backhanded complement was presented in the *Edinburgh Evening News* because it presented the achievement of Scottish recognition in the Union as a partner, whose distinct geography and culture had produced a fantastic race of Scotch-Britishmen. Livingstone’s death in Africa enshrined his memory within Scotland as the honorable Christian and respected scientist, whose work allowed him to extend his Scottish heritage to the outermost regions of the Empire.¹⁵⁹

Scotland also took on an increasing role in the missionary activities of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which was unable to staff enough missionaries and required Scottish aid. During the 1820s and 1860s Scotland staffed the DRC with ministers. Consequently the DRC was characteristically Scottish as Scottish ministers oversaw its missionaries. These Scots ministers gradually became ‘assimilated Boers’ and created a unique institution that was both Scottish and Dutch in nature.¹⁶⁰ According to newspaper reports, the relationship between the two churches was rather congenial until the Boer War, which forced their estrangement. The Scottish Presbyterians of Cape Town publicly declared “their sympathy, and, while regretting the temporary estrangement caused by the war, hoping that it will be possible to co-operate in

¹⁵⁸ “The Dean of Westminster on Scottish Character,” *Edinburgh Evening News*, December 30, 1895.

¹⁵⁹ “The story of his death is one of the simplest, but most moving, in the history of our kind...one of them [in the heart of Africa], reverently and tenderly, stretched out his hand and laid it on his master’s cheek...Livingstone had passed away on the furthest of all his journeys.” Quoted from “David Livingstone: Jubilee of his Death in Africa,” *Aberdeen Journal*, May 2, 1923.

¹⁶⁰ Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 200.

Christian work in the future” thereby continuing the presence of Scotsmen on a theologically and culturally global scale.¹⁶¹

Scottish invasion of the British missionary space allowed Scottish partnership in Empire to be articulated globally and at home. The East India Company (EIC) is an interesting subject in the debate over Scottish contributions to establishing the Empire abroad because the EIC was an English enterprise, run under an Anglican doctrine, and administered by Anglican chaplains. Scottish military inclusion within the EIC was a gradual development and the religious involvement of the Church of Scotland was even slower. Scottish soldiers in India could request that a minister from the Church of Scotland serve them, however these requests were not always fulfilled. The English dismissal of many soldiers’ requests ostensibly refuted the Church of Scotland as a recognized national church within the British Empire. In 1812 a committee was formed for the explicit investigation into this matter globally; again in 1840, a committee was convened to address such concerns specific to India.¹⁶² The persistence of the Church of Scotland was instrumental in securing the recognition of Scotland as a religious and imperial authority abroad.

The Church took advantage of EIC’s charter renewals in advocating for Scottish inclusion as an equal partner within Britain. Following the 1813 charter, the General Assembly passed an Act ‘for the establishment of a branch of the church in India,’ as the EIC directors had agreed to the endowment of three churches in the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.¹⁶³ Again in 1833, the Church fought to include a clause in a new charter stating ‘the Church of Scotland was fairly established in India, the Government having made it imperative that there should be a

¹⁶¹ “Dutch Reformed Church: Attitudes of Scottish Presbyterians,” *The Evening Post*, November 15, 1902.

¹⁶² Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 197; see also Walter Steuart, *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1830), 459.

¹⁶³ Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 197.

minister of the Church of Scotland settled at each of the Presidencies.¹⁶⁴ Consequently we see Scottish churches gaining a more substantial role in the religious conversion of the Indian people. At a meeting of the friends of the Church of Scotland, Reverend R.K. Hamilton reflected on the optimistic and worthwhile experiences Scottish missionaries created in India. The Reverend argued that India had seen vast improvements over the past thirty years, coinciding nicely with Scottish entry into the Indian missionary work:

Formerly a missionary was not allowed to speak in India without the permission of Government. The natives were afraid of him. They would scarcely turn their ear to him when addressing them. Now they are numerous over the whole country, and the natives are most willing to listen.¹⁶⁵

The success of missionary societies in India, according to the Scots, directly correlated with their involvement.

Reports in the *Evening Telegraph* from 1899 reveal that the Church of Scotland was gaining a much stronger foothold in India, with the cooperation of the Government of India with Scotland. The Scottish chaplains were beginning to receive equal rights to those English chaplains they served alongside: “The Government of India desire to give effect to a suggestion made by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that the nomenclature of the Scottish chaplains on the Indian establishment should be assimilated, as far as possible, to that of the chaplains of the Church of England.”¹⁶⁶ Beyond mere religious concerns, the missionary activities in India took on an economic necessity. The *Dundee Courier*¹⁶⁷ reported, “We have become far more responsible for the government of India than we used to be when it was held by the East India Company” because now as partners in Empire, Scotsmen held trading interests in

¹⁶⁴ Breitenbach, “Scots Churches and Missions,” 198.

¹⁶⁵ “The Church of Scotland’s India Mission,” *Glasgow Herald*, February 15, 1850.

¹⁶⁶ “The Church of Scotland in India,” *Evening Telegraph*, October 5, 1899.

¹⁶⁷ It is important to note that reports of these successful missionary activities are prevalent in both Lowland and Highland newspapers. The Highland’s involvement in missions and the military forced an ideological shift away from constantly asserting otherness as cause for independence to asserting Scottish otherness as cause for the success of Empire.

India and a consequently a larger stake in the success of military and missionary movements.¹⁶⁸

Through missionary activity, Scotland articulated trading interests in colonial territories and asserted a physical as well as an ideological place within the global Empire.

The missionary experience was critical in articulating Scottish ideological associations of their place within the Empire. The Church of Scotland related news of progress and the effectual conversion of colonies abroad during their sermons, with church literature, public meetings, exhibitions, and the secular press.¹⁶⁹ According to Breitenbach's research on the Church of Scotland, membership steadily rose at home during the solidification of successful missionary efforts abroad: 50.5 per cent of the population was actively attending church in 1905 with that trend continuing into the mid-twentieth century.¹⁷⁰ This trend in membership is conclusive of both the success of the Kirk as an institution within Scotland while simultaneously supporting the effect of the Kirk on the population. Arguably those attending church spread the teachings throughout their communities, making knowledge of missionary work even more widespread and developing a verifiable cultural pride in Scottish Empire. The glorification of missionaries like Livingstone supports this notion of widespread nationalism in support of the Scottish Empire. The term Scottish Empire used throughout the discussion of missionary work refers not to the division between Scotland and Britain but to the unification of the two as the Scottish Empire and the English Empire coalesced to form a unified, international framework for the British Empire.

VII. CONCLUSION

¹⁶⁸ "India," *Dundee Courier*, December 15, 1863.

¹⁶⁹ Breitenbach, "Scots Churches and Missions," 222.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Scottish partnership in Union on a global scale was articulated through the initial development of the Church under Mary of Guise, James VI & I, Charles I, and the Union. This development into a quasi-government for the Scottish people was critical to personal Scottish notions of partnership, regardless of how Scotland was publicly perceived in the global Empire. By establishing a cohesive national religion, Scotland was then able to expand its role within Empire into foreign colonies. The British Empire ceased to be exclusively English and took on a Scottish character. The Church of Scotland offered the context in which Scotland could define its cultural independence from England, could develop a national identity, and could use that national identity to brand the global Empire as Scotch-Anglo-British.

PREFACE PART II

The second half of this thesis seeks to understand in greater depth how the Highland-Lowland divide contributed to a new methodology for revolution in Scotland while simultaneously maintaining the pillars for equality within Union. The cultural and gendered components of Scottish society are twined as critical issues. The interaction of these two issues during the Highland Clearances preserved the narrow shifts we saw with economics and religion into a new era of Union debates, with silent and sociopolitical rebellions working alongside assertions of equality within Empire.

Chronologically, these chapters deal with Scotland's shift away from physical rebellion into its two final revolutionary stages— a silent revolution followed by a sociopolitical revolution. After the '15 and '45 Rebellions, with the divide of the Highlands and Lowlands, there was a decisive transition away from physical rebellion and towards silent revolution. The political and military suppression of Scottish customs following Culloden undermined the distinctive qualities that separated Scotland from England. In this aftermath, Highland males were symbolically stripped of their virility by the Highland clearance while Highland women maintained rebellion. Highland women revolted against the British state and the infiltration of landlordism by refusing to leave their lands for the new world and continuing to work the lands when male industry shifted to fishing. Women were decisive in this silent rebellion against forced emigration and the suppression of Highland society. Lowland artists appropriated Highland masculinity onto the broader national dialogue and preserved for Scotland a romantic identity of resistance against the British. Without battles, Highland women and Lowland composers preserved a unique culture, which prevented the anglicization and cultural colonization of Scotland into an already established Anglo-British Empire. Global and personal

perceptions of Scottish membership within the Empire are hinged on the preservation of this distinct culture and heritage. As a result Scotland is able to simultaneously confer arguments for independence alongside equal recognition with the English in Union debates.

Scotland transitioned out of the silent revolutionary phase, with the assimilation of the Highlands into the Empire and the popularity of Scottish culture surrounding the literary tradition, espousing a romantic depiction of the Highland Jacobites' struggles. From silent revolution, Scotland entered an era of socio-political rebellion. As a part of this shift, Highlanders joined societies that advocated for their rights while Lowlanders present in British politics articulated Scottish demands for equality. Around this sociopolitical rebellion, the largest issue was that of equality: Highlanders attempted to assert their equality within the Scottish state while Lowlanders attempted to assert theirs within the Empire. In the broader history of Scotland trying to establish itself against English relegation of the 'other' culture into colonial appendages, the shift of rebellion onto the parliamentary floor marks an ostensible achievement of Scottish equality within Union. Prior to 1707, Scotland retained enough sovereignty in Union debates to advocate for a substantial number of economic and religious rights. Because Scotland has capitalized on the terms of 1707 to establish itself as a partner in Empire with an equal voice, we see the later resistance against English domination shift back into political debate. Gender and culture are central to this progression because they unified Scotland beyond its geographic boundaries in a cohesive movement for global recognition whether it be by independence or Empire.

CHAPTER III: CULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

There was thus a distinct Highland culture in Scotland that persisted longer than the Lowland one. Lowland culture had been defined by the Kirk but was quickly subsumed within the Empire. Highland culture became the subject of an all-out battle for control and eventually lost its status becoming, as part of a longer narrative of British subjugation, merely a romantic vision of a distant past. Scottish society distinguished itself from its English counterpart, before and after Union, by the existence of clans in the Highlands. Where the Lowlands substituted the loss of central control in Edinburgh Parliament to Westminster with the Church, the Highlands were much more diverse in their religious associations and instead turned to their constant vestige of authority: the clan chief. As such, while Scotland lacked a present monarch, these clan chiefs were able to contain Scottish associations of power within the monarchy by their inherent power over dependents on their land. After the '45 Rebellion, surviving chiefs, regardless of their political allegiances, were made land proprietors. While English settlers in Scotland redefined cultural allegiances, Highland young men were either forced to emigrate or requisitioned for service in the British army. The loss of the chief is rectified by Scottish memory with the focus on the English as a corrupting force. The Scottish memory of the early Clearances allowed them to transfer the loss of Highland culture and society onto the invasion of the English both physically and ideologically.

Scottish culture was built in opposition to the British. In an attempt to resist the status as another 'colonial appendage' of the British Empire, Lowland Scots quickly assimilated into the Anglo-British world following 1715. The Highland Scots retained a narrative of national pride that manifested itself throughout clan relations. Romanticized clan culture that emerged in the

aftermath of 1745 became identified with the Jacobite soldier, the tartan, and Gaelic. British attempts to subjugate Scotland to their control focused on suppressing the unique elements of Scottish society as a means of asserting their dominance. The attempt to assert cultural dominance translated into larger Anglo-British imperial interests in asserting a white anglican empire. The Scottish Highlands were branded as the racial ‘other.’ Many Highlanders emigrated in reaction to the colonial agenda of Lowland Scots and the English, building up Scottish culture externally. Internally, 1745 became an issue of cultural memory. The Highland clans were decimated by British political and military action. The Highlanders were forced into a silent revolution; their weapon became their distinct culture. In this sense the second wave of revolutionary spirit manifested itself during the Highland Clearances.

The Clearances are typically characterized as the Lowland renunciation of Scots and their favoritism towards the Anglo-British Empire. In the context of gender however, the Clearances are redefined as a unified movement for a cohesive national culture. For the first time since 1715, Scotland witnessed a unification of its people even if the period does not overtly present itself as such. Scotland became a symbol of independence while maintaining its partnership in Empire by merging the cultural tradition of the Highlands with the economic and religious endeavors of the Lowlands. Scotland asserted itself as far culturally removed from Anglo-Britishness as possible. In doing so Scotland rebranded the status of racial ‘other’ used by the English to control them, as a powerful tool in gaining a distinct cultural foothold in the larger Empire.

II. THE NARRATIVE OF NATIONAL PRIDE

Critical to the development of a cohesive national culture was progression of Highland national pride over the course of the Jacobite Rebellions. The mutual dependence of the clan system—the chieftain reliant on his dependents and the dependents on their chieftain—established a narrative of national pride focused on the continuation of Highland tradition. In this respect, Frederic Winn Knight¹⁷¹ argues in his defense of the clan system’s respectability that “Every person above common rank depended, for his safety and his consequence, on the number and attachment of his servants and dependents...To this essential object every inferior consideration was sacrificed.”¹⁷² The Highlands represented the ultimate sacrifice of pecuniary interest to those of loyalty. The basic understanding of the Highlands as the epicenter of Scottish cultural respectability is founded in the clan prioritization of mutual dependence before individual wealth.

The Highland community construct was unique because it fundamentally opposed the industrialized market economy and landlord system typical of the Lowlands and England.

Knight writes that,

the principal advantage of landed property consisted in the means it afforded to the proprietor of multiplying his dependents. By allowing his tenants to possess their farms at low rents, he secured their service whenever required, and, by the power of removing every one who was refractory, maintained over them the authority of a monarch. The sacrifice of pecuniary interest was of very inferior importance, and was not a matter of choice; for any proprietor, who should have acted on contrary principles, losing the attachment of his people, would have been left prey to the violence of his neighbors.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Frederic Winn Knight was a conservative English representative in Parliament. Knight’s position is extremely interesting as an Englishman defending the respectability of the Highland clan system. His bias may have been influenced by his active role in the British military. As explained further in the chapter, Highland men were highly valued as soldiers in the British army and used their skills as an entryway into the partnership of Empire. Knight’s respect for the clan system is quite possibly based on his experience with the loyal contingents of Scottish soldiers derived from the Highland tradition.

¹⁷² Frederic Winn Knight, “The parochial system versus centralization: statistics of ‘close and open parishes’: effects of settlement and removal. Part II. Probably effects of Mr. Baines’ bill,” in *Knowsley Pamphlet Collection* (London: Shaw and Sons, 1854), 30.

¹⁷³ Nineteenth century writers such as John Murdoch, Clark, and Alexander Mackenzie echo Knight in his sentiments. Their discussions of the Clearances appear in this paper later on. Knight, “The parochial system versus centralization,” 30.

The clan system substantiated Scottish class culture while respecting the interdependence of those 'elite' members of the Highland clans and their dependents. The capacity of a chief to protect the interests of clan members was the basis for his patriarchal power. Loyalty formed the cornerstone of the clan institution as a means of safeguarding the mutual interests of each member of the clan.

The retention of clan system in Scotland and the subsequent loss of those clans following Culloden set the English up as an easy scapegoat for the suppression of Scottish identity within the Union. Romanticized notions of national identity formed around the Jacobite struggle as a Lowland means of constructing cultural equality within the Union. The narrative of national pride shifted from the Highlands into the Lowlands and from Highlanders in general to Highland women in particular; in this vein a silent revolution against Anglo-British cultural dominance developed as a romantic endeavor to protect the vestiges of Scottish independence against the English imperialist. The national pride that pushed Jacobites to continue rebellion in 1745 now shifted to the Lowlands. Meanwhile the Lowland narrative that focused on partnership in Empire shifted to the Highlands. The transfer of roles within the Empire ostensibly preserved the Highland-Lowland divide; however, these shifts were indications of preliminary steps towards the Scottish articulating of a cohesive national identity that rectified national pride with both partnership and independence.

III. BACKGROUND OF THE CLEARANCES

The Clearances are generally understood in two phases: the first coming immediately on the backdrop of the Battle of Culloden, and the second in the early nineteenth century as a

reaction to market trends.¹⁷⁴ The first phase, deals with the English marginalization of distinct Scottish traditions, as alien and threatening to English imperial desires for a larger Anglo-British Empire. The English attempted to control Scottish culture by imposing standardized English trends and legally prohibiting the traditional appearances of Highland society. The second phase deals with Scottish marginalization of Scottish traditions and the consequent internal divisions—geographical, social, and religious— that characterized the later Clearances. The ultimate consequence of the Clearances manifested itself in the loss of the clans to the landlords.¹⁷⁵

The first phase, the English phase, began with legislation aimed at repressing Scottish traditions that threatened centralized English control over the British Empire. Thematically, British legislation focused on undermining the patriarchal links of Scottish society, specifically in the Highlands, by breaking clan attachments to clan chiefs even prior to the '45. The Disarming Act of 1716 prohibited any Scottish person from having in his or their custody unauthorized weapons.¹⁷⁶ After Culloden, the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 abolished all of the private courts in Scotland except 'barony' courts, removed virtually all sovereign power chiefs held over their clans, and introduced 'circuit courts' in country towns for Court of Justiciary criminal cases. Scottish law was taken so that the English could legally dictate Highland social behavior and minimize the threat of any remaining Jacobites to their power. The

¹⁷⁴ The second wave of Clearances is really a two-tiered issue in of itself. Initial improvements that forced the dissimilation of the clan and creation of crofting towns were hit by the decline of the kelp trade in the 1820s. The displaced clansmen initially harvested kelp for cheap profit; when the kelp economy went under and interests shifted towards sheep farming, these crofters had to be disposed of or chiefs/landlords faced ruin.

¹⁷⁵ Knight writes that Lord Selkirk argues these younger proprietors realized the unprofitability of the clan system and sold out to high rents offered by southern sheep farmers. Selkirk's definition of these men as proprietors acknowledges the loss of the traditional chief, while their 'sell out' represents a cultural, emotional loss of the duty-bound chief to his clan. As seen in Knight, "The parochial system versus centralization," 30.

¹⁷⁶ In 1715 following the first rebellion, there were criticisms on the British side for not restricting the Highlands and Lowlands more viciously to limit any further revolutionary activity. This was a small scale disarming act that effectually did little to quell the rebellious nature of the more dedicated Jacobite clans. Chevalier de Johnstone argues in his *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, "from the manner in which it was executed, only served to deprive the government of the assistance which it may have derived on any sudden emergency from the Duke of Argyle." For the full account please see James Johnstone, *Memoirs of The Rebellion in 1745 and 1746* (London: Longham, 1820), xxiii.

'Annexed Estates' Act of 1752 confiscated estates of Jacobite landowners and placed them under the agrarian improvement curriculum.¹⁷⁷ 'Improvements' that forcibly removed Highland families from their ancestral lands. The Act of Proscription in 1746, attempted to undermine Scottish cultural faith and nationalism separate from that of Anglo-British culture. The Act of Proscription extended the legislation of the previous Disarming Act, enforcing harsher proscription policies and penalties in light of the '45. Included in this was the Dress Act, which forcibly displaced the Scottish visual culture from society by prohibiting "Highland clothing": tartan or kilts. Scottish culture was ideologically weak institutionally; however English acts against it represent an English consciousness over Scottish capacity for cultural dominance within Empire.

The security of the Union, for English objective of safeguarding their colonial superiority, was achieved through this imposition of legal restrictions across the Highlands. Westminster's legislation against Scotland was focused on the Highlands as the cultural agent of Scottish society and the only existing agent of Scottish resistance. The acts specifically used the destruction of the Highland clan relationship to monitor rebellious activity. English authority implicitly recognized through these acts the presence of a distinct Highland sociocultural sphere of influence. The threat of Highland culture on English superiority in Empire was recognized in Parliament. These acts are part of a long process of British imperialism aimed at reducing the distinctive qualities of daily Highland lifestyle.

Westminster's legal submission of the Highland chiefs allowed Scotsmen to code their distrust with new landlords as British and their respect for landlord actions as remnants of Highland patriarchy. Market trends, now a national issue to contend with, offered the Highlands cultural inclusivity in the Empire while simultaneously questioning the level of chief allegiances

¹⁷⁷ In 1784 this act was remedied by the return of estates to former owners or families.

to clans given the new economic order. In 1771, Frank Adams' reflections on his own position as a clan chief and his subsequent duties reflect a transfer of clan ideology from the previous age of Scottish Highlands into the British Empire:

In the beginning of 1772 my grandfather, who had always been a most beneficent and beloved chieftain, but whose necessities had lately induced him to raise his rents, became much alarmed by this new spirit [of emigration] which had reached this clan...I called the people of the different districts of our estate together; I laid before them the situation of our family—its debts, its burthens, its distresses; I acknowledged the hardships under which they laboured; I described and reminded them of the manner in which they and their ancestors lived with mine...I besought them to love their young chieftain, and to renew with him their ancient manners; I promised to live among them; I threw myself upon them; I recalled to remembrance an ancestor who had also found his estate in ruins, and whose memory was held in the highest veneration; I desired every district to point out some of their oldest and most respected men to settle with me every claim; and I promised to do everything for their relief which in reason I could.¹⁷⁸

Adams' issues with the necessary shift towards landlordism emphasizes the Scottish narrative of English oppression against Highland will—the chief is coded as the Highland patriarch while his 'necessary' shift towards landlord is coded as English oppressor. The beneficent and beloved chieftain of the old age that Adams sought to embody was out of reach because British market concerns adulterated the semi-sovereign economy of the Highland clans.¹⁷⁹ Landlords were forced into valuing capitalist concerns above clan concerns with the debasement of the clan system.

Former dependents were forced out of their clan loyalties on the basic premise of survival. Emigration to America offered, for now, displaced clan members “large possessions of uncultivated but excellent land, in a preferable climate—to the poor it held out large wages for

¹⁷⁸ Frank Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), 81.

¹⁷⁹ Previously Highland clan economy worked fairly independently from market trends. Because clans were self-sufficient and could provide much of their basic needs from within the clan, their involvement in the larger market was not necessary.

labour; to all it promised property and independence.”¹⁸⁰ Adams juxtaposes the opportunity for independence in the new world with the lack of equality between classes in the now anglicized Highlands as a means of emphasizing the fault of the English.¹⁸¹

The shift towards a capitalist empire forced the Highland clans to redefine their commitments and in turn allowed the sentimental vestiges of the clans to continue while the inherently corrupt nature of the Clearances was associated with the emerging image of a British landlord rather than Scottish chief. Adams describes the grim scene of the chieftain’s position as a direct result the of British legislation following Culloden that coincided with economic burdens:

The laws which deprived the Highlanders of their arms and garb would have certainly have destroyed the feudal military powers of the chieftains; but the fond attachment of the people to their patriarchs would have yielded to no laws. They were themselves the destroyers of that pleasing influence. Sucking into the vortex of the nation, and allured to the capitals, they degenerated from patriarchs and chieftains to landlords; and they became as anxious for increase of rent as the new-made lairds—the *novi-homines*—the mercantile purchasers of the Lowlands. Many tenants whose fathers for generations had enjoyed their little spots, were removed for higher bidders. Those who agreed at any price for their ancient lairds, were forced to pay and increase without being taught any new method to increase their produce.¹⁸²

Adams acknowledges chief compliance in this new system, yet his diction is hesitant. He is unwilling to accept the new system as Scottish and instead attempts to retain chief duties while allowing himself the excuse of the Highland shift into British economy. The Clearances, which dictate the majority of this era, are a conclusive argument on how the ideological relationship of the Scottish to the British was defined by cultural redefinition of the Highlands in this manner

¹⁸⁰ Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, 81.

¹⁸¹ Adams is writing at the time of the American Revolution. His work assumes that with American independence comes greater freedom outside of English oppression. Meanwhile the Highlands had to contend with the new system of colonialism.

¹⁸² Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, 81.

The Highland Clearances are fundamental in discussing the development, or lack of development, of a Scottish national identity within the British Empire following Union in 1707. Dealing with the Scottish question within the British Empire, specifically that of the Lowland-Highland divide, develops certain ambiguities concerning Scotland's role in Empire as well as British ideological associations with Empire. The Clearances began as an English institutional reaction against revolutionaries, yet quickly transformed into an ideological Scottish movement to assert a distinct Scottish nationality from the established Englishness of the British Empire. Lowlanders defined what a Scotsman looked and acted like based on the romantic culture that formed around the then extinct Highland Jacobite soldier.¹⁸³

IV. HIGHLAND CLEARANCES, HIGHLAND PARTNERSHIP

The distinct characterization of the Highlands, oriented Lowland prejudices against the north as foreign and caustic to their equal involvement in the economically burgeoning British Empire of trade. The '15 had experienced wide-scale Scottish involvement- both Lowland and Highland— because of the absence of such economic certainties. The increase in trade with growing industrialization prompted Lowland acceptance of the British Empire and cognizant efforts to secure Scottish ascendancy within Union. Lowlanders oriented themselves against Highlanders and accepted the removal of those remaining Highland Jacobites to the Americas or other British colonies. Systematically, Westminster used the failure of the clans in the '45 to destroy remaining patriarchal links and reassess the role of surviving chiefs in British society.

The physical invasion of the English is represented in the unification of English elites with Scottish elites, and the transfer of those English societal ideals onto a weakened Scottish cultural

¹⁸³ The issues over Lowland appropriation of Highland culture while the Highland people were in a crisis of identity following the loss of their clans and forced eviction of their people is addressed in Chapter Four.

system. John Murdoch included in his 1886 “Crofter revolt against landlordism,” a reflective look at the transformation of Sutherlandshire from the hands of noble Scots to corrupt English elites, which later allowed for the memorable Sutherland Clearances of the nineteenth century.

Murdoch conveys his contempt for the Marquis of Stafford as such:

The Marquis of Stafford, who married the Countess of Sutherland, carrying with him the ideas and pretensions of his class in England, could not brook the claims of the people to their clan lands. They had the traditional title, and they had the nine points of the law on their side—they were in possession of their paternal farms...Before he could remove the people from their paternal homes and lands, he must get rid of as many as possible of the manhood of the country.¹⁸⁴

Sutherland sent the able men off to war and then destroyed their homes. Murdoch like many other writers around this time, views the loss of the Highlands to the landlord and the English self-interested social construct, as a conspiracy against Scottish culture. The English and the elite Scots attacked the traditional, paternal rights of the Scottish Highlanders, they circumvented the law, they abused the power of ministers, and they disregarded social welfare. This passage sets up the ostensible Anglo-British associations of the Scottish Highlands with primitive culture, similar to that of Britain’s ethnically foreign colonies. The Scots, unlike the Americans or Canadians or Australians, do not come from British culture; they are not predisposed to its beliefs and are not willing to sacrifice their cultural independence to the inclusive securities of Union. The systematic deconstruction of this social other is a marked theme of British imperialism as seen in India, Africa, and the Caribbean.

The unique element of Murdoch’s report is its commentary on the alternative aims of English incorporation of the Highland young male into the British army: “with the aid of ministers and other recruiting officers, numbers of the young and powerful enlisted and left the country—they, however, carrying with them strong and valid assurances that the homesteads and

¹⁸⁴ John Murdoch, “Crofter revolt against landlordism,” in *LSE Pamphlets* (Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette, 1886), 24.

lands were to continue in the possession of their fathers and their families.”¹⁸⁵ Not only had the English infiltrated the future race of Scots through marriage, but they also removed young men from the country and placed them in a state of active warfare. The English targeted the Highland ancestral associations with warrior culture as a literal attempt to minimize the future race of Highland Scots. Murdoch explains this event as the destruction of the Highland homes:

But when the strong arms which should have been defending the home of the clansmen were desolating other lands at the bidding of an unprincipled Government, the Marquis, with the assistance of that Government, terrorised, burned, and otherwise tossed the people about, and removed them so completely, whether to the rocks and bogs or to Canada, that no one could say, when the work done, he was in possession of the inheritance of his fathers. So that the Leveson-Gowers made themselves masters of Sutherland by a course of fraud and violence which may be taken as typifying on a large scale what has been done on minor scales in many other parts of the country.¹⁸⁶

The land is symbolic of the clan; clan attachments were vested in the land. When clans were disbanded a basic allegiance to the land remained and in that sense an element of the clans remained. The English corruption of the land was a part of their larger tradition of reducing Highlanders to the status of ‘colonial appendage’ or racial ‘other’ whose interests were valued below the English by arbitrary on an ethnic biases.

This narrative of English oppression is an ever-present figment of the Scottish national struggle since the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Highland ascension into this false place of security is initially a chapter in the larger story of English oppression. However as a part of the Highland’s shift into an era of silent revolution, the soldiers capitalized on their inclusion in a British institution to assert their value as partners in the Empire. English motivations for Union began as a strategic need for allies against the French and Spanish. In the larger narrative of Scottish assertion of their role in the global Empire, the Scottish soldier emerged as a key element of the new Scotch-Empire.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

V. MILITARY IDENTITY

The Scots asserted their partnership through economics and religion, yet the cornerstone of their cultural inclusion was built on the legacy of the Highland clans in battle. While Scotsmen lost their culture of war following their defeat at Culloden, the rich tradition for clan excellence in battle pervaded the mythic legacy of the Scots in both the north and south. Highlanders found their role in Empire while renewing their associations with the military culture taken by earlier British legislation. The Highland soldier transformed the Highland male from an emasculated figure of the Clearances into the physical strength of the Empire. The legacy of Culloden and rebellion was reclaimed as a Scottish way into Empire where they could refocus national pride in resisting the British to the constructive development of the Empire abroad.

English inclusion of Scots within the military for need and purpose serves the early argument of economics and religion. The Scots were able to secure for themselves a place in the Empire as equals by retaining distinct elements of Scottish society and then implementing those elements in the expansion of the Empire as a global image. In 1751, while the Highlands were still under military occupation, Secretary at War Barrington justified his inclusion of Scotsmen in military recruitment on the basis of this cultural legacy: "I am for having always in our army as many Scottish soldiers as possible; not that I think them more brave than those of any other country we can recruit from, but because they are generally more hardy and less mutinous: and of all Scottish soldiers I should choose to have and keep as many Highlanders as possible."¹⁸⁷ Barrington's inclusion of the Scots offered the Scottish-Highland tradition to continue within the Empire as an active participant in its success and continuation. This need for Scots in Empire reaffirmed the success of the Empire as reliant on the inclusion of the Scots.

¹⁸⁷ Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 120.

English respect for the Scottish military tradition as a mechanism for Empire was echoed in the House of Commons on July 14, 1776 by Pitt the Younger:

I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found: it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it; and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy, became prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had nigh gone high to have overturned the State in the war before last [i.e., the War of the Austrian Succession]. These men, in the last war [i.e., the Seven Years War] were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity as fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested by the national reflections against them!¹⁸⁸

The Scots retained their cultural division from the English as a unit, yet increasingly occupied a communal space ethnically in the Empire. Scottish regiments, widely celebrated in Scottish historic and artistic culture, retain the tartan of their ancestors as a visual representation of Scottish presence alongside the English in Empire.¹⁸⁹ The tradition acknowledges the clan as the center of Scottish culture, distinct within the British Empire.

VI. ATTIRE IDENTITY

Scottish cultural resurgence came in part with King George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh, wearing the traditional Scottish dress and officially sanctioning the return of Scottish attire. Around George IV, the Scottish people rediscovered their heritage. This heritage was however manufactured under English allowances; without George IV, it is only hypothetical to assume Scottish culture would have resounded in the manner it has.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Devine argues the tartan has become a symbol of national self-image and is recognized among the mass of the population as perhaps the main symbol of Scots in Empire. T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 626.

¹⁹⁰ Frederic Winn Knight addresses the theoretical nature around discussing how Scottish culture and society could have been without the Clearances. He adeptly articulates that such conjecture is unfounded and unnecessary to evaluating the historical injustices of the Clearances. The focus needs to be and should be on how the Clearances were handled not how Scottish society could have responded without them. This line of reasoning is appropriate in

The resurgence of clan tartans, Scottish music, the educational push for Gaelic within schools, and romanticized depictions of Scottish Highlanders in battle against the English to save that culture so easily disposed of years before, was a small token of Scottishness within a rising Anglo-British Empire. The Highland Clearances following George's visit, whether consciously aimed at these ends or not, were conclusive efforts by the Scottish elites to create a cohesive Scottish society. A society not dominated by Anglo-British ideals, but one with its own religious orientations, social constructions, and cultural memory that offered Scotland space within the Empire, as a nation distinct yet simultaneously tethered to England in the overall imperial efforts of Britain.

VII. LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

A component of the Highland culture was the Gaelic linguistic tradition, influencing place names, musical ballads, and storied traditions of Highland society. In 1796, the estimated number of Gaelic speakers was only valued at 23 per cent of the total population.¹⁹¹ Alistair Moffat argues from a modern perspective that "Gaelic is a language of memory, structured and refined for ease of recall, not a literary medium as English has become. Celtic society retained its sense of itself, its history, its customs, its laws and all its lore in the memories of specialists, the bards or seannachies. Remnants remain, but not in Scotland."¹⁹² The Gaelic tradition, while an aspect of traditional Highland society, was not a mechanism of cultural cohesion in the period following Culloden. The literary tradition espousing the Highland Jacobite as the ultimate figure

discussing Scottish culture throughout this period. Hypothetical assumptions can be addressed but should not be expanded upon since there are too many variables in discussing the individuals and social context of the era.

¹⁹¹ This percentage represents approximately 290,000 members of Scotland's 1,265,000 population. Over the years that number has drastically decreased and was valued at less than one per cent in 2010. These statistics are pulled from Alistair Moffat, *The Highland Clans* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 82.

¹⁹² Moffat, *The Highland Clans*, 82.

of masculinity endowed with respect and loyalty was highly emphasized by the literary circles, especially Scottish historic novelist Sir Walter Scott.

Scott utilized Scots¹⁹³ as a means of accessing the Highland past but its use was not necessary to the Lowland mission of cultural revival. The use of Scots in *Waverly*¹⁹⁴ was also controversial because it contained a number of vernacular inaccuracies and was attempting to rectify a no longer relevant language with the romantic cultural revival. Language was not necessary to the independence movement. Ireland achieved independence despite the lack of a strong Gaelic or Irish tradition. Wales retained a stronger association with the Welsh language than either Ireland or Scotland retained with their respective versions of Gaelic and yet they remain complacent members of the British Empire. Because the economy was ushered in as a mechanism for both partnership and independence in the earlier stages of Scottish integration into Empire, the global and local primacy of English outweighed any cultural aspect of Gaelic retention.

While the tartan no longer served a necessary purpose to Scottish workers as it had when men and women worked the fields in the harsh Highland climate and geography, it was utilized as a visual representation of Scottish heritage on special occasions. The use of Gaelic was not exclusive to Scotland and did little in the way of emphasizing the Highland culture any more than tartan kilts already had.

The retention of place names that reflect the Gaelic in Scotland is less of an attempt to assert the independence of Scotland culturally and more aptly an attempt to retain the distinctive aspects of the Scottish Highlands that could not be reworked by British influences following

¹⁹³ Scots is not its own language but rather the dialect version of Gaelic that was present in Scotland.

¹⁹⁴ See also Sir Walter Scott, *Waverly or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, ed. Claire Lamont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

1745.¹⁹⁵ The linguistic tradition was not about asserting independence but was to a greater extent a component aspect of England's recognition of the Highlands as a racial 'other.' Because Scots had their own language, which was used more prevalently in the Highlands, the Anglo-British invasion and suppression of the Highlands was made easier by the coding of Scotland as a different race.

VIII. SCOTLAND AS THE RACIAL 'OTHER'

The attempts to assert an individual Scottishness within the British Empire pushed Scotland towards industrialization and colonization efforts in an attempt to rival and equal, if not to exceed, English initiatives. The result of such hard-pressed efforts towards improvement ushered in a second era of Highland Clearances, or as the landlords termed it, "improvements," of the land. The industrial revolution ushered in a new social era, unavoidable by the now progressive Scottish Highlands and Lowlands. The initial stages of the Clearances had driven many Highlanders abroad while others found sanctuary in crofting, fishing, or the newly formed Highland regiments.¹⁹⁶ With industrialization, urban centers were built up around the fishing towns and many Scotsmen profited from trade. Conversely in the rural districts, the declining enterprise of kelp and the general market for farming was under increasing economic pressure. Landlords who previously sanctioned low rents in return for labor saw greater prosperity with the high rents and long term trade offered by southern sheep farmers. Knight recorded that "the high prices now paid for sheep and wool have greatly increased the value of Highland property; while the repeal of the corn laws has rendered corn growing, even in the more fertile straths, a hopeless

¹⁹⁵ Alistair Moffat argues that these place names are indicative of a loss of culture more than the retention of it. Most Scotsmen cannot pronounce the Gaelic words prevalent throughout the Highlands and in doing so assert their Anglo-Britishness more than their Scotch-Britishness.

¹⁹⁶ Fitzroy Maclean, *Scotland A Concise History*(London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 193.

speculation.”¹⁹⁷ The state of Scotland was changing in the world market.¹⁹⁸ Elite perceptions had shifted with the first Clearances away from the patriarchal clans towards the profitability of the land. These initiatives were mixed with religious biases and an interesting ethnic bias— the Highlanders were coded as ethnic ‘others’ in Scotland.

The biases of the British Empire extend beyond racial prejudices into religious understanding of Britishness. The proportionally high representation of Scottish Catholics in Nova Scotia suggests that there may have been religious motivations behind the Clearances. The Highlands retained a religiously diverse character. Charles Edward Stuart chose to land in the Highlands because its religiously tolerant nature for Catholics made it a safe place to begin a rebellion for a Protestant country against a Protestant country.¹⁹⁹ Scotland’s attempt to find a cultural space within the British Empire may have motivated elites to forcibly remove the religious minority in an attempt to secure a distinct Scottish church that would offer a sense of independence from England within the British Empire. The Act of Union in 1707 was hinged on the security of the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Kirk as a central authority for the Scottish people. Those terms were devised by Lowland elites, the security of the Scottish hold on equality within the Union was somewhat predicated on maintaining the terms of the Union. Where Westminster had violated economic agreements, the Scottish retention of a distinct Church gave them national security in retaining Scottish-Britain. The retrospective narratives do

¹⁹⁷ Knight, “The parochial system versus centralization,” 33.

¹⁹⁸ The involvement of Scottish elites in the global market had exposed them to the British cultural identity of distinct imperial bounds— the white empire versus the racially different. The physical distance of the Highland people rendered them socially distinct from the Lowland, elite, English notions of Britishness and they were subsequently excluded. The horrors of the Clearances and the lack of humanity shown cannot be condoned. However when regarded in the larger context of British imperial practices, the treatment of the Scottish is a routine prediction of British treatment of culturally alien civilizations. The capacity for the Scots to redefine their role as a partner in Empire is peculiar in the history of the British Empire and highly reliant on the Scots successful regeneration of a distinct culture.

¹⁹⁹ Unlike Ireland, the Catholic majority was not stronger than the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland.

not condemn the Church outright, but rather use the doctrine of Christianity in promoting social welfare in the developing British state.

The people are orienting themselves around the Clearances as a religious issue to motivate a characteristically British institution, the welfare state. This is indicated by the fear of the landlord elites whose authority rivals that of the law and consequently that of the government:

Four times have these officers broken in upon poor Mackinnon in this way, destroying his place of shelter, and sending him and his family adrift on the cold coast of Knoydart. When I looked in upon these creatures last week I found them in utter consternation, having just learned that the officers would appear next day and would again destroy the huts. The children looked at me as if I had been a wolf, they crept behind their father, and stared wildly, dreading I was a law officer. The sight was most painful. The very idea that, in Christian Scotland, and in the 19th century, these tender infants should be subjected to such gross treatment reflects strongly upon our humanity and civilisation.²⁰⁰

The writer's attempt to rectify a new civilization centered around greater social opportunity by rejecting the hypocrisy of landlordism on democracy and Christianity. While the British welfare state was far from its inception this period offers the distinct British ideology of class social structure checked by a central authority whose progressive nature prevents rebellion by the lower classes' ranks.

The writers seem to empathize with the Highlanders in an attempt to mollify sentiments against the landlord class: "No mercy was shown to those who refused to emigrate; their few articles of furniture were thrown out of their houses after them—beds, chairs, tables, pots, stoneware, clothing, in many cases rolling down the hill. What took years to erect and collect was destroyed and scattered in a few minutes."²⁰¹ The focus on Highlanders within Scotland and abroad is a cognizant effort to secure British patriotism at home and globally. Britain identifies

²⁰⁰ Alexander Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances: or, a strange return by the Highland chief's for the fidelity of the clans: being an account of the Glengarry, Strathglass, Kintail...and other evictions in the Highlands since the Battle of Culloden: with an appendix on the Highland crofters," in *Bristol Selected Pamphlets* (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1881), 6.

²⁰¹ Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances," 3.

itself as a global enterprise, whether that identity is based in culture, trade, religion, or patriotism. The ideological associations of the British with Empire are focused on this security of positivity around the British experience as an institution for progress.

The Kirk, both in the Lowlands, and in the religious practices of the clans provided something toward a distinctive – if not cohesive – national culture.²⁰² The church pushed social hierarchy on society and was a successful ideological replacement for the monarchy in the Lowlands.²⁰³ The Lowland social construct complimented this agenda, as the church celebrated nobles as defenders of Scottish independence. Noble tenure of land gave them a heightened interest in the success of an independent Scotland.²⁰⁴ Considerations of Union influenced the economic security and religious sanctity of the Scottish Empire, which nobles could remedy in Parliament.

IX. CONCLUSION

In the dialogue around Scottish treatment within the Union, the Clearances have become a defining issue for English and Lowland suppression of the Highlander. The shift towards landlordism was heavily coded as an English design and as such the English bore the brunt of the

²⁰² Callum Brown notes that, "on the threshold of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, Scotland was not homogenous in religion. In the central and southern Lowlands there were significant differences in the cultural interpretation of Presbyterianism, between the urban professional and business groups and the rural peasantry. In the Lowlands north of the River Tay Episcopacy was strong and resisted Presbyterian invasion. In the isolated Highlands and Hebrides, Presbyterianism was weak and even episcopacy and Catholicism were enveloped within a popular religious culture of superstition." While there was a definitive segregation between religious identities, as seen with the Disruption in 1843, the Kirk established a basis for achieving national culture. In the absence of the clans, the Kirk was the only remaining vestige from before the Union of Scottish independence. Regardless of religion, the missionary activities expanded upon in Chapter Four were critical to overall progression towards unity between the Highlands and Lowlands.

Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 61.

²⁰³ Neil Davidson argues religion was the decisive cultural factor in establishing national consciousness in the absence of the monarchy. This is a hard argument however because the Scottish church was exclusive while the Highlands experienced a fairly tolerant religious nature; often Highlanders partook in the pagan cultural traditions of the past. See in Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, 61.

²⁰⁴ Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, 61.

blame for the loss of the clans and the eviction of so many natives from their land. These Clearances despite their social negatives were a constructive element in Scotland's larger debate for and against participation in the Empire. Eviction forced Highlanders to move into colonial settlements; typically the ships commissioned by the landlords brought those emigrants to lands without a strong Scottish community, thereby forcing Scottish cultural permeation of the Empire. The Highlanders who remained were faced with the oppression of their heritage without their traditional voice of physical rebellion to resist the abuse. Women, whose cultural impact is largely missing from the cultural dialogue laid out above, were decisive agents in its continuation during the Clearances. The oppressive tradition of British imperialism forced the Highland male into submission and in effect a period of silent revolution before he could reemerge in a political forum to assert his rights in the economy. The rebranding of their cultural differences was a tool for advocating Scottish rights for recognition in the global strength of the Empire. This is a key component of the continued Scottish debate over their place as partners in Empire alongside their ancestral right to sovereignty.

CHAPTER IV: GENDER

I. INTRODUCTION

The examination of gender as an object under threat by Empire and as a motivation for partnership within Empire explores the critical theme of Highland rejection of Union versus Lowland embrace of it. Gender is twined with the issue of culture because it confronts the intangible aspects of later Scottish rebellion. The loss of male virility in the Highlands at the hands of the Lowlanders and Englishmen is juxtaposed with the affirmation of the Highland, Celtic matriarchal tradition and artistic representations of the romantic Jacobite by Lowlanders. When their husbands were emasculated by the loss of their ancestral lands and their capacity to defend their families, women took control of their femininity by preserving the Scottish domestic sphere against British invasion. Highland women transformed the Celtic tradition using their femininity and bodies to preserve their families and raise a new lineage of 'Jacobites.' Through their silent revolution against the anglicization of Scottish society, women were decisive in preserving Highland culture. The gradual development of their silent revolution into a political forum opened up a new space for their male counterparts to occupy in defense of Scotland against Anglo-British oppression.

The later history of the Highland Clearances and the Highland Land League traces the progression of Scottish rebellion from its physical roots in 1715 through silent and sociopolitical resistance. The Highland Land League and Scottish political activists' use of politics to protect Highland culture unified gendered aims for Union alongside national aims. The Highlands became instruments of articulating equality within the Empire and have since bolstered Scottish place in Union as both an equal partner and an independent nation.

Scottish cultural independence was hinged on the preservation of the Highland male by women and artists, while Scottish inclusion in the global Empire was hinged on the repression of Highland Jacobites. Lowland aims shifted after 1715 away from articulating separation from the Empire and towards partnership within it. By assimilating the Highlanders into this British network, Lowland Scots created a new silent revolution based on the national rejection of Anglo-Britishness. Scotland valued not only its economic and religious contributions to Empire, but also its cultural ones. The unique Scottish culture that developed in this era gave debaters a means of defining global Britishness as inherently Scottish while also using culture as a basis for independence. Because the Highland women and effeminate Lowlanders had preserved the Highland male as a Scottish national symbol, gender from both the male and female perspective is a cornerstone from which we must discuss the Scottish independence versus partnership debate. The discussion of gender in the Highlands is important as it reveals how Scottish national identity was preserved in a time of extreme crisis while also highlighting a larger shift towards silent revolution against the recently victorious British power and the later sociopolitical revolution which persists today.

II. HIGHLAND GENDER FUNCTIONS PRIOR TO 1745

Highland gender identity was in crisis with British invasion; men were confronted with consistent attempts by British authorities to limit their avert masculinity while women confronted a new social system that did not preserve traditional ideologies of matriarchs.

Gender in the Highlands operated on a tiered scale yet maintained a level of respect for the legacy of matriarchy coexisting with patriarchy that existed in Scotland since its foundation with the Pictish, Celtic tradition. Pictish inheritance focused on the female as a means of integration.

By marrying royal women outside of the kin group Pictish rulers further extended their relations with native Scotsmen. The female role in preserving familial legacies was further verified by the continuation of inheritance through the female line.²⁰⁵ These age-old practices remained well into the seventeenth century and were seen among many prominent families.

As Scotland developed into a cohesive nation, the Highland retention of pagan sympathies enabled further continuation of Celtic gender traditions and reverence of the female. The Lundin family embodied this continued Pictish tradition in the seventeenth century by vesting the family's name in the female:

Margaret Lundin of Lundin married Robert Maitland, second son of the 1st Earl of Lauderdale—he died early, but the children bore the maternal name of Lundin...the elder daughter, Sophia Lundin of Lundin, married 30th April 1670 the Hon. John Drummond, second son of 3rd Earl of Perth. On his marriage he took his wife's name, and by 1679 had become so proud of his wife's descent (from a bastard son of William the Lion, who had married an early heiress of Lundin) that he took steps to alter the ancient arms of the Lundin family for a bastardised version of the Scottish Royal arms.²⁰⁶

This respect for the female's role in succession and in lineage is intriguing as it is fairly contradictory to comparatively 'normal' gender relations of patriarchy typical of the early modern world. Conversely the Lowland tradition shifted towards the female as a temptress, the Eve of Christianity.

Highland women were given power in their roles as laborers, managers of the households, and mothers. Scottish-American, Lady MacVicar Grant's letter on the Highlands²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Monica Clough, *The Field of Thistles: Scotland's Past and Scotland's People* (Edinburgh: Macdonald Publishers, 1983), 13.

²⁰⁶ The attempts to alter the Lundin family's ancient arms were not successful. Also see Frank Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), 184.

²⁰⁷ Anne MacVicar Grant is a notable Scottish poet and author. She was born in Glasgow, raised for a time in New York, before moving to Vermont, and then Scotland again in 1768. She was a mother of 12 children, 8 of whom survived to adulthood; she began her work on letters following the death of her husband and the need of her situation as a widowed mother. Her unique perspective looks both at life as a mother and as a female growing up in pre-revolutionary Northern America and then Scotland. Her critique and admiration of the Highland gender construct is explained by her mixed experience as an American living in Scotland who struggled to provide for her

reveal a mixed perspective on these gender roles. Grant recorded that from male occupations with fishing and hunting, “naturally extended the women's province both of labour and management. The care of the cattle was peculiarly theirs. Changing their residence so often as they did in summer, from one bothy or glen to another, gave a romantic peculiarity to their turn of thought and language.”²⁰⁸ Grant underscored the labor and management of the female with her capacity to control a house. The attempt to feminize the Highland mother as a romantic starkly contrasts with the realities of Scottish working life. Grant’s perspective engages both a foreign and native perspective, as a woman who must live within this system but was born outside of it. Her attempts to rectify the working female with the feminine desires of the ‘civilized’ world are indicative of the Highland gender threat. Not only were the tartan-clad warriors of the north a visual threat to the masculinity of uniformed soldier of the south, but women also challenged notions of female agency.

In an age of revolution, Highland women were of greater value to their homes because of their strength. Despite operating under a hierarchical system, the clans maintained a level of social and gender equality because each member of the community was valued as a contributor to the clan’s basic livelihood. Grant consistently attempted to undervalue the male position in Highland society.²⁰⁹ In one instance she argued “The men think they preserve dignity by this mode of management” and in another women’s “manner of life, in fact, wanted nothing but the shades of palm, the olives, the vines, and the fervid sun of the East, to resemble the patriarchal

children and herself after the death of her husband. The seizure of her family’s lands during the American Revolution by colonials may also explain her sympathy towards the Highlands following the Clearances.

²⁰⁸ The full excerpt for letter XXIV is available in appendix D. Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House,” in *Letters from the Mountains: Being the First Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807, vol. 2* (London: Longman & Co., 1807), 15.

²⁰⁹ Grant’s criticism of the Highland female’s productivity is lost on a more modern audience because her political background was in a much different state.

one.”²¹⁰ Grant cannot rectify her idea of the ‘housewife’ with the Highland one. Since her husband was a Scotsman and she was living in the Highlands while writing these pieces, it is reasonable to assume that her biases are based on an ingrained understanding of traditional gender roles based on her upbringing in New York. Her statements however that “women find a degree of power or consequence in having such an extensive department, which they would not willingly exchange for inglorious ease” reveal why Scottish gender relations threatened Lowland and English social constructs.²¹¹ Her letters preserve the distinct proclivity for gendered equality in the Highlands; while the Lowlands fought for equality with the English, the Highlanders already preserved a level of social equality.²¹² This belief system in hard work extended beyond southern associations of the female character with vulnerability and was integral to the later Highland females’ decisive role in maintaining their families against the quiet carnage of evictions. The dynamic of the matriarchy and patriarchy was critical to the Highland clan system. The patriarchy preserved order, the Highland quasi-government, and the protection of its people; the matriarchy preserved the ‘domestic’ sphere by engaging in hard labor and the traditional duties of motherhood.²¹³

From the onset of their union with men, women reserved a greater deal of respect and agency in the Highlands than elsewhere in the country. Highland marriage customs allowed young girls to enter into an informal marriage with the support of their clan. “Hand-fasting” was

²¹⁰ Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House,” 15.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² The coexistence of matriarchy and patriarchy in the Highlands at this time is interesting because once Scotland was fully assembled into Britain, women had to fight for recognition alongside men. Scotland was however more progressive in advocating for women’s rights, particularly in education with the acceptance of women into university programs.

²¹³ Grant’s letters show that the Highland method of separating gendered roles for maximum efficiency in such a harsh geography is foreign to those whose roots are not in the Highland tradition. Grant wrote “the men are now civilized in comparison to what they were, yet the custom of leaving the weight of every thing on the more helpless sex continues, and has produced this one good effect, that they are from this habit less helpless and dependent.” Rather than complement greater gendered equality, Grant saw female activity as a negative commentary on the Highland male’s capacities. See also Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House,” 15.

a well-regarded custom, referring initially to a contract between chiefs by which if one chief had a son and another a daughter, the two would live together for one year and a day, over time this practice extended throughout the clan. Following the completion of the contract the couples often joined in permanent marriage;²¹⁴ those unions, which had not produced an heir, were socially accepted as void.²¹⁵ While England and Wales had abolished such customs with Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act in 1753, the Scottish retention of such practices and its prevalence in the north among the clans underscored the greater expectations for gender equality provided by the Highlands.²¹⁶

The centrality of children to marriage and the notion of equality among the sexes and through the classes was engrained in Scottish maintenance of the clan.²¹⁷ The 'strange' nature of the Highland female-male and specifically wife-husband relationship extended beyond marriage into the rearing of children. Fosterage was practiced as a means of establishing inter-clan connections and a commitment between clan heirs and the clan members.²¹⁸ Highlanders successfully appropriated the emotional connection and protective sentiments associated with motherhood onto multiple members of the clan through this practice. Grant passionately argues for the quality of blood relations and clan loyalties prevalent throughout the Highlands despite the state of despair around the Clearances. She argues, "that the ties of blood bind stronger, and the duties of relationship are better understood in the Highlands, than anywhere else. I by no

²¹⁴ The system was largely successful and beneficial to clan relations—it avoided conflict over childless wives and ensured the direct line of succession for chiefs because he was able to remarry if all of his children passed.

²¹⁵ Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, 120.

²¹⁶ The unique approach to marriage was not limited to ordinary clansmen, Popes were willing to let priest marry unmarried women in Scotland in an attempt to unite the Celtic tradition with the Catholic. For more information on this subject please see Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, 24.

²¹⁷ Ian Finlay nicely argues in *Scotland* that "There is mutual pride: the clan's in the chief who embodies the family, its traditions, and its lands, the chief's in the well-being, health, and prosperity of his 'children.' Indeed, there is an actual blood relationship between them, though the link may lie far back." And this link is enough to establish an undying loyalty between chieftains and their clan. This interdependence of men, women, and children unified the clan against opposition and gave them the communal fortitude to oppose the English physically and ideologically. See also Ian Finlay, *Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 7.

²¹⁸ Adams, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, 120.

means except the Low country of Scotland. This too is not a reflected moral sense of duty, but the mere effect of honest habits and salutary prejudices.”²¹⁹ Fosterage promoted this system of interdependence and allegiance. Children “who are marched off to the glen as a discipline, to inure them early to hardiness and simplicity of life” were raised to be leaders regardless of their social position within the clan.²²⁰ Fosterage broke down the social barriers typical of the Lowlands and England. Gender was a unifying agent for the Highlands; women shared the role as mothers to raise workers while men focused on protecting them and raising them into warriors.

The Highlands threatened the British system because their unity and allegiances could not be rectified with English mentalities without destroying clan identities. Clan allegiances disregarded individual welfare, which had become a natural progression of industrial life in the Lowlands and in the rest of Britain. Grant argues,

’Tis a singular instance of the Almighty’s goodness, that, in these poor barren countries, from which he has withheld so many of the blessings he bestows on others, the few who possess any portion of wealth should be stimulated by those kindly propensities to diffuse it among their remote relations. These last, besides the habitual pride and indolence attending imagined high birth, have not, from education or situation, the means of procuring a livelihood, as in wealthy and commercial countries.²²¹

Despite Lowland attempts to solidify their religious faith and wealth by industry, the Highlands maintained greater salvation and prosperity because of the clan. The gendered relations that established unique clan attachments and mutual interests in clan preservation were a decisive aspect of the Highland rebellions.

²¹⁹ Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XLIII: To Miss Ourry,” in *Letters from the Mountains: Being the First Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, vol. 2 (London: Longman & Co., 1807), 27.

²²⁰ Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House,” 15.

²²¹ Grant, “Letter XLIII: To Miss Ourry,” 27.

Highland loyalties were rooted in the clans and in the land,²²² as Grants argues: “You always hear Highlanders talk of *countries*; but did I ever tell you what our countries are?... a country here means a habitable track, divided by rocks, mountains and narrow passes, from the adjacent countries, and inhabited by a particular clan.”²²³ The clan centered its loyalty and commitments around its own community. Inter-clan marriages protected alliances but the ultimate concern was the subsistence of the clan itself. The clan legacy was valued above familial legacy:

in places where only two or three miles of rocky eminence separate them, differ in looks, language, and manners, more than you can imagine possible...for bordering clans often live in bitter and jealous rivalry; and though individuals love, and sometimes marry each other, the general dislike continues. Different clans, in their collective capacity, form strict alliances with each other, and are cordial in their attachment; but they are those who live at a distance from each other, and cannot interfere about hunting, hill-pasture.²²⁴

Clans were willing to fight one another to protect their land. However clan allegiances evolved in 1715 and 1745 as, the national pride of the Highland clans to protect their loyal associations to the ‘rightful’ Stuart king decided their collective resistance against the foreign British threat.

The comforts of this system rivaled the established social orders expected in the south. The Battle of Culloden was an ode to the destruction of the ‘other.’ The forcible and harsh destruction of these *countries*, which posed a threat to the English system of order, was necessary for southern control of Empire. The reactions of the Highlanders in the face of these

²²² Finlay argues that the Highland male has “two traditional loyalties: the land and the clan...The Highlander’s land loyalty, in brief, is pride in the land because it is the ancient home of his race, and the fact that the poverty of the soil keeps him a poor man is a little softened by circumstances which make it easier for him to be a proud man. This feeling is deep-rooted and genuine, and not to be confused with sentimentality. Any plan for rehabilitation of the Highlands which ignores it would work against the grain.” The later Highland Clearances were the manifestation of this issue of rehabilitation; the Highland lands were not British and could not be rectified within the Empire without destroying the people on those lands. Seen in Finlay, *Scotland*, 5-6.

²²³ Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XXII: To Miss Jane Ewing,” in *Letters from the Mountains: Being the First Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, vol. 2 (London: Longman & Co., 1807), 14.

²²⁴ Grant, “Letter XXII: To Miss Jane Ewing,” 14.

‘improvements’ to their lands was decisive in determining the outlook of their position within the Union.

III. THE ’45 AND THE REVOLUTIONARY VOICE

In 1715 and again in 1745, men could leave their lands for battle because women were endowed with enough respect to take on the excess labor. The Jacobite mentality fulfilled clan gendered identities with women protecting the productivity of the land centered around the home and men physically fighting for the protection of land and family. This is especially interesting because those clans whose allegiances were deeply rooted in the Jacobite cause were the primary attacks for English looting. Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch recorded his fears as a child towards the British invasion of the Highlands, especially:

After the Battle of Culloden the cruelty of the soldiers made us fly from our homes; and the first night we went and drove all cows and sheep...we took our night’s lodgings, and pulled ling to make a fire and bed of, and we laid beside a little water that was at the bottom of two hills.²²⁵

Women had to protect their children and began their silent revolution against the British during the period of Jacobite Rebellions. Because female agency was undervalued in British society, the treatment of the Highland women by southern forces was particularly harsh. English and Lowland soldiers who captured ‘rebel bitches’ of the Highlands repeatedly raped them and forced them to watch the murder of their fathers, husbands, and sons.²²⁶ The Anglo-British agenda to nullify the worth of the Highland male utilized the female bodies as a means of control. By controlling the women, the British soldiers thought they controlled the fate of the Highlands.

²²⁵ Alistair Moffat, *The Highland Clans* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 104.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

As part of a larger process of imperialism,²²⁷ the Battle of Culloden symbolically nullified the worth of the Highland men. The clan was the defining, central relation and customary allegiance of the Highlanders. Mass graves marking each clan gave honor to the notion of fighting for the brotherhood and legacy of the clan. The carnage of the battle however left many men without identification for clan burial.²²⁸ Instead they were placed in ‘mixed clan’ heaps. The men fought for the rights of their families, the protection of their land, and their way of life, but the townspeople who flocked to bury the honorable dead were left without options for those without identification. Over 1000 Jacobite soldiers were buried on the battlefield. Their burial marks the inception of sweeping transformations imposed on the Highlands at the hands of aggressive British forces.

The loss of chiefs after Culloden is one explanation for why the patriarchal security of the clans fell to the constraints of the British landlord system and necessitated such a strong female reaction. The English and Lowlanders used their victory against the Highlanders to end the Jacobite revolutionary spirit by crudely disposing of clan legacies and larger clan identities with mass evictions.

IV. THE CLEARANCES AND THE LOSS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VOICE

The Clearances in the decades following Culloden were marked by the strong emergence of cottar²²⁹ rejection of imperial traditions with their refusal to accept the abject loss of their cultural kinship and heritage. The British attack on the unarmed Highland families forced a second wave of revolutionary behavior in the form of silent revolution.

²²⁷ Referring to the acts outlined in section II of Chapter Three.

²²⁸ Please see appendix E for relevant images.

²²⁹ Scottish is a term used to describe the peasant farmers of the Highlands.

The English tradition for landlordism officially broke the Highland clans, yet the people maintained their integrity to the clan based system despite the debasement of its value at the hands of their ‘countrymen.’ This silent revolution constituted the refusal of Highlanders to leave their lands in the aftermath of Culloden. Alexander Mackenzie reported from his travels across the Highlands the determination of these families to remain within their clans, and by that on their lands:

Some few families, principally cottars, refused to go in spite of every influence brought to bear upon them; and the treatment they afterwards received was cruel beyond belief. The houses, not only those who went, but of those who remained, were burnt and levelled to the ground...Stooks of corn and plots of unlifted potatoes could be seen on all sides, but man was gone. No voice could be heard.²³⁰

Landlords stripped Highlanders of their gendered identities. The imagery of corn, potatoes, crops unharvested, the absence of man, alongside the loss of the revolutionary voice highlights the emotional nature of the evictions.

The Clearances were a barren period: agriculture shifted to sheep farms, families were forced off of their ancestral lands, and Highland culture ceased to exist with landlord invasion and Westminster reforms. The landlords took away Scottish gendered agency and emasculated the familial patriarchy by removing its people from their homes. The men lost their recognition by class based on land possession as well as the capacity to secure their legacy through the passage of land to their heirs.

The Clearances threatened the patriarchy by reducing the power of Highland chiefs and the capacity for men to defend their families against the legal eviction of their families on the backlash of devastating defeat at Culloden. Mackenzie sympathizes with the Highland struggle

²³⁰ Alexander Mackenzie, “The Highland clearances: or, a strange return by the Highland chief’s for the fidelity of the clans: being an account of the Glengarry, Strathglass, Kintail...and other evictions in the Highlands since the Battle of Culloden: with an appendix on the Highland crofters,” in *Bristol Selected Pamphlets* (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1881), 3.

against the new British order, watching the Highland men, once revered, be silently taken away by over-empowered landowning women and their crews of officers and factors. According to Mackenzie's reports, the female landlord "Mrs Macdonell²³¹ and her factor determined to evict every crofter on her property, to make room for sheep."²³² The Highland men were reduced to racial, barbarian 'others' in the eyes of the Lowlanders and the British. Their lives were valued below animals and

In the spring of 1853 they were all served with summonses of removal, accompanied by a message that Sir John Macneil, Chairman of the Board of Supervision, had agreed to convey them to Australia. Their feelings were not considered worthy of the slightest consideration. They were not even asked whether they would prefer to follow their countrymen to America and Canada... The people, however, had no alternative but to accept any offer made to them. They could not get an inch of land on any of the neighboring estates, and any one who would give them a night's shelter was threatened with eviction themselves.²³³

The English ruined the clan system by undermining the interdependent relationships of clansmen and their unified resistance—like in Glencoe, the clans were forced to submit and turn against each other for survival. The situation was helpless. Legally the clan-less Highlanders had no claim to lands now being gradually taken over by landlords.

Many Highlanders were forced into emigration or chose to leave their destitution behind for the promise of renewed kin relations and opportunities abroad within the burgeoning network of trade established by Union. Those who remained were treated without humanity. Mackenzie reports "Those who refused to go aboard the *Sillery*²³⁴ were in hiding among the rocks and the

²³¹ Mackenzie's focus on Mrs. Macdonell as the source of this particular interaction with the evictions is significant as her female presence augments the degradation of the Highland male as a figure of patriarchal power. While the Highlands utilized the matriarchy alongside the patriarchy, the chieftain was the male figurehead who was invested in the welfare of each of his dependents. The loss of the chieftain to the female emphasized the symbolic death of Highland clan tradition.

²³² Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances," 3.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ The *Sillery* refers to the ship hired by Macdonell to convey the displaced Highlanders to Australia. Mackenzie viewed the removal of any agency on the part of the Highlanders for where they would emigrate or how they would

caves, while their friends were packed off like so many African slaves to the Cuban market.”²³⁵ Mackenzie draws the parallel of the cottar class to slaves in the market; British interests were in securing an anglicized image of a nation thereby marginalizing the worth of Scotsmen. By reducing Highlanders to the status of slaves, Lowland missionaries could justify their Christian work in the Highlands as a necessary means of safeguarding Scottish humanity. The Highlands became the ‘other,’ a separate race of men whose barbarian qualities made them easily disposable. Those cottars who chose to remain on their land and refused to let landlord evictions win, established a new method of resistance to the Anglo-Empire’s imperial motives cloaked in incorporating Union.

The retention of Highland national pride in the tenuous time surrounding the Clearances was critical to the survival of Scottish nationhood. The virility of the Highland men was taken by the landlords without the national backing or solidarity of the clan to bolster support against the encroachment of British forces on their lives. Men were given no options to protect their family as their capacity to provide, to pass on their property to their children, and to make a living on the lands of their ancestors was legally stripped from them.

Husbands were defined by their role in the patriarchy as providers:

he delights in his children from their birth, without nursing them like an old woman; judicious and attentive in what regards out-door management, but totally unconcerned as to what passes within, considering, like a true Highlander, household affairs as entirely the female province; and the duties of his sacred function as the only object, beyond his family, deserving of serious regard.²³⁶

Meanwhile wives were expected to pay closer attention to the domestic details associated with rearing children. With the debasement of ostensible clanships following Culloden, the retention

emigrate as a major affront to Highland pride. This forced removal also verifies the overarching symbolic gesture of landlord suppression of the Highland male.

²³⁵ Mackenzie, “The Highland clearances,” 3.

²³⁶ Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XXXVI: To Miss Ourry,” in *Letters from the Mountains: Being the First Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, vol. 2 (London: Longman & Co., 1807), 22.

of such customary duties within the private sphere was critical to the connection of the Highland male to his children. As their guardian and teacher, the capacity for a Highland male to act accordingly within the domestic and public sphere as the patriarch constituted a major asset to the Highland tradition.

Symbolically the landlords took from Highland men their means for familial life and industry. John Macduglad, an ill ailing fisherman of 50 years with a wife and two sons ill with smallpox was compelled by Macdonell to board the *Sillery* after the forced eviction of his family. Because of his family's weak health they chose not to board, their home was torn down, they were left exposed to the elements, their temporary shelters destroyed within less than a week's time by the factor and his officers.²³⁷ John Mackinnion, a cottar of 44 years old, was turned out along with his pregnant wife. She delivered the child prematurely, four days after their eviction, the loss of the child also brought on consumption, from which she was not able to recover given their inadequate conditions for shelter or sustenance.²³⁸ These accounts highlight the loss of male virility both symbolically and literally. Given these conditions men could not sustain their families; children and wives were lost to disease while the fathers were weak of health rendering them unable to secure their lineage. With this loss of virility however there was newfound resilience. The willingness of these men to remain on their land despite the lack of any future, the refusal to leave their homeland in the hand of 'foreigners,' and the silent insurrection of continually building up shelter on the ruins of their property despite the constant barrage of officers against them—all constituted the new era of silent revolution.

Their struggle enabled those families that survived the Clearances to retain their sense of Highland pride and created a space for women to assert their public voice as the matriarchs of a

²³⁷ Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances," 4-5.

²³⁸ Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances," 5-6.

struggling community. The female matriarchs of the Highland clans were forced into a new social space. They were removed from their lands and their domestic spheres of power; however they used their bodies as agents of preservation. While men were forced off the land and into other occupations, the women utilized their domesticity alongside their Highland customs to secure the economic and social value of the land for the Highland people.²³⁹ The invasion of landlordism into the Highlands forced a re-appropriation of gender against the British state by means of female revolt. Men retracted to the silent era of revolution while women ascended to it. Women used their bodies to challenge the new order by contradicting the traditional understandings of female vulnerability in British society.

V. THE HIGHLAND FEMALE'S VOICE

The female position was not limited by the Clearances to the stereotyped image of helpless maiden unable to defend herself without male protection. Instead women used their bodies in any way that they could to resist the encroachment of Anglo-British culture onto Highland territory. Mackenzie records in his travels the story of female strength specifically embodied by Elizabeth Gillies, a widow of 60 years old:

Widow Gillies was sitting inside her house when the factor and officers arrived. They ordered her to remove herself and effects instantly, as they were, they said, to pull down her house! She asked them where she would remove to, but the factor would give no answer, but continued insisting on her leaving the house. This she at last positively refused. Two men then took hold of her, and tried to pull her out by force, but she sat down beside the fire and would not move and inch...she struggled hard, seized hold of

²³⁹ Iain Robertson argues land served socially within the clan system “to stabilise a class structure to verify mutual obligations’ and was passed ‘from proprietor to tacksman...to subtenant...to cottar or servant.’ Each retained some land but passed the rest on to ensure rent and service and as a function of kinship relations.” By stripping the Highlanders of their land, the Clearances exacerbated the movement to destroy clan-based relations in the north, thereby securing a dominant Anglo-British culture throughout the expanding Empire. For Robertson’s argument in full please see, Iain J.M. Robertson, “The role of women in social protest in the Highlands of Scotland, c. 1880-1939,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 23 (1997): 192.

every post or stone within her reach, taking a death grasp of them to keep possession. But the officers were too many and too cruel for her.²⁴⁰

Gillies did not have the power to fend off the officers and the factor, but she utilized her body as a seemingly passive weapon to mark her active refutation of Union's effects on Scotland. Her determination to remain by the fire and within her house is coded as a female instinct to protect the domestic sphere of Scottish society. The deeper meaning lies in the protection of her heritage, her ideals, and her intellect as a female, maintaining a space in which the next generations of Highlanders could learn the tradition for independence left behind by her generation.

The late eighteenth through the nineteenth century was marked by a rising number of spinsters. With the rising number of evictions and the loss of agricultural work, the men who left the Highlands for opportunities abroad far outweighed their female counterparts. The value of spinsters within a family of any rank was low; those from well-off families often assumed a place within the home as servants in everything but name.²⁴¹

Records from Inverness indicate that in 1753, 20 per cent of the town's largest houses were owned or rented by women.²⁴² This network was necessary because despite the undertones of a matriarchy, the dependent female was not valued in Highland culture. Widows who had no chance of remarriage were resented as a burden for their children. Sons and daughters had to reappropriate funds for their families to support their mothers. Despite these issues with gender, the presence of the widows and spinsters in the Highlands helped stimulate the economy, which thereby offered windows towards the economic gains promised by Union. Many of these

²⁴⁰ Mackenzie, "The Highland clearances," 7.

²⁴¹ Stana Nenadic, "Experience and Expectations in the Transformation of the Highland Gentlewoman, 1680 to 1820," *The Scottish Historical Review* 80 (2001): 210.

²⁴² Stana Nenadic argues that the credit was more accessible in these urban areas and provided a network of female supporters. Further statistics and reports on female ownership available in Nenadic, "Experience and Expectations," 210.

women, like the notable writer Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, took control of their situation by recording their experiences and visions of the Highlands thereby adding to the cultural space for nationalism.

While women were engaged in the larger attempts to reform Scotland, their involvement was still tenuous because of the prevailing British notions of female vulnerability. As such women were excluded from politics; however there was a movement in 1872 to bring widows and spinsters into political debates. At the Edinburgh Town Council, the decision over whether to petition Parliament to access Mr Jacob Bright's Women Suffrage Bill was debated among three men: "Bailie Bain—I have no objection to the motion if it be simply that widows and spinsters who are heads of families, and who have proper qualification, shall be admitted to the franchise," seconded by Mr. Sutherland, "Mr Malcolm—I cannot agree to it even in that shape. I look upon the movement as a step towards manhood suffrage, which, from its very nature, must exclude women; and better keep them out than put them out," the motion was ultimately agreed to.²⁴³ This debate was in favor of women, which shows the overall Highland tradition towards equality; however, Mr. Malcolm represents the class and gender biases of the Lowlands. Because the debate focuses on spinsters and widows it is evident that depending on their husband or family's status, many were valued as having more constructive opinions than lower class males. These notions do not win out in the Highlands but they are significant in showing Scottish inclinations towards inclusion and equality.

The targeted attack on the Highland clan male appropriated female space for the preservation of a unique Highland culture at both the upper and lower echelons of society. Women utilized the supposed vulnerability of their sex as a mechanism for strength—women tied themselves to the land and the safety of their family. When officers struck down men,

²⁴³ "Women Suffrage," *John o'Groat Journal*, April 4, 1872.

women rushed out to plead for the mercy of their families. They utilized their femininity in gaining modest sympathy in the form of time, removing their family from the site of destruction and allowing greater hope for survival. Drawing from this preservation, women essentially preserved male virility by maintaining their domesticity and motherhood and securing the familial lineage and presence on the land. Their silent revolution against British invasion through the use of their bodies gradually transferred into the politics. Women joined societies to advocate for the protection of their culture and their gender; in doing so women actively sought a greater role in the Empire and established the female voice in the later sociopolitical rebellion.

VI. EFFEMINATE LOWLANDS APPROPRIATE HIGHLAND-SCOTTISH MASCULINE CULTURE AS THEIR OWN

The mythic appropriation of extreme masculinity on the Highland image was a Lowland construction of Scotsmen. Meanwhile the Highland men were dealing with the legitimate loss of their voice. This issue refers to the artistic period surrounding the Clearances and the ironic juxtaposition of artistic renditions of Scottish masculinity against the debasement of it by landlords which created an interesting social dynamic.

The literary culture surrounding the works of Walter Scott (1814-1820s), Margaret Oliphant (1850s-1880s), and Robert Louis Stevenson (1870-1890s), praised the Scottish Highland Jacobite in his fight against the British. The visual interpretations of their struggles by Henry Raeburn (1750s-1820s), James Guthrie (1850s-1930s), and Margaret Macdonald (1890s), complemented the growing revival of Scottish Highland culture of tartan clad Jacobites.²⁴⁴ Each

²⁴⁴ Maureen Martin reads the projection of Highland masculinity onto the literary and artistic canvas as an attempt to transport Scottish nationalism into a visible narrative given the loss of Scotland's Parliament. See Martin's argument in full in Maureen Martin, *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009).

artist developed the image of the Scotsman into the image of the dignified Highland Jacobite, praising their exploits as a nationalistic pride while affirming ties to the Empire.²⁴⁵

The artists drew their inspiration from the Highlands but were themselves members of the Lowlands, working out of urban centers like Edinburgh, these artists manipulated the mythic hero for the benefit of Lowland pride rather than any national cohesion. The works were often received with more popular support among those who failed to represent any ties with the heritage of Scottish nationalism—specifically Englishmen and lords, who adopted the Scottish narrative to placate the fear of their declining masculinity in the commercialized culture. While the Highland male struggled with his gender identity, the Lowland artistic assumption of masculinized Highland tradition emerged as a new form of nationalism. This process enabled the formation of a solid understanding of Scotland within the Empire.

The emerging Highland gentlewoman of the nineteenth century, educated in the urban centers, yet strongly drawn to the roots of Highland tradition, was connected with such artistic endeavors. In this sense, Lowland female perspectives largely influenced the preservation of the Highland male.²⁴⁶ The female influence on narratives of Highland masculinity is critical in

²⁴⁵ Scotsmen were conversely in the height of their troubles, the discovery of the male voice was not seen until the later nineteenth century with the political development of the Highland Land League as an active method of legally minimizing landlord abuses.

²⁴⁶ Stana Nenadic uses the example of Campbell of Barcaldine. In the seventeenth century, the daughters of the laird were raised within the clan and their daily routines were focused on the maintenance of their clan. By the nineteenth century, the daughters of the laird were raised in Edinburgh, educated in English, and retained little of their Gaelic familial ties to the Highlands. Nenadic argues “despite her detachment from the real culture, the day-to-day work and the topography of the Highlands, she still regarded herself as a ‘Highland Gentlewoman.’ Her whole identity revolved around an imaginative construction of an idealised Gaelic culture and a real preoccupation with family history and the ownership of land and houses in the Highland counties.” This attachment was necessary however for the appropriation of Highland culture onto broader Scottish national identities. Because these women identified ancestrally with the Highlands, they were emotionally vested in seeing the continuation of their familial legacy. Without these females occupying both spheres as Lowland elites and as Highland gentlewomen, the transfer of Highland culture as a vestige of loyalty and greatness may have been lost as a mere story rather than taking on a more tangible past. These women made their versions of the romantic history personal and therefore the romantic picture that was produced in the aftermath of Culloden had greater authority as a heroic national symbol. For further information please see Nenadic, “Experience and Expectations,” 202.

understanding the dependence of the male-female dynamic in the national narrative of Scottish history.

The loss of masculinity among the Highland men was paralleled by a sudden encroachment of Lowland and English effeminate culture into the north. In 1886, John Murdoch juxtaposed the traditional notions of Highland men with the subsequent degradation of the mutually beneficent, loyal clan culture to English luxuries. Prior to Culloden,

The people of The Highlands grew up into fine men and women, remarkable for their strength, health, and activity. They lived mostly on the produce of their own mountains, glens, straths, and isles. Barley-meal, rye-meal, oat-meal, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, mutton, beef, fish, venison, and so forth, fed them, and the wool, the flax, and the hides, worked up by their own hands covered them.²⁴⁷

Genteel conditions perforated the more 'elite' sphere of the clans while industry removed men from their natural boundaries and into factories. The Duke of Argyll, a man who had been raised as a Highlander but aligned himself with the English was an easy example for John Murdoch's criticisms of this progression, pointing out that,

the gentry who conformed to the fashions of Edinburgh, London, and Paris, set before the people what were considered more 'civilized' ways of living; and now the constitutions, which were built up on home-grown food, are being undermined by the use of articles recommended by their 'superiors.'²⁴⁸

The commercialized society of the south was infiltrated by the luxuries of trade after Union. Lowlanders and elites were more concerned with global fashions than their physical constitutions.

The Englishman was effeminate when compared to the Scotsmen during the period of Jacobite unrest; the control of the Highlanders under these Englishmen served to contradict the

²⁴⁷ John Murdoch, "Crofter revolt against landlordism," in *LSE Pamphlets* (Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette, 1886), 35.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

masculine understanding of the Highlands.²⁴⁹ Before their culture was under threat, the Highland Scot may have never realized the strength of his disposition against the Englishman. In the decades following Culloden however, the Highland male had to confront the helplessness of his situation while Lowland artists became preoccupied with the romanticized Highland Jacobite.

VII. HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE AND THE SOCIOPOLITICAL REBELLION

The later end of the Clearances saw an emergence of male actors on the political stage, affirming their voices on the tails of the cultural and national narrative derived from female preservation of the land.

The Highland Land Wars or Crofters' Wars began in 1882 with the 'Battle of the Braes' on the Isle of Skye—it was the collective movement of crofters against their landlord over longstanding issues with grazing pastures. When police arrived to serve those crofters who had not paid for the use of the pastures with a letter of eviction, the policemen were attacked by men, women, and children. The crofters of Braes continued to use the pastures despite law orders and this form of protest was adopted across the Highlands. The Crofters' Wars were mildly successful with Parliament's passing of the Crofters' Holdings Act. The Act established the Crofters Commission and established security of tenure. However, Highland concerns were focused on gaining more land for crofters and the period of non-violent political campaigns continued. The crofters oriented their class and ancestral ideologies against landlords as a means of establishing their dissent and fought for their rights through political channels. These organizations are prime examples of the shift from silent rebellion into a sociopolitical rebellious

²⁴⁹ Lynn Abrams argues in "The Might Scot" that Scotland "'could be narrated as Britain's masculine heartland' at a time when English masculinity, caricatured here as resting upon the refinement and self-restraint of the commercial world and therefore emasculated, was under pressure." Abrams' analysis of the southern projection of masculinity onto the Highlands in the early period of Scottish cultural revival is an interesting commentary on the Scottish development within Union. See also Abrams, "The Mighty Scot," 634.

stage. While the movement is referred to as a war, the crofters utilized political avenues in achieving results.

The objectives of the Highland Land League²⁵⁰ (HLL) established in the 1880s focused on this new sociopolitical rebellion. The HLL as reported in September 1886, justified the land seizures by the cottars as a return to the ‘moral economy’ typically stressed by female revolutionaries. Men and women organized in the HLL used the entrance of Highlanders into British politics as the new methodology for seeking the restoration of hereditary rights: “1st. The restoration of the people of the land, and of the right to distribute, to value, and to regulate the possession of the same. 2nd. The prevention of eviction and depopulation.”²⁵¹ Their main objective was the ancestral right of Highlanders to their clan lands and the need to protect that right. Around this political endeavor, Lowland debates for English recognition of Scottish equality within the Empire, extended into the Highlands. Equality was the main message of the HLL as it sought a return to the traditional Highland values being extolled by Lowlanders. In light of this demand for equality, the fourth right was articulated as “The doing away with all game, forest, and fishing monopolies, and class privileges.”²⁵²

The HLL also sought a return to a more representative Scottish judiciary. The organization recognized the privileges and biases of the courts, which were more interested in protecting the rights of the landlord than the crofter: “5th. The free and fair administration of justice in the Highlands, by men fully versed in the language of the country. 6th. The free and full representation of the manhood of each nation in its own proper Parliament, and at all country and

²⁵⁰ The Highland Land League was a political organization in the Highlands during the 1880s. The organization was successful in electing Members of Parliament who were sympathetic the hardships faced by crofters at the hands of their landlords. It also organized the collective resistance of landlords with rent strikes and land occupations. The majority of its members were drawn from crofters, cottars, and squatters living in the Highlands. They fought under the slogan “The people are mightier than a lord.”

²⁵¹ Murdoch, “The Crofter revolt against landlordism,” 54.

²⁵² Ibid.

parish boards.”²⁵³ The attempt to bring the political process back into Scotland is indicative of not only the sociopolitical revolution but also the greater interest of Highlanders in asserting themselves within the Empire as partners. The cultural focus of these legislative measures further asserts the Scottish cultural independence:

7th. The cherishing of the spirit of the people, so that, casting off all fear of man, they will work, shoulder to shoulder, so as to have their opinions embodied in the laws of their country, and their right made good to all that was meant to be theirs on the land with the Lord their God gave them... This is the true expression of the measure of manhood registered; and the ring of utterances from all parts of the Highlands left no doubt that whatever timid editors and others may do or say, the people of the Highland, with a large accession through a Celtic League, of moral and material force, mean no timid policy from henceforth.²⁵⁴

The HLL managed to unify its cultural prerogative to independence with its stake in the Union as a partner. Strategically the Highlands placed their cultural concerns alongside their economic ones. By shifting their debate towards cultural independence in a political forum, the Highlands protected their place in Union beyond the original notion of ‘colonial appendage.’ The civility of this shift allowed a unification of Highland and Lowland interests towards safeguarding their now mutual identity and advocating for recognition within the Empire.

While the HLL stressed the male nature of their defense, female participation in the League was prevalent throughout the Highlands. The nature of female interactions in such revolutionary tactics is debated in terms of its gendered meaning. The ‘moral economy’ was seen as a largely female occupation, focused on food riots and resistance to the Clearances; the land seizures of the 1880s were coded as male demonstrations of active warfare against the tyrannical landlord presence.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ There are a number of historians who argue the female involvement in rebellion against the landlords was traditionally feminine. Iain Robertson outlines in his work the arguments of a few historians who demonstrate this debate. Logue and Withers argue “their reaction was consistent with the role of women in other periods of pre-

Female insurrection did however take on the form of traditionally masculine behavior during their involvement with the HLL and Crofters' Wars. In 1882 at Braes, Skye, a Sheriff's Officer was reportedly stripped naked by a woman who was attempting to prevent officers from serving of writs preventing the seizure of land.²⁵⁶ This action exposed the officer in a way that made his sexuality vulnerable to a Highland woman despite his apparent superior status as a male and officer of the law. In Skye, at Lynedale in 1892, a Sheriff's Officer was forced to abandon his orders while attempting to seize goods to pay for arrears of rent, as he was attacked by a mob of women and children wielding stones and dirt: "I noticed Mackinnon's wife going towards the top of a small hillock...and immediately...began to shout...for assistance...I heard the sounding of trumpets...Shortly after...I noticed a crowd of women and children coming from all directions to Mackinnon's house."²⁵⁷ Again in 1883, a mob of women and children in Stenscholl, Skye banded together against the Sheriff's Officer. They prevented him from serving writs against men who had seized land on Staffin Island.²⁵⁸ In that event six women were charged with deforcement, found guilty, and fined; their fines were paid by public donation.²⁵⁹ These events are indicative of public support of female participation in revolutionary events.

The intense and constant presence of women supporting their husbands in fights, acting independently, and garnering the respect of their townspeople was substantial because they utilized their aggression alongside their femininity to oppose landlords and officers.²⁶⁰ By

industrial protest, a reaction stemming perhaps from the central place of women in the peasant domestic economy." Young and Hamish Henderson argue that the ancient Celtic traditions of the Highland society gave women indirect power. Thomis and Grimett argue that women were immune to arrest and violence because of their femininity. As in Robertson, "The role of women in social protest," 194.

²⁵⁶ Robertson, "The role of women in social protest," 195.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Robertson draws out that these events, taken together, demonstrate that women worked alongside men in defending what they believed to be a customary right to their land. Even as protests developed and transformed,

involving children, women redefined the role of the mother as a teacher to include the tactics of warfare previously resigned to men during the period of clanship. Women took control of their domestic femininity by molding it with their increasingly powerful role in securing the home.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Gendered relations in the Scottish Highlands are indicative of a larger development of the Scottish position within Empire. The success of national unification we saw in the 1715 Rebellion reemerges in this new era of sociopolitical development. Scottish female initiative was decisive in continuing the debate around Union versus partnership. Women preserved the narrative of English oppression versus Scottish resistance and in doing so preserved a unique Highland identity. Lowland participation in this silent rebellion as intellectuals, appropriating the masculine heritage of the north onto their aims of verifying a Scottish partnership in Empire was critical to the duality of the partnership and independence movement. While gendered concerns do not manifest in the Scottish debate for Union as overtly as economics or religions does, gender is necessary to the micro shifts that developed between arguments for independence versus arguments for partnership in the nineteenth century. Gender was a decisive element of Scotland's progression from physical rebellion in the Jacobite era to silent rebellion with the Clearances and sociopolitical rebellion with the HLL. The narrow debate over independence versus partnership is hinged on Scotland's transformation within the Empire as a result of these rebellions.

women's constant presence alongside men was critical to national identity. See also Robertson, "The role of women in social protest," 195.

CONCLUSION

James VI unified the Scottish and English crowns on March 24, 1603. In 1688, the two sovereign nations banded together to remove the Catholic King James from the throne and replace him with Protestants, William and Mary. The two states finally united into a single kingdom with the Act of Union in 1707. English fulfillment of the Act of Union was highly contested throughout Scotland and erupted in mass insurrection against the British state in 1715. In 1745, the Scottish Highland and Lowlands drew a line between their borders; the Highlanders rallied against Bonnie Prince Charles' rebellion while the Lowlanders joined the British army and began the process of Highland 'improvements.'

In September of 2014, the Scottish nation will once again be faced with the question of Union in the form of a referendum. The vote will determine Scotland's place in Union: as a partner or as an independent nation. The debate has not softened with time, the issue of Union versus independence is intensely personal on both the Scottish and British side of the question, making it contemporarily an emotional discussion with deep familial roots through the Jacobite Rebellions and initial calls for Union. Contemporary Scottish poet, Alan Bissett conveys the remaining ambiguitiesq between Scottish national pride and Scottish national needs in his poem, 'The Pride of Lions':

and the newspaper said, 'We are proud to be Scottish, but we must ask the difficult questions.'

and the Laird said, 'This family's proud to be Scottish, but but what about our right of succession?'

and the Rangers fan said, 'We're all proud to be Scottish, but if you hate Alex Salmond clap your hands!' (clap clap)

and the Archbishop said, 'I am proud to be Scottish, but do what the Catholic Church demands.'

and the Tories said, 'We are proud to be Scottish, but our Great British Empire would be lost.'

and Labour said, 'We are proud to be Scottish, but the SNP must be beaten at all costs.'

and the Lib Dems said, 'We are proud to be Scottish, but we agree! We probably agree!'

and a socialist said, 'I am proud to be Scottish, but we can't abandon England to the elites.'

and the intellectual said, 'I'm not proud to be Scottish. Beneath every nationalism it is dark.'

and the soldier said, 'I am proud to be Scottish, but I would die for the Union Jack.'

and the young woman said, 'I am proud to be Scottish, but I loved the London Olympics.'

and the old man said, 'I am proud to be Scottish, but I'm tired, and it's too optimistic.'

and the young man said, 'Aye, I'm proud to be Scottish, but whaur's the money gonnay come fay? Eh?'

as an old woman, in silence, shuffled to the booth in the hope of a better country.²⁶¹

Scotland is currently a divided country while Britain is a divided nation. The newspapers are dealing with the dilemma of Scottish national culture versus the British-based standard of living expected by Scotsmen. The Laird falls back on their Scottish heritage but their claims to the land remain tenuous without the backing of the crown. Alex Salmond has become a champion for Scottish independence; yet newspapers, bloggers, and general opinion sees his zealous campaign

²⁶¹ Alan Bissett, "Pride of Lions" in *National Collective: Artists and Creatives for Scottish Independence* (2012), accessed February 27, 2014, <http://nationalcollective.com/2012/11/12/poem-pride-of-lions/>.

as desperate rather than practical.²⁶² The Archbishop retains his occupational allegiances, yet Scotland's religious affiliations are growing less and less pertinent to the public debate as Scotland's 2011 National Census reveals that the national religion was 'no religion.'²⁶³ The Tories believe in the Scottish participation in a greater Empire and the success of Scotland because of that partnership. Labour has dealt with hardships under British rule, their interests are specific to class, and focuses more on the long term economic issues of independence than cultural desires for it. Liberal democrats advocate for independence because it is their agenda as liberals to fight for Scottish independence. Soldiers have found their place by fighting for Empire and are now asked to abandon their national allegiances for their ancestral ones. The younger generation is increasingly siding with independence with 71 percent of 10 to 14 year olds stating their identity as 'Scottish only'; however, with a lack of experience how can their vote be trusted or counted?²⁶⁴ Older generations' concerns with long term economic issues are less imminent than those in their middle ages raising families. Bissett describes the old woman shuffle to the booth "in the hope of a better country" but never describes what that better country is. For many Scotsmen, Englishmen, Northern Irishmen, and Welshmen, I believe the answer to that question is far from resolution. The themes of early Scottish shifts over independence versus assertions of equality and partnership within the Empire are ever present. The narrow debate remains and motivations for and against have become even more tenuous as the

²⁶² For relevant news reports see also James Cusick, "Scottish independence: With six months to go, can Alex Salmond's plans pass the five tests of roadworthiness?," *The Independent*, March 17, 2014; David Clegg, "Scottish Independence: Alex Salmond accuses BBC of bias after EU membership showdown on Andrew Marr show," *The Daily Record*, March 17, 2014; Martin Kettle, "Alex Salmond and co are acting like spoilt children," *The Guardian*, February 19, 2014.

²⁶³ 'Roman Catholic' was the most common answer for 'Other identity only' with 36 percent of the population. The 'Church of Scotland' was the most common answer for 'Scottish and British identities only' with 44 percent of the population. See in "Census 2011: Detailed characteristics on Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion in Scotland—Release 3A," February 27, 2014, <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/news/census-2011-detailed-characteristics-ethnicity-identity-language-and-religion-scotland-%E2%80%933A>.

²⁶⁴ "Census 2011—Release 3A."

referendum draws near. Of the four decisive factors in Scottish participation within Union from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, economics has persisted as a critical focal point for Union debaters. ‘It’s the economy, stupid’ is a common phrase titling these debates and the popular concerns for independence.²⁶⁵ While independence may be a cultural interest for Scotsmen, the economic insecurity it may bring offers conclusive reasons for why Scotsmen should not support the referendum in 2014. According to census data, “of the 4.0 million people in Scotland aged between 16 and 74, 69 per cent (2.7 million) were economically active (either working or looking for work). The proportions of economically active males and females were 74 per cent and 64 per cent respectively.”²⁶⁶

At the forefront of the issue remains the key debate from the Scottish side in favor of a monetary union versus English assertions of full, incorporating Union. The divide pushes Scotland beyond cultural independence and into economic independence. Like 1707, the Scottish people see the Union as a secure forum for their standard of lives and the issues surrounding the referendum coalesce around this central issue.

Scottish news outlets report leading credit rating agency, Standard and Poor’s, findings that the economic issues would be “significant but not unsurpassable.”²⁶⁷ The country would expect high levels of public debt at the onset of independence yet gradually shift into a growth period “from all the attributes of an investment grade sovereign credit characterised by its wealthy economy, high-quality human capital, flexible product and labour markets and transparent

²⁶⁵ For relevant news articles please see Philip Inman, “Independent Scottish economy viable but could be slow at first, says S&P,” *The Guardian*, February 27, 2014; Simon Johnson, “Prospect of independence already damaging Scottish economy, country’s top businessmen say,” *The Telegraph*, February 26, 2014; Mark McLaughlin, “Scottish independence: Business support is split,” *The Scotsman*, March 18, 2014.

²⁶⁶ “2011 Census: Key Results on Education and Labour Market in Scotland - Release 2B,” in *National Records of Scotland*, (November 14, 2014),

<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2b/StatsBulletin2B.pdf>.

²⁶⁷ Michael Settle, “Economic issues ‘not unsurpassable’,” *Herald Scotland*, February, 28 2014.

institutions.”²⁶⁸ Similar to the immediate economic issues confronting Union in 1707, the recent banking crash has rendered the economic security of the British Empire less immutable than before. Moving forward, the Scottish presence in global markets combined with a GDP only slightly below New Zealand’s offers a level field for a developed Scottish economy and financial system capable of floating its own currency.²⁶⁹

Prior to Union in 1707, Scotland invested heavily in the Darien Scheme, only to have it backfire and result in catastrophic losses for the Lowlands of Scotland. In the modern day, with the absence of clans, the Scottish country is more level in its mutual dependence on a larger, global economy capable of sustaining the population. The loss of the Union raises red flags concerning potential job losses. However, Standard and Poor’s investigation reveals that current concerns over Scottish dependence on North Sea oil are over-exaggerated. Dominant sectors are held as accounting for 25 per cent of the GDP, while North Sea oil only accounts for 16 per cent.²⁷⁰ The converse loss of businesses to England would be matched over time by new business entry into Scotland given the greater government flexibility. But that is only one of many mixed perspectives.

United Kingdom’s *Telegraph* reports sustained and important losses to the Scottish economy if the referendum passes. Pooling their information from three Scottish businessmen, the *Telegraph*’s Simon Johnson reports that while one business describes itself as “a very patriotic Scottish family company,” the insecurity of an independent Scottish economy would force relocation south.²⁷¹ The global market appears threatened by this account as well. Rupert

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Inman, “Independent Scottish economy viable.”

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Simon Johnson, “Prospect of independence already damaging Scottish economy, country’s top businessmen say: Business leaders speak out ahead of publication of reports by Standard Life and RBS that are expected to highlight the risks of independence,” *The Telegraph*, February 26, 2014.

Soames, the group chief executive of energy giant Aggreko, argued his continued access to international capital markets is hinged on a wide spread disbelief among investors that the referendum will pass.²⁷² Again, Englishmen appear less concerned about the economy for their version of the British Empire.

Winston Churchill's grandson prefers the new currency option laid out for Scottish independence because the option of sharing the pound "would be the worst possible outcome."²⁷³ Smaller companies run by men like Jim McColl, chief executive of engineering firm Clyde Blowers, see the more optimistic side of the equation. With employees spread across Scotland, London, and the southeast, McColl argues the employee dilemmas are markedly different and require the attention of different parliaments. The only campaign offering real alternatives for Scottish workers is the 'Yes' on referendum campaign.

Based on the varying news reports, the issues of economy are still rampant and the same themes of English versus Scottish opinions persist. Scotland continues to see options in either having a monetary union or its own currency; those who believe in Standard and Poor's reports as well as the vitality of the Scottish markets overseas have cause for referendum. Those larger companies who depend on the British-branded global market see their participation in the Union as an economic one. The loss of Union would cause extreme economic troubles and force the loss of Scottish businesses to Britain.

The religious conversation has persisted in less depth but its absence is just as pertinent to modern debates for and against Union as its presence was in 1707. According to the 2011 census data, over half of the Scottish population stated their religion as Christian.²⁷⁴ Of that number, 32

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Johnson, "Prospect of independence already damaging Scottish economy," *The Telegraph*.

²⁷⁴ Reflects 54 per cent of the population. This is an 11 per cent drop since the previous census report in 2001. Those identifying as 'no religion' made up 37 per cent of the population, an increase of nine per cent since 2001. As

per cent stated they belonged to the Church of Scotland and 16 per cent identified with the Roman Catholic Church.²⁷⁵ The lack of a religious quasi-government is checked however by the return of Parliament to Scotland.

The Scotland Act of 1998 established a Scottish Parliament as a devolved legislature. The shift from sole Parliament at Westminster to Parliament in Edinburgh marks the return of a governing power to the centerfold of Scottish affairs. With the placement of a secure unit for governance in Scotland's capital city, the population no longer depends upon an independent religious affiliation as a means of securing themselves against the typical 'colonial appendage' status. Interestingly the question of religion segues into the question of gender relations as census data reveals women were more inclined than men to identify with the Church. Women are again retaining the cultural affiliations of Scottish heritage through religious associations.

The gendered control of national identity seen during the Highland clearances was strongly situated around the issues of culture. Scotland's exposure to the global market through Union enabled its recognition and assertion of partnership within Empire by culturally expanding through trade and emigration. In 2011, the proportion of foreign immigrants in Scotland is significantly greater than the initial Union period. Of those minority ethnic groups within Scotland, 34 per cent believe to have some Scottish identity. This number is complimented by the 62 per cent of the total population identifying as "Scottish identity only."²⁷⁶ A staggeringly low percentage of the population identified as having a British-only national identity. An additional two per cent of the population identified as English alongside another two per cent

seen in "2011 Census: Key Results on Population, Ethnicity, Identity, Language, Religion, Health, Housing and Accommodation in Scotland - Release 2A," in *National Records of Scotland*, (September 26, 2013), <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2a/StatsBulletin2A.pdf>.

²⁷⁵ "2011 Census—Release 2A."

²⁷⁶ 97 per cent of this group stated their ethnicity as 'White: Scottish.' Statistics available in "2011 Census—Release 3A."

identifying as some other combination of United Kingdom identity excluding Scottish.²⁷⁷ The narrative of national pride is ever present as Scottish culture retains the ethnic associations of a distinct Scottish race.

Culturally, men have taken up the ‘traditional’ Scottish attire, wearing kilts for formal functions. Women and men participate in widespread céilidhs as a social outing. University lecturers focus Scottish and Irish history particularly around the issues of Union, its development, and the national identity citizens of Britain and Ireland now use.²⁷⁸

The issues of Union in 1707 that enabled the Jacobite Rebellions followed by the silent rebellions around the Highland Clearances have progressed alongside the Union and are manifested in today’s debates. The economic, religious, cultural, and gendered issues associated with Union as a historical event are thematically appropriate in discussions of Union in a modern context. Historical precedents in these regions have stimulated the current debates surrounding Union. What does it mean to be Scottish? Can Scotland survive culturally within the British Empire or will it constantly fight against images as a British ‘colonial appendage’ for understanding as an equal partner? The referendum of 2014 seeks to understand Union as a modern issue, dealing with Union’s mutable perceptions in both Scottish and British society.

The Anglo-British ego has pushed English notions of superiority onto its northern neighbors. Scotland’s progression as a country has been dictated by its involvement in Union. The recognition by the British of these contributions constitutes the substance of Scottish debates either for or against Union.

²⁷⁷ “2011 Census—Release 2A.”

²⁷⁸ In my experience as a student at the University of Edinburgh the majority of course lessons focused on the issue of Scottish and global national identities. Middle age students argued they were a part of a global nation while surprisingly enough, students in their twenties were fervently arguing for their Scottishness. Some also used their Highland roots to substantiate their claims.

Recently, Prime Minister David Cameron argued, “I care far too much to stay out of [the debate]” asking his supporters across Britain to use social media in convincing the Scottish people to stay within Union.²⁷⁹ Cameron’s pleas have been criticized however as a Tory attempt to control the Scottish from Westminster—returning to the age-old Scottish concerns of representation within the Empire.

Cameron makes his case at East London Velodrome, the spot “where Chris Hoy, a Scot, won a gold medal at the 2012 Olympic games.”²⁸⁰ Yet immediately following the Olympics, most Scotsmen complained of Scotland’s lack of recognition in the recent Olympics: the athletes were Scots when they lost and British when they won. In Scotland, the differentiation between the two was not ignored but rather celebrated by holding Olympic parades starring the Scottish athletes. Cameron’s clan-based romanticized memory of his Scottish heritage, which he wishes to bestow on his children, is admirable.

A major facet of that clan history is rooted in the Cameron opposition of the English. According to legend the clan fought alongside Robert the Bruce at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 and again in the 18th century at the Battle of Culloden.²⁸¹ Cameron’s unification of his clanship with his position as a politician at Westminster mingles the issues confronting the Scottish people: What is Scottish nationalism? Is Scotland British? And within that question is Britain as equally Scottish as it is English, Welsh, or Northern Irish?

Nationalism and identity are the heartfelt issues behind economics, religion, culture, and gendered concerns over the Scottish state on both the Scottish and English side of the debate. For the Scottish, Union must be distinguished from colonialism. The incorporation of the

²⁷⁹ Georgia Graham, “David Cameron: The Scottish referendum is personal—I don’t want to lose my clan,” *The Telegraph*, February 7, 2014.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ Sam Marsden and Georgia Graham, “Clan Cameron—from battling the English to defending the Union,” *The Telegraph*, February 7, 2014.

Scottish into the Empire was based on the divide between the Highlands and Lowlands. The Lowlands, aligned more culturally with the south than the north during the '45, were able to assimilate the Highlands into the British state. Because the Scottish people colonized Scotland, the country secured itself a space for a unique identity and particular place within the Empire. The Lowlanders appropriated Highland customs to their own end, as a means of publicizing Scots on the global stage. The Highlanders struggled for their place within Empire and in turn retained a memory for Scottish independence that preceded the issues confronting Union debates in the 1700s for use in the modern age.

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APPENDIX

A. Act for the encouraging the exportation of victual²⁸²

His majesty and the estates of parliament, considering that the grains of all sorts are the greatest product and commodity of this nation, and considering how necessary it is for the promoting of tillage and improvement of trade, to the best advantage of the kingdom, that an effectual encouragement be granted for exportation of corns and victual furth thereof, therefore, his majesty, out of his royal bounty and with consent of the estates of parliament, statutes and ordains that all sorts of grains exported out of the kingdom, after Martinmas [*11 November*] 1696, shall be free of any dues formerly payable for exportation and that, for encouraging export after the said term, there shall be given out of the customs to the exporter, upon his oath of verity of the number of the bolls exported, subscribed with his hand and attested by the collector of the next adjacent custom house, 8 merks for each chalder of grain that shall be exported by sea or land, when they shall not exceed the prices following, namely when wheat is at or under £12 the boll; bear, barley and malt at or under £8 the boll; peas, oats and meal at or under £6 the boll, all the said grains being of Linlithgow measure, with this provision always: that the said exportation shall be by Scotsmen or in Scots ships, and that the master and three fourth parts of the seamen of the said ships shall be Scotsmen; as also, with this provision: that when the grains exceed the foresaid rates, the lords of his majesty's secret council may discharge the exportation of victual of all sorts, until such time as the grains fall to the prices foresaid.

²⁸² Parliamentary Registrar, "Act for the encouraging the exportation of victual," *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, (May 9, 1695, Edinburgh Parliament)*, ed. K.M. Brown (St. Andrews: 2007-2014), accessed March 7, 2014, http://www.rps.ac.uk/search.php?action=print&id=id22378&filename=williamii_trans&type=trans.

B. Harvest-Pattern by Decades, 1620-1759²⁸³

Decade	Deficient harvests	Good harvests
1620-9	1	4
1630-9	3	1
1640-9	4	4
1650-9	4	4
1660-9	2	4
1670-9	4	4
1680-9	nil	6
1690-9	6	1
1700-9	2	7
1710-9	3	2
1720-9	3	3
1730-9	2	4
1740-9	1	5
1750-9	2	4
	37	53

²⁸³ Table taken from W.G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations in English Economic History, 1620-1759," *The Agricultural History Review* 16 (1968): 17.

C. Selected pamphlets about the Union of Parliament²⁸⁴



These pamphlets reflect the varying attitudes towards Union by both political and religious figures as well as private individuals.

²⁸⁴ “Pamphlet War,” in *Documenting the Union*, <http://www.nls.uk/collections/rare-books/collections/popup/pamphlets>.

D. Full excerpt, Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House.”

“I must, after seven years experience, confess, with deep mortification, and due reverence for that exalted character, that the person who would be a notable housewife, must be that individual thing only, and not mar the main affair by an attempt to introduce separate and subordinate excellencies. She must not even, in any sense, be a tender wife, or attentive mother. She must not walk about with her husband, or be his evening companion in conversation or other amusements; she must not spend her time in instructing her children, nor attend to the forming of their minds: their food, clothing, and health is all she must attend to. You Lowlanders have no idea of the complicated nature of Highland farming, and of the odd customs which prevail here. Formerly, from the wild and warlike nature of the men, and their haughty indolence, they thought no rural employment compatible with their dignity, unless, indeed, the plough. Fighting, hunting, lounging in the fun, music, and poetry, were their occupations; for the latter, though you would not think it, their language is admirably adapted. This naturally extended the women's province both of labour and management. The care of the cattle was peculiarly theirs. Changing their residence so often as they did in summer, from one bothy or glen to another, gave a romantic peculiarity to their turn of thought and language. Their manner of life, in fact, wanted nothing but the shades of palm, the olives, the vines, and the fervid sun of the East, to resemble the patriarchal one. Yet, as they must carry their beds, food, and utensils, the housewife, who furnishes and divides these matters, has enough to do when her shepherd is in one glen, and her dairy-maid in another with her milk-cattle. Not to mention some of the children, who are marched off to the glen as a discipline, to inure them early to hardiness and simplicity of life. Meanwhile, his reverence, with my kitchen damsel and the ploughman, constitute another family at home, from which all the rest are flying detachments, occasionally sent out and recalled, and regularly furnished with provisions and forage. The effect, you know, often continues when the cause has ceased; the men are now civilized in comparison to what they were, yet the custom of leaving the weight of every thing on the more helpless sex continues, and has produced this one good effect, that they are from this habit less helpless and dependent. The men think they preserve dignity by this mode of management; the women find a degree of power or consequence in having such an extensive department, which they would not willingly exchange for inglorious ease. What these occupations are, you cannot comprehend from a general description”²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Anne MacVicar Grant, “Letter XXIV: To Mrs. Smith, Lint-House,” in *Letters from the Mountains: Being the First Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, vol. 2 (London: Longman & Co., 1807), 15.

E. Gravesites, Battle of Culloden



These stones serve as grave markers at Culloden battlefield. Jacobite casualties are estimated at 1000 men, buried by local townspeople who identified men by their clan badges for burial. Those who could not be identified were buried as ‘mixed clan.’