Struggles with Scottish Nationalism: From Darien to the Scottish Enlightenment

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Abstract

This project aims to illuminate the intermingled threads of Scottish political thought in the 18th century. Tracing the main themes of liberty, nation, and economic thought which served to dominate the discourse in Scottish society as a means to greater understanding of how the Scottish people understood their relationship to England and Great Britain. Looking at the problem both synchronically and diachronically and using other techniques from the history of ideas enables the concepts to be placed within their historical context and sketch out their evolution. This leads to the conclusion that a changing conceptualization of liberty effectively emasculating an adolescent nationalist movement in Scotland.

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Introduction

In 1707 Scottish MPs voted their own Parliament out of existence. For Scottish nationalists 1707 is a year that lives in infamy and for unionists it marked the beginning of a mutually beneficial relationship that would hopefully put to rest centuries of antagonism between the Scotland and England. Finding comparable instances in modern history are difficult to find. The unification of Germany and Italy in the 19th century were in effect the political coalescence of culturally homogenous entities whereas, few Scotsmen or Englishmen of the early 18th century would have considered the whole island comprising a single cultural body. Internally Scotland itself faced two distinct visions of what 'true' Scottishness meant. The aim of this work is to trace the different threads of discourse which intertwined and gave life to Britain while maintaining a distinct Scottish identity.

During the 1690s Scotland's economy was in a shambles. This agriculturally based society was already less productive than the English and this chasm between the two had widened as a result of a series of crop failures. English protectionism also limited the commercial prospects of enterprising Scottish businessman; in response a wild scheme was concocted to reverse the fortunes of the stagnant Scottish economy. The Darien venture was wildly optimistic and fraught with risk and its eventual failure led many in Scotland to swallow their pride and accept union in 1707.

It has been well documented that in the 16th and 17th century the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French had all been extending their imperial reach into the New World. It is not

so commonly known that the Scottish attempted to enjoy the benefits of empire along the same model the English had successfully constructed. By an act of the Scottish Parliament in 1695 the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, more commonly known as the Darien Company was created. Supported by Scottish investors living in London as well as a number of Scottish investors in Edinburgh, it was believed that a Scottish colony could be founded in Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. The company was almost immediately beset by financial difficulties; however, it did manage in 1698 to launch its first expedition. This was a complete disaster as the colonists were completely unprepared for life in a tropical locale.

While five ships and nearly 1,200 colonists managed to land at Darien the settlement was quickly abandoned. Another larger expedition was sent out without knowing the fate of the first and landed at the abandoned settlement. This group was besieged by hostile natives and Spaniards who did not appreciate another European state encroaching on their territory. King William residing in England did everything in his power to obstruct the enterprise as no provisions were to be sent to Darien from the English colonies in North America. The Darien scheme was an unmitigated disaster which bled many of Scotland's richest families dry. The Company and in many respects the country itself went bankrupt. In the wake of a decade of poor harvests and the failure of Darien many Scotsmen were willing to listen to English enticements for union.

There were a number of political obstacles to a union between Scotland and England that needed to be overcome before union could become reality. The Scottish Kirk, which held enormous sway in late 17th century Scottish politics, was afraid that England's Episcopacy

would be spread northwards. This fear was mitigated by the Presbyterian's fears of Jacobite popery. In the end one of the main pillars of the union was that Scotland would keep its Kirk ensuring official Presbyterian support for union. Scotland was also allowed to maintain its educational system and its legal system.

Leading up to the union when talk of a political merger was being discussed dissent could be heard from both Jacobites and whigs in Scotland. Opposition was more common among the Jacobites who supported the Stuarts claims to the throne and favored a more traditional political order. Yet, even among whigs union was seen as being possibly dangerous to the liberty and progress of Scotland. Unfortunately, for Scottish nationalists, these two sides could not come to some sort of compromise to effectively prevail over the pro-Union forces. Union finally took place in 1707. Opponents decried those pro-Unionists as betraying their nation in exchange for English gold. This charge was not completely unfounded as English agents had been dispatched to Scotland to bribe certain Scottish Members. It is unlikely though that these bribes were significant enough to seriously impact the vote. The general population appeared to be against the union and on the day of its incorporation there were protests in many of the larger cities and towns.

18th century Scottish history can be characterized by the people attempting to attune Scottish society within a British context. Many could not do this and the number of uprisings attests to the inability of many to accept the new political reality. The uprising of 1745 was the last real attempt of the old order to try and reconstitute itself. The failure of Bonnie Prince

Charlie to reclaim his throne meant the end of serious Jacobite subversions and even the old Highland clans grudgingly accepted the new order.

Contemporary political considerations have revived interest in the Union and its impact upon Scottish society and Scotland's national identity. Colin Kidd has worked extensively on this subject writing numerous publications detailing Scotland's ethnic composition, religiosity, and the primacy of whig values. Kidd's work is confronted by Murray Pittock's contribution to the field which details Jacobitism and its pervasive influences on Scottish society in the 18th century. While the two scholars' works do not completely overlap each provide a compelling argument for Scottish development in the early modern period. Although, each show deficiencies in undervaluing the importance of economic reality and economic thought in the period. Istvant Hont's impressive work, *Jealousy of Trade*, provides critical understanding of 18th century society through the eyes of economic commentators. I have attempted to appropriate some of Hont's insight into the Scottish setting.

Liberty and how it was conceptualized is the primary thread which links together the chapters of the thesis. The first chapter underscores the methodological and theoretical framework that comprises the work. Leaning heavily upon Eric Voegelin's perception of the idea and its role within society I have sought to trace the interaction of historical actors, their thoughts, and society at large. J.G.A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner's work on the importance of language and specifically the uses of political language in the history of ideas has also been of tremendous help.

The second chapter deals with the role 17th and 18th century economic thought played in shaping Scottish society and challenged the established values held by the Scottish polity. The convergence of politics and commerce in the 17th century became of central importance. This transformation of the relationship between political thought and economic theory allowed for and eventually encouraged commercial society. Values held by resistance whigs and Jacobites were exposed as being an impediment to modern society and were attacked by progressive forces in both Scotland and England.

The third chapter will focus primarily on the conception of liberty. The Union debates provided an arena for politicians and intellectuals to discuss where 'true' liberty lay and the political system which best protected and promoted liberty. The republican tradition of a virtuous agrarian society was placed in contrast with a martial nobility protecting the interests of the people; while both were condemned by an urbane commercial society where politeness ensured the flourishing of individual liberty. These different strands of liberty and their defenders borrowed imagery from one another in attempts to control the foundation of the debate. The Scottish Enlightenment and the destruction of the Jacobites as a viable alternative ideology announced the victory of an Anglo-British conception of liberty.

The final chapter deals with the quandary of national identity and nationalism in Scotland during the 18th century. Nationalist rhetoric lacked sophistication during the period and for the most part did not stand on its own as an ideology capable of mobilizing the nation. Appeals to both ethnic and civic nationalism were made however, each was handicapped by

internal flaws as well as competing ideologies. National identity also lacked cohesiveness faced by traditional identities based on religious affiliation, regional identification, or clan ties. Scottish national identity was also forced to compete with a British national identity which held significant advantages over its Scottish opponent. By the end of the 18th century an uneasy and imperfect accommodation was made between Scottishness and Britishness. Yet, this conditional arrangement helped Great Britain avoid the tumults of nationalism which racked the continent in the 19th century.

Approaching the aims of my research different groups of primary sources were used. Of most importance are the political pamphlets which were used to expound either an individual's or a faction's position on an event of either trivial or monumental importance. It is mainly through these works in which the development of certain ideas and arguments were understood by the audience and how these ideas altered the public discourse. Also, looking at how the actors themselves were affected by their works and how they and their language altered as the historical context them shifted. Published parliamentary speeches were used as an insight to the language of government and the relationship between what was occurring within the halls of power in comparison to what was happening in the street. Letters, diaries, and personal memoirs were of secondary importance because of the possibility of disconnect between public discourse and private thought. These sources were of more use in acclimating to the thought process of the time and insight into some of the personalities who were under investigation.

Chapter 1: Theory and Methodology within the History of Ideas

Ideas are the driving force of human actions; even instinctive responses are based upon previous experiences and a pre-existing view of our reality. Ideas as such are bound by the language in which they are created for there can be no imagination without language. Ideas are also living entities which are born, thrive, and finally pass into the abyss of forgotten thoughts. Yet, this vision of the idea is not quite correct as some ideas are rather adept at reincarnating themselves as their historical context shifts around them. If we accept Eric Voegelin's view that political ideas are created in an attempt to rationalize the shelter function of the cosmion, or little world order, we can see how political ideas rearrange themselves and shift in response to internal and external shifts. He also correctly takes into account the evocative essence or soul of the political idea as a conduit for giving meaning to the individual within a larger group.[1] Therefore the political idea is not simply a tool in creating or preserving a political order, it is also necessary to give meaning to the individual within a larger, perhaps less rational, framework.

Throughout history political ideas have been used in such ways as to give meaning to the seemingly meaningless actions and lives of individuals. Previously, religion served this function of giving meaning to our lives in which our temporal existence was rewarded (or punished) in the next life. Modernity has secularized this vision of immortality, transferring the spiritual world to the nation or race. Voegelin calls this process of using the finite

[1] Eric Voegelin. *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin, Vol. 19.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 226.

resources of human intelligence to create an absolute cosmos, magic.[2] This transition from a spiritual to a secular meaning of life is the cornerstone of the modernity project and one which has still not been completed in many respects. This is not to imply a teleological underpinning to secularization; it is quite possible and perhaps even probable that new evocations will be crafted to give meaning to individuals.

Political ideas are simultaneously enfranchised and shackled by language. Through the use of language formless abstract ideas are given shape. The use of linguistic symbols creates a people by denoting them as such. This is most clearly seen in kingship as the people transfer their power to the sovereign. In this sense an amorphous group transform themselves into one person and a distinct political force.[3] However, we are still faced by the limitation of language despite its best efforts to deceive us. When a term is used it is assumed it refers to an objective reality, but in dealing with political ideas there is no original objective reality to refer.

When a person enters into the realm of political ideas he becomes an historical actor. They enter discourses with other actors through a variety of mediums, usually linguistic, and the ideas are thus shaped and modified by the historical context in which they are discussed. The debates between Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and Daniel Defoe on liberty are a prime example of this type of discourse in which ideas are put forth, interpreted, and reconstructed in a new fashion. This system of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis seems to repeat itself *ad infinitum*. J.G.A Pocock outlines his personal discovery of this pattern of historical thought,

[2] Ibid., 227.
[3] Ibid., 228.

"All these threads in the history of argument could be followed as they diverged and converged again; there began to emerge a history of actors uttering and responding in a shared yet diverse linguistic context."[4] The history of ideas is in essence the tracking of ideas and their interaction with their historical context.

The political idea's basic function is to create a political unit. Once this political unit materializes it becomes a real political and social force and it attempts to define itself as not an abstraction come to life, but as an empirical being. As Voegelin comments, "The attempt is inevitably bound to fail, but it is renewed nevertheless persistently and has produced an overwhelming wealth of political theories that all try to describe the magic unit in terms of something that may be considered objectively real."[5] As the political idea and its expression as a political unit attempt to become something tangible and material it ultimately fails as at its core it is an imagination, but in this attempt at reality we are confronted by a wealth of theorems which attempt to give substance to an ethereal being.

At some point the evocative power of the idea loses its luster and shows cracks in the face of pressure from disenchanted analysis and will be replaced by a seemingly more dynamic idea. And while some may wish to eradicate the political idea and its consequent political order (anarchists) or eliminate an element of human nature which stands in the way of paradise (utopians) both must accept the reality that political ideas hold a specific role in

[4] J.G.A Pockock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.
[5] Ibid., 229.

human existence.[6] Humanity is confronted by life and death, by the anxiety created by mortality, and humanity's ability to craft the semblance of order and meaning from the ether.

A history of ideas has to then show the growth of an idea out of a particular evocative situation; chart its rise until the idea can no longer adequately justify or explain the cosmion; and then show its dissolution and abandonment in the face of new evocations. Working within the history of science noticed a similar phenomenon in tracing the advance of modern science. Historians of science can not simply relate past discoveries in light of their relation to contemporary science instead they must focus on the historical integrity of that science in its own time.[7] Much of the success of the enterprise derives from the scientific community's willingness to accept the assumptions held at that time. Anomalies are suppressed because they undermine the basic assumptions made. When these anomalies can no longer be suppressed or evaded a new set of commitments and new set of beliefs must be created.[8] The corrosive effects of anomalies in expected data can be easily transferred to the history of ideas.

The community, in this case mainly the intelligentsia and political actors, reveals its paradigms in their publications, lectures, and symbols. A set of recurrent and quasi-standard illustrations of various theories in their conceptual, observational, and instrumental applications emerge.[9] Once the paradigm is in place and most are generally accommodated to the 'rules of the game' the paradigm is in a particularly strong position and can withstand

[6] Eric Voegelin. *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin, Vol. 19.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 234.
[7] Thomas Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.* 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 3.
[8] Ibid., 6-7.
[9] Ibid., 44.

attack from those that do not subscribe to a particular viewpoint. However, once the paradigm reveals it can not adequately respond to or assimilate new information its hold on the people's subconscious begins to waver. Eventually the paradigm will be left completely wanting and its particular outlook which once captivated the thought process of the people will furthermore be seen as being anachronistic in the face of the new paradigm.

In Voegelin's opinion the organization of the materials can not be completely arbitrary and for a complete history of ideas this may be true, but for my purposes it will be necessary to treat my period as a passage in that logically abused sense Hans Kellner decries.[10] My period is a locus, a neatly contained fount of knowledge and ideas. More specifically I have an initiating event, the Darien colony, with the terminating event taking place after the Uprising of 1745 and the creation of a new paradigm expressed by the Scottish Enlightenment.

This is of course arbitrary and perhaps unjust as the undermining of Scotland's unique cosmion could begin with the Killing Times in the 1680s or the Union of the Crowns in 1603. This is the dilemma of the historian who lacks the "big bang", there is no singular historical event from which all subsequent historical events derive.[11] The most important aspect of the work is not to pinpoint the most exact beginnings and endings, but instead to connect the ideas and draw out their evolution and interconnectedness.

[10] Eric Voegelin. *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin, Vol. 19.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 235.
[11] Hans Kellner. *Language and Historical Representation: Getting the Story Crooked.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 61.

The most important political idea of the past 200 years and the central idea under investigation is that of the nation and nationalism. Despite the protestations and mythologies of nationalists all nations are constructions. Nations did not exist in time immemorial, instead they needed to be invented or as F.W.J. Schelling states, "[It] is not the nation that produces a myth but the myth that produces a nation."[12] Ernest Gellner believes the rise of nationalism is directly attributable to the emergence of industrialization. Nationalism as such generally appears within vertically segregated societies as opposed to the agrarian socio-politico societies in which cultural cleavages were horizontally stratified.[13] Nationalism was a political construction necessary to give meaning to an emerging industrialized society. Older political ideas were succumbing to the new economic and social paradigm of universal literacy and industrialization.

Benedict Anderson also agrees that the nation is a sociopolitical construction; however he differs with Gellner on the ultimate causation of the "national awakening". The emergence of print-capitalism allowed for wider and wider groups to imagine themselves as existing in a community with shared beliefs that link them together in a meaningful way.[14] Scotland creates an anomaly for these two theories as generally language plays a key role in setting the boundaries for a nation and acts as a rallying point for nations within an empire. This was not the case in Scotland as English was already by the 18th century firmly established in Scotland and even the dialectal differences posed little difficulty for the exchange of ideas through print material or for career advancement within the empire.

[12] FWJ Schelling in Eric Voegelin's. *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin, Vol. 19.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 228.
[13] Ibid., 10.
[14] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities.* (London: Verso, 1991), 5.

Of more interest to this study will be the arguments centered around nationalism as a civic process versus nationalism based on ethnic origins. Hans Kohn did much to distinguish these two divergent ideas of nationalism and despite several weaknesses of his study it serves as a solid foundation for the Scottish debate on nationalism. Civic nationalism is based on the idea that the nation was a rational association of citizens bound together by common laws and a shared territory. Ethnic nationalism was based upon a common culture and ethnic origins, implying an organic growth which pressed national characteristics onto the individuals from birth.[15] In discussing the debates which emerged over the basis of nationalism it is important to not impart normative judgments on either side of the debate. As Anthony Smith points out the seemingly liberal civic nationalisms have also produced xenophobic policies.[16]

This transition from an agrarian (traditional) society towards an industrialized (modern) one does not occur instantaneously or peacefully. It is fraught with struggles, often violent, but perhaps more importantly for legitimacy and for a wider resonance these struggles are intellectual. The idea of the nation is raised as having a different role than previously assumed. Political pamphlets, Parliamentary debates, and polemical books use language attempting to set the definition for the idea. For example a Whig and Tory will both use the word nation in their rhetoric, but they will have a different understanding of what that means and should mean and the one who can more effectively convey that sentiment should control the debate.

[15] Hans Kohn. *The Idea of Nationalism.* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1944) 1961 ed., 6-10.
[16] Anthony Smith. *Nationalism.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 41.

To understand how certain political ideas manage to dominate and subsume the preceding *Zeitgeist* three streams of data need to be analyzed. First the historical, political, and economic record must be investigated which allowed a particular society to be receptive to a particular idea. Do particular crises undermine existing ideas and necessitate the invention of new ideas? Or is the appearance of new ideas more evolutionary, whereby a new idea eventually engulfs an older idea or merely makes it obsolete. Second, we need to identify the genres and methods in which individuals and groups of individuals in society have chosen to communicate ideas. Ideas obviously do not transmit themselves through society and must have a medium for transmission. And lastly, how social action and processes have been affected by the idea needs to be examined. In effect the synthesis of ideas into society. All levels need to be examined for the study must be synoptic. As Roy Harvie Pearce notes, "Neglect of any one type means neglect of all."[17] The analysis of ideas or concepts is both diachronic and synchronic and both aspects must be treated equally for an understanding of concepts to be given depth.

The history of ideas can and should be dramatic and its method of presenting the findings can look to drama for inspiration: unity of plot or structure, its transformation under the pressures of the context, and its eventual success in contributing to progress or its tragic death because of its inability to meet the intellectual needs of the community.[18] The history of ideas, perhaps, more than any other genre of history needs to be depicted vividly. The attempt should be made to recount the events so convincingly that the reader is able to experience it

[17] Roy Harvie Pearce, "A Note on Method in the History of Ideas", *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 9 No. 3. (1948, 374.
[18] Ibid, 536.

vicariously.[19] This is possible in the history of ideas because we must assume that in some measure past minds were not completely different from our own or else communication and study would be completely useless, but we can not impart our own attitudes and beliefs on the past.[20]

This raises an important issue in the history of ideas: the role present understandings of ideas influence the ability to understand ideas in the past. Reinhart Koselleck argues quite convincingly on how this problem should be approached. In his view, "Social and political conflicts of the past must be interpreted and opened up via the medium of their contemporary conceptual limits and in terms of the mutually understood, past linguistic usage of the particular agents."[21] Imposing present conceptions upon the past undermines the entire process of investigating the past. Iain Hampsher-Monk echoes these concerns and adds that historians and other scholars often confuse the significance and meaning of the author with the meaning or significance ascribed subsequently.[22]

This concern about presentism is echoed by Quentin Skinner and J.G.A. Pocock. Both believe that the objective of the historian must be recovering the intentions of the author in writing his or her text. This objective can be reached by going outside of the text as much as

[19] This is of course extremely difficult and a precarious position to take. Obviously, what the particular actor was thinking or feeling at a particular moment cannot be known unless it was written down somewhere and even then it should be treated cautiously. However, we can assume that a particular idea will have a similar impact on all individuals as they have universal features.
[20] Phillip Weiner, "Some Problems and Methods in the History of Ideas", *Journal of the History of Ideas,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1961), 529.
[21] Reinhart Koselleck. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* Trans. Keith Tribe. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 79.
[22] Iain Hampsher-Monk, "Speech Acts, Languages or Conceptual History?" *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 39.

possible; by looking to other writings by the author whether they are personal correspondence or published works, to looking at the writings of contemporary authors, and other methods to find the context that the author is writing within. Thus, the author has a dual role; at one moment using the language of others for his own purposes and at the same time acting upon language to enact changes in which the language is used and understood. Subsequent authors will similarly use and modify the author's language. Also, the author may not be successful in his endeavors as the conventional usage of language may resist the author's changes or the audience may absorb the author's language in an unintended manner.[23] This is not only true for the historical context in which the language was used and modified, but the language will likely outlive the idea it was initially created to delineate and force subsequent readers and authors to innovate to adequately respond.

The text may be the primary focus of the historian's attention; however it cannot be simply removed from its context. The text is both an articulation of the author's consciousness and is also a form of communication in a discourse with other actors.[24] This is where the focus of study occurs; tracking the exchange of ideas. The use of discourses to understand how events, actions, and reactions were understood, interpreted, and reinterpreted. "Great" texts can be seen as an obstacle to the historian because they can be seen to operate outside the boundaries of historical time as it may seem these texts transcend contemporary issues. This Hegelian vision of ideas lacks the proper nuance as this is a narrow view of "great" texts; which were written within an historical setting and at least partially deal with contemporary questions and use contemporary language.

[23] J.G.A Pockock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 6.
[24] Ibid., 28.

Delineating the text from the context raises new problems. The reality in which an author wrote his text is passed down to us through other texts. Dominick LaCapra remarks that, "For the historian, the very reconstruction of a 'context' or a 'reality' takes place on the basis of 'textualized' remainders of the past."[25] Our conception of a particular author's intentions is based upon understanding a context which can not be reliably grasped. This creates a vicious circle in which the context which has been 'textualized' must then be put it in its own context. LaCapra criticizes Skinner's approach for simplifying this problem and claiming the historian can easily distinguish his subject's intentions.[26]

Bridging the gap between political ideas and the language through which those ideas are communicated is of central importance. The goal is to understand the interplay between these two realms and to what extent one informs the other. It is my contention that the idea occurs first and then is communicated through the language of the time and then a cycle emerges whereby the language informs a new or reformed idea which then is again communicated by language. Yet, for this particular study it is not so important which came first the idea or the language as this chicken and egg debate only serves to muddy the waters. The more interesting and more important discussion is delineating what is being debated and how it is being debated. This debate ends when as, Quentin Skinner notes, "The clearest sign that a society has entered into the self-conscious-possession of a new concept is, I take it, that a new vocabulary comes to be generated, in terms of which the concept is then articulated and

[25] Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts", *Modern European Intellectual History*. Dominick LaCapra and Steven Kaplan eds. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 50.
[26] Ibid., 58.

discussed."[27] Obviously, this does not mean that only one relationship occurs at a time between ideas and language; multiple debates, arrangements, and concessions occur simultaneously. Moreover, an actor, cognizant of his position and the linguistic period in which he operates, can manipulate past understandings towards a polemical thrust for future understandings of particular concepts.[28] Again Hampsher-Monk has a similar understanding of the role of innovation, especially amongst political actors in driving conceptual changes. Hampsher-Monk continues:

> Such accounts are particularly salient it might be added, to the recovery of *political* meaning since the act of political persuasion most commonly involves the rhetorically innovative extension or restriction of conventional meanings or repertoires as the author seeks to capture or deny the commendatory force of the term or to extend or restrict the particular application of it under discussion.[29]

In effect ideas and the language change along evolutionary lines as opposed to revolutionary shifts in the meanings of words.

The history of ideas within the early modern Scottish context holds a particular relevance. From a backward, periphery state Scotland would emerge as a partner in what was to become the world's largest empire. Out of a pressure-cooker of intellectual currents; from Highland feudalism, Lowland whiggism, economic theories from England, appeals to the Auld alliance from France, to the absolutist Jacobitism Scotland emerges as a breeding ground of incredibly influential thinkers such as David Hume and Adam Smith. The period from Darien's emergence to the desperate gamble of Bonnie Prince Charlie illuminate

[27] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought.* Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pg. x.
[28] Reinhart Koselleck. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* Trans. Keith Tribe. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 77.
[29] Iain Hampsher-Monk, "Speech Acts, Languages or Conceptual History?" *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 44.

monumental conceptual changes in how Scotland perceived itself both as a society and a nation.

Chapter 2: Economic Thought in Early Modern Scotland

17th century Scottish political thought can be characterized by its feudal character and by 1700 it was proving completely ineffective in dealing with the modernity process. Economic thought filtered into Scotland from their southern neighbors and from the continent and slowly reorganized Scottish society. It became apparent in the aftermath of the famines of the 1690s and the disastrous Darien experience that Scotland's economy and its intellectual underpinnings would need to change for Scotland to escape its poverty. The Union of 1707, the painfully slow encroachment of commercial society into the Highlands, and the failure of the Jacobite rebellions all served to incorporate Scotland into the Anglo-British Empire and lift Scotland out of its economic misery.

2.1 Vestiges of Feudal Scotland

Scotland's feudal political structure in the centuries preceding Union dictated the economic thought available to the lords, lairds, and merchants to operate within. In theory all land was the property of the king and he then donated it to his nobles, who in turn divided it among his retainers and subtenants. The tenants and subtenants right to the land was conditioned on the rendering of military or other types of services.[30] This system provided troops and furnished their maintenance and replacement. Because of the central governments weakness this system facilitated the accumulation of power in the hands of the nobility. Within his own lands the noble was in effect the highest authority and was imbued with

[30] Henry William Spiegel. *The Growth of Economic Thought*. 3rd edition. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 49.

numerous judicial and administrative functions.[31] The feudal holding was organized around the manor and tended towards self-sufficiency. In the 17th and 18th century this system was placed under attack as being backwards, under-productive, and socially retarding.

The system instituted in the Highlands shared some common characteristics with the Lowlands but, the clan system maintained certain distinctions. The clan was organized around the perception of kinship links not necessarily genuine blood ties. Originally the clan served to control access to resources of subsistence and their continued survival can be attributed to their ability to adapt to slowly changing needs and circumstances.[32] Raiding of neighboring clans became an established and recognized economic activity in the 16th and 17th century and was accompanied by duties paid for protection and similar activities.[33] By the late 17th century 'improving' Lowlanders saw both the feudal and clan organizations as impeding Scotland's progress in comparison to other European states.

Late 17th century Scots became aware of the apparent riches to be found in overseas trade. They hoped to follow the example of the Dutch and enrich their small kingdom through the creation of colonies to facilitate trade between the Americas, the Far East, and Europe. This foray into empire building came too late as a revolution in commercial thought had already occurred within the large states of Europe. England and France were already well ahead in the conquest of increased market share and were challenging the established

[31] Because the Union enshrined Scotland's legal system the large landowners were still able to wield considerable power well into the 18th century. This was not lost on the Whigs and their supporters and they acted to rectify this situation as it was seen as retarding progress in Scotland.
[32] R.A. Dodghson, "The Nature of Scottish Clans", *Scottish Society, 1500-1800.* R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 171.
[33] Ibid., 183.

commercial society of Holland. Within this environment whereby each state jealously guarded their foreign possessions and access to trade Scotland held little hope of gaining much through foreign adventures, though many Scots were committed to trying their hand at imperialism.

2.2 Martial Valor, Liberty, and the Rise of Commercial Society

With the benefit of hindsight it is easy to castigate the Scottish adventure in Darien as hopelessly optimistic. However, at the time many Scotsmen truly believed in Darien as an instrument in playing a larger role in European politics and from the virulence many European states foisted upon the Scots perhaps their scheme was not so far-fetched. The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies endorsed a plan by William Paterson to found a colony at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. This was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1695 and finally after three years of scrambling for investors an expedition was launched in July 1698. The first 1,200 colonists were poorly provisioned and quickly abandoned the settlement. A second expedition embarked for Darien and was confronted not only by hunger and disease but, also hostile Spanish forces. By 1700 the remaining survivors were returned to Scotland.

Two distinct themes come out of the pamphlets written and published in Scotland at this time. First, the failure of the Darien colony was attributed solely to the English, the French, the Spanish, or some combination of the three. The Company had been originally envisioned to be a joint-stock venture based on the model of the East India Company. Thus, it was viewed as a competitor by the East India Company and they lobbied hard to scuttle

English investment in the Company.[34] Ultimately the Company became the exclusive property of Scotsmen and unintentionally took on a national character. As a 'national' company of Scotland it was difficult for Scotsmen to take responsibility for its failure when there were numerous national enemies that could take the blame.

The English were quickly cast as villains in Darien's demise and so was King William. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun[35] defends the directors and managers of the Company placing the blame squarely on selfish English Ministers that have spread lies and poisoned William's mind against the Company.[36] The Scottish journalist and pamphleteer George Ridpath goes further claiming that since the Union of Crowns the people of Scotland have been "like children without a parent" with the king preferring English interests to Scottish ones.[37] Ridpath's plan in response to the English Parliament's interference in Scotland's sovereignty was to raise tariffs on English wool to foster the development of a Scottish woolen industry.[38] The policy Ridpath endorsed reflected the mercantilist attitude circulating throughout Europe. As commercial enterprises were seen as closely linked to the national interest the state needed to play a more active role in fostering native industry and excluding outsiders from entrance into the domestic economy.

[34] David Armitage, "The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture", in *A Union for Empire.* John Robertson ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 100.
[35] Fletcher himself had invested in the Darien scheme and remained a strident defender of the company even when its end was a fait accompli.
[36] Andrew Fletcher. *A Short and Impartial View of the Manner and Occasion of the Scots Colony's Coming Away From Darien. In a Letter to a Person of Quality.* (Edinburgh: 1699).
[37] George Ridpath. *Scotland's Grievances Related to Darien &c. Humbly Presented to Parliament.* (Edinburgh: 1700),1-5.
[38] Ibid., 47-52.

The Spanish also received a great deal of criticism from the Scots for their part in Darien's failure. The capricious Robert Ferguson attacked the morality and the legality of the Spanish Empire in the New World. According to Ferguson the Emperors of Peru and Mexico should have been accorded the same rights as any European monarch. Furthermore, the enslavement and destruction of the natives went against the Laws of Nations and Nature.[39] The French occupied a strange place with regards to Darien, in certain publications the Auld Alliance is fondly remembered and the possibility of another Franco-Scottish alliance is broached.[40] The contrasting position saw France as the seat of Papal intrigue and keen on universal monarchy which needed to be resisted; preferably by a coalition of Protestant states.[41] In effect these publications were attempting to place Scotland somewhere within the European balance of power. The Scottish polity was attempting to place themselves in the pantheon of modern European powerbrokers in much the same way the Dutch had done in the early 17th century so successfully.

Second, Darien was necessary for both the prosperity and the security of Scotland. The concept of commerce was transformed over the course of the 17th century. Originally commercial enterprises were the exclusive domain of small republics; derisively written off by the large unitary states as being unworthy because of their association with opulence and corruption. With the success of the Dutch in their ability to accumulate wealth and transform that wealth into martial success, large unitary states began to seriously examine commercial

[39] Robert Ferguson. *A just and modest vindication of the Scots design, for the having established a colony at Darien. With a brief display, how much it is in their interest, to apply themselves to trade, and particularly to that which is foreign.* (n.p.: 1699).
[40] Archibald Foyer. *A Defense of the Scots Colony at Darien.* (Edinburgh: 1699).
[41] George Ridpath. *Scotland's Grievances Related to Darien &c. Humbly Presented to Parliament.* (Edinburgh: 1700), 54.

policies. The connection between wealth and power became explicit and closely intertwined. Commercial activity was increasingly scrutinized for its impact upon the European balance-of-power. Not until the late 17th century did Scottish commentators appreciate the apparent intimacy between commerce and politics. Scottish lords had been quite willing to spend their income in England or France and were more interested in plying their martial abilities around Europe rather than develop industry in the Highlands or Lowlands.[42] This is closely associated with a conception of virtue passed down from the republican tradition of the armed proprietor stoic and publicly minded, above the base concerns of commerce and the monied interest.[43]

The needs of a modern state necessitated a new approach to commerce. Politics as such had expanded into the field of international commerce and the large territorial states of Europe had followed suit. The Scottish polity followed this trend but, its location, size, and poverty put them at a distinct disadvantage. The failures of the 1690s had demonstrated to some within the Scottish polity that Scotland would not be able to enrich itself independently. As Istvan Hont argues, "The needs of modern warfare created an ever-increasing demand for finance on a scale that simply could not be met by the expedients of the past."[44] The rabid support for the Darien colony is clear evidence that Scotsmen were aware of the new importance placed upon wealth and trade.

[42] James Armour. *A premonitor warning: or advice, by a true lover of his country, unto all whose hands this may come.* (Edinburgh: 1702).
[43] J.G.A. Pocock. *Virtue, Commerce, and History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 235.
[44] Istvan Hont. *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Pspective.* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 186.

Rather than tying nations together, as it is currently thought in the liberal-democratic tradition, commerce was seen as a new bastion of conflict. This commercial theatre of warfare was a continuation of centuries of conflict between states but, also held unique problems as the market had its own laws outside the bounds of politics.[45] This led to an ironic situation where if increased trade was predicated on cheap wages and low costs and power was based upon wealth and military strength which precluded a regime of low wages. A modern commercial nation faced new constraints in balancing military expenditures and the accumulation of wealth while constraining costs.[46] Much of the English resistance to Scotland's Darien scheme can be traced to their concerns that Scotland's poverty may in fact prove to be an asset.[47] Scottish merchants would be able to undersell English merchants because of the lower wages possible in Scotland; this necessitated English exclusionary measures to the detriment of Scottish trade.

The Scottish polity and intelligentsia attempted to graft the new conception of commerce within international affairs onto the martial tradition of the Scots. Speaking to Parliament in 1701 Lord Belhaven declared, "So that now it is not for advantage and profit only, but in self-defense and for necessity, so that war itself is become a trade, and Mars a merchant."[48] The bravery of the Scottish nobility needed to be complemented by commercial success. This new commercial ideal gained greater traction in the Lowlands and many nobles

[45] Istvan Hont. *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Pspective.* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 187.
[46] Ibid., 187.
[47] Both Walter Harris' pamphlet *A Defense of the Scots Abdicating Darien; including a response to the defense of the Scots settlement* and the letter sent from the Lords Temporal and Spiritual to King William indicate the concern English merchants and others had concerning Scottish competition.
[48] John Hamilton, Lord Belhaven. *A speech in Parliament on the 10th day of January 1701, by the Lord Belhaven, on the affair of the Indian and African Company, and its colony of Caledonia.* (Edinburgh: 1701), 14.

in the 18th century went about improving the commercial viability of their lands. However, in the Highlands within the clan system the appeal of commercial profitability paled in comparison to the distinction given to those who maintained a large retinue of followers. The scarcity of arable land coupled with the symbolic importance of a large clan led to immense pressures on the land and the rise of cattle raiding.[49]

This is not to propagate the romantic myth that the Highlands were a completely backward society having more in common with the Iroquois or Aztecs than European contemporaries. By the end of the 17th century full-scale clan warfare was a distant memory; violence between clans centered on raiding parties poaching cattle from neighboring territories. The Highlands, despite its isolation, was able to take part in the consumerism which was spreading across Britain. House construction boomed in the early 18th century and to mark the occasion many filled their new homes with new commodities and living in a more fashionable manner.[50] Modern consumer items were often made in small burghs in the surrounding regions; also many commodities were made locally as copies of designs from London or Edinburgh.[51] Slowly the ability and desire to acquire luxury goods infiltrated even Britain's most remote region and provides evidence that the habits of the Highlanders were changing. The appearance of consumerism in the Highlands displays that the ideas of commercial society were bearing fruit in practice throughout Britain.

[49] T.M. Devine, "Temporary Migration and the Scottish Highlands in the 19th Century", *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 32 No. 3 (Aug. 1979), 345.
[50] Stana Nenadic, "The Highlands of Scotland: Consuming at a Distance", in *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies.* Vol. 28 No. 2 (Autumn, 2005), 216.
[51] Ibid., 218.

The habits of the Highlanders were changing in the 18th century with changes in the Lowlands occurring more rapidly. However, the rise of commercial society and a concurrent commercial outlook met resistance from more established and traditional sectors of society. Tories and Jacobites feared this new society where land was losing its preeminent position as defining the rank and order of society to a faction whose wealth and position was defined by paper money. Roman mythology was invoked by these traditionalists calling to mind the, "stoic, public and agrarian, whether called from the plow like Cincinnatus or retiring like Cicero to Tusculan philosophic leisure; Cato in all his manifestations the arch figure."[52] Resistance whigs were faced with a dilemma of accepting this emerging whig class which held different ideals for society than the resistance whigs or throwing their lot in with the Jacobites and Tories who they had spent the past century battling with both ink and sword.

2.3 Trade and Union

The new whigs attempted to usurp some of the Roman mythos but, it became apparent that they would need, as Fletcher and Defoe had already realized, to idealize a distinctly modern, commercial society. Politeness became the ultimate virtue of the new whig. The virtuous landowner protecting his liberties with his own martial abilities was castigated as a cruel vestige of feudal Gothicism. The rise of commerce allowed for the replacement of armed citizens with a cultured taxpayer paying professional soldiers to protect his liberty. The image of the city as a fount of luxury and corrupting opulence had already been discredited in the late 17th century.[53] The city became a symbol of culture and modern

[52] J.G.A. Pocock. *Virtue, Commece, and History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 235.

[53] It was the common conception that societies after a period of growth eventually collapsed under increasing corruption and luxury and the disappearance of morality. This was first questioned by Sir

morality and this transformation was championed intensely by the new whigs. After the Union of Parliaments Edinburgh and Glasgow became centers of culture and industry. These centers were championed as beacons of light illuminating a country covered in the darkness of religious intolerance and feudal barbarism. This conception would fall on deaf ears for a number of years until the prosperity promised by the Union began to become reality.

The crippling effects of famines and the Darien disaster pushed many Scotsmen to look at Union with England as an escape out of poverty. However, the Scots did not intend to be beggars giving up their liberties in exchange for English gold. Andrew Brown summarized the problem as such,

> Considering the great difficulties that may be in the way of accomplishing such a bargain, on the account of the great differences in the circumstances of the two nations; England being so very rich, powerful, and prosperous, at home and abroad. And this make all the reason and art, all the sagacity and prudence needful, that Scotland is capable to afford; for the English may think that we seek favors and concessions from them, when we only seek reasons of them.[54]

The Union was to be an arrangement between equals not the reclamation of a wayward colony or the supplication of a broken sovereign. This sentiment was renewed decades later by the historian William Robertson. The Scottish polity needed to present themselves as the inheritors of an ancient kingdom who were capable of bringing something tangible to the Union.

William Temple in his *Observations Upon the Provinces of the Netherlands.* (London:, 1673) and would eventually be accepted by most economic theorists of the 17th and 18th century.

[54] Andrew Brown. *A scheme, proposing a true touch-stone for the due trial of a proper union betwixt Scotland and England; especially, as to its fitness for Scotland.* (Edinburgh: 1706), 3.

The most attractive feature of Union for the Scottish was the increase in trade, prosperity, and good laws. The Scots were to be disappointed as the Union was not a panacea for their economic problems. It would take at least half a century for the Union to provide the prosperity envisioned by those that crafted the Union in 1707. Scottish gentlemen were entreating upon English MPs to assist their band of Scotsmen in Parliament to deliver them from the poverty their country still endured. A typical example of this relationship during Scotland's continuing hardship,

> We cannot but hope, that a prince so renowned for clemency and benignity to his subjects as King George, and that so wise a senate as yours, will readily concur to make us share in the same liberties, and deliver us from the hardships, which you will find, from what follows, are as burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial to us, as ever they were to you.[55]

From this plea certain extrapolations can be made upon what was expected by the Scottish and how they saw themselves within the Union. The Scots saw themselves as partners within the Union, expecting the same advantages and liberties enjoyed by their English neighbors. English liberty had not extended to Scotland and economic advancement also seemed no closer fourteen years after the Union than they had while Scotland was independent. Now that the two states have become one it did not make sense for one group to disadvantage the other as it injured the whole. In many respects the two nations continued to see themselves as separate states and pursued divergent policies. Without an improvement in the situation Scotland would remain a breeding ground of rebellion and a source of Jacobite support. The creation of Great Britain was envisioned by its founders, at least the more benevolent members, as the conjoining of values and peoples whose sum exceeded the parts. Instead, many Scots saw their existence as one of an impoverished province.

[55] John Whillison. *A letter to an English member of Parliament, from a gentleman in Scotland, concerning the slavish dependencies, which a great part of that nation ...* (Edinburgh: 1721), 6.

Public debt also became a lightning rod of debate in the 18th century. This occurred both north and south of the border with similar arguments being raised among the actors involved. The acceptance of public debt and higher taxes was more difficult to accept in Scotland because of their historic aversion to such policies. It was argued that a large public debt necessitated a larger financier class which could exercise disproportionate power and undermine the constitution. Adding to this danger was the fear that a society based upon credit was inherently unstable. Drawing upon the works of the French *economists* who argued for wealth based upon land and agriculture as being inherently more stable.[56]

Compounding these fears, many Scots as well as Englishmen were hesitant over Hanoverian interest in Continental affairs and the Crown's requests to subsidize various European intrigues. William Pulteney, the Earl of Bath, was a lord concerned with the enormous sums being requested and the implications these funds had for the future liberty and prosperity of the state. Furthermore he argues,

> The multiplicity of civil officers is not only a burden to the kingdom, as they are so many unprofitable members of the Commonwealth, and live, like drones on the labor of the industrious hive; but by the power of favoring, or harassing the trading part of the kingdom, according to the inclinations of their superiors, they are become formidable to our liberties, as well as infinitely vexatious and oppressive to our fellow subjects.[57]

The politicization of the bureaucracy, especially those within the Exchequer, confronted many within the British polity as another attack upon liberty. English liberty and subsequently

[56] Istvan Hont. *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Pspective.* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 189-192.
[57] William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. *An enquiry into the conduct of our domestick affairs…* (London, 1734), 13.

British liberty had been premised upon an aversion to civil authority.[58] The specter of an intrusive central authority and its bureaucratic minions was anathema to both English and Scottish subjects.

The numerous wars fought by the British during the early 18th century required corresponding loans and increases in taxation. These wars fought to protect and expand the British market were generally funded by loans and occasionally by increases on taxes. As it has been previously stated this monetary policy was perceived to be inherently unstable and required the Government to regularly service the loans or confidence in the credit of the state would be diminished and would cripple its financial capacity.[59] The debate and discourse over the issue of debt had been percolating in England since the Glorious Revolution and was only expanded with the inclusion of Scotland after 1707. This regime of debt and its intellectual underpinnings was resisted by the resistance whigs who referred to the works of Charles Davenant that believed empires originally built upon military virtue eventually decayed under the constant flow of wealth to the center. The overextension of the empire replaced those noble men who virtuous defended the people's liberty with fraudulent men willing to sacrifice the public good for private gain.[60] The public debt and the specter of standing army were conjoined as the means of installing a despotic government.

Focusing exclusively on the Scottish component in these debates the insight of Andrew Fletcher is illuminating in terms of the economic thought taking place in the British

[58] Hans Kohn. *The Idea of Nationalism.* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 178.
[59] Patrick O'Brien, "The Political Economy of British Taxation, 1660-1815" in *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 41 No. 1 (Feb. 1998), 2.
[60] Charles Davenant. *Tom Double Return'd Out of the Country…* (London, 1702).

periphery. It had been assumed by many in England and Scotland that Scottish poverty would automatically be diminished in the wake of a Union with England. Fletcher argued low wages would not be enough of an advantage to overcome Scottish deficiencies in productivity and social structure. Scotland would be left at the mercies of the market with no recourse without an independent political structure.[61] The recent past of English merchants and politicians castrating the Scottish venture at Darien and the English destruction of the Irish woolen industry lent little support to the idea that England would readily accept a prosperous Scotland. In 1698 an Irish MP and philosopher William Molyneaux had made an impassioned argument for Irish parliamentary rights and the right to trade freely. Those within the woolen industry in England saw a direct competitor which had an advantage in prices and immediately set about prohibiting the Irish woolen trade. The English interest took the day and wealth remained in the center. Scotsmen could easily look to the example laid out by the recent Irish experience and question the magnanimity of English vested interests.

Furthermore as the Scots themselves had accepted that war, politics, and trade were increasingly intertwined it was hard for Fletcher to believe English national aspirations would not lead to the devastation of Scotland. Commerce had previously been conceptualized as based upon mutual interests and the benefit of mankind, while politics was based upon the national interests and distinct societies. For Fletcher the union of the two concepts, commerce and politics, was beyond the scope of government and would in fact lead to perpetual warfare.[62] Fletcher expounded a fear of large commercial nations that compulsively sought to use their wealth to dominate poorer nations. Fletcher preferred a system of large federal

[61] Andrew Fletcher. *An Account of a Conversation Concerning the Right Regulations of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind.* (Edinburgh: 1703)
[62] Ibid.,

union which would come together in defensive alliances thus, ameliorating fears of one state dominating all others. His arguments and fears resonate to this day. In the second half of the 18th century a number of Scots would take up the other side of the argument in favor of commercial empires.

Perhaps the swing from Fletcher's skepticism towards the hubris of Hume and Smith can be attributed to the confidence those latter day Scots had in Great Britain and Scotland's role within the state. David Hume lived his entire life under the British state and viewed society's development as one of progression. In stark contrast to the reservations advanced by Fletcher's and his intellectual successors, Hume believed in the positive transformative power of commerce for both rich and poor country.

Hume admits in "Of Money" that where a country has an advantage in trade it would be difficult for another nation to regain the lost ground. However, the nation which is not advanced in trade will have the advantage of lower wages and thus manufacturers will shift to these poor states and enrich them.[63] Through this natural flow of wealth from richer to poorer nations the worst fears envisioned by Fletcher would be mitigated. The rise of commerce is directly linked to the progress of society. For Hume society in its earlier stages did not require modern commerce as each village was a self-contained economy where money was not necessary for exchange. As tastes became more cultivated and refined commerce grows and a more malleable form of exchange must grow. Thus money grows in importance not out

[63] David Hume, "Of Money" in *Political Essays.* Knud Haakonssen ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 116.

of any inherent value but, merely as an expedient to commercial society.[64] The virtue of agrarian wealth is anachronistic for modern 'civilized' society and it is at this point where Hume turns the debate on virtue on its head; no longer is the urban center a source of vice and degeneracy but, a fount of commercial virtue. The Union brought individual liberty and wealth, or at least an opportunity for its gain, through the introduction of civilized security of the due process of law.

Hume argued that polite liberty, the right of a man to control his property and his intellect flourished within a commercial society. This polite liberty was a recent invention as Hume comments, "The first polite prose we have, was writ by a man who is still alive [Jonathan Swift]."[65] Furthermore, progress in arts and sciences can only take among people living in a free government. The rise of politeness is most favorable in an environment where neighboring states share commerce and policy.[66]

Economic considerations and theory divided the country. Those that favored an incorporating union pointed to open access to the English and colonial markets with wealth to be gained as a modern commercial society. In response men like Fletcher were pessimistic towards both the claims of prosperity and the damages union would entail for Scottish culture and the values many Scots still held dear. Prosperity came to Scotland at a glacial pace but, it did come and commercial society and its concomitant values seeped into the Scottish psyche.

[64] Ibid., 122.
[65] David Hume, "Of Civil Liberty" in *Political Essays.* Knud Haakonssen ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 54.
[66] David Hume, "Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences" in Knud Haakonssen ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 62-64.

By the middle of the 18th century Scottish intellectuals envisioned the Union as the starting place of Scotland's transition to polite cultivated society based upon English commercial values.

Chapter 3: Conceptions of Liberty

3.1 The City and University as Centers of Discourse

To appreciate changes in Scottish intellectual orientations it is relevant to briefly examine university life at the end of the 17th century. Latin, Greek, and religion formed the core of the Scottish curriculum. By the 1680s Aristotelian moral philosophy was being complemented by the moral theology and casuistry of Puritan divines, some Cambridge Platonists, as well as natural lawyers such as Grotius, Cumberland, and Pufendorf. In the natural sciences Aristotle's *Physics* was being replaced by the cosmology of Copernicus and Descartes' vortex theory.[67] By the turn of the century Scottish students attended universities at least as modern as any in Europe. This 'backward' society renowned for its theological conflicts had somehow managed to craft an education system that rivaled anything else in the world. This university system laid the epistemological groundwork that allowed such a far-reaching discourse to emerge in the 18th century.

A broadly humanist tradition characterized early modern Scottish historical scholarship. They engaged in historical writing for immediate antagonistic reasons. Calvinist and humanist resources were used to wage partisan warfare on their contemporaries. History was also used as a tool for educating social leaders, defining and inculcating virtue, and the causal explanation of historical change.[68] This conceptualization of history and its use was extremely effective in establishing the primacy of resistance whiggism in 16th and 17th century

[67] Roger Emerson, "Scottish Cultural Change 1660-1710" in *A Union for Empire: British Political Thought and the Union of 1707.* John Robertson ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 124.
[68] David, Allan. *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 65.

Scotland however; when faced by a rising polite society centered on Edinburgh this tradition was found lacking.

The trial of James Aikenhead in 1696 revealed the backwardness of Scottish society and provided ample ammunition for those Scots and Englishmen committed to bringing progressive liberty to the northern kingdom. Aikenhead was an eighteen-year-old student charged on December 18th 1696 with committing blasphemy. The Lord Advocate, Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees sought the death sentence, "to the example and terror of others to commit the lyke in tyme coming."[69] Aikenhead had no counsel and no defense. Five witnesses were brought before the Lord Advocate and each testified that Aikenhead in some manner, mostly in a less than sinister way, had blasphemed. Aikenhead pleaded for mercy, basing his transgressions on the recklessness of youth. He confirmed his belief in the Trinity and the scriptures and expressed deep contrition for his deeds.[70] John Buchan noted more than 200 years later, Aikenhead's remorse would have saved his life at the hands of the Inquisition.[71]

Aikenhead did not find the clemency he would have found from Catholic interrogators and was hanged on the 8th of January 1697. The severe penalty imposed was the response of the Kirk believing its intellectual and religious hold on the population was waning. The prosecution was not designed to combat heretical beliefs instead they were attacking an

[69] "Proceedings against Thomas Aikenhead, for Blasphemy. 8 William III. A.D. 1696" in T.B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials.* Vol. 13 No. 401 col. 920 (London: 1812).
[70] James Buchan. *Capital of the Mind.* (London: John Murray, 2003), 56-57.
[71] John Buchan and George Adam Smith. *The Kirk in Scotland, 1560-1929.* (Edinburgh: 1930), 53 in James Buchan. *Capital of the Mind.* (London: John Murray, 2003), 56-57.

attitude of common-sense skepticism that was being adopted by prosperous citizens.[72] The rigidity of the Kirk may have slowed public skepticism of Presbyterian doctrine however, the slide towards increasing skepticism continued on in the 18th century. Ironically the Enlightenment and its skeptics took root in Edinburgh, the traditional power base of the Kirk.

While Edinburgh remained a small city in comparison to London and other metropolises, by the middle of the 18th century it exuded a cultural and intellectual energy. Secular polite society was continuously making inroads despite the protestations of some within the clergy. Music and dancing became fashionable and by 1737 even ministers-in-training were allowed to partake in this temporal pleasure.[73] Adam Petrie published a book in 1720 in Edinburgh, *Rules of Good Deportment*, illuminating the proper way to behave in polite society. In 1727 Allan Ramsay opened a bookshop and allowed his patrons to borrow books for a subscription fee, creating the first lending library in Britain.[74] The Scottish university system promoted this energetic expansion of culture and intellect.

The University of Edinburgh along with Glasgow and St. Andrews were international centers of learning. Compared with the exclusionary policies of Oxford and Cambridge, which allowed only Episcopalians, Scottish universities were expressly inclusive. Students from across Protestant Europe came to Scotland as well as Englishmen. Latin usually being the only prerequisite and the relative affordability made Scotland an attractive destination for

[72] Adrian Johns, "Identity, Practice, and Trust in Early Modern Natural Philosophy", *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 42 No. 2 (Dec. 1999), 1140.
[73] Arthur Herman. *How the Scots Invented the Modern World.* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), 112.
[74] Ibid., 113.

would-be scholars.[75] The Scottish universities had institutionalized different disciplines allowing for more critical research especially in history where Donald MacNicol, minister and polemical opponent of Dr. Johnson, commented, "The province of history, is, in a manner, yielded up to them."[76]

The end of the 17th century saw the universities of Scotland, Edinburgh in particular, assimilate the progressive curriculum of universities across Europe. Serving as a beacon for those within Scotland which sought to contend with the Kirk and those elements in Scottish society which were still looking backwards with admiration for Scotland's feudal past. The University of Edinburgh and the city itself would serve as a symbol for the discourses centered on modernity and liberty which engulfed Scottish intellectuals throughout the 18th century.

3.2 Historical Conception of Liberty

The Scots were especially proud of their history and they envisioned their history to be one of liberty. The 18th century saw this romantic vision of a past filled with battles fought in the name of liberty criticized and dismembered. The basis of Scottish intellectual thought at the beginning of the 18th century was that the nobility limited the power of the monarch and preserved the liberty of the people. This feudal outlook on the relationship between politics and liberty was placed under severe strain when placed in comparison with the liberties enjoyed by the English in a mixed constitutional order and even with the subjects of absolutist France.

[75] Ibid., 25.
[76] Donald MacNicol in David, Allan. *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 148.

Classic Scottish whig philosophy was based on the work of the 16th century humanist, George Buchanan (1506-1582). In his philosophy the people, meaning the nobility and clan chiefs, had the right and the duty to resist tyrannical kings. This historical constitutional theory was justified by both natural law and by the ancient constitution of Scotland's first king, Fergus MacFerquhard. Scotland's history was punctuated with public-minded nobles resisting through strength of arms kings and replacing them with 'elected' successors.[77] Liberty based on the martial abilities of the nobility characterized the Scottish conception of liberty in the Middle Ages however, this feudal notion of liberty was unable to stand the rigors of Scotland's transition to modernity.

The Declaration of Arbroath (1320) was a key feature in Scotland's ancient constitution. The Declaration provided a new conceptualization of liberty, as an abstraction of the idea; the declaration states, "Liberty, which no good man gives up but with his life"[78] provided the justification for Scottish resistance to Edward. In the wake of the Wars of Independence the Barons' letter to the Pope reaffirmed the conditional nature of kingship in Scotland. The community was given primacy over the authority of the Scottish kingship. The Declaration was subsequently conceptualized as a contract between king and people. Also, the notion of the personal freedom of the Scottish people was coupled with the independence of the kingdom.[79]

[77] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 20.
[78] "The Declaration of Arbroath" *English Historical Documents* in Alan Harding, "Political Liberty in the Middle Ages", *Speculum.* Vol. 55 No. 3 (July 1980), 440.
[79] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 17.

Buchanan's primary source for reconstructing the history of Scotland was the humanist historian Hector Boece (1456-1536). Boece systematized and legitimized the different legends which composed the origins of the Scottish people. He also listed the evils that befell Scottish kings who ruled as tyrants.[80] Buchanan seized upon this idea and used it as evidence of Scotland's ancient constitution, its continuous practice in history, and as a justification for regicide when the king acts against the people.

Buchanan defended the right of the people to depose Mary Queen of Scots. His justifications were not based purely on Protestant arguments; he complemented them with humanist concepts to which he adhered. He appealed to both supposed precedent and principle in asserting the right and advocacy of regicide.[81] His work would be the basis of the controversy centered on resistance theory that would define the Scottish Whigs in the 17th and 18th centuries. If a monarch misruled or misgoverned to the detraction of the public good then the monarch became the enemy of the people and a person that takes it upon themselves to rid the land of the tyrant would be worthy of praise. This met immediate criticism[82] from authors such as Ninian Winzet who defended the inviolability of the monarch based upon the divine-right as discussed in the scriptures.[83] This debate would be one of the centerpieces of Scottish political thought until after the Jacobite threat had been nullified in the late 18th century.

[80] Arthur Williamson, "Scots, Indians, and Empire", *Past and Present.* No. 150 (Feb. 1996), 46-47.
[81] J.H. Burns, "George Buchanan and the anti-monarchomachs" in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain.* Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner eds. (Cambrisdge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 6.
[82] This debate over resistance theory was not restricted to Scotland and would be the center of controversy for centuries, German translations of Buchanan's work were made in both 1796 and 1821.
[83] J.H. Burns, "George Buchanan and the anti-monarchomachs" in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain.* Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner eds. (Cambrisdge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 7.

The Union of Crowns was interpreted in the early 18th century as a massive blow to Scottish liberty; this Union would reemerge in the middle of the century as an impediment to Scottish liberty. When James VI/I accepted the crown of England and moved his court to London the affairs of Scotland became increasingly subordinated to the needs of England. This situation drew the ire of many Scots especially within the context of the Darien disaster. It was obvious the English did not support the colony at Darien and in a letter addressed to the King of England by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal asked the king to dissuade his Scottish subjects from continuing their designs in the West Indies.[84] In this environment where the king obviously was faced by a conflict of interest some Scots openly worried if their interests were being served by the present monarch.

Those Scotsmen that were concerned by the lack of attention accorded Scotland in comparison with England published a number of articles to remind the king that in the Scottish whig tradition the king was meant to serve the interests of the Estates. Archibald Foyer invokes Baliol from the ancient past and James I as examples when the people of Scotland claimed their right to place the crown upon a more worthy head.[85] Fletcher eschews a similar sentiment in 1703 during a speech in the Scottish Parliament, "All our affairs since the union of the crowns have been managed by the advice of English ministers and the principal offices of the kingdom filled with such men, as the Court of England knew would be subservient to their designs…We have from that time appeared to the rest of the world more

[84] Lords Spiritual and Temporal. *The Humble Address of the Right Honorable Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, Presented to His Majesty.* (London: 1699), 3.
[85] Archibald Foyer. *A defence of the Scots settlement at Darien. With an answer to the Spanish memorial against it. And arguments to prove that it is the interest of England to join with the Scots, and protect it. To which is added, a description of the country, and a particular account of the Scots colony.* (Edinburgh: 1699), i.

like a conquered province than a free independent people."[86] Two solutions remained to remedy the situation; Scotland would need to appoint their own monarch at the death of Queen Anne or some variety of union with England in the hopes of eliminating any conflicts of interests. Jacobites pushed for the former solution with the intention of returning the Stuarts to the throne while many whigs reluctantly found themselves promoting some form of union.

3.3 Cracks in the Buchananite Mythology

After the Union of Crowns in 1603 a number of initiatives took place to better integrate the two kingdoms but, nothing substantial came to fruition. In the 17th century this hesitation was mainly on the part of the English however; at the start of the 18th century the English pushed for closer ties while the Scots put up resistance. This was partly due to resentment of the haughty manner in which the English pushed for union and more importantly there were real fears among the Scots that they were going to be swallowed by their larger neighbor. England passed the Act of Settlement in 1701 and assumed Scotland would follow suit, yet the Scots had other ideas and in 1703 passed the Act of Security which proclaimed Scotland would choose her own successor from a descendant of the Scottish kings. This course of defying the English was strongly supported by Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653-1716), who was a constant critic of the political system of patronage that was a result of the Union of the Crowns. In his opinion Scotland had become dependant upon the English court and the Act of Security was a means to reclaim liberty.[87] In response the English passed

[86] Andrew Fletcher, "Act concerning offices, &c. brought in by the same member" 1703, *Political Works.* John Robertson ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132-133.
[87] Andrew Fletcher. *Political Works.* John Robertson, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 135-141.

the Alien Act in 1705 which recommended Queen Anne appoint commissioners to negotiate a union between Scotland and England. If the Scots did not comply there were to be severe penalties; all Scots would be considered aliens and major Scottish exports to England would be suspended.[88] This was clearly economic blackmail to induce the Scots to the negotiating table and while some of the harsher measures were eventually softened it still pricked at the pride of many Scotsmen.

Leading up to the Act of Union pamphleteers on both sides of the issue engaged in a running battle to strengthen their respective claims. Daniel Defoe was sent to Scotland to ensure the union would pass without trouble. He went with copious amounts of ink and gold at his disposal and used both to great effect. His *An Essay at Removing the National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland* published in 1706 helped soothe the still sore relationship between the two nations. He plays upon the similarities between the two kingdoms and their ability, if they can come together, to spread law and liberty throughout the world.[89] Defoe continues that through union equal liberties will be spread throughout the island and national prejudices and animosities will melt away. In his opinion the national differences that exist between the two kingdoms was only an invention of factions attempting to gain personally.[90] Many Scots from the gentry agreed with Defoe in the main on some type of union however, they were more hesitant about the particulars of union and this was where he met his most spirited opposition.

[88] T.M. Devine. *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000.* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 3.
[89] Daniel Defoe. *An Essay at Removing the National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland.* (Edinburgh: 1706), 4.
[90] Ibid., 15

Andrew Fletcher debated Defoe extensively precisely on where liberty was located. Fletcher placed it within in the ideal of armed civic virtue which occurred in the Gothic and medieval past. Defoe countered that this past was implicitly feudal, repressive, violent and uncultivated. True freedom was modern and its basis was entrenched in a commercial society, where control of the parliamentary purse protected the public.[91] The confrontation between Fletcher and Defoe embodied the concurrent clash between virtue and commerce, republicanism and liberalism, classicism and progressivism. This dialectical exchange illuminated the ideal-types of systems but, in practice the ideas were bled together as the present situation dictated. It is important to note that this was not two groups who simply misunderstood each other as J.G.A. Pocock stresses, "Nor must it ever be forgotten that, as the debate progressed during the next century, virtually every participant showed himself deeply aware of the values propounded by the opposing party." [92]

It was during this period that Jacobites and resistance whigs came closest together in their interpretation of the recent past. Jacobites saw the famines and the failure of Darien as clear examples of God's displeasure with ascension of an illegitimate king. Resistance whigs saw Scotland's impoverishment a result of English interests.[93] This concurrence of interests was not to last and could not be sustained to create a synthesis of an independent Scottish national ideology. The chasm between resistance whigs and Jacobites on whether liberty was to be ensured by the nobility or the monarch remained too great and remained a sticking point for the next half century.

[91] J.G.A. Pocock. *Virtue, Commerce, and History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 231.
[92] Ibid., 232.
[93] Murray Pittock. *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present.* (London: Routledge, 1991), 30.

Jacobite intellectuals intimately linked the ascension of Hanover and the Union with a betrayal of the state. To accept the Union would insult the memory of all those Scots who came before and resisted English attempts to rule Scotland. An anonymous pamphleteer commented, "[I]n spite of that blood our ancestors spent to preserve our liberties from the powerful and repeated assaults of the English, tamely and willingly put our necks under the yoke of the very same people, with this only *proviso*, that in return of our freedom, they will so far complement us as to change their own names, and call us *Britains*."[94] Scotland's rights and liberties were perceived to be intimately linked with independence. The acceptance of Union and the imposition of alien rights with only the mask of British identity was to hide the nation's treason beneath a mere mask.

Presbyterian-whigs followed in this vein of betrayal to Scotland's ancient enemy. The Rev. William Wright (d. 1724) was stupefied that all the blood spilt by Scottish patriots was so easily forgotten.[95] Rev. James Clark (1660-1723?) commented that "English craft had done what Roman arms could never do."[96] Presbyterian-whigs were concerned primarily with an Anglican dominated church structure in a post-Union world. Once this concern over Episcopacy was eliminated by an Article in the Union, anti-Union sentiment among Presbyterian leaders dried up; Presbyterians seemingly had more to fear from an independent Scotland under Catholic Stuart rule than within Great Britain. Scotland's gentry and fledgling merchant class were exhausted by decades of turmoil and English protectionism and with the

[94] Andrew Fletcher? *The consequences of an incorporating union in relation to trade*. (1706), 5.
[95] Rev. William Wright. *The Comical History of the Marriage Betwixt Fergusia and Heptarchus.* (1706), 8.
[96] Rev. James Clark. *Scotland's Speech to Her Sons.* (Edinburgh: 1706?), 4.

religious barrier between Union evidently removed; Presbyterian-whigs could cautiously support an incorporating union.

The religious gulf in many instances remained too wide to bring together Jacobites and resistance whigs. It was a simple measure for Hanover's supporters to raise the specter of a Popish king seeking to enslave the nation. The English lawyer and theologian John Barrington argued that even if the Pretender was a good natured man his Catholic conscience would compel him to seek out all those 'heretics' in his kingdom. Barrington continues, "The greater his charity is, the less will be his humanity; and he will think nothing more cruel, than to neglect the most effectual means of bringing all his people into the bosom of the true Church."[97] Presbyterians across Scotland feared the implications of a Popish king attempting to interfere in their ecclesiastical affairs. In reality it is nearly inconceivable that any of the Stuarts would have attempted to reorient Scotland's religious beliefs back towards Rome. However, what was perceived as possible and reinforced by Hanoverian propaganda became reality to many Scotsmen of the Lowlands.

The Union itself was deeply unpopular with the people of Scotland. Riots erupted in the larger cities and petitions signed by thousands of people came to Edinburgh deriding the Union. Abercromby's *The Advantages of the Act of Security* argued that the Roman motto *Salus populi, suprema lex* (the good of the people is the ultimate law) undercut the legitimacy of the Scottish Parliament's decision to accept an incorporating union. There were no countervailing displays of affection for the Union either in the Highlands or Lowlands. Murray Pittock argues that only the political maneuvering of the Duke of Hamilton (who was

[97] John Barrington. *A Dissuasive from Jacobitism.* (London: 1713), 4.

an acceptable Protestant alternative successor for many Scots) and a lack of leadership prevented a full-scale uprising in 1707.[98] Neither Old Whigs who did not accept the promises of the English nor Jacobite intellectuals could effectively capitalize on the emotional response of the people and reverse the Union.

The feudal system of Scotland was rapidly degenerating in the wake of the Union. Scottish lairds were seeking enhanced prosperity and reputation through commercial means, in order to sustain a more elegant lifestyle.[99] Commercial considerations were rapidly replacing traditional social relationships. Demography also influenced the dynamism of 18th century Scottish society. The famines of the 1690s halted the already unspectacular population growth of the 17th century and by 1755 Scotland's recovery had been modest.[100] The deaths of so many people and the resultant migration further broke down social bonds. People living in a new epoch of commercialism and left without familiar social resources allowed for new ideas of liberty and prosperity to be spread and accepted by society.

3.4 Jacobitism and the Whig Response

The Jacobites hold a special place in Scottish history. Unfortunately, the romanticism and legends placed upon them tends to obscure their intellectual position and historical place. The term itself is derived from the Latin *Jacobus* for James. Thus, the Jacobites were those that supported James VII/I and his heirs.[101] Scottish Jacobitism held the greatest drawing

[98] Murray Pittock. *Scottish Nationality.* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 60.
[99] Bruce Lenman, "From the Union of 1707 to the Franchise Reform of 1832" in *The New Penguin History of Scotland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Ed. R.A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox. (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 279.
[100] Ibid., 280.
[101] T.M. Devine. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000.* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 31.

power and highest hopes for success among the three kingdoms. Jacobitism in Scotland was able to persist as a major political and social force in Scotland for over 70 years for a number of reasons. Jacobite leaders were generally able to maintain their estates in the face of a dominant Whig political order and thus maintain their political powerbase. Second, Scottish Episcopalians preached Jacobite ideology almost throughout the 18th century despite facing persecution.[102]

George Lockhart of Carnwath provides an interesting portrait in the making of a Scottish Jacobite. He was an anomaly of sorts as he wrote profusely on his Jacobite plans, his own role within the movement, and the political situation of the time. Most Jacobites, especially those living in Britain, maintained a certain level of discretion in their politics; mainly conducting their affairs orally or quickly burning any written documents in case of governmental interference.[103] Lockhart and his voluminous works provide a snapshot into the mind of Scottish landowner that decided to advocate for the exiled Stuarts.

His family had successfully negotiated the pitfalls of 17th century British politics. In an environment of rapidly changing alliances, fortunes, and power politics the Lockhart family survived and even prospered throughout the century.[104] The family had distinguished itself as loyal state servants to whoever happened to be in power at the moment. In contrast, George seems to have at some point become enamored with the Stuart cause and on principle

[102] Bruce Lenman, "The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism", in Eveline Cruishanks ed. *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism.* (Edinburgh: 1982).
[103] Daniel Szechi, "Constructing a Jacobite: The Social and Intellectual Origins of George Lockhart of Carnwath", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 40 No. 4 (Dec. 1997), 979.
[104] National Library of Scotland, Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath estate papers, personal documents: charters and commissions.

maintained his allegiance throughout his career. He had pledged himself and the Lockharts of Carnwath to the Cavalier and he and his family would pay the consequences of that decision for the next 50 years.[105]

There is little reason to believe George followed the Stuarts for economic reasons. His family was financially secure and he could have fulfilled any political ambitions by ingratiating himself to the Hanoverian court. The most apparent reason for Lockhart to press fro the Stuart's was his dissatisfaction with a new Whig social order. As a landowner of high rank Lockhart was couched in the belief that people of his rank formed the natural ruling elite. With the Whig ascendancy and the subsequent raising of lesser gentry, lawyers, and other 'mean' people Lockhart felt the natural order was breaking down.[106] Patriarchy in its noblest sense underlined Lockhart's politics. The Jacobites for the most part seemed to respect Scotland's ancient traditions and hierarchy whereas Whigs represented the degenerative features of commercial society.

In Lockhart's estimation the degenerative features of those 'mean' people had infected many of the Scottish peers. This corruption of the peerage had allowed the gentry and lawyers to reject the authority of their natural leaders. Lockhart and the Jacobites were:

> resolved to shake off that servile dependence which the Scots peers expected and had too much enjoy'd from the Commons, whereby they rendered themselves more significant to the Court and promoted their own designs, which for the most part were prejudicial to the interest of the country.[107]

[105] Daniel Szechi, "Constructing a Jacobite: The Social and Intellectual Origins of George Lockhart of Carnwath", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 40 No. 4 (Dec. 1997), 983.
[106] Daniel Szechi, "Constructing a Jacobite: The Social and Intellectual Origins of George Lockhart of Carnwath", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 40 No. 4 (Dec. 1997), 986.
[107] Lockhart Papers, I, 338.

Lockhart reflected the concerns raised by Fletcher relating to the selfishness of the nobility and its failure to live up to its duty to the Scottish people. Honor was Lockhart's guiding principle and the fundamental basis of honor was moral and legal propriety. He was opposed to the execution of Mary by Elizabeth I as she had no legal jurisdiction over Mary. Furthermore, it was an abomination in the eyes of God and set a dangerous precedent.[108] Lockhart was a zealot who romanticized the nobility and their position in society. He held himself and those around at a higher standard than most could possibly meet. He died at the age of the age of 51 as the result of a duel he could have honorably declined but, his own sense of honor did not allow his refusal.[109]

Many of the early Jacobites writings were based upon legal considerations for returning James to the throne. Far from the romanticism that characterized Charles Edward Stuart's claims to the throne the Old Pretender's supporters leaned towards logical arguments of jurisprudence. One author argues that it is nearly impossible to argue the legality of the Stuart succession and that their opponents were reduced to mere slandering of the Prince of Wales' birth. Furthermore, it was an illegal action taken by a group calling themselves a Convention of Estates which ruled the throne vacant. This was not in accord with Scotland's ancient constitution.[110] This line of argument is continued and echoed by others. Yet, this reasoning only partially fulfilled its objectives. It effectively demolished the resistance whig position of faithfully executing the ancient constitution however, it failed to adequately undermine the new whig position of modernity and prosperity.

[108] Daniel Szechi, "Constructing a Jacobite: The Social and Intellectual Origins of George Lockhart of Carnwath", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 40 No. 4 (Dec. 1997), 989.
[109] Daniel Szechi, "Constructing a Jacobite: The Social and Intellectual Origins of George Lockhart of Carnwath", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 40 No. 4 (Dec. 1997), 988.
[110] *To all true-hearted Scotsmen, whether soldiers or others.* (Perth, 1715), 4.

Resistance whigs were on more solid footing when they accepted their weaknesses but, pointed out how Stuart rule had led to a century of poverty, famine, and strife. Dr. John Arbuthnot accepted that Scottish independence was "undeniable in law, as well as justifiable from history", yet, "at present, it is in effect precarious, imaginary, and fantastical."[111] The relegation of history to the past and not as the centerpiece of ideology crippled both the Presbyterian-whigs and Jacobites. Resistance whigs and Jacobites inflicted mortal blows upon the ideologies of one another without adequately replacing them. In this environment it was easy for later 18th century Scots (those of the Enlightenment) to embed themselves in the New Whig tradition.

Both resistance whigs and Jacobites derived their ideologies from interpretations of Gaelic history. Whigs drawing upon the work of Buchanan interpreted early Scottish history as one of proto-parliamentarianism. George Ridpath argued that Scotland's first king, Fergus I, owed his position to an election by clan chiefs. William Jameson expanded this argument by stating that the clan chiefs themselves had been elected by their followers.[112] Jacobites countered that the Stuart line was the natural hereditary successor of Fergus I. James Wallace attacked the whig position on the Gaelic tanistry. Whigs had argued this was evidence of an ancient elective *ius regni*; Wallace countered it was merely evidence of temporary expedients

[111] George Aitken ed. *The Life and Works of Dr. Abuthnot.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 396-398.
[112] Colin Kidd. *British Identities Before Nationalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 132.

similar to regencies where a substitute would hold the kingship until the rightful, *hereditary*, monarch was capable.[113]

3.5 Scottish Legal System

The Scottish legal system was one of those privileged institutions which remained after the Union. Almost immediately in the wake of the Union interest in English law grew in Scotland and to a lesser degree English interest in Scots law appeared.[114] One of the main reasons for this increased interest in English law was the House of Lords was the ultimate jurisdiction in Scots' cases. With only 16 Scottish peers sitting in the House it was unlikely they would have a predominant voice in proceedings. In effect, Scottish lawyers were forced to make Scottish law intelligible to the English.[115] This had the unexpected consequence of many Scotsmen finding aspects of English law appealing. Over the course of the 18th century many within the Scottish polity sought to eliminate the remaining vestiges of feudalism that permeated throughout Scottish law. Of particular importance was the debate over heritable jurisdictions.

The relations between landlord and tenant were an antiquated affair. Produce rents were still common, bondage services continued to be exacted, thirlage[116] regularly appeared in the leases, and the tenantry was still obliged to attend the court of the laird's baron-

[113] Colin Kidd. *British Identities Before Nationalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 135.
[114] John Cairns, "Scottish Law and the Status of the Union" in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707.* John Robertson ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 243-245.
[115] Ibid., 246.
[116] The right which the owner of a mill possesses, by contract or law, to compel the tenants of a certain district, or of his sucken, to bring all their grain to his mill for grinding.

baillie.[117] Heritable jurisdictions gave near unassailable protection to mete out justice as they saw fit in their jurisdictions. Lawbreakers in one district could seek protection from their lord to escape punishment in another jurisdiction.[118] This system increasingly came under attack from Scots as an unfortunate vestige of their feudal past which the Union had wrongfully indulged. Smith and Hume both judged justice on the basis of how securely it was grounded on the rights of property and how adequately the needs of laborers were met.[119]

In Hume's eyes the continued existence of heritable jurisdictions was an unfortunate consequence of the Union of Crowns and Scotland's interrupted development as a modern nation. The moving of James VI/I and his court to London had artificially allowed the nobility in Scotland to hold their primary position. Neither the mixed constitutionalism of England nor the absolutism of France had been able to evolve in Scotland. Either of these political systems would have been superior in securing the liberty of Scotsmen. In "Of Civil Liberty" Hume details the rights protected in France as being nearly equal to those enjoyed in England.[120] Other anti-feudalist pamphleteers lamented that those living under Scottish jurisdictions were toiling under a situation "worse than Egyptian slavery" and the barons with their power of pit and gallows held greater authority than the highest jurisdiction of all.[121]

[117] Arthur Birnie, "Some Aberdeenshire Leases in the 18th century", *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 4 No. 4 (Apr. 1934), 469.
[118] Jeremy Wormald, "Bloodfeud, Kindred, and Government in Early Modern Scotland", *Past and Present.* No. 87 (May 1980), 83.
[119] Istvan Hont. *Jealousy of Trade: International Trade and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective.* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005), 396.
[120] David Hume, "Of Civil Liberty", *Political Essays.* Knud Haakonssen ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 53-57.
[121] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 158.

The Scottish Enlightenment is generally characterized as Scotland's glorious entrance into the modern world; an intellectual epoch in which a society finally escapes its primitive, violent past and embraces rationalism and progress. This interpretation is accepted mainly because those participating in the Scottish Enlightenment propagated this interpretation.[122] By the 1740s Scottish intellectuals, for the most part, had accepted the Anglo-whig ideology and were making critical improvements to that system of thought. The leading Enlightenment figures (Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, Robertson, and Ferguson) were distinguished by their optimistic belief in humanity to act sociably. This view of man as being naturally amicable was spread by the literati and moved throughout Scottish society.[123] This spread of ideas was aided by a century of improved roads and a better communication network. For the most part these figures and others had been born in British Scotland and had no direct memory of an independent Scottish kingdom. They studied and used history with an eye towards the future in contrast to their predecessors whose ideologies became mired in the past.

[122] David Spadafora. *The Idea of Progress in 18th Century Britain.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 253.
[123] Waszek, Norbert. *Man's Social Nature.* (Frankfurt: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986), 172.

Chapter 4: Scotland's Identities

Eighteenth century Scots had composed a mythology of national identity that compares favorably with any of the romantic nationalists found in 19th century Continental Europe. Buchanan and his successors had created a whig tradition which stretched back into antiquity centering the Scottish national identity on liberty and personal freedoms protected by a virtuous nobility. Jacobites placed the emphasis of Scotland's identity as symbolized in the form of the king. Progressive figures within both Scotland and England attempted with some success to create a new British national identity in the form of parliamentary supremacy and the extension of individual liberty throughout Great Britain. This chapter will focus on the debates between the three different strands of Scottishness which strove to define Scotland and its conception of self.

4.1 Ethnic and Civic Nationalism

Nationalism as something resembling a coherent ideology emerged in 18th century Scotland. Most contemporary scholars envision nationalism inexorably linked with many of the tragedies of the 20th century. Furthermore, it is seen as containing a powerful internal structure that even well-established beliefs must crumble before nationalisms onslaught.[124] Scottish nationalism, if it can be called as such, in the early 18th century lacks this cohesion and found itself battling for the hearts and minds of competing ideologies. The catastrophes of the 1690s coupled with Darien's failure, compounded by the Union all served to allow Scottish nationalism to materialize however; it was immediately challenged by a British conception of identity and patriotism.

[124] Anthony Smith. *Theories of Nationalism.* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983), 27.

The appeal of nationalism is easy to understand as mankind has an inherent desire to belong to some group. There is a near universal craving for solidarity and security within the company of others which nationalism provides.[125] The seismic shifts which occurred in Scottish society throughout the 18th century pushed men to create a group more prepared to deal with the new environment. Religion's place in Scottish society was slowly being undermined; strict Presbyterianism was moderating first expanding to the toleration of Episcopacy and eventually Catholicism. Feudal structures in the Lowlands and the Clan system in the Highlands were breaking down. Increasing numbers of people were moving to urban centers where traditional social structures did not exist. All of these components necessitated the implementation of a new social structure and nationalist ideology filled that void.

The composition of this ideology was not unified as both ethnic and civic nationalists sought to define and defend the nation. Ethnic groups are generally believed to have some distinguishing cultural feature that clearly separates one group of people from another.[126] The problems of this definition should be readily apparent, as it is nearly impossible to determine the boundaries of ethnic categories in this way. It is further complicated in Scotland as to where the Scottish ethnic group originated from i.e. from a Gaelic or Pictish progenitor. Thus, forging an organic ethnic identity was challenged from the beginning as the various claims of representing the 'true' Scottish voice melded into a cacophony of empty rhetoric.

[125] Ibid., 29.
[126] Paul Brass. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison.* (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 18.

The multitude of Scottish ethnic identities should come as no surprise as it reflects the fractured nature of 18th century Scottish society. Lacking a national media to disseminate a uniform interpretation of events with its attendant homogenization of society, people were still likely to define themselves along regional and religious lines.[127] Similarly, Scotland's ethnic identity was not clearly defined or understood. Within Scotland an educated man could believe himself the descendant of the Gaelic Scots who had made their home in the ancient Highland kingdom of Dalriada or he could believe himself the successor of a Pictish society or perhaps from a Gothic line originating in northern Germany or Scandinavia.[128] Further complicating matters were English claims that the southern parts of Scotland held a Norman or Saxon dimension.

Ethnic associations with nationality will invariably link themselves to a primordialist view of nations. At its extreme primordialists will view national identity as a natural part of human being, equivalent with speech or sight.[129] People are born into their national identity and it cannot be changed. In general nationalists who promote this view will espouse five themes:

1) The antiquity of the nation must be asserted; the mythic emergence of the Scots people as the descendants of Gaythelos and Scota who were contemporaries of Moses.

[127] Richard Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the 18th Century" in *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages.* Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch eds. (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1998), 144.
[128] Colin Kidd. *British Identities Before Nationalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 123-133.
[129] Umut Ozkirimli. *Theories of Nationalism.* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 66.

2) The golden age must be outlined; the coronation of Robert the Bruce and the Declaration of Arbroath are identified as the idealized representations of Scottish society.
3) The superiority of national culture is made explicit; the martial abilities were commonly assumed to be vastly superior to the English whose history was punctuated by foreign domination.
4) Periods of recess must be explained; the failure of Darien and the famines of the 1690s could be rationalized as an international conspiracy to destabilize the Scottish kingdom or as the result of God's displeasure for accepting William as king depending on the political leanings of the commentator.
5) Finally the national hero emerges to cleanse the land and restore it to its former glory; the Stuarts were occasionally invoked to play this role.[130]

However, Scottish nationalists were in the unenviable situation of tracing backwards to antiquity the single ethnic strain for which Scotland was based.

Attempting to filter the ethnic soup which comprised Scottish society in the 18th century necessitates a brief examination of Scotland's medieval past. Modern Scotland was born out of the incorporation of the Pictish kingdom with the Gaelic Dalriada counterpart in the 8th and 9th centuries. The Gaelic Columban church played a leading role in the Christianizing of Scotland and subsequently in the ascendancy of Gaelic language and culture.[131] Over the course of the next three centuries the kingdom expanded and eventually included Britons, Northumbrians as well as Anglo-Norman and Flemish immigrants. This

[130] Umut Ozkirimli. *Theories of Nationalism.* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 66.
[131] Ibid., 123.

ethnic medley was generally acclimated to a Gaelic cultural identity which was cemented by the Wars of Independence (1296-1357).

This ethnic homogeneity was immediately challenged on the basis of a Highland and Lowland divide. John Fordun (1320-1384) criticized the English for their obstinacy in claiming suzerainty over the whole island and also the Highlanders for their savageness. The Lowlanders were thought to hold a unique consciousness based upon integrity and honesty with a strong antipathy for the Highlanders. Furthermore, the Lowlanders appropriated the language; giving the Lowland vernacular the title of Scots and relegating Gaelic as an alien, Irish tongue.[132] Despite this the 16th century historian George Buchanan latched onto the Gaelic mythology and grafted the ancient Gaelic society onto his resistance whiggism.

While the political nation of the 17th century used the mythology of Scotland's Daldriac past anti-Gaelic legislation was enacted. The Kirk played a critical role in undermining Gaelic culture and castigating it as naturally uncivilized and predisposed towards Catholic mysticism.[133] The Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was created in 1709 and was intended to spread English and Presbyterianism in the Highlands. The crown supported such initiatives and made an annual donation to the Kirk. This grant was used to inculcate Protestantism, loyalty, and respect for the law.[134] As the Highlands leaned towards Catholicism or Episcopacy the activities of the Kirk served to further divide the Lowlands and Highlands and ensure a sense of 'otherness' was embedded on their

[132] Ibid., 125.
[133] Colin Kidd. *British Identities Before Nationalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 123-128.
[134] Ibid., 138.

neighbors. Despite sharing a common past, contexts and ideological preconceptions penetrated Scottish society so that two culturally distinct 'ethnic' groups confronted the 18th century.

Ethnicity was to be closely related to ideology and the arguments in favor of whiggism or Jacobitism were often closely related to the supposed ethnic composition of Scotland. The Jacobite historian Father Thomas Innes did much to deconstruct the Old Whig interpretation of Scottish history. Not to delve too deeply into Innes scholarship it is important to note that he used his family connections to unearth archival resources which exposed the Buchananite mythology, undermining the entire basis of resistance whiggism.[135] Innes attempted to supplant the Gaelic history of Scotland but as Colin Kidd points out, "He replaced the Fergusian mythology with an equally bogus ancient Jacobite constitution of the Pictish monarchy."[136] The Gaelic tradition was able to withstand the attacks of Innes because of his Catholicism, Jacobitism, as well as his historical fallacies.

Ethnic nationalism which faced a multitude of internal problems was simultaneously confronted by advocates of civic nationalism. From this viewpoint the personal lives and commitments of individuals may be very different but, their commitment to the state should be equal.[137] This process is aided by a civil society defined by Jonathan Hearn as an, "ensemble of social institutions, associations and organizations, distinct from kinship and the state, through which values, desires and demands are articulated and which often serves to

[135] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 102-105.
[136] Ibid., 107.
[137] David Miller. *Citizenship and National Identity.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 42.

channel these demands towards the state."[138] Through the efforts of the civil society a particular civic nationalism occurs conceived in relation to the institutional and territorial frame of the state.

Many Enlightenment figures propounded the idea of a British civic nationalism. The complete integration and necessarily the subjugation of the individual into the nation is not the focus of this civic nationalism. A great emphasis is placed upon the individual and upon the human community beyond the national divisions. Social activism was expected in which individuals felt a sense of responsibility for the betterment of conditions in this world; conscious of the common root of religious and political liberty as the foundation of a true commonwealth.[139] The civic nationalism advocated by those in the Enlightenment reflected new social forces infused with new emotions and loyalties. This class saw their activities, their accumulation of wealth, and their search for trade and outlets for their energy in the light of this civic duty. This liberalism appropriated from the English brought a new faith in man and his ability to reason; blended with a sense of acquisitiveness, fed into the capitalist drive culminating in a sense of progress and assurance. Furthermore, the potential lay for a dedication to the service of something higher than individual gain or national interest.[140]

A British national identity grew in the 18th century and was composed of different strands. Anti-Catholicism and fears of universal monarchy were easily placed into a British context; contemporary British military and naval heroes helped cultivate a sense of Britishness; the need for placing British interests above continental dynastic interests; and

[138] Jonathan Hearn. *Rethinking Nationalism: a Critical Introduction.* (London: Palgrave, 2006), 87.
[139] Hans Kohn. *The Idea of Nationalism.* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 178.
[140] Ibid., 179.

finally the monarchy as symbol of British unity.[141] However, this sense of Britishness was superficial as it was unable to tap into deeper roots of national consciousness.[142] Scotland's history and the Scottish sense of distinctiveness proved too robust to be effectively incorporated into a solely British national identity.

4.2 Scotland's Historical National Identity

The martial spirit and abilities of the Scots was never questioned and was one of the definitive pieces of Scottish pride. Yet, military ability as the basis for liberty lost favor throughout the 18th century. The Jacobite Patrick Abercromby (1656-1716) in *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation* linked the creation of the Scottish nation to the military abilities of the king to forge the nation.[143] Pamphlets such as this and others published by some whig historians made a clear differentiation between Scotland's history and Britain's. The Scots argued they occupied a separate community of beliefs, values, and liberty from their southern neighbors.

Related to the notion of Scottish pride in martial affairs and a long lineage of liberty was the supposed military inferiority of the English. England's history was one of foreign domination from the Romans to the Normans the English had been constantly under the yoke of foreigners. George Ridpath (d. 1726) in *Scotland's Grievances Related to Darien* argued that Scotland was never governed by the Romans and Great Britain had never been a single

[141] Linda Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and national Consciousness", *Past and Present.* No. 113 (Nov. 1986), 99.
[142] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 206.
[143] Patrick Abercromby. *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation.* (Edinburgh, 1711), 112.

political entity.[144] Furthermore, any political union between the two states needed to be made on the basis of two equal sovereign states not as the conquest of a wayward province. While there was common ground on some points by Jacobites such as Abercromby and whigs of Ridpath's character they were not able to overcome their partisanship to craft a single national identity for Scotland. Factionalism trumped national identity while the commercial and political liberties enjoyed by the English were a constant reminder of Scotland's backwardness.

The inferiority complex with regards to English prosperity and power severely undermined the ability of modern Scottish national identity to emerge. The feudal liberty of Scotland increasingly became a mark of shame as opposed to a badge of honor. This was in sharp contrast to the liberty many Scots felt the English enjoyed because of their liberty based upon good laws which her Parliament had advanced. It was hoped by many Scots that through a closer union with England their liberty could be melded into the Scottish notion of that mercurial concept.

Murray Pittock argues that Jacobitism became the only viable source of nationalist expression in the wake of the Union. After Queen Anne's death in 1714 a petition was raised in Scotland calling for a repeal of the Union; it was subsequently put down by the Whig ministry. In response the Earl of Mar led an ill-fated rising. A lack of communication between James and the leaders of the rising condemned the rebellion to failure. The rising was to be supported by people across Britain but, 90 percent of the forces were raised in

[144] George Ridpath. *Scotland's Grievances Related to Darien.* (1700), 3.

Scotland.[145] An end to the Union was at least as attractive to the rebels as the restoration of James. Pittock further argues in this period nationalist aspirations could only be expressed through the guise of Jacobitism.[146] This assertion may be too far sweeping because many Jacobites and the Jacobite ideology was not especially concerned with nationalist aspirations.

Whigs attempted to disentangle the connection between Jacobitism and nationalist feelings. William Arnall's *Opposition No Proof of Patriotism…* argued that those outside the halls of power are merely playing upon the emotions of the people and directing them against the best interests of the country. Those people who did not gain favors through patronage suddenly became Jacobites and sought to ferment nationalist feelings as a means towards personal advancement. He continues with reference to the Stuart regime, "Can they recollect that ever they were better when others were in place, even those who are now out? Had they then more ease, fewer taxes, or greater liberty?"[147] It became paramount for the ascendant Anglo-whig ideology to disentangle emotional links between Jacobitism and nationalists. Altering the lens of Scotland's past from one of primordial liberty as the Jacobites and resistance whigs proclaimed and re-imagining it as a history of violent struggle and lawlessness.

In the face of the bitter struggle between Jacobite and resistance whig definitions of Scottish national identity North Britishness emerged as an increasingly attractive alternative. It became attractive because it lacked the historical baggage which both the resistance whigs

[145] Murray Pittock. *Scottish Nationality.* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 64.
[146] Ibid., 65.
[147] William Arnall. *Opposition no proof of patriotism: With some observations and advice concerning party-writings.* (London: 1735), 6.

and Jacobites were committed to carrying around. North Britishness also elicited a sense of progress and prosperity. This yearning to leave behind Scotland's feudal past had been one of the most attractive aspects of resistance whiggery in the late 17th century however, that ideology had not been able to shed its commitment to violent resistance and thus lost much of its appeal to a population exhausted by struggles.

4.3 The Rise and Fall of North Britain

North Britishness was not a primordial ethnic identification instead it was the aspiration for and acquisition of certain ideals. By the mid-18th century in certain sectors Scottish attachment to the Union had moved from one of justifications on the basis of self-interest towards a genuine admiration and emulation of English values.[148] This did not mean the Scots forgot or completely abandoned their independent past it was just compartmentalized in a new and less ideologically antagonistic way. As David Daiches argued, "North Britishness has also been conceptualized in terms of a pluralist vision of Britain as a multi-cultural, multi-national mixed unitary state."[149] Assimilation of the Scottish political nation into Britain was tempered by serious reservations. However, this resistance was overcome as the new state was not perceived as particularly oppressive. And this assimilation was always tempered by the degree of autonomy Scotland retained under the articles of the Union. The Scottish intelligentsia became the main torchbearers for the idea of North Britain

[148] Colin Kidd, "North Britishness and the Nature of 18th Century British Patriotisms", in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 39 No. 2 (June 1996), 363.
[149] David Daiches. *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the 18th Century Experience.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 58.

Those estimable men of the Scottish Enlightenment are currently regarded as comprising some of the most distinguished minds of the early modern period; and as national turncoats consciously plunging a dagger of dishonor into the back of their countrymen.[150] The latter viewpoint is based upon their commitment to the Union, the admiration they expressed for the liberties enjoyed by the English, and their recommendation that Scotland required a serious dose of Anglicizing improvement.[151] David Hume and John Millar espoused the history of England as the triumphant rise of liberty. William Robertson would play the more villainous role of deconstructing those sacred cows of Scottish history that so many resistance whigs and Jacobites desperately clung.

William Robertson was a leading figure in the Scottish Enlightenment and a key figure in the advancement of the British national project. As a historian he was regarded as the equal of Voltaire, Gibbon, and Hume with a narrative style reminiscent of Tacitus.[152] Robertson championed an elite, cosmopolitan Britain encapsulating the aristocracy, lesser gentry and professional groups of both Scotland and England. At his core Robertson was an elitist ascribing to the educated elite the position of defining and legitimizing the nation's political arrangements and cultural self-image. He further ascribed Scotland's backwardness of the 17th century on the failure of the political elite and the church elite to form a partnership of enlightened social management.[153] The Union of 1707 and the continuing Anglicization of

[150] The latter view is held primarily by contemporary Scots and do not reflect the views of the author.
[151] Colin Kidd, "The Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*", *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire.* Stewart Brown ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 122.
[152] Nicholas Phillipson, "Providence and Progress: an Introduction to the Historical Thought of William Robertson", *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire.* Stewart Brown ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 54-57.
[153] Karen O'Brien, "Robertson and 18th century Narrative History", *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire.* Stewart Brown ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 82.

British society allowed for such a partnership to emerge and begin the implementation of enlightened policies.

Despite Robertson's criticisms of Scotland's mythic past he did serve to give Scotland a voice. Colin Kidd argues that Robertson along with his enlightened cohorts served to reinvigorate Scotland's place in Europe; something which had not occurred since Buchanan's *Historia*.[154] Robertson's particular form of patriotism was concerned in giving an objective view of Scotland's history without succumbing to factional interests. D.J. Womersley comments that Robertson was committed to an objective view of history where the truth can be discovered through a careful examination of evidence and can only be readjusted with the introduction of new evidence not by changing contemporary attitudes.[155]

Robertson was particularly critical of Scotland's nobility. That caste which was held in such high esteem by resistance whigs as the traditional protectors of the people's liberties received his scorn. The nobility had not held the interests of the Scottish people closest to their hearts instead favoring to protect and expand their own interests. The nobles' self-interest had both impoverished the nation and retarded the dissemination of civil liberty.[156] The Union had served as a deliverance from aristocratic oppression.

[154] Colin Kidd, "The Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*", *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire.* Stewart Brown ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 124.
[155] D.J. Womersley, "The Historical Writings of William Robertson", *The Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 47 No. 3 (July-Sept. 1986), 497.
[156] Colin Kidd, "The Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*", *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire.* Stewart Brown ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 125.

Robertson took the position that the resistance whig romanticism of the past needed to be destroyed for a more sure-footed Scottish identity to emerge. He recognized that Scotland lacked an ethnic continuity that had lasted through the ages and that Scotland's ancient constitution based upon liberty was not unique to Gaeldom.[157] Robertson's vision of Scotland's history incorporated the views of different factions and in Kidd's opinion, "…into a compelling modern Whig synthesis of the course of Scottish history between the medieval era and the present."[158] Scottish national identity was to be incorporated into a British national identity; with progress, civic liberty, and politeness as the core values for society to be organized around.

By the middle of the 18th century most Scots had become acclimated to the British political reality and to a certain extent simultaneously wore the costume of both a North Britain and Scotsman. This feeling of duality was not reciprocated by their southern neighbors. While the Scots were able to take on the British identity many Englishmen could not erase their feelings of anti-Scottishness. In Michael Finlay's view the Union of 1707 had not signified an integral break with English history and Englishmen were subsequently resistant to shedding their national identity in favor of a more inclusive British identity.[159] These fears were easily fanned by demagogues and the Uprising of 1745 did little to allay those fears. The nuances between Lowlander and Highlander were not easily understood by polite society in London but, the image of a kilt-clad Highlander descending from the north like a wolf on the fold was easy to appreciate.

[157] Ibid., 130.
[158] Ibid., 131.
[159] Richard Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the 18th Century" in *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages.* Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch eds. (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1998), 148.

The scorn held by many Englishmen towards their North British neighbors continued after the '45 and allowed a clear division between the two nations to remain. The disdainful sentiment of many Englishmen is contained in Samuel Johnson's comment, "The noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road to London."[160] Scots found it necessary to shed their Scotticisms to advance in England and a fairly well developed cottage industry centered upon elocution lessons emerged in the 18th century.[161] John Wilkes' partisan anti-Scottish outbursts signified the base prejudices held by sectors of English society.[162] The anti-Scottishness present in England presented a paradox for Scotsmen in Britain; they were simultaneously prominent in public life, in the growth of the empire, and were financially successful but, also they were the 'other' within Britain. Linda Colley has explained this phenomenon of Wilkes and his supporters as merely the disgruntled outcry of those who were not being involved in the successes being experienced across Britain.[163] The non-committal attitude of the English to the British national project conversely incubated the Scottish identity.

A Scottish national identity stood next to a British identity and for most this posed no contradiction. This was not necessarily by design; many within the Scottish intelligentsia attempted to shed their national identity and replace it with a British one. The concentric

[160] Samuel Johnson.
[161] Richard Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the 18th Century" in *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages.* Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch eds. (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1998), 149.
[162] John Sainsbury, "John Wilkes, Debt, and Patriotism", *The Journal of British Studies.* Vol. 34 No. 2 (April 1995), 166.
[163] Linda Colley. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 110.

loyalties that emerged in the 18th century were the unintended consequence of the English rejection of Britishness. In the main Scotsmen could easily identify himself as both Scottish and British without succumbing to cultural schizophrenia. However, there were times when the two came into conflict and the novel British identity bowed to the sense of Scottishness. As Boswell noted in 1762 as the mob in London acted out against Scots two Scottish soldiers responded, "I hated the English; I wished from my soul that the Union was broke and we might give them another Bannockburn."[164]

Nationalism as a virulent ideology did not appear in 18th century Scotland. Instead it acted as a complementary piece within either the whig or Jacobite cause. The difficulty of fashioning an ethnic nationalist position prohibited a single ethnic identity to coalesce and form as a rallying cry for Scots disaffected with the Union and any presumed Anglicization. Similarly, the splintered nature of Scottish society impeded the creation of a distinctly Scottish civic nationalism as those values which the *civitas* should aspire were constantly in question. Those who imagined a British national identity, if not a British nationalism, as a solution for Scotland's problems, were undercut by the continued strength of the Scottish identity and the rejection of an inclusive Britishness in England.

Great Britain has now been in existence as a political entity for 300 years and the Union has again galvanized the people of the island. Unfortunately, I can not claim any prescience in researching this particular topic in the wake of the Scottish National Party's narrow victory in the recent Scottish Parliamentary election though it does provide a topical

[164] James Boswell in Janet Adam Smith, "Eighteenth Century Ideas of Scotland" *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*. N.T. Phillopson and Rosalind Mitchinson eds. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 47.

backdrop to this thesis. As in 1707 the debates currently rage over economics, liberty, and national identity; perhaps the more things change the more they stay the same. However, crucial differences quickly emerge when discussing those involved in the Union debates of 1707 and the subsequent discussions regarding Scotland's place within the Union.

Scotland at the turn of the 18th century was broaching a new intellectual epoch. Traditional values were being challenged by those instituted by international competitors and Scotsmen saw themselves falling further and further behind. Commercial societies were not strictly seen as opulent dens of iniquity necessarily doomed to moral and material decay. Commercial activity and increasingly commercial success were seen as necessary for the protection of the national interest and well-being of society. Scotland came late to this realization and its ill-fated attempt to carve out a commercial empire in many respects relegated Scotland to further impoverishment and the periphery of Europe.

Union was envisioned as panacea for Scotland's economic ills and with the protection of the Scottish Kirk many patriotic Scotsmen supported an incorporating union. Yet, a vocal group headed by Andrew Fletcher emerged to challenge the very basis of this incorporating union and the values it embodied. Daniel Defoe emerged to take on the challenge represented by Fletcher and those that feared union necessitated a loss of liberty. In one sense the Scotsmen would lose those liberties they had been accustomed replacing them with the liberties of a commercial society. These debates would continue on for the rest of the century as Jacobites, Old Whigs, and New Whigs attempted to link liberty with nationhood or conversely place liberty squarely within the confines of Union and progress.

The transformation of Whiggism in the 18th century Scotland was the keystone for Scottish acceptance of the Union. Jacobitism was inherently unattractive to many within Scotland and their inability to penetrate the consciousness of many outside of the Highlands or win a sustainable military victory proscribed Jacobitism to the periphery. The resistance Whiggism based upon Buchanan were similarly pushed to the fringes of Scottish intellectual thought. Old Whigs and Jacobites were anachronistic representations of Scotland's feudal past and were critically deconstructed by Enlightenment intellectuals who paid little heed to mythologies which stood in the way of society's progress. A similar mellowing of Presbyterianism took place over the course of the 18th century. The religiously fueled fanaticism of the Kirk's violent past was perceptibly out of place in a society where politeness was of paramount virtue.

Conclusion

Great Britain has now been in existence as a political entity for 300 years and the Union has again galvanized the people of the island. Unfortunately, I can not claim any prescience in researching this particular topic in the wake of the Scottish National Party's narrow victory in the recent Scottish Parliamentary election though it does provide a topical backdrop to this thesis. As in 1707 the debates currently rage over economics, liberty, and national identity; perhaps the more things change the more they stay the same. However, crucial differences quickly emerge when discussing those involved in the Union debates of 1707 and the subsequent discussions regarding Scotland's place within the Union.

Scotland at the turn of the 18th century was broaching a new intellectual epoch. Traditional values were being challenged as international competitors and increased both their wealth and power compared to Scotland, forcing Scotsmen to critically reexamine their ideals. Commercial societies were not strictly seen as opulent dens of iniquity necessarily doomed to moral and material decay. Commercial activity and increasingly commercial success were seen as necessary for the protection of the national interest and well-being of society. Scotland came late to this realization and its ill-fated attempt to carve out a commercial empire in many respects relegated Scotland to further impoverishment and further into the periphery of Europe.

Through intense debates new conceptualizations of liberty, success, and nation grew. Those seeking to consolidate the political legitimacy of the Hanover succession as well as those trying to place the Stuarts back on the throne were forced to be cognizant of the shifting

realities around them. Those factions which could not effectively spread their ideas were subsumed under a wave of ink and rhetoric. Jacobites were the most obvious losers in this struggle for setting the rules of the game as it were. Moving from judicial arguments which lost resonance in the face of James flight from England towards highly romantic mythologies to advance Bonnie Prince Charlie's claim an environment where rationalism and skepticism held primacy. Jacobites were woefully ignorant of the intellectual milieu in which they occupied. Resistance whiggism was a more surprising victim in the field of evocative ideas. The inability of these whigs to shed their violent past and illustrate a progressive program which incorporated the Buchananite mythology relegated them to imagined backwardness and incivility.

Progressive whigs carried the day in the 18th century. Borrowing heavily from the English tradition of individual liberty and the implementation of good laws progressive whigs could cast themselves as leading figures spreading liberty and prosperity throughout Scotland. These whigs were of course aided by incorporation into the English empire with its rapidly expanding economy and a populace increasingly exhausted by bloody partisan struggles. The glut of brilliant intellectuals who defended the Union and the Anglicization process during the Enlightenment also solidified the position of progressive whigs.

The Scottish Enlightenment was the pinnacle of Scottish culture and it is somewhat ironic most of that energy was used to propagate the idea and ideals of Britain. However, Scots at the time were proud of their impact on and importance within Britain as Alexander Carlyle proclaimed in 1760, "the genius of the Scotch never shone with greater luster than

now."[165] The social utility of learning was immersed in this age and its main protagonists took it as their duty to replace the orators, politicians, and rabble-rousing preachers as the leaders of the community. Their position as pedagogues allowed them to act out the binding obligations of the generous public benefactor.[166] Their attachment to rationality imbibed them with special characteristics. As David Allan states, "Scotland's scholars could believe that they now had an unequalled claim to the conspicuous possession of moral virtue, that quality which more than any other was still thought to qualify a man for leadership."[167]

Linked closely to the triumph of the progressive whigs is the qualified failure of Scottish nationalism to emerge. Most nationalisms require historical errors and blind spots to forge a national consciousness. This was not possible in 18th century Scotland as they became committed to theories of progress which encouraged skepticism of high civilizations in the pre-modern world.[168] Scottish attempts at myth-making were immediately stricken down by an intelligentsia committed to a rigorous examination of the facts. Scotsmen for the most part believed politeness to be a modern phenomenon thus no ancient Scottish civilization could be used to counter the consensus that much of Scotland's civilizing process had been imported from England.[169]

Those institutions which maintained their autonomy under articles in the Union also failed to form the basis of a thorough Scottish nationalism. The 18th century saw the Kirk

[165] Alexander Carlyle in David Allan. *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 231.
[166] David Allan. *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 232.
[167] Ibid., 233.
[168] Colin Kidd. *Subverting Scotland's Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 279.
[169] Ibid., 279.

chastised as being a center for backwardness and intolerance. The central importance of the Kirk incrementally diminished and it responded by moderating its more extreme views. The judiciary was similarly criticized as an institution protecting the worst abuses of noble privileges. Not until heritable jurisdictions had been abolished and the central authority was able to reach into the recesses of the Highlands and enforce laws coming out of Westminster could Scots feel confident in their chances at progress. The educational system produced an intelligentsia that critically questioned Scotland's past and its notions of liberty. Instead of an intellectual elite which reinforced national legends Scotland's intellectuals were committed to placing Scotland within a British context.

Scotland's nationalist movement lay dormant for the next 250 years until the British Empire collapsed. This singular institution had given many Scots a civilizing mission in the world to spread the word of liberty and the Lord. Countless others went in search of riches leaving behind structures of liberal capitalism. Others joined the military continuing a legacy of martial excellence and enforcing the rule of law over vast areas. The Empire crumbled under the economic burden of two world wars and an intellectual bankruptcy where the Empire's sense of purpose ran dry. Scotland suffered heavily through Britain's decline allowing Scots to again question their role within Britain. Questions about Scotland and Scottishness again became fashionable; perhaps Scots were in a better position to decide for themselves where their liberty lies? Perhaps Scots were better suited to determine their economic interests than the Exchequer in England? Scottish heroes and legends returned to the Scottish consciousness; now through the medium of film. Regardless of the outcome of these nationalist feelings Scotland's history has been unalterably influenced by its British past.

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