Gender, National Identity and Political Agency in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

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2008

Abstract

This thesis considers the interrelationship between the discourse and performance of gender, national identity and political agency in Scotland during the Union debates of 1706-07 and the mid-to-late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment. These two periods are offered in contrast to each other in order to demonstrate the means by which changing discourses of gender and national identity impacted upon the performance of political agency.

The first section of this thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) demonstrates that anti-Union discourse in 1706-07 was founded upon a conception of a masculine Scottish nationhood defined by 'heroick ancestors'. This is contrasted with women's political agency at the time, demonstrated most markedly by elite women's ability to influence parliamentary politics. I argue that despite masculinist discourses of nationhood, during the Union debates status was a more important determinant of political agency than gender. The second section of my thesis (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) considers the centrality of male refinement and 'civilised' femininity to discourses of North British nationhood in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment. I examine the construction and performance of male refinement within intellectual societies and convivial clubs and then consider women's limited inclusion in the urban Enlightenment public sphere, demonstrating that discourses of femininity necessarily precluded women's full public engagement in this sphere. The final chapter (Chapter 7) considers martial masculinity, particularly the masculine ideal of martial Highland manhood in order to demonstrate the problematic aspect of notions of hegemonic masculinity and in order to bring the story of the Highlands and Empire into the story of Enlightenment Scotland.

This thesis will demonstrate the centrality of gender to discourses of national identity and examine the impact of these on the performance of political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland and in doing so offers a contribution to the history of gender and political power.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

BC – Blair Castle Archives

BL – British Library

EUL – Edinburgh University Library

GUL – Glasgow University Library

NAS – National Archives of Scotland

NLS – National Library of Scotland

Chapter 1:
Introduction

This thesis will examine the place of gender in the construction, representation and performance of patriotic national identities in eighteenth-century Scotland. The eighteenth century represents a period of change in expressions and manifestations of patriotic discourse and national identities in Scotland. Examining both the continuity of the use of gender in defining the nation and the differences in the conceptions of gender employed, my focus will be on Scottishness and North Britishness as two different representations of national identity operating within two different historical periods and contexts. The focus upon two closely related but different contexts of eighteenth-century Scotland, rather than on one, is to enable me to highlight the interrelationship between changing conceptions of gender and changing notions, and spaces for the enactment, of political power. This examination will demonstrate the interdependency of discourses of gender identity, nationhood and political agency.

During the Union debates of 1706-07 Scottishness existed as a dominant patriotic national identity, and was a central component of anti-Treaty propaganda. Following the political changes in Scotland wrought by the parliamentary Union with England in 1707, a discourse of North British national identity, or North Britishness, developed. North Britishness both asserted Scotland's equality within the newly formed British state and enabled individuals to claim limited political power within the British nation. The eighteenth century also represents a period of changing conceptions of gender, with an increasing discursive emphasis on notions of weak and modest femininity and refined non-aggressive masculinity, at least amongst the elite. These changes in gender discourse were not separate from changes in patriotic discourse; dominant conceptions of gender and nationhood were integrally connected.

In this introduction I will outline the central argument of this thesis; provide an overview of the historiography; examine the issue of 'separate spheres' in terms of women and politics; define poststructuralist gender history (my primary methodology); discuss the sources used in this thesis; and outline the chapters that follow.

Gender, National Identity and Political Agency: Outline

Scottishness will be examined within the context of ideas of Scottish sovereignty, and the need to defend it, within anti-Treaty discourse during the 1706-07 Union debates. Central to anti-Treaty representations of national identity was the idea of Scotland as forged by a history of martial achievements enacted by a heroic male ancestry. North Britishness, which can be said to emerge as a dominant national identity (at least amongst the urban elite) during the mid-to-late eighteenth century, was defined less by conceptions of a martial heritage and more by notions of commerce, political liberty and cultures of sensibility. This national identity and related discourses developed within and acted to forge what is often referred to as the Scottish Enlightenment. I argue that in both cases gender was a significant category in the conceptualisation and expression of national identity. I also argue that the interaction between ideas of gender and changing notions of nationhood impacted upon access to, and the performance of, political agency.

The aim of this thesis is to assess the relationship between gender and nationhood in order to contribute to our understanding of the formation and operation of power in society. This could be approached from a number of different angles; gender is not the only discursive means by which power hierarchies are constructed and legitimated. Power is however central to gender and gender is central to power; gender provides a useful theoretical tool by which to increase our understanding of the discursive formation of power hierarchies and, in this case, the effect of these hierarchies on gendered access to political agency.[1]

In this context political agency is narrowly defined to encompass political action that involves an assertion of membership in the political nation through political participation in, or influence on, the public institutional political realm. The practice of political agency reflects access to and/or a claim for political power whether that be, in the context of this thesis, participation in the debates over the Union or involvement in the programme of moral, social and economic 'improvement' that was central to the mid-to-late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment. This is a conservative

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[1] J.W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, Columbia U.P., 1988, pp 42-46.

employment of the term political agency. As Birte Sim discusses in regards to women's political agency as conceptualised within a feminist framework, politics in a feminist sense can be defined as existing beyond 'political institutions and deliberations about the common good', towards a broader notion that encompasses self-determination in everyday life.[2] Sue Innes and Jane Rendall argue that women's political participation in Scotland c.1700-c.2000 needs to be understood within a conception of political action which extends the notion of the political beyond the institutional public sphere.[3] I agree with the need to recognise as politics the individual and collective political agency that is enacted outwith, as well as within, the formal political sphere. However, in respect to historical analysis there is still work to be done to assess the gendered nature of, and access to, the political realm narrowly defined, and so in this thesis I consider issues of gender and political agency in respect to participation in the formal political sphere. For Scotland, however, this was not limited to Parliament. Following the Act of Union the political nation in Scotland was represented in large part by the intellectual-political public sphere of Scottish Enlightenment institutions and clubs and societies; in these spaces men of the elite defined and attempted to enact moral, social and national improvement. The relationship between gendered political participation and changing spaces for the enactment of membership of the political nation is a primary concern in this thesis.

Like class and race, the use of gender as an analytical tool can exhibit not only how ideas of difference were constructed, but also how these ideas were used to express hierarchies of power.[4] By considering gender and national identity as interconnected categories we are able to interrogate the means by which gendered power hierarchies inform conceptions of citizenship (or in the context of the Union debates, a representational subject-hood) and the claims to power and rights that this citizenship

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[2] B. Sim, *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain and Denmark*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2000, p 4.
[3] S. Innes, J. Rendall, 'Women, Gender and Politics', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, E.J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, pp 43-45.
[4] H. Barker, E. Chalus, 'Introduction', in H. Barker, E. Chalus (eds), *Gender in Eighteenth Century England: Roles Representations and Responsibilities*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1997, p 6; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp 28-50.

confers.[5] It was not until the nineteenth century that factors such as expanded male political franchise and national media communication such as newspapers (combined with mass literacy) enabled the development of a discourse of nationalism through which Britons began, in Benedict Anderson's terms, to imagine themselves as members of a national community.[6]

Whilst it is incorrect to speak of coherent modern nationalisms in an eighteenth century context, national identity was central to the social, cultural and political discourse of the eighteenth-century British elite and through these discourses they conceived of themselves as citizens, as active members of the political nation. As Matthew McCormack argues in relation to eighteenth-century England, citizenship should not be considered only as a legal category, but as a matter of self-definition, as a discourse that defined the legitimate political subject and informed an individual's experience of membership in the political nation.[7] It is from this angle, from the notion of political agency as defined by discourses that were both informed by and acted to construct certain ideals of gender identity which conferred membership of the political nation, that I approach issues of gender, nationhood and political agency. For example, membership of the British nation, or citizenship, in mid-eighteenth century Scotland was not a single legal category, but was claimed and expressed through an adoption and performance of certain individual and social characteristics which within dominant discourse were considered to embody the commerce, liberty and politeness of the British nation.

Historiography

The conceptualisations, representations and performances of the national identities of Scottishness and North Britishness on which this thesis is based are the subject of a large amount of historical analysis. I will engage with this and other relevant historiography in

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[5] I. Blom, 'Gender and Nation in International Comparison', in Blom, K. Hagemann, C. Hall (eds), *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Berg, 2000, pp 9-10.

[6] B. Anderson, 'Imagined Communities' in J. Hutchinson, A.D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1994, p 93.

[7] M. McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2005, p 9.

detail in the relevant chapters. In regards to Scottishness, I will consider the deployment of notions of Scottish sovereignty and independence in terms of their place within early modern discourses of Scottish nationhood and as a pre-nationalism national identity.[8] In addition, the Union debates will be assessed in the context of historiographical debates about Union politics, particularly the nature of anti-Union opposition.[9] In respect to North Britishness, I assess debates regarding the nature and impact of this national identity. Although engaged with the overall historiography on this subject, my analysis builds most directly from the respective work of T.C. Smout and Colin Kidd.[10] Together their arguments demonstrate the development, at least within elite discourse, of a national identity of North Britishness informed by an allegiance to the British state conjoined with the maintenance of an identification with Scotland as a country. In terms of ideas of martial manhood discussed in the final chapter, I build upon historiography on nationhood and Empire, such as Linda Colley in *Britons* (1992) and Tom Devine in *Scotland's Empire* (2003), and on work on Highland military recruitment and identity, such as that presented by Andrew Mackillop in *'More Fruitful than the Soil'* (2000) and in the edited collection *Fighting for Identity* (2002).[11]

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[8] R.A. Mason, *Kinship and Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1998; C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, c.1689-c.1830*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1993.

[9] See for example, W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1977; P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study of Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth-Century*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1978; T.C. Smout, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707: I. The Economic Background', *Economic History Review*, 16:3 (1964), pp 455-467; C.A. Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey', *Scottish Historical Review*, 68:2 (1989), pp 150-181; Whatley, with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006; K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2007; Kidd, 'Religious Realignment between the Restoration and the Union', in J. Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995, pp 145-168; Robertson, 'An elusive sovereignty: The course of the Union debate in Scotland 1689-1707', in Robertson (ed), *Union for Empire*, pp 198-227; J.R. Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and National Identity from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of Parliaments, 1603-1707', in D. Broun, R. Finlay, M. Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1998, pp 143-156.

[10] Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland', in Devine (ed), *Improvement and Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989, pp 1-21; Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *Historical Journal*, 39:2 (1996), pp 361-382; Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp 1197-1214; Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge, U.P., 1999.

[11] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1992; T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, London, Penguin, 2003; A. Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army,*

This thesis is also located within the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment, particularly analyses of society and politics, such as those offered by Christopher Berry and John Dwyer on issues of luxury, virtue, and society, and arguments forwarded by historians such as Nicholas Phillipson and Roger Emerson regarding the emergence of a political culture centred upon the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment and related spaces, such as institutions and clubs and societies, of the male urban elite.[12] Also important to this study is the work of G.J. Barker-Benfield on sensibility and Enlightenment culture in Britain.[13] In regards to women, the work previously carried out by historians such as Jane Rendall on Scottish Enlightenment discourse is extensively used.[14]

Discussing the Enlightenment public sphere, I engage with the representation of the public sphere offered by the theorist Jürgen Habermas, and feminist historians' criticisms of Habermas' model, such as that offered by Joan Landes.[15] France and

Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2000; S. Murdoch, Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1150-1900*, Leiden, Brill, 2002.

[12] J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987; C.J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1997; N. Phillipson, 'Politics, Politeness, and the Anglicisation of Early Eighteenth Century Scottish Culture', in R.A. Mason (ed), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, pp 226-246; Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: the Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', in L. Stone (ed), *The University in Society*, London, Oxford U.P., Vol. 2, 1974, pp 407-448; R.L. Emerson, 'The Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland: the Select Society of Edinburgh, 1754-1764', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 114 (1973), pp 291-329; Emerson, 'The Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment', in A. Broadie, *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2003, pp 9-30.

[13] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

[14] J. Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1760-1860*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1985, pp 7-32; Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce in the Making of Adam Smith's political economy', in E. Kennedy, S. Mendus (eds), *Women in Western Political Philosophy: Kant to Nietzsche*, Wheatsheaf Books, Brighton, 1987, pp 44-77; Rendall, 'Clio, Mars and Minerva: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of Women's History', in Devine, Young, *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999; Innes, Rendall, 'Women, Gender and Politics'. See also M.C. Moran, 'From Rudeness to Refinement: Gender, Genre and Scottish Enlightenment Discourse' (unpublished PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 1999); S.A.M. Burns, 'The Humean Female', in L.M.G. Clark, L. Lange (eds), *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory: Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979, pp 53-60; L. Marcil-Lacoste, 'Hume's Method in Moral Reasoning', in Clark, Lange (eds), *Sexism of Social and Political Theory*, pp 60-73; P. Bowles, 'John Millar, the Four Stages Theory and Women's Position in Society', *History of Political Economy*, 16:4 (1984), pp 619-638; C. Nyland, 'Adam Smith, Stage Theory and the Status of Women', *History of Political Economy*, 25:4 (1993), pp 617-640.

[15] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 1989; J. Landes, 'The Public and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration', in J. Meehan (ed), *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of*

England provide useful points of comparison in examining women and Scottish Enlightenment public space, and women's place within Scottish Enlightenment culture will be considered in comparison to their positions in these countries. This discussion will consider the historiographical debate regarding the impact upon and women's participation in the wider European Enlightenment, particularly France and England.[16]

This thesis is about gender, national identity and political agency and it is within the historiography of gender and politics that this thesis is most firmly located. Studies of masculinity in Scottish history are very much in their infancy. There are no survey studies of Scottish manhood during the early modern period or the eighteenth-century similar to those published on English, or British, manhood. Of the historiography on manhood in England, thesis makes particular use of studies by Susan Amussen, Elizabeth Foyster, and Alexandra Shepard who all argue for the socio-political importance of 'independent' manhood and highlight the position of manhood as a life stage and an unstable category;[17] Matthew McCormack who discusses the importance of landed wealth and the display of 'independence' in the claiming of political power in eighteenth-century England;[18] and Michèle Cohen and Philip Carter who provide a detailed examination of discourses of politeness, sensibility and masculinity in

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Discourse, London, Routledge, 1995, pp 91-116. See also Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender & History*, 11:3 (1999), pp 475-488.

[16] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1988; D. Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1994; M.C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, New York, Oxford U.P., 1991, Ch. 5; E. Eger, ' 'The Noblest Commerce of Mankind': Conversation and Community in the Bluestocking Circle', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp 288-305 (see also other essays in C. Hesse (ed), 'Section 5: Women in the Enlightened Republic of Letters', pp 259-347, in this volume); T.A. Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006; E. Fox-Genovese, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in R. Bridenthal, C. Koonz, S. Stuard (eds), *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1987, pp 251-275; K. Offen, *European Feminisms 1700-1950: A Political History*, Stanford, Stanford U.P., 2000, pp 27-49.

[17] S. D. Amussen, ' 'The Part of a Christian man': The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England', in Amussen, M.A. Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1995, pp 213-233; E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: honour, sex and marriage*, London, Longman, 1999; A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003.

[18] McCormack, *Independent Man*.

eighteenth century England and Britain respectively.[19] Kathleen Wilson's work on gender, politics, Empire and national identity in England is also engaged with.[20] This and other relevant historiography will be examined in relevant chapters.

In terms of the history of masculinities, through an analysis of nationhood and gender in eighteenth-century Scotland, this thesis contributes to what is an emerging field. In regards to studies of women and femininity in Scottish history, however, I am contributing to what is a growing and maturing field. Since Esther Breitenbach highlighted the 'double marginalisation' suffered by Scottish women's history in her influential 1997 article in *Scottish Affairs* there has been a rapid expansion in studies of gender and Scottish history. The 'double marginalisation' Breitenbach referred to was that which denied women's place in the history of Scotland due to the masculinist emphasis in the telling of Scotland's past and the emphasis on the English experience in studies of British women's and gender history.[21]

In the 1990s it was correct to argue that women were relatively absent from the writing of Scottish history. Siân Reynolds asserted in 1999 that women existed on the periphery in Scottish history due to an emphasis within this history on the martial tradition and on legal and ecclesiastical history. Reynolds argued that, when included, women were normally placed within the confines of the private sphere. Women's place in the narrative of Scottish history was deemed to be in the context of home and family, and rarely, save a few Queens and the odd Jacobite heroine, was it considered that the women of Scotland's past might have actually experienced and affected the world within a broader social and political context.[22] In the same volume, *Gendering Scottish History*, Elizabeth Ewan also made a case for a wider conception of women's place in Scottish history and for a recognition within this historiography of 'separate spheres' as a

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[19] M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 1996; P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001.

[20] K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995; Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, empire and gender in the eighteenth century*, London, Routledge, 2003.

[21] E. Breitenbach, ' 'Curiously rare?': Scottish women of interest or the suppression of the female in the construction of national identity, *Scottish Affairs* 18 (1997), pp 82-94.

[22] S. Reynolds, 'Historiography and Gender: Scottish and International Dimensions', in T. Brotherstone, D. Simonton, O. Walsh (eds), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, Glasgow, Cruithne Press, 1999, p 4.

prescriptive gender construct rather than a reflection of historical realities. The failure to do this, Ewan asserted, had led to the stereotyping of women as victims or nurturers within narratives of Scotland's past, and thus had denied women's role as active historical agents.[23]

A number of studies on Scottish women's history were published during the 1980s and 1990s, including (but not limited to) long histories of women in Scotland and more focussed studies.[24] However, compared to the massive amount of work in English women's history at this time, Scottish women's history was a relatively underdeveloped field. A lot has changed in Scottish women's and gender history since 1999. Owing to the work of the historians cited above in highlighting the relative absence of women in representations of Scotland's past, as well as that of a number of other historians, there has been an expansion of the study of women and gender in Scottish history.[25] Of particular importance are the recent publications *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (2005), an edited collection of essays that offer a broad introductory analysis of gender and women's position and role in Scottish society, culture and politics during the modern period, and *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (2006) which provides a valuable snapshot of the lives of 830 women in Scottish history from pre-history to the start of the twenty-first century, and from queens to herring gutters.[26]

Women and Politics: Separate Spheres?

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[23] E. Ewan, 'A realm of ones own? The place of medieval and early modern women in Scottish history', in Brotherstone, et al (eds), *Gendering Scottish History*, p 27.

[24] R. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980*, London, William Collins and Sons, 1983; E. Ewan, M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland, c.1110-c.1750*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999; E. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996; M. Craig, *Damn' rebel bitches: the women of the '45*, Edinburgh, Mainstream, 1997; L. Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Mercat Press, 1995; E. Gordon, E. Breitenbach (eds), *The World is Ill Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1990; E. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland, 1850-1914*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991; E. Breitenbach, E. Gordon (eds), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1992

[25] Including (but not limited to): Y.G. Brown, R. Ferguson (eds), *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2002; E. Gordon, G. Nair, *Public Lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 2003; Abrams, *Myth and Materiality in a Woman's World: Shetland 1800-2000*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2005.

[26] Abrams, et al, *Gender in Scottish History*; E. Ewan, Innes, S. Reynolds (eds), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006.

With the expansion in Scottish women's and gender history there has been an increased emphasis on bringing women out of the private sphere, or highlighting the public possibilities of this sphere. This development has reflected and informed developments within the history of women in Britain more broadly. Since the 1990s, which saw the publication of texts such as Amanda Vickery's *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998) and Susan Kingsley Kent's *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (1999), increasing numbers of scholars have sought to examine women's political power and activity beyond its obvious expressions such as the women's suffrage movement.[27] As texts such as Elaine Chalus' recent monograph, *Elite Women in English Political Life c.1754-1790* (2005) have shown, for women of the landed elite there was rarely any separation between family, home and politics.[28] The notion of divided and clearly separated public and private spheres cannot and should not be applied to the eighteenth century, for elite or other women. When considering the concept of 'separate spheres', it is important to remember, for the eighteenth century (and later), that, as Vickery states in an edited collection on the history of women and politics, 'For everyone for all of the period covered [1750-c.2000] … political experience was broader than Parliament and political parties.'[29]

In a 1993 article entitled 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres?' Vickery offered a detailed historiographical analysis to critique the notion of the emergence of clearly delineated 'separate spheres' at the beginning of the nineteenth century, citing the fluidity of the domestic sphere and the means by which women participated in the public realm. Linked to this was a critique of the idea that women became domesticated, and lost power, with the movement of work from the early modern proto-industrial household economy to the public workplace as a result of the development of capitalist modes of production.[30] In *Gentleman's Daughter*, Vickery continued her critique of

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[27] A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1998; S.K. Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990*, London, Routledge, 1999; Vickery (ed), *Women, Privilege and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present*, Stanford, Stanford U.P., 2001; K., Gleadle, S. Richardson (eds), *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: The Power of the Petticoat*, Basingstoke, Macmillan , 2000; J. Daybell (ed), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004.
[28] E. Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life c.1754-1790*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2005.
[29] Vickery, 'Introduction', in Vickery (ed), *Women, Privilege and Power*, p 5.
[30] Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36:2 (1993), pp 383-414.

'separate spheres' through an examination of the political and social participation of genteel Englishwomen in which, amongst other things, she demonstrated that the elite home was not a private domestic sphere.[31]

The recognition of the instability of 'separate spheres' ideology and its problematic application to the eighteenth century is important in understanding issues of gender and power in eighteenth-century Britain. However, I disagree with Vickery that the development of an eighteenth-century social sphere which included urban walks, theatres and pleasure gardens and which 'celebrated, included, depended upon, active female involvement' gave women political power.[32] In this thesis I will demonstrate that the centrality of the feminine (of a particular form of female gender performance) to the mid-eighteenth-century culture of politeness, and in the Scottish context to the national identity of North Britishness, could act to restrict women's political agency rather than enable it. I do not however deny women's public role and, like Vickery, find the distinction between a domestic and public sphere problematic. In Chapters 5 and 6 I will demonstrate in that the mid eighteenth-century urban elite Scottish context there were three spheres in operation: the domestic sphere, the intellectual-political public sphere, and the social public sphere.

In *Gender in English Society 1650-1850* (1998) Shoemaker argued that there was a discursive development of 'separate spheres' during this period, but emphasised that this did not mean that women were restricted to the domestic home, or that this home was wholly private. However, Shoemaker asserted, only men's actions outwith the home were deemed public, an act which attributed a greater social value to men's lives outwith the domestic sphere than women's. Shoemaker does not deny that women continued to play as public a role in 1850 as they did in 1650 and, in fact, sees this as a reason for the discourse of 'separate spheres' (there was a perceived need to constrain women's public role). However he also emphasised that women's approved public participation was limited by discourse, that it was confined to feminine performance.[33] Although I agree with Vickery and Chalus regarding the importance of status and the noble household in

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[31] Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*
[32] Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, p 9.
[33] R.B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1998, pp 307-317.

enabling female political agency (and demonstrate this in the early eighteenth-century Scottish context in chapter 3), in terms of the mid-to-late eighteenth-century urban public sphere in Scotland I agree with Shoemaker's emphasis on the discursive restrictions on women's public activity. This thesis will demonstrate that the loss of the Scottish Parliament in 1707 and the development, by 1750, of an urban Enlightenment public sphere as a central political realm in Scotland, resulted in a decrease of women's political agency in Scotland.

Changes in women's political agency occurred in the context of changing ideas of gender identity from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. As part of a broader European intellectual movement, loosely defined as the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, conceptions of gender moved towards an increasing emphasis on physiological male-female sexual difference. This construction of new gender identities was forged upon a notion of complementary dichotomous male and female identities and (at least for the elite and upper middling ranks) emphasised the need for male politeness and sensibility alongside 'traditional' virtues of courage and loyalty and defined women as modest and civilising, rather than licentious and unruly.[34] Anthony Fletcher argues in his in-depth survey of changes in prescriptive gender ideologies from 1500 to 1800 that this period represents a change from an 'ideology of ancient scriptural patriarchy' (i.e. women's subjugation legitimated by Eve's sin) to a 'modern secular patriarchy' (i.e. physiological and psychological female inferiority).[35] Resulting from the challenge posed by the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment to Christian orthodoxy and early modern ideas of the body (which were also employed to legitimate patriarchal power), this change meant that the female character was no longer cast in a predominantly negative mould, as licentious and disorderly; this idea was replaced with the notion of positive female virtue. Women were deemed naturally chaste and, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, their perceived femininity was deemed to have a positive, refining, influence on men's masculinity. However, as Fletcher argues, rather than liberate women the new epistemology articulated women's inferiority differently. Importantly the development of a secular discourse of gender difference emphasised women's natural modesty and

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[34] A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1995, pp 283-295; Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, pp 310-314.
[35] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p 295.

weakness; sexual difference was given a physiological legitimacy. Discourses of femininity presented women as different and as complementary to men, rather than as inferior versions of them, but women were still inferior – rather than too licentious they were now too emotional to be the rational equals to men.[36]

The argument that eighteenth-century ideas of gender changed but did not automatically result in a notion of gender equality, or a positive progression in terms of female social status, informs my analysis of gender, national identity and political agency. In this analysis, whilst recognising the importance of non-institutional, and even non-public political participation, such as the reading of print culture and patriotic or radical consumption or boycott, I consider the gendering of political agency within a fairly narrow scope. In my examination of women, nationhood and political participation during the Union period I focus upon women's influence in the Parliamentary debates; for the Scottish Enlightenment period I consider women's exclusion from and limited inclusion in the societies and clubs which were key sites for political participation within urban Enlightenment culture c.1750-c.1790.

Gender and Nation

This thesis aims to demonstrate that the legal gendering of citizenship as exclusively masculine in the nineteenth century (in the form of the 1832 Reform Act[37]) had, in Scotland, certain antecedents in eighteenth-century discourses and performances of nationhood and national belonging. I will argue that although it was less overtly male orientated than anti-Union expressions of Scottishness, the gendering of North Britishness in Scotland acted to forge a notion of national agency that gendered the public political subject in the masculine. Ideas of Scottishness employed in arguments against the Union defined national agency as masculine, however, except as a symbolic mother figure that men were called upon to protect, women were absent from conceptions of Scottishness. The lack of a female role beyond the symbolic within

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[36] *Ibid*, pp 383-396.
[37] See Hall, 'The Rule of Difference: Gender, Class and Empire in the Making of the 1832 Reform Act', in Blom et al, *Gendered Nations*, pp 107-129; Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Cambridge, Polity, 1992, Ch. 7.

discourses of nationhood, combined with the importance of wealth and familial power to political practice in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, enabled certain women to engage in the politics of the nation and employ patriotic discourse whilst doing so. In contrast, notions of femininity and women's civilising influence were central to representations of North Britishness. I will argue that this centrality acted to deny women full political agency because their position within the nation was founded upon the performance of a femininity which informed women's inferiority.

On the subject of women and nationalism, Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis emphasise that different historical contexts change women's position in nationalist discourse and women's role in the nation. They argue that there are five main ways in which women participate in the ethnic or national project. These are as biological producers of new members of the community; as reproducers of the boundaries which define ethnic or national groups; as central participants in the ideological reproduction of national or ethnic culture; as symbolic figures in the construction and reproduction of ethnic or national categories; and/or as participants in national, economic or military struggles.[38]

Although studies on gender and nationalism, such as Yuval-Davis and Anthias', tend to focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some of the arguments put forward can be applied to issues of national identity in eighteenth-century Scotland. For example, the placement of women as the 'actual symbolic figuration'[39] of the nation was a fundamental component in the construction of masculinist conceptualisations of nationhood in anti-Union Scottishness and Enlightenment North Britishness. The placement of women as symbolic of the nation enables the connection between the masculine ideal of men's role as the head and protector of their families and the idea of their duty to protect the nation. The duty of men to protect and defend the nation, often within a military context, is in this way figured as a natural extension of their masculine duty to protect and defend their families. This gendered construction of nationhood denies women an equal role in the nation to men. Rather than members of the nation in

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[38] F. Anthias, N. Yuval-Davis, 'Women and the Nation State', in Hutchinson, Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, pp 313-315.
[39] *Ibid*, p 315.

their own right, women are placed within this conception of nationhood as the protected, denying them the possibility (at least discursively) of being the protectors.[40]

In 1999 Lynn Abrams stated that within Scottish historical writing on issues of national identity and culture there was no real acknowledgement of the existence of gendered identities. This lack of acknowledgement of the importance of gender in determining the nature of people's identification with the nation was coupled with a relative absence in Scottish women's history of studies that considered the relationship between women's experience and their identification, or lack thereof, with the Scottish nation.[41] In 2006 in a study of gender and Scottish identity, co-authored with Esther Breitenbach, Abrams and Breitenbach made a similar point to that made by Abrams in 1999; that studies of identity, and particularly national identity, in Scotland tend to exclude in-depth analyses of the interrelationship between this and gender. As they point out, gender does not offer a magic solution by which we can answer all of the many questions raised by the issue of national identities in Scotland. However, they qualify this with the argument that an understanding of the complexities of the relationships between gender and national identities in modern Scottish history is fundamental to understanding the multiplicity of ways in which women defined themselves, and in this context to recognise the intersection not just of gender and national identity but also of class and religious identities. Abrams and Breitenbach also assert that by including gender in studies of nationhood we are able to better understand the means by which women identified (to varying degrees) with, and employed, values and images of nationhood when claiming a public political space in society.[42]

Analysing the gendered nature of Scottishness and North Britishness, I will demonstrate that discourses of nationhood not only employed notions of gender, but that during the eighteenth century, the performance of certain gender identities became an increasingly crucial part of the performance of citizenship and the enactment of political agency. Demonstrating the complexities of the relationship between inclusion in

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[40] *Ibid*; Blom, 'Gender and Nation', p 15; G. Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', in Blom et al, *Gendered Nations*, p 32.

[41] Abrams, 'Feminists – Citizens – Mothers: debates about citizenship, national identity and motherhood in nineteenth century Germany', in Brotherstone, et al, *Gendering Scottish History*, p 87.

[42] Abrams, Breitenbach, 'Gender and Scottish Identity', in Abrams, et al, *Gender in Scottish History*, pp 17-42.

discursive constructions of the nation and the performance of national agency, I will show that during the Union debates the representation of a masculinised nationhood did not necessarily inform against women's practice of political agency, whilst by comparison the centrality of a 'civilising' feminine ideal to conceptions of North Britishness did. By focussing upon the ways in which gender not only informed conceptions, but also the performance, of nationhood, or national belonging, I am able to make obvious the discursive means by which the public institutional political (and intellectual) sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland was gendered.

Gender History: Issues of Power and Progress

The need to 'make obvious' the gendering of the public institutional political (and intellectual) sphere is due to the seemingly objective maleness of this sphere. To gender this sphere it is not enough to explain women's predominant exclusion from it, but to explain men's (or more correctly, some men's) access to it. As John Tosh and Michael Roper discuss, it is essential to recognise that male domination is a product of discursive construction, and that it only appears as natural due to the lack of exploration of men's subjective identities.[43] The means by which adherence to hegemonic models of masculinity may have enabled men's access to the institutional public sphere, or by which subversive masculinities (such as the image of effeminate Fop) were conceived in terms of posing a threat to the political order, is important in understanding both masculinity and politics. As Tosh states in a discussion of hegemonic masculinity and gender history, 'In many societies which exclude women from any formal political role, political virtue will be conceptualised in masculine terms, in a discourse which reflects hegemonic conventions and practices.'[44] Therefore to understand the gendering of patriotic identity and political agency, it is not enough to only consider discourses of femininity; an analysis of masculinity must also be included. As Joan W. Scott states, 'Gender is one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived,

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[43] M. Roper, J. Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', in Roper, Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, London, Routledge, 1991, pp 1-11.
[44] J. Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in S. Dudink, Hagemann, J. Tosh (eds), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2004, p 50.

legitimated and criticized. It refers to but also establishes the meaning of the male/female opposition.'[45]

Political power and explicitly gendered power (e.g. sexual inequality in the home) are not separate categories that occasionally bump into one another - they are part of the same system by which power is expressed, legitimated and enforced. In order to study power it is necessary to consider the included group (in this case elite men, and some women) as well as the excluded group. This is not a return to 'men's history' in which women are excluded as historical actors (or only included in a separate chapter or single paragraph) because in this 'men's (grand narrative) history' the relationship between masculinity and access to power is not considered. Instead the maleness of the institutional political sphere, as well as other public spaces and roles, appears as an objective fact. The discursive construction and legitimation of male political power is not assessed. To study masculinity is feminist history as it allows for a more thorough deconstruction of patriarchy because it does not assume a constant, fixed notion of male power within this hierarchy. And, as Tosh and Roper remind us, masculinity must be considered 'within the totality of gender relations' and should not be separated from considerations of femininity, just as femininity should not be separated from masculinity.[46]

This study of gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland falls within the theoretical category of gender history, yet at the same time, through examining gender, national identity and political agency, this thesis does also rescue certain women from the shadows of history (for example women who were involved in the Union debates) and in that regard this thesis contains an element of traditional women's history.[47] Where I also draw from women's history (and where much gender history does) is in the questioning of accepted narratives of periodisation and progress. As Joan Kelly wrote in 1976 on historical periods of supposed progress such as the European Renaissance, if we include women's experience, 'we see these

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[45] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, p 48.
[46] Roper, Tosh, 'Introduction', p 2.
[47] This 'traditional' approach is best summed up by Joan Kelly who wrote, 'Women's history has a dual goal: to restore women to history and to restore our history to women.', J. Kelly, 'The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1:4 (1976), reprinted in, Kelly, *Women, History & Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1984, p 1.

ages with a new double vision – and each eye sees a different picture.'[48] Kelly emphasised that recognising sex as a social, rather than biological, category, 'means that our conception of historical change itself, as change in the social order, is broadened to include changes in the relation of the sexes.'[49] Kelly's questioning of liberal historians' employment of narratives of linear progress towards the 'realization of an individualistic social and cultural order' in the representation of history, based upon the notion that these narratives cannot necessarily be applied to women's experiences, is no longer a radical position.[50] However, historical periods and events such as the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment are still often represented within a progressivist model. For example, Alexander Broadie, a leading intellectual historian on the Scottish Enlightenment, wrote in 1997 that, 'The Scottish Enlightenment was a wondrous performance, a moment when universal features of the human spirit, finding their voice as rarely before, burst forth upon Western culture with an awesome intensity.'[51] The impact of the Enlightenment as presented by Broadie is one of positive achievement, and so of progress, and is reflective of common perceptions of the period.

I do not seek to reject wholly the progressive nature of the Scottish Enlightenment, but I do seek to problematise this view. In particular, I raise the issue of the changing nature of elite women's political agency during the eighteenth century in Scotland. I argue that the specific gendered nature of North Britishness, in which the refined British gentleman was the central patriotic figure, acted to reduce elite women's public political agency owing to the importance of a homosocial public intellectual-political sphere for the construction and performance of the masculine identity of the refined gentleman, and by extension the performance of citizenship. Whilst elite women were able to influence the Scottish Parliament during the Union debates, women were (predominantly) denied access to the intellectual-political sphere of the Scottish Enlightenment. From the perspective of gendered political agency, eighteenth-century change does not necessarily correlate to progress.

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[48] *Ibid*, p 3.
[49] *Ibid*, p 8.
[50] *Ibid*, p 3.
[51] Broadie, 'Introduction: What was the Scottish Enlightenment?', in Broadie (ed), *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, Edinburgh, Cannongate Classics, 1997, p 31.

The use of women's and gender history provides a means to analyse changing modes of political agency and power that is divorced from overarching narratives of progress that are themselves largely a product of Enlightenment discourse. Joan Kelly's questioning of the applicability of current models of periodisation is continued within poststructuralist gender history, which combines this questioning with a focus on the production of knowledge systems, or epistemology, and the role of knowledge systems as the basis of power.[52] As Callum Brown wrote on postmodernist approaches to history, particularly criticisms of empiricist Whig history, 'Postmodernists argue that many previous historians were too much *inside* the Enlightenment, too immersed in its values and presumptions'.[53] This criticism is important when considering women's (or at least elite and middling women's) position in eighteenth-century society. To the philosophers, historians, moralists and others of the Scottish Enlightenment, their commercialised 'civilised' society represented a great advance in the status of women.[54] As the prominent Enlightenment historian John Millar wrote on women:

> Their condition is naturally improved by every circumstance which tends to create more attention to the pleasures of sex, and to increase the value of those occupations that are suited to the female character; by the cultivation of the arts of life; by the advancement of opulence and by the gradual refinement of manners.[55]

By approaching a study of eighteenth-century Scotland with a focus upon the gendering of nationhood and the impact of this upon political agency, we are able to move beyond Enlightenment progressivism and recognise the complexities of women's (and men's) changing position in society. Central to my approach is an analysis of the interaction between ideas of gender and national agency, and in this analysis this thesis places as much emphasis on notions of masculinity as of femininity. It is important that

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[52] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, p 4.

[53] C. G. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2005, p 25 [Italics his and hereafter always the authors].

[54] Throughout this thesis I use inverted commas when using words such as civilised. This is because for many people this word remains a stable descriptor of the 'fact' that something called civilisation was actually achieved. Just as in the use of the opposite term, savage, there is an implicit assumption of Western European superiority. By using inverted commas I aim to make explicit the problematic nature of terms such as civilised.

[55] J. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or an Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society*, (1806 ed., originally published 1771, revised 1779), ed. J.V. Price, Bristol , Thoemmes Antiquarian Books, 1990, p 57.

the male political nation is not figured as free from discursive formation, that we do not only study the included but seek to understand who was included and why.

Gender History: Theory

The poststructuralist approach to gender history is most clearly spelt out in Scott's seminal article, 'Gender: a Useful Category of Historical Analysis', and this text provides the broad theoretical foundation for this study of gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland.[56] Importantly poststructural analysis rejects biological determinism, i.e. the notion of womanhood or manhood, femininity or masculinity, as being informed by the body. It also goes further than the use of gender to denote, 'the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men'.[57] This approach, as Scott argues, 'says nothing about why these relationships [between the sexes] are constructed as they are, how they work, or how they change.'[58] Rather than using gender only to understand the construction of sexual difference and inequality, Scott implores historians to employ gender as an analytical category, as key to the signifying systems by which societies 'articulate the rules of social relationships or construct the meaning of experience.'[59] In this respect gender, and gender relations, i.e. the binary opposition between men and women, can be rejected as an ahistorical, universal given based upon biological sex difference, and which only undergoes modification within different historical contexts, in favour of a use of gender to engage in, 'a genuine historicization and deconstruction of the terms of sexual difference.'[60]

Scott bases her definition of gender as an analytical category upon two integrally connected propositions; that 'gender is a constitutive element of social relations based upon perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.'[61] This definition of gender and its application as an analytical category allows for an analysis of the articulation of power. This analysis concerns not

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[56] Scott, 'Gender: a useful category of historical analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), pp 1053-1075, reproduced in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp 28-50.
[57] *Ibid*, p 32.
[58] *Ibid*, pp 32-33.
[59] *Ibid*, p 38.
[60] *Ibid*, pp 40-41.
[61] *Ibid*, p 42.

only the explicit use of gender, but also the implicit use of gender as one of a number of discursive means by which power is signified. Referencing Pierre Bourdieu, Scott writes that sexual difference represented as an objective reality acts to, 'structure perception and the concrete and symbolic organization of all social life.'[62] Gender can enable the deconstruction of hierarchies of power through making explicit the means by which relationships of power are founded upon an assumption of natural, ahistorical sexual difference. In the context of this thesis I demonstrate the means by which masculine and feminine categories informed representations of nationhood (and also, during the Enlightenment period, 'civilisation') beyond explicit discussions of male and female roles in society. For example, the pamphlets and petitions produced in opposition to the Treaty of Union are presented in chapter 2 as clearly gendered texts despite their predominant lack of any explicit discussion of gender, such as that contained in eighteenth-century prescriptive literature regarding appropriate female and male roles, which will form part of my analysis in chapters 4 to 6.

In this thesis I also employ ideas taken from the theorists Judith Butler and R.W. Connell.[63] Butler's notion of gender performativity informs my overall understanding of gender and its use in this analysis of gender, national identity and political agency. Butler defines performativity as, 'the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names.'[64] By reiterative Butler is referring to a cyclical, self-referential process through which gender is articulated through its bodily performance; the body does not pre-exist gender but becomes intelligible through gender. We are woman or man not because of a pre-existing sexual difference, but because this is signified through our performance of gender. As Butler states, 'That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality.'[65] The performance of gender should not be thought of only in terms of subversive performance, such as drag, but as the constant act of gender signification through the (often mundane and seemingly normal) performance

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[62] *Ibid*, p 45.
[63] J. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*, London, Routledge, 1993; Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, London, Routledge, 1999; R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity, 2005.
[64] Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p 2.
[65] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p 173.

of day to day life.[66] The means by which performativity enables gender signification, and presents gender as naturalised (as originating in the body) is centred upon the repetitive and communal performance of gender identities. Gender becomes culturally intelligible through performativity, which itself is understood, 'as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains.'[67]

Here the term performativity is used to denote the impact of discourses of gendered national identity on the performance of political agency; in other words the gendered performance of patriotic identity. In particular Butler's theory of performativity informs my analysis of gendered political agency in chapters 5 and 6 which examine men's and women's access to manifestations of Scottish Enlightenment intellectual and political culture. Assessed in contrast to the status-based performance of political agency by women during the Union debates (discussed in chapter 3), the centrality of gender performativity to the enactment (or denial) of political agency in Scottish Enlightenment political culture indicates an increasing emphasis on gendered national identity in the discourse and performance of Enlightenment North Britishness as compared to anti-Union Scottishness.

In respect to Connell, his analysis of hegemonic masculinity is useful (although not unproblematic) in assessing the relationship between the performance of certain masculinities and claims and/or access to socio-political power. Connell's work on masculinity has focussed upon the means by which certain historically specific norms of masculinity assert themselves as the hegemonic model in opposition, not only to femininity but also to other subordinate and subversive masculinities. [68] The two seemingly hegemonic models focussed upon in this thesis are the 'independent' man and the refined gentleman. However (as will be discussed in chapter 7 below) the existence of alternative masculinities that were neither subordinate nor subversive to the hegemonic model, such as the ideal of the martial Highland soldier, destabilises Connell's notion of hegemonic manhood.

The issue of the multiplicity of masculinities and femininities is important when considering the use of the terms 'men' and 'women'. It is impossible to speak of 'men'

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[66] *Ibid*, pp 173-180.
[67] Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p 2.
[68] Connell, *Masculinities*.

or of 'women' as homogenous categories. All women did not experience eighteenth-century Scotland in the same way nor were they discursively defined in the same way. Instead women's experiences and discourses regarding women were shaped by women's social status and locality, and numerous other factors. It would be impossible to write a single history of women in eighteenth-century Scotland; instead we need to think of women's histories. The same can be said for men. Because the scope of this study, gender, national identity and political agency, primarily concerns the elite (they generally encompassed the political nation in eighteenth-century Scotland), this thesis mainly focuses upon the gendered ideas and experiences of the elite. In examining gendered discourses and their impact upon political agency, I also seek to attempt to ascribe agency to people in the past by accessing a range of sources to assess the means by which people were constrained and/or empowered by, and constructed and negotiated gendered discourses.

Sources

This thesis focuses on gendered discourses of national identity that informed access to, and the practice of, political agency, and people's (particularly the elites) negotiation and/or employment of these discourses in order to claim political power. In my analysis I have used a range of sources to assess the importance of gender in conceptions of nationhood and the impact of this on the performance of political agency. These sources include (but are not limited to) personal letters, the minute books of Enlightenment clubs and societies, petitions submitted to the Scottish Parliament, published pamphlets and Scottish Enlightenment philosophical works. Perhaps not surprisingly it is my access to, and use of, those sources written by women which adheres most closely to the traditional project of History – the digging up and analysing of previously unseen or overlooked archival records or other sources. Many of the other sources used in this thesis, particularly the published sources, have been examined before, but they have not been read in the same way. Whereas archival sources often provide an insight into peoples' performance of discourse, including the negotiation of that discourse, published sources generally provide an understanding of the discursive construction of dominant

ideologies, in this context gendered national identities. The use of both published texts and archival sources, contemporaneous to each other, enables an assessment of the cyclical relationship between discourse and performance.

In Chapter 2 I use anti-Treaty pamphlets and petitions produced as part of the public debate on Union during 1706-07. These pamphlets represent a form of popular literature which was central to the mobilisation of public opposition to the Union. In this context they provide an important insight into the construction and representation of Scottish nationhood during the Union debates, demonstrating the centrality of notions of martial heroic manhood and passive maternal womanhood to Scottishness. To place anti-Treaty pamphlets in the context of the Union debate, pro-Union pamphlets are also discussed. In addition to pamphlets, petitions submitted to the Scottish Parliament by presbyteries, shires, burghs and institutions are also used. The statements of, and signatures contained in, these petitions highlight tensions between gender and status in the representation and application of patriotic manhood, and thus national belonging, to Scottish men.

In Chapter 3 I examine the letters of three elite women in order to show that women were involved in the politics of Union, despite the dominance of the passive feminine figure in anti-Treaty representations of Scottishness. These personal letters written to husbands, daughters, brothers and mothers reflect the landed familial political influence that was a key site in the practice of political power during an age in which the aristocracy dominated high politics, and which provided certain women with a political agency founded upon their socio-economic status. Moving beyond published material and other possible sources, such as Parliamentary papers, and instead focussing upon women's letters, I have been able to access the female voices which are absent from published material and the parliamentary archive. However, it must be recognised that there is a certain limitation to the use of letters. Particularly and rather obviously there is the issue of social status, or class; issues of writing literacy and the survival of private records means that the historian is, to an extent, constricted by an elite narrative. Elite narratives, though, can occasionally offer an insight into the experiences of the non-elite, and the last section of Chapter 3 considers women's involvement in anti-Treaty riots. Although there was not the space, or necessity, in this thesis to consider women's

popular political action further, this is an area which offers promising further research, for example through the use of sources such as Sheriff Court records.

Court records and other documents such as Kirk Session minutes are an important and under-utilised source of information on the social and political practices of the non-elite in Scotland's past. Though possibly leading to skewed perceptions founded upon the likelihood that those members of society considered deviant will appear in these records more often than those considered respectable, if read with an eye to these issues, these documents can provide a foundation for a narrative of the experiences of people for whom we have limited information. I do not utilise sources such as these in this thesis because in examining the gendering of nationhood and its impact upon political agency my focus is upon the elite who constructed and most often performed these discourses. This is certainly the case with North Britishness during the second half of the eighteenth century. North Britishness was predominantly a patriotic identity developed and performed by aristocracy, gentry and an emerging male professional elite.

In order to analyse the interrelationship between gendered discourses of North Britishness and the practice of political agency in post-Union Scotland in Chapters 4 and 5, I examine Scottish Enlightenment texts and the minute books of Enlightenment clubs and societies. In an analysis of the gendering of nationhood and political agency, the use of philosophical texts such as Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) may appear as restrictive due to the probably limited contemporary access to these texts. To combat this, the high philosophy of writers such as Smith is examined in the context of what can be termed prescriptive literature, such as the addresses of the Presbyterian minister James Fordyce, thus demonstrating the increasing dominance of ideals of refinement in the representation and practice of elite masculinity. Fictional literature is also included to highlight the impact of, and debates over, ideals of male refinement. Also, and most importantly, in Chapter 5 the construction of masculinity within these texts is considered in the context of the performance of manhood in societies such as the Select Society, to which philosophers such as Adam Smith belonged, thus providing a clear connection between discourse and performance.

The minute books of clubs and societies contain information including membership lists, questions discussed, social and political activities and rules governing behaviour. They illustrate the impact of discourses of male refinement on performance of elite masculinity, and demonstrate the importance of this performance in the practice of political agency. Although, like most sources, minute books are limited by the authors' self-representation (and our own subjectivity as readers), they offer a means to assess the relationship between discourse and performance. I do not however claim that refinement represented the only possible performance of masculinity amongst the elite. Individual men were likely to perform various ideals of masculinity in different spatial and social contexts. In order to fully examine the multiplicity of masculinity, a micro-history approach focussed upon the use of diaries and letters of a small number of men would be useful. In this thesis I have used the records of clubs and societies rather than men's diaries because minute books provide information on the public social and political practice of elite men as a group and evidence the homosociality of public intellectual-political practice in urban Scotland, and the link between this and Scottish Enlightenment discourse.

The Scottish Enlightenment public sphere was a key space for political practice in post-Union Scotland. Whilst in Chapter 3 I use letters to discuss elite Scottish women's political influence in the context of Scottish parliamentary politics and the extra-parliamentary sphere of familial politics focussed upon the noble household, in Chapter 6 my focus is on women's participation in the Scottish Enlightenment intellectual-political public sphere. Although aristocratic and gentry women's letters from this period may provide an insight into the continuance of landed female political influence in the context of the Westminster Parliament and/or the political management of Scotland, they are not the focus of discussion (though certainly offer an exciting avenue for future research). The letters of elite women can also provide insights into the non-public (narrowly defined) participation of women in Scottish Enlightenment culture. The main reason I have not taken this approach is because I wanted to look at women's public access to Scottish Enlightenment intellectual-political institutions and spaces, I do however make use of the work other historians have produced using sources such as Scottish women's letters during this period.

An approach which encompasses elite women on a more general level has proved fruitful in enabling the construction and defence of an argument for women's simultaneous exclusion and inclusion from the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere. Through the use of pamphlets and poems written by women and the minute books of public debating societies which admitted women, I am able to demonstrate the means by which the Enlightenment public sphere gendered the practice of political agency, restricting women to the performance of femininity in the enactment of patriotic identity. In Chapter 6 I also utilise periodical literature to assess popular representations of women's limited inclusion in the public sphere. Although beyond the scope of this particular study, an examination of this literature could provide further insights into women's participation in Scottish Enlightenment culture.

In Chapter 7 I use Scottish Enlightenment philosophical discourse on martial manhood (specifically the published works of Adam Ferguson and John Millar), pamphlets, government reports and political speeches which deal with Highland manhood, and archival material on Highland military recruitment to highlight the existence of an alternative patriotic North British manhood to male refinement and assess the impact of this on the possible performance of martial manhood by non-elite Highland men c.1750-1790. As the sources suggest, in Chapter 7 the study of discourse is an easier task than the study of performance when examining Highland militarism. Ideas of patriotic Highland martial masculinity propagated during the second half of the eighteenth century are likely to have had a limited impact upon performance. Highland men probably adopted a different masculine identity to the one placed upon them, but due to issues of geography and social status, written literacy was low amongst rank-and-file Highland soldiers and so sources providing access to their experiences from their perspectives are limited.

Although the use of various sources to examine different periods, such as the use of letters during the Union period and minute books during the Enlightenment period can appear as inconsistent, to an extent this reflect the changing political landscape of eighteenth-century Scotland. Whereas for the Union period the practice of political agency was focussed upon the Parliament and noble household, during the latter half of the century, clubs and societies emerged alongside institutions such as the General

Assembly of the Church of Scotland as key sites for the performance of political agency. The letters of elite women reflect the dominance of the aristocracy and gentry in political practice at the beginning of the eighteenth century, whilst the minute books of clubs and societies reflect the development, during the century, of a broader but more gendered political sphere which included the male professional elite and in which there was no space for familial female influence.

Overall, in this thesis I utilise a range of sources in order to construct a narrative which includes an analysis of the interrelationship between discourse and performance. Sources such as pamphlets and letters, and philosophical texts and minute books, provide an avenue in which to investigate the negotiation of discourse, rejecting a sharp division between representation and experience.

Chapter Outline

This study of gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland seeks to contribute to our understanding of the intersections between gender, national identity and other factors such as social status and geographical location (e.g. urban, Highland, Empire). In respect to my focus on eighteenth-century Scotland, I do not offer a full chronological analysis. The issue of Jacobitism is only briefly explored in this study. Though not entirely ignored, a study of Jacobitism would involve a divergence of focus and is not necessary for my analysis and argument. This thesis is concerned with two specific expressions of patriotic national identity. By focussing upon Scottishness at the time of Union and North Britishness during the Scottish Enlightenment period I will demonstrate the means by which intersections of gender and national identity informed the nature of these identities, and that these in turn were informed by conceptions, and the practice, of political agency and power.

The first substantive chapter of this thesis (Chapter 2) will examine the gendering of Scottish nationhood in speeches, petitions and pamphlets produced in opposition to the Treaty of Union. Although there is a vast literature on Union, these

examinations of the history of Union generally ignore its gendered aspect.[69] The chapter will examine the means by which anti-Treaty discourse defined a Scottish nationhood embodied by the masculine ideal of the heroic ancestor fighting for Scotland's independent sovereignty. Central to the discussion will be the relationship between patriotic masculinity, 'independent' manhood and political agency.

Chapter 3 will contrast the discursive construction of a masculine Scottish nationhood with an examination of women's participation in the 1706-07 political debates on Union. I will discuss the political participation and influence of women of the landed elite, particularly Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton, her daughter Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl and Katherine Skene, lady Murray. In addition to these elite women, I will examine women's participation in anti-Treaty riots. Central to the discussion of women's participation in the politics of Union is an analysis of the interrelationship of gender, social status and wealth in determining the practice of political agency at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Scotland. I will argue that although a patriarchal culture denied female access to spaces of institutional power such as the Scottish Parliament, the centrality of wealth and status to Scottish politics at this time enabled informal (and sometimes direct) female political involvement, informed by familial political power.

Chapter 4 moves forward to the mid-eighteenth century period and the context of the Scottish Enlightenment and North Britishness. North Britishness was expressed within a differently gendered discourse and resulted in a differently gendered performance of nationhood than the discourse of and political campaign for Scottish independence expressed during the Union debates. This chapter discusses the development of the national identity of North Britishness in the context of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and culture, and examines the centrality of the refined gentleman to this discourse. The focus is upon the discursive construction of the refined British gentleman as a patriotic identity in opposition to subversive masculinities such as

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[69] See, for example, Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*; Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*; Robertson (ed), *Union for Empire*; Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2001. Whatley raises the issue of female participation and states that it needs investigation. Only Leith Davis considers the gendering of anti-Union discourse, see L. Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation 1707-1830*, Stanford, Stanford U.P., 1998.

the Frenchified fop. The central argument is that the refined gentleman acted to assert Scotland's loyalty to, and equal place within, the British state. This chapter will argue for the centrality of the British gentleman to discourses of North Britishness in mid-to-late eighteenth century Scotland.

In Chapter 5, I will consider the articulation and performance of refined manhood as a performance of citizenship in the context of a study of masculinity and the Enlightenment homosocial intellectual-political public sphere, particularly societies and clubs. Clubs and societies were important sites for the formation and dissemination of Enlightenment discourse and were key sites for political participation in Scotland following the dissolution of the Scottish Parliament; the Enlightenment public sphere was a space in which the literati and other men of the elite and middling ranks, met to socialise, discuss and debate ideas to enact economic, social and moral improvement.[70] Focussing upon the Select Society and Poker Club in Edinburgh, and the Literary Society and Hodge Podge Club in Glasgow, I will examine these institutions as spaces for both the articulation and performance of refined manhood. Considering the links between their homosocial character and North Britishness, this chapter will demonstrate that clubs and societies were prime spaces for the performance of gendered citizenship in the British nation.

Chapter 6 will examine women's simultaneous exclusion and inclusion in the urban Enlightenment public sphere. I will argue that whilst women were important participants in the social public sphere they were predominantly excluded from access to the intellectual-political public sphere discussed in Chapter 5. Within discourses of North Britishness women were central to national identity; their feminising influence was deemed as necessary for the development of 'civilised' culture, specifically male sensibility. Rejecting progressivist accounts of the impact of the Enlightenment on women, I will argue that the centrality of the feminine did not result in a discursive equality of national political agency. However this is not an argument for total female exclusion; this chapter will examine women's limited involvement in the political-intellectual public-sphere, such as through public debating societies, and demonstrate

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[70] Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001, pp 25-39; M.Kingwell, 'Politics and Polite Society in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Historical Reflections*, 17:3 (1993), pp 371-373; N. Phillipson, 'Culture and Society', pp 411-448.

that in mid-to-late eighteenth century Scotland women were both present and absent in the elite urban public sphere.

Chapter 7 will problematise the seemingly hegemonic position of the refined gentleman through an examination of the patriotic masculinity of martial Highland manhood. This discussion will include an examination of ideas of martial manhood within Scottish Enlightenment discourse and the different, but not unrelated, representations of Highland manhood which depicted Highland men as having an innate militarism and, from mid-century, as loyal warriors of the British Empire. This chapter will argue that martial Highland manhood existed at a discursive level as an alternative patriotic masculinity to refined urban manhood and that this was enabled by the peripheral status of martial manhood. Considering the performance of this identity, in the form of non-elite Highland men's enlistment in Highland regiments, I suggest that rather than a desire to be loyal warriors, soldiers' gendered motivations for enlistment were founded upon a desire to achieve 'independent' manhood.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates the centrality of gender to discourses of national identity and the impact of these on the performance of political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland. The place of gender within discourses of Scottishness c.1706-07 and North Britishness c.1750-1790 and related political agency during these two periods are discussed as a means of contrast. Highlighting the interconnections between gender, national identity and political agency in these two contexts this thesis offers a contribution to the history of gender and political power.

Chapter 2:
Union and the Imagining of a Manly Scotland

The 1707 Anglo-Scottish Union came into force on 1 May 1707, creating the state of Great Britain. This political change can be described as the first event in a century that was a 'rite of passage' for Scotland. With the loss of the parliament and membership in the British Empire, Union with England changed Scotland's political landscape and aided rapid economic and urban growth.[1] In an assessment of the changing nature of gendered national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland it is useful to start with the Union. Just as the socio-political climate of mid-eighteenth century Scotland was markedly different from Scotland at the beginning of the century, so too were gendered conceptions of nationhood and expressions of political agency.

The 1707 Treaty of Union contained 25 Articles which covered a broad range of issues, from the Hanoverian succession and the incorporation of the parliaments of Scotland and England into the Parliament of Great Britain, to issues of trade and taxation. This Treaty was debated, amended and finally passed by the Scottish Parliament between October 1706 and January 1707. The Treaty's passage through Parliament was accompanied by a growth in political print discourse (and literate middling sorts to read it), public protest in Edinburgh and other urban centres, petitioning of Parliament by various bodies and a reasonably high level of 'management' of Scottish politicians by the British monarch, the English Government and Scottish magnates aligned to the Crown such as James Douglas, duke of Queensberry (1662-1711).

This chapter focuses upon an analysis of the discourse surrounding the 1707 Union in terms of the construction of a patriotic Scottish masculine identity within anti-Treaty discourse, particularly published petitions and pamphlets. I will demonstrate that conceptions of independent manhood were central to the articulation of conceptions of Scottish nationhood and the mobilisation of popular opposition to the Union Treaty. I

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[1] M.G.H. Pittcock, *Scottish Nationality*, Hampshire, Palgrave, 2001, pp 71-72; W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1977, p 180; C.J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1997, pp 10-12.

begin with a discussion of the historiography of Union and provide a background to the political context, followed by an examination of anti-Treaty discourse in the form of speeches, pamphlets and petitions. This examination is focussed upon an analysis of the employment of a masculinist discourse in defining Scottish nationhood in opposition to parliamentary incorporation with England. Within this discussion I consider the deployment of notions of 'independent' manhood in determining political legitimacy and the tension between this and broader populist conceptualisations of nationhood in which masculinity almost entirely replaces status as a determinant of political agency (at least discursively). I conclude with a study of the deployment of feminine symbolism in depicting Scottish nationhood and the use of marriage as a metaphor for Union.

With the exception of symbolic mother figures, women are almost entirely absent from representations of the Scottish nation in contemporary anti-Treaty texts. However, as I will show in chapter 3, women were active participants in the Union debates. The absence of women from anti-Treaty conceptions of nationhood could be interpreted as evidence of an exclusively male political realm. Yet women's relative invisibility within discourses of Scottish nationhood meant that, to an extent, women could forge their own space in the political nation. This supports a central argument of this thesis; that the inclusion and importance of the feminine female figure in conceptualisations of the British nation following the 1707 Union was a discursive barrier to female political agency during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Except for Christopher Whatley's brief description of Presbyterian female political engagement, histories of Union typically exclude women.[2] Apart from Queen Anne and Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton, very few women rate a mention.[3] The assumed absence of women from Union politics is informed by, and informs, the implicit notion that the Union as political history is naturally male and so somehow un-gendered. The idea of male political history as an un-gendered subject suggests an

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[2] C.A. Whatley, with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, p 288; Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2001, p 40.
[3] Histories that ignore women include (but are not limited to), Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*; P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study of Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth-Century*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1978; P.H. Scott, *The Union of Scotland and England in Contemporary Documents*, Edinburgh, W&R Chambers, 1979; J. Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995.

assumption that studies of gender and politics concern women only and constructions of masculinity are not subjectively determined outwith conduct literature and men's domestic lives. As Matthew McCormack recently argued, political masculinities are generally ignored within political history and gender history. To combat this there is a need to recognise the active construction and performance of public manhood, and to accept that, 'the relationships between masculinity, politics and the public are not fixed but are constantly being renegotiated.'[4] The male public political actor of the past was not a gender-neutral figure; he existed as part of a continuous discursive process whereby his figure and the broader construction of the public sphere as male was, 'not just the consequence of a patriarchal political structure but actively constituted ways of conceptualising society, and therefore facilitated the exercise of political power.'[5] In this chapter I will analyse the relationship between masculinity and public politics in terms of representations of patriotic Scottish manhood in anti-Treaty texts.

The Union Debates, National Identity and Gender

A large amount of work on the Union was recently published to coincide with its tercentenary in 2007. This body of work has increased and complicated our understanding of Union but a developed gendered perspective is still missing.[6] In order to understand gender and national identity in eighteenth-century Scotland it is useful to start with the Union debates. Ihe deployment of gendered discourses in conceptualisations of nationhood and political agency within Scottish anti-Union patriotic discourse provides a clear contrast to the use of gender within discourses of North Britishness during the second half of the eighteenth century. Patriotic discourse at the time of Union was centred upon medieval and renaissance conceptions of an ancient Scottish nationhood that was embodied by heroic martial ancestors who fought to defend the sovereignty of the Scottish kingdom. Roger Mason argues that the idea of Scottish

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[4] M. McCormack, 'Men, 'the Public' and Political History', McCormack (ed), *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp 13-18.
[5] McCormack, 'Men, 'the Public' and Political History', p 20.
[6] K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2007; Whatley, *Scots and the Union*; A.I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2007; J. Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2007.

independence was rooted in representations of a common ancestry who resisted Roman occupation and English imperialist aggression by chroniclers such as John Fordun (c.1320-c.1384), Walter Bower (1385-1449) and Hector Boece (c.1465-1536) in the early sixteenth century. These chroniclers invented a common Scottish ancestry in place of ethnic differences between Picts, Gaels and Anglo-Saxons, and firmly located this common past in the chivalric tradition. Values of freedom and liberty were represented as inseparable from the chivalric values of 'nobility, loyalty and courage'. With Boece, ideas of national chivalric values were combined with a civic humanist philosophy and so extended to a concept of a national community of 'citizens', or commonweal. The (male) community had an obligation to uphold martial values and defend Scotland's independence in order to defend freedom and liberty.[7]

The representations of Scottish nationhood propagated within anti-Treaty discourse were founded upon an ethnocentric representation of Scotland's past which was heavily influenced by the history of Scotland written by the humanist George Buchanan (1506-1582). An important Protestant figure in Reformation era Scotland, and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Buchanan narrated Scotland's past within a model of aristocratic virtue. As Kidd states, 'he constructed an ancient constitutional history of Scotland, relying on a theory of popular sovereignty in which the 'people' meant an assembly of the nobles and clan chiefs.'[8] Buchananite ideology fed anti-Treaty discourse, a large amount of which emphasised Scotland's 2000-year independence, beginning with the reign of Fergus MacFerquhard (or King Fergus I). Informing these notions was the influential late seventeenth-century Buchananite history of George Ridpath (1660?-1726) who in 1695 published a text entitled *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted*. Essentially an English language translation of Thomas Craig's Latin *De Hominio* (1602), the principal aim of Ridpath's history was to reject English historians' claims to an ancient English sovereignty over Scotland and instead emphasise Scotland's success in maintaining its independent sovereignty. As Kidd discusses, in presenting this argument Ridpath placed England in a negative

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[7] R.A. Mason, *Kinship and Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1998, pp 78-103; for ideas of Scottish independence c.1690-1705 see, C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, c.1689-c.1830*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1993, pp 41-51.
[8] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp 20-21.

comparable position, asserting that whilst Scotland had maintained its independence, England was prone to invasion and subjection, demonstrated, for example, in the Norman conquest of 1066.[9]

The idea of an ancient Scottish sovereignty founded upon a noble martial ancestry had a major impact upon the gendering of national identity and political agency within anti-Treaty discourse. An image of a manly Scotland was invoked as Scotsmen were called upon to deploy the manly spirit of their courageous ancestors and oppose the Union Treaty and defend Scottish sovereignty. The chivalric ideal of Scottish nationhood was, in this discourse, extended to men beyond the elites in a manner that blurred notions of chivalric and classical republican manhood. All Scots were subjects of the Scottish Kingdom, but as will be discussed below, exactly which men could claim political agency (in this context mainly the right to inform Parliament of their views and, importantly, have these views represented) through their status as subjects was a site of tension within anti-Treaty discourse, as the Country party sought to both enforce the political legitimacy of the 'independent' man (i.e. landed men, free from obligation) and to appeal to a more wide-ranging popular opposition in which a patriotic Scotsman was seemingly any man in Scotland who actively opposed Union.

The place of discourses of masculinity in the history of Union has not been previously examined and it is useful to place this study in the context of the general historiography on Union. The 1707 Union is a contested area of historical scholarship. In simple terms there are two main positions. The first argues that Union was enacted as a result of great foresight on the part of politicians and was necessary for Scotland's development of a modern economy and democratic political culture, and to solve the political and economic problems faced by Scotland within the Union of the Crowns. This view dominated from the mid-eighteenth century Enlightenment period up to the 1960s.[10] It is continued to an extent, in a far more critical and nuanced form, by historians who emphasise the importance of the economy as a motivator for Union, and

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[9]*Ibid*, pp 42-45.

[10] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, pp 23-24, 31; this view was heavily influenced by the contemporary history by the English pro-Union propagandist Daniel Defoe, in Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain*, Edinburgh, 1709.

greatest beneficiary. Two key historians who argue for this position are T.C. Smout and Christopher Whatley.[11]

Opposed to progressivist representations of Union is the argument that the Union was a result of political management (including bribery) and that it was carried through Parliament by the elite against the wishes of the Scottish nation. This argument was central to the revisionist analyses of Union published during the 1960s and 1970s by William Ferguson and P.W.J. Riley.[12] Nationalist historiography on Union is continued by P.H. Scott in his polemical text, *The Union of 1707: How and Why* (2006).[13] The nationalist argument also informs the (non-polemical) work of Allan I. Macinnes, who in his 1996 study of Jacobitism in Scotland, asserted that the Union represented a sacrifice of national independence and was the result of intimidation and manipulation by the English Whig ministry and of 'a demonstrable contempt for public opinion within the Scottish Estates.'[14] In his recently published *Union and Empire* (2007), Macinnes argues that access to Empire was crucial to the achievement and maintenance of Union. Emphasising the high level of 'managerial sophistication' in the passing of Union, he asserts that Union represented 'the sacrifice of Scottish sovereignty' and that it 'primarily served the interests of England'.[15]

Where this chapter most directly engages with the historiography on Union is on the issue of nationhood and political agency. The issue as to whether anti-Treaty discourse represented the views of the Scottish 'people' is a focus of contestation amongst historians of Union. In presenting his argument that the Union was the result of political corruption, Ferguson asserted that 'the Scottish nation at large was hostile to the

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[11] T.C. Smout, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707: I. The Economic Background', *Economic History Review*, 16:3 (1964), pp 455-467; C.A. Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey', *Scottish Historical Review*, 68:2 (1989), pp 150-181. In his most recent work, *The Scots and the Union* (2006), Whatley presents an analysis which seeks to restore Scotland's Union politicians from the 'cynicism and contempt' with which they have predominantly been represented in post-1960s histories of Union, and presents Union as a rational decision.

[12] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*; Ferguson, 'The Making of the Treaty of Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, 43:136 (1964), pp 89-110. Just as Defoe's account influenced Whig history, revisionist historians made extensive use of the Jacobite politician Lockhart of Carnwath's memoirs of Union, especially his 'evidence' of bribery. See G. Lockhart, *Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's accession to the throne, to the commencement of the Union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, in May, 1707*, London, J. Baker, 1714.

[13] P.H. Scott, *The Union of 1707: How and Why*, Edinburgh, Saltire Society, 2006.

[14] A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1996, p 193.

[15] Macinnes, *Union and Empire*, p 11, 314, 316.

Treaty'.[16] Whilst, in his recent work Whatley discusses the fact that some Scots supported the Union, and asserts that many people were undecided on the issue.[17] Karin Bowie, in her recent study, has demonstrated the need to view print discourse and protests against the Union in the context of early modern public opinion politics. Viewed in this context opposition to the Union becomes a more complex phenomenon in which elite familial and oppositional Parliamentary politics, oppositional political texts and 'popular' oppositional action, such as anti-Union riots, are recognised as necessarily interlinked. This recognition means that opposition to the Union needs to be viewed neither as evidence of the manipulation of 'the people' by the elite nor as a reflection of a 'natural' patriotic sentiment; instead public opinion on the Union was, 'shaped and informed by discourse and events.'[18] Public opinion was mobilised, but not entirely controlled by opposition political elites, and it was both informed by and informed parliamentary politics.[19]

In 1706-07 the Scottish Parliament was not a democratic institution. In the 1702-03 Scottish general election, which elected the Union Parliament, only around 2400 Scots (out of a population of approximately one million) could vote for the commissioners returned to the burgh and shire estates. In addition to these elected commissioners were the unelected peers. All three estates sat together in a unicameral parliament, which was dominated by the landed elites owing to limited franchise (enabling the use of patronage to determine electoral outcomes) and their occupation of most parliamentary seats, not only as peers, but also through shire representation. Known as barons, shire representatives were predominantly from the lower nobility and gentry. Following the re-establishment of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as an independent religious political body in 1690 and the removal of the estate of bishops (replaced by shire commissioners), the Scottish Parliament became a lay body dominated numerically (and in terms of political interest) by the landed nobility, who in the 1700s held approximately 70 percent of Parliamentary seats.[20]

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[16] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*, p 255.
[17] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 6.
[18] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 92.
[19] *Ibid*.
[20] Brown, A.J. Mann, 'Introduction: Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707', in Brown, Mann (eds), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2005, pp 49-51.

Within the Parliament, early eighteenth-century politics was dominated by a division between the Court party and the Country party and their (occasional) allies the Jacobite Cavaliers. These parties were looser groupings of politicians than modern political parties, but the ideological divisions which defined them, and material divisions in terms of allegiance, played a significant role in the Union debates. The Court party was led by James Douglas, duke of Queensberry, the Queen's Commissioner in Scotland, and was the dominant party in the Union Parliament. The Court party was defined by support for the monarch and the 1690 Revolution Settlement. They viewed parliamentary union as means to ensure the Protestant succession; in addition they often emphasised the benefits of free trade to Scotland's economic growth. In opposition to the Court were the Country party and the Jacobite Cavaliers. Although supportive of the 1690 Revolution Settlement, the Country party was more firmly grounded in Scottish Presbyterianism than the pan-Britannic Protestantism of the Court party. Central to Country party politics was a commitment to the independence and sovereignty of the Scottish crown and parliament, and by extension the Scottish nation. Unlike the Jacobites, they tended to support the Hanoverian succession whilst aiming for a different constitutional arrangement than the current regal union.

Defined by their belief in the deposed Stuarts' divine right to the British crown, the Jacobites opposed the Hanoverian succession which was set out in the 1701 English Act of Settlement and was to be assured under Article II of the Act of Union. There were major religious (most Jacobites were Episcopalian) and political (e.g. on the succession issue) divisions between Jacobite and Country party politicians. The commitment of the Country party to Scottish independence is evident in their willingness to develop close allegiances with Jacobites. The Cavalier-Country allegiance was also helped by the politics of James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton (1658-1712), the leader of the Country Party, whose personal Jacobitism (informed by his friendship with James VII) combined with his family's defence of the Presbyterian interest, meant that (to an extent) he was able to unify a disparate anti-Treaty opposition.[21]

Reflective of post-1699 Country party politics central to anti-Treaty discourse was the notion of an ancient Scottish nationhood, which was threatened by an

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[21] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 14-16.

incorporating Union with England. As Whatley discusses, there was a passionate certainty amongst Scots that theirs was the oldest sovereign kingdom in Europe, with a continuous royal line going back to the ninth century.[22] As Bowie demonstrates, the print discourse of the Country party 'sought to awaken a spirit of Scottish patriotism'.[23] The independence of the Scottish kingdom informed an idea of male political agency in which Scotsmen were encouraged to identify with this independence, see it as the source of their own religious and other liberties and so act to defend it. It is from this perspective that I approach anti-Treaty discourse.

National Independence – Masculine Independence

There is disagreement amongst historians as to the impact of patriotic discourse and ideas of Scottish national independence. Colin Kidd has argued that the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Presbyterian Church was paramount and that religious opposition was motivated by this more than by notions of Scottish national independence.[24] John Robertson however, emphasises that issues of regal and parliamentary sovereignty were paramount during the Union debates. The issue of sovereignty as it was expressed during the Union debates, for example in constitutional arguments against the Union treaty, was informed by events such as the Darien scheme (Scotland's failed attempt to establish an independent Imperial colony 1696-1701) and the succession crisis of 1701-03.[25] The issue of sovereignty is important when analysing anti-Treaty discourse. It was the basis of patriotic opposition to the Union and it was not a stable concept. Those who opposed Union so as to maintain Scottish independence did not do so conceiving of themselves as members of the nation in a modern republican sense. Instead they conceived of themselves as subjects of a sovereign kingdom with rights informed and defended by that sovereignty. These rights were clearly spelt out in the 1689 'Claim of Right', which declared James VII deposed, prohibited Roman Catholics from ascending

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[22] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 11.
[23] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 92.
[24] Kidd, 'Religious Realignment between the Restoration and the Union', in Robertson (ed), *Union for Empire*, pp 145-168.
[25] Robertson, 'An Elusive Sovereignty: The Course of the Union Debate in Scotland 1689-1707', in Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire*, pp 200-203.

to the throne and laid the way for the ascension of William of Orange to the Scottish throne (a similar process had been achieved under the English Parliament's 'Bill of Rights'). The Claim of Right asserted the powers of the Scottish Parliament (for example through abolishing the Lord of the Articles, who managed Parliament on the King's behalf) and Scottish subjects (for example the right to petition Parliament was guaranteed). The 1690 Revolution Settlement, of which the Claim of Right was a part, also re-established the Presbyterian Church as the national Church of Scotland.

In terms of political sovereignty, or agency (i.e. the right to directly influence political affairs) there is disagreement amongst historians as to who this applied to. In the context of the Union debates political agency was often claimed in the name of defending the sovereignty of the Scottish crown. As Robertson discusses, the idea of Scotland's monarchical independence was essential to Scotland's political identity and the nobility conceived of their political power in the context of the maintenance of Scottish regal sovereignty. This regal sovereignty was intimately connected with parliamentary sovereignty, as Robertson asserts, 'Without that crown, it was assumed, a Scottish political community could not exist.'[26] The Scottish Parliament was the primary institutional forum for the practice of noble political power, and for the representation of the political interests of freeholders (wealthy landowners, who represented the county electorate); its independence and that of the crown was perceived as integrally interconnected. To defend Scottish independence was to defend the sovereignty of the Scottish crown and parliament.

This reminds us that when interpreting the practice of political agency in the early modern context that it need not equate to a republican agenda of franchise and citizenship rights. In terms of political agency, Robertson argues that it was located in electoral rights and so within this model only the landed elite had political power.[27] Against this, John R. Young argues that that popular opposition to the Union Treaty in

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[26] *Ibid*, p 199.
[27] *Ibid*, p 219.

the form of riots and anti-Union petitioning reflected a claim for popular sovereignty informed by a conception of Scottish national identity.[28]

In this chapter I argue that representations of political agency were discursively figured as male. I agree with Robertson that notions of political agency were primarily placed upon the male landed elites, or 'independent' men. However, this was not a stable notion and at times patriotic discourse extended notions of political agency to all Scotsmen, thus reflecting the popular sovereignty discussed by Young. The instability within anti-Treaty patriotic discourse over exactly which men were included as members of the nation was informed by, and acted to inform, notions of patriotic masculinity.

Studies of gender and nationalism have sought to show how nationalist ideologies are constructed upon and seek to legitimize and maintain patriarchal gender hierarchies. Anthony D. Smith argues that nationalism is dependent upon a sense of common ancestry and so seeks to extend people's primary identification with their family to encompass the nation as a whole.[29] In his study of the origins of nationalism Smith argued that modern nationalism has origins in the collective identities of pre-national communities. It is these ethnies, as Smith calls them, which supply a nation with much of the distinctive mythology, symbolism and culture upon which it defines itself.[30] The idea of an ethnic community is founded upon common ancestry and so uses the idea of the community, or nation, as an extension of the family. The idea of the nation as an extension of the family allows the patriarchal structures within the family model to be applied to the nation.[31] In the early modern context of the Union debates, the idea of the nation as an extension of the family (so as to construct a commonality amongst Scotsmen and link this to the independence of the Kingdom) needs to be understood within a socio-political discourse that equated men's achievement and possession of 'independent' (and therefore politically capable) manhood with the

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[28] J.R. Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and National Identity from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of Parliaments, 1603-1707', in D. Broun, R. Finlay, M. Lynch, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1998, p 127.

[29] A.D. Smith, 'The Origin of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12 (1989), p 353.

[30] Smith, 'Origin of Nations', pp 340-367

[31] T. Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage', in Mayer (ed), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, London, Routledge, 2000, p 14.

ownership of property and the heading of a household.[32] This 'independent' manhood was conceived of as integral to political agency within the nation; it denoted a freedom from social and economic dependence and by extension freedom to act in the self and the community interest.

The 'independent' male citizen was defined by his lack of obligation. In England this figure was symbolised by the independent country gentleman member of Parliament. The country gentleman was most likely involved in systems of patronage, which were rejected as wholly corrupt only by radicals. However, McCormack argues that it was not the gentleman's freedom from patronage but his independent pose that mattered. Independence involved the performance of a certain masculinity that emphasised property, rural virtue, personal autonomy and a manliness which emphasised virtues such as straightforwardness and courage.[33] In Scotland, male 'independence' in terms of its relation to political agency extended slightly beyond the propertied elites. Two other groups also held legitimate, 'independent' political agency. These groups were the leadership of the Church of Scotland, primarily Presbyterian ministers, and members of the town councils of royal burghs.

Susan Amussen cites ministers in England as a group of men who were denied the category of full 'independent' manhood.[34] The Church of England had an Erastian structure; it was governed by bishops, archbishops and ultimately controlled by the English Crown (the ultimate state authority). Therefore although he was an important member of the community, an English minister depended upon the bishop immediately above him, and so on up the church hierarchy. In Scotland the Church was Presbyterian and so governed by a more democratic structure, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In addition, until lay patronage was restored in 1712, ministers were (at least in theory) dependent only upon their parishioners. Owing to their place within a democratic church structure, ministers were conceived of as leaders of their

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[32] S. D. Amussen, ' 'The Part of a Christian man': The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England', in Amussen, M.A. Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1995, pp 214-227.
[33] McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2005, pp 15, 71-72
[34] Amussen, 'Cultural Politics of Manhood', p 222.

communities, as 'independent' men in a political sense. This was clearly demonstrated in the act of parish petitioning of Parliament.

The wealthy merchants (and landed elites) who led the town councils of royal burghs such as Glasgow were also 'independent' men; they had a political status. The third group in the unicameral Parliament were burgh commissioners who were elected by the town councils. Like the Church, the royal burghs also had their own political body, the Convention of Royal Burghs, which represented the political and economic interests of the (landed and non-landed) mercantile elite. Unlike England, political 'independent' manhood extended beyond the landed to the mercantile elite and church leadership. Like England, ideas of 'independent' manhood were founded upon a conception of male authority, discursively and materially located in the patriarchal household. In both nations masculine 'independence' was a foundation of political legitimacy.

Susan Kingsley Kent argues that with the restoration of Charles II in 1660 the importance of the familial hierarchy was emphasised as the source of government and monarchical authority in Britain. Women's submission to their husband's authority became a central component in ideologies asserting the seventeenth-century social, political, and economic hierarchy. Just as the father ruled over the household, so the king and the government ruled over the people and God ruled over all.[35] The emphasis on the familial origin of the Scottish nation, achieved through continual references to 'our ancestors' in anti-Treaty propaganda such as petitions, reflected and reinforced the connections between the family, 'independent' manhood and the Scottish nation. Importantly it meant (especially for men of the elite and the upper middling sorts) that within anti-Treaty discourse men's manhood was factored into their political allegiance – to fail to oppose Union was to fail as a Scotsman in the most gendered sense.

In November 1706 James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton asked fellow members of Parliament the question, 'Shall we in Half an Hour yield what our forefathers maintain'd with their Lives and Fortunes for many Ages; are none of the Descendents here of those worthy Patriots who defended the Liberty of their Country against all Invaders'. In the same speech Hamilton asked, 'Where are the Peers; where are the Barons, once the

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[35] S.K. Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain 1640-1990*, London, Routledge, 1999, pp 12-25.

Bulwark of the Nation?' In this speech, Hamilton was asserting his own patriotic identity and posing a gendered challenge that linked the surrender of Scottish independence with a surrender of 'independent' and martial Scottish manhood. The links between Scottish independence and 'independent' manhood are shown in Hamilton's emphasis that it is the peers and the barons, i.e. the landed elite, who should be the primary manifestation of patriotic manhood; it is they who are envisioned as the representatives of the nation, who are 'commanded by those we represent' to preserve Scottish independence and sovereignty.[36] Hamilton's speech reflects Country Party discourse on popular sovereignty - that the Parliament should represent the nation and that the nation opposed the Union.[37]

Hamilton's speech highlights the instability of notions of masculine political sovereignty; though they sat in Parliament, the burgh representatives were excluded from his political nation. This equation of masculine independence and national independence in anti-Treaty discourse was often applied to the broader nation and not just the propertied and/or parliamentary elite, but here we can see that Hamilton makes a clear link between national sovereignty, 'independent' patriotic manhood (narrowly defined) and political power. This should not be read as simply a reflection of the maleness of parliamentary politics, but as part of a discursive construction of a masculinist Scottish nationhood in opposition to the prospect of a British parliamentary Union.

Anti-Treaty Discourse and Patriotic Manhood: Heroic Ancestors

The idea of a common ancestral history not only constructs a mythology of national belonging but also creates a masculine ideal of martial struggle that defines national honour. A conception of a common and heroic Scottish ancestry was employed by John Hamilton, lord Belhaven (1656-1708) in his famous 'Mother Caledonia' speech (sometimes entitled 'Belhaven's Vision') to the Scottish Parliament on 2 November

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[36] J. Hamilton, duke of Hamilton, Nov. 1706, quoted in G. Lockhart, *Memoirs*, p 252.
[37] For a detailed analysis of Country Party politics and popular sovereignty, see Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, esp. pp 67-114.

1706, to represent Scotland as an ancient 'Free and Independent Kingdom'[38]. Belhaven's speech, given in opposition to the First Article of the Treaty of Union is emblematic of overall patriotic discourse in opposition to Incorporating Union. [39] When he gave it Belhaven was already a well known figure in Scottish politics. He had served as a member of the Privy Council in 1690 (supporting the Revolution Settlement), had been involved in Parliamentary affairs since at least 1681, supported the 1703 Act of Security and had invested £1000 in the Darien scheme.[40] In speeches prior to 'Mother Caledonia' Belhaven had expressed fears that Scotland had lost power and become voiceless since the 1603 Union of the Crowns. The idea that the constitutional arrangement following the Union of the Crowns was not working for Scotland was central to debates in Scotland regarding Union, especially following the political and economic problems Scotland faced under the reign of William of Orange during the 1690s, problems which included a series of bad harvests and famines and which were epitomised by the failure of the Scots to establish an independent colony on the Isthmus of Panama (commonly known as the Darien scheme).[41] To support his political position Belhaven often drew upon a mythology of Scottish identity and presented England as a threat to it.[42] In a 1705 speech on the question of Anglo-Scottish relations, he wrote 'our Predecessors, when in a Good Understanding amongst themselves, were always in a Condition to defend their Rights and Liberties against the *English*'.[43] According to Leith Davis, the expression of sentiments such as these had earned Belhaven a reputation as a 'Noble Patriot' well before he made his 1706 speech.[44]

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[38] J. Hamilton, lord Belhaven, *The Late Lord Belhaven's Memorable Speeches In the Last Parliament of Scotland, holden at Edinburgh, in November 1706 On the Subject-Matter of the then projected Union of Both Kingdoms*, Edinburgh, G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, 1741, p 1.

[39] That the Two Kingdoms of England and Scotland shall upon the First day of May which shall be in the year One thousand seven hundred and seven, and for ever after, be united into one Kingdom by the name of Great Britain …

[40] Young, 'Hamilton, John, second Lord Belhaven and Stenton (1656–1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford U.P., Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12107, accessed 18 March 2008].

[41] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 139.

[42] L. Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation 1707-1830*, Stanford, Stanford U.P., 1998, pp 30-31.

[43] Belhaven, *The Lord Belhaven's Speech in Parliament the 17th of July 1705*, Edinburgh, 1705, p 3.

[44] Davis, *Acts of Union*, p 32.

The 'Mother Caledonia' speech is described by Robertson as a 'rhetorical lament', an expression of people's loss that was essentially an admission of defeat.[45] The Union may have been irreversible when Belhaven gave the speech but when published in pamphlet form the speech became a popular piece of anti-Union literature. Its emotionality struck a chord with a populace that historian William Ferguson patronisingly refers to as the 'hoi polloi'.[46] The importance of the speech derives from its emphasis on the heroic ancient kingdom of Scotland being destroyed by Union, and its popularity with the anti-Treaty crowd (the non-elites who participated in protests and riots against the Treaty). Belhaven's ideas not only became a rallying point for anti-Union protest but were also adopted by later generations of Jacobites and nationalists.[47] As Bowie discusses, Country Party discourse (of which Belhaven's speech is an example) used ideas of Scottish nationhood in print propaganda so as to mobilise popular opposition to the Union, and thus increase their ability to defeat the Treaty in Parliament.[48] Emphasising the loss of independence that Union would entail, Belhaven wrote:

> all our great Chieftans, all our great Peers and considerable Men, who used formerly to defend the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, have been all kill'd and dead in the Bed of Honour, before ever the Nation was necessitate to Condescend to such Mean and Contemptible Terms.[49]

Belhaven used feminine symbolism in the figure of Mother Caledonia to construct an ethnic commonality and link this to ideas of Scottish sovereignty (see below), but also important was his use of concepts of patriotic manhood to define male political agency. Belhaven wrote of the '… Noble and Honourable peerage of Scotland, whose Valiant Predecessors led armies against their enemies,' but now, 'divested of their Followers and Vassallages,' gain less respect than a 'petty English Exciseman.'[50] The present peers, whose ancestors 'conquered Provinces, over-run Countries,' now lay their swords aside

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[45] Robertson, 'An Elusive Sovereignty', p 219.
[46] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*, p 259.
[47] Davis, *Acts of Union*, p 44.
[48] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 93-99.
[49] *Belhaven's Memorable Speeches*, p 22.
[50] *Ibid*, pp 2-3.

when mixing with English peers, 'lest their Self-defence should be found murder.'[51] This attack on the masculinity of Scotland's landed elite, who would lay down their swords because the English might see it as an attack, is also a metaphor for the nation that is laying aside its military strength, it masculine character, in favour of submission to the English. Union expressed in this way can be read as a form of national emasculation.

Scotsmen are called upon to reclaim their masculinity and so their nationhood; 'let our Noble Patriots behave themselves like men.'[52] The masculine ideal to which men should ascribe is represented by an idea of Scotland's ancestors who during two thousand years have created and kept Scotland a '… Free Independent Nation, with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.'[53] The glorification of Scotland's martial history is used by Belhaven to call upon men's sense of masculinity and so convince them to act in defence of the nation's independence. Belhaven's celebration of martial patriotism may have been partly informed by his own experiences; in 1689 he defended the Revolution by serving as an officer in the Battle of Killiecrankie, against Jacobite forces led by Viscount Dundee.[54] In his anti-Treaty rhetoric, Belhaven constructed a notion of martial patriotic manhood by drawing upon chivalric ideas of masculinity, such as courage, strength, self-control and self-sacrifice. This masculine ideal based male virtue in an independence that was not necessarily represented by property but through national independence defended by martial valour.

In anti-Treaty representations of Scottish nationhood, myths of common history and common descent were inter-linked, as ideas of past achievements and battles of male ancestors were employed to encourage men to fight to protect the nation. For example in the Duke of Hamilton's speech referred to above, Hamilton made a direct reference to the ancestors who 'assisted the great King *Robert Bruce*'.[55] In national ideologies the association of national strength with values traditionally associated with male virtue, or honour, acts to encourage men to associate their power and independence (real or imagined) with personal characteristics such as courage and self-sacrifice.

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[51] *Ibid*, p 3.
[52] *Belhaven's Memorable Speeches*, p 6
[53] *Ibid*, pp 9-10
[54] Young, 'Hamilton, John, second Lord Belhaven', *ODNB*.
[55] J. Hamilton, duke of Hamilton, Nov. 1706.

Belhaven's, Hamilton's and others' use of ideas of a common heroic ancestry and ancient Scottish independence are more firmly located within medieval and Reformation era conceptions of Scottish nationhood and the chivalric values of the nobility (see above).[56] Within anti-Treaty discourse this imagining of a manly Scotland was adopted, and re-configured to fit the political context. Central to this was the notion that Scotsmen must fight (in a metaphorical if not literal sense) to defend their nation's ancient independence.

Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann, in their study of masculinity and war, discuss the ways in which during the later eighteenth century conceptions of masculinity combined liberal notions of popular sovereignty with Classical Republican notions of independent male virtue to articulate concepts of citizenship, and individual and national autonomy.[57] In the nationalistic texts produced during the Union debates of 1706 and 1707, it is a similar Classical ideal of male virtue, based upon freedom from dependence (and so influence), and on courage and self-sacrifice, that is propagated. However, in the anti-Treaty texts of 1706-07 the martial patriotic ideal was not extended to a notion of citizenship founded upon military service, i.e. the citizen-soldier. It did however act to extend ideas of national belonging beyond the landed elite through the construction of an idea of nationhood in which men could claim an active patriotic identity through their willingness to defend Scottish sovereignty. In this way, ideas of martial Scottish independence as propagated within anti-Union discourse represent a space between early modern notions of martial manhood which focussed almost exclusively on the elite and later modern republican notions which extended the relationship between martial courage and service and membership of the nation to a broader group of men, and linked this status to a legal, material citizenship.

Belhaven's statement that 'Nothing can destroy Scotland, save Scotland's self,' implies a level of Scots self-determination; they can choose to destroy or protect their national sovereignty.[58] On its own this statement could be read as being addressed to all Scots (men and women), but Belhaven's use of masculine values and imagery genders

[56] Mason, *Kingship and Commonweal*, pp 80-103.
[57] S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, 'Masculinity in Politics and War: the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750-1850', in Dudink, Hagemann, J. Tosh (ed's), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2004, pp 6-7
[58] Davis, *Acts of Union*, pp 33-4

the language of national and individual self-determination. It is men's actions that represent Scotland's past and men who are called upon to act to protect its future. So when Belhaven speaks of Scotland needing to save it self, it appears that it is exclusively men whom he is addressing. And when he writes, "Good GOD! What is this an entire surrender?', the surrender appears to be of more than the independence of the Scottish Parliament or even the nation, but the martial spirit, and so the masculinity, of Scotsmen.[59]

A publication that claimed the right to an extra-parliamentary voice through an assertion of a martial masculine national identity, founded upon heroic ancestry, was *An Account of the Burning of Articles at Dumfries* (1706). This text was initially publicly read at the Market Cross in Dumfries on 20 November 1706, when 300 Hebronites burnt the Articles of Union in the town centre. The Hebronites were an armed radical Presbyterian group, whose origins lay in the Covenanting Rebellions of the seventeenth century, and who were willing to engage in military resistance to the Union.[60] The Hebronites defined their opposition as a patriotic duty. They claimed that if Parliament passed the treaty, they did so, 'over the Belly of the Generality of this Nation,' and that it would divest the nation, 'of their Sacred and Civil Liberties, Purchased and Maintained by OUR ANCESTORS with their blood.' To oppose the Union and defend the sovereignty of Scotland was to act as true Scotsmen. In this way they base their right to protest upon their ancestral martial heritage, and their own martial identity expressed in their willingness to engage in military violence. The integral connections between the Hebronites conception of national identity and martial masculinity is especially apparent in the account, when referring to the soldiers the authors state that they, 'have so much the Sprits of SCOTS-MEN; that they are not Ambitious to be Disposed of at the pleasure of another Nation.'[61]

The above statement by the Hebronites evidences a link between masculinist conceptions of Scottish independence and fears that Union with a more powerful country (which England was in both economic and military terms) would cause the subjugation of the Scots to English rule. This fear was reflected in a statement by Daniel

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[59] *Belhaven's Memorable Speeches*, p 24
[60] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 100.
[61] *An Account of the Burning of Articles at Dumfries*, 1706.

Defoe, an English writer who, working as a propagandist for the English government, lived in Edinburgh during 1706-07 and produced approximately 40 publications arguing in favour of Union.[62] Commenting on Scottish attitudes towards the Union after it was implemented on 1 May 1707, Defoe wrote that they were '… Scots Men and they would be Scots Men still; they condemn'd the name of Britain, fit for the Welshmen who were the scoff of the English after they had reduc'd them.'[63]

Many anti-Treaty writers were not opposed to all forms of Union. Many pamphlets and petitions that argued strongly against an Incorporating Union also urged the need for some sort of treaty or Federal Union between Scotland and England.[64] In addition, some arguments also focussed entirely on economic or religious issues and did not engage the populist rhetoric of nation. This form of anti-Treaty discourse that did not ground its opposition on the need to maintain the 'ancient independence' of Scotland is evident in some texts regarding the independence of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Many petitioners and propagandists who opposed Incorporating Union and who were motivated by the need to maintain the independence of the Scottish Kirk also believed in the necessity of securing the Protestant Hanoverian succession and considered this as a patriotic imperative.[65] For many people religious and national independence were not separate issues; the independence of the Kingdom was deemed to protect the independence of the Kirk. As Robert Wylie, the minister of Hamilton parish and a key figure of the extra-parliamentary opposition asserted, in terms of Presbyterian opposition to the Union, 'no honest Protestant or *Scots* Man need fear to be suspected of any Inclination to favour *French* or *Jacobite* designs, by containing steadfast to the true Interests of his Country and Religion'.[66]

Combining issues of nation and religion, a 1706 petition submitted to parliament by the Presbytery of Lanark claimed that a British parliament will keep the Scots 'low and entirely subject unto them.' And so the Union will be '… Destructive to the True

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[62] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 103.
[63] Quoted in Whatley, *The Scots and the Union*, p 13.
[64] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*, pp 197-198;
[65] Young, 'The Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707: Political Management, Anti-Unionism and Foreign Policy', in T.M. Devine, Young, *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, p 30.
[66] R. Wylie, *A Letter Concerning the Union with Sir George MacKenzie's Observations and Sir John Nisbet's Opinions*, Edinburgh(?), 1706, p 21.

Interests of the Nation, as well as the Church.' [67] For many Presbyterians a full Union went against their core religious principles. As Kidd discusses, not only did they fear being absorbed into a British church dominated by English Episcopalians, but believed that a Union would breach the first article of the Solemn League and Covenant in which they had sworn to reform English worship and government and maintain the Scottish Church.[68] As the Presbytery of Dunblane asserted in their petition to Parliament, a Union would result in a British religion marked by 'The Illegal and Disorderly Practices of the Episcopal Clergy.'[69]

As Kidd argues, within anti-Treaty discourse concerning the primacy and security of the Presbyterian Kirk it was Christ's rights in Scotland, and not the need to defend an ancient kingdom, that were paramount.[70] A masculinist conception of the nation is not so apparent in these religious anti-Union texts, as they do not emphasize an independence and dynastic continuity secured by Scotsmen. Religious arguments such as that contained in the radical Presbyterian petition from a 'Considerable Body of People in the South and Western Shires' typically emphasize the role of God in protecting the nation. This petition contends that the Scots cannot destroy a nation that God has defended, 'from Encroachments and Invasions of Forraigners, and Injurious Neighbours.'[71] A petition from the Presbytery of Hamilton expressed a similar sentiment when they wrote to Parliament, 'God having put it into your hands to allay their fears.'[72] The power of Parliament from this perspective is conferred through God, and so cannot be dissolved by people. God, not common ancestors or a Mother figure, defines and embodies the nation.

Many of the religious texts do however still invoke the general cause of the nation. The pamphlet *Lawful Prejudices Against an Incorporating Union with England; or some modest considerations on the sinfulness of Union, and the danger flowing from*

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[67] *Unto his Grace, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament; the humble address of the Presbytrie of Lanerk,* 1706.
[68] Kidd, 'Religious Realignment', pp 156-7.
[69] *To His Grace, Her Majesties High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament; the humble address of the Presbytry of Dumblane*, 1706.
[70] Kidd, 'Religious Realignment', p 156.
[71] *To His Grace, Her Majesties High Commissioner, and Honourable Estates of Parliament. The Humble Address of a Considerable Body of People in the South and Western Shires*, 1706.
[72] *Unto his Grace, Her Majesties High Commissioner and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament; The humble address of the Presbytery of Hamilton*, 1706.

it to the Church of Scotland (1707), published anonymously by James Webster (1658?-1720), founded its opposition to the Treaty on the notion of Union as threat to Scottish Presbyterianism and an affront to the Covenanting tradition. However, in presenting this argument, Webster emphasised that this religious opposition was joined with the general opposition of the nation. He wrote that anti-Union addresses had been received from shires and burghs as well as presbyteries and parishes, and in regards to the Union, asserts that 'the general Grain and Genie of this Nation seems to be against it.' Webster then called on the Parliament to 'lend an ear to the universal cry of Scotland.'[73] The extension of religious concerns to that of the nation lent weight to authors' implicit claims to a representational voice.

The petition from the Presbytery of Lanark states that they 'represent the country within the bounds of their presbytery', and that these people view the Union as '… Destructive to the True Interest of the Nation, as well as the Church.' This right to present their opinions to Parliament is asserted through an extension of their role as representatives of Lanark, to that of members of the nation, stating, 'Only as ministers, SCOTSMEN, and Subjects of this Free and Independent Kingdom, We cannot but Wish and Pray, that our Civil Government may be Rectified,'.[74] Here is evidence of the means by which Presbyterianism enabled church ministers to claim political agency as subjects of Scotland, to claim an active subject-hood. That the petitioners are ministers is stated first, before their place as Scotsmen, suggesting that this category confers a more legitimate claim to political agency, than the broader claim founded upon their position as Scotsmen. However, whilst placed within a hierarchy, it is significant that both their position as ministers and as Scotsmen is asserted; they are taking a narrow view of political legitimacy founded upon social position and extending it to the nation.

This extended political role as male members of the nation, as well as members of the Kirk, is also illustrated in the pamphlet, *The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable*. This pamphlet highlighted the ways in which the Union contradicted the commands of God,

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[73] [J. Webster], *Lawful Prejudices Against an Incorporating Union with England; or some modest considerations on the sinfulness of Union, and the danger flowing from it to the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1707, p 3
[74] *Unto his Grace, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament; the humble address of the Presbytrie of Lanerk*

as set out in the Covenants. In declaring opposition to the Union, the author wrote, that, 'the true subjects of the Covenanted Kingdom of *Scotland*, do by vertue of the same Representative Power, that our Worthy Ancestors exercised, in casting off Tyrannie … do by the same power annul the present unlawful Union betwixt the Kingdoms.'[75] When these primarily religious texts extended their cause beyond the Presbyterian Church to the nation as a whole they tended to adopt a more gendered tone. In claiming a representative voice the petitioners' maleness is emphasised through terminology such as 'Scotsmen', and the idea of the nation as an extension of the familial ties shown in references to 'our ancestors'. Religious anti-Treaty discourse is not necessarily gendered, but the nationalistic sentiments evident in a large amount of this discourse often are.

Scotsmen: Tensions in Discourse and Practice

In his history of Scottish and English relations, William Ferguson argues that Parliament cannot be viewed as the only body involved in the making of Union in Scotland. Debates concerning Union also occurred outside Parliament and were principally carried out through the medium of printed texts such as those discussed above. Ferguson argues that the press provided a bridge between the Parliament and the 'people', enabling the dissemination of information. [76] As Davis discusses, the large amount of public discourse during 1706 and 1707 can be understood when the Union is placed within the context of the expansion of print and the growth of a reading public.[77] Riots such as those that occurred in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling were public displays of an opposition that was mobilized largely through print. Bowie argues that this political action demonstrates the complexity of popular political action in Scotland. Print encouraged popular opposition, and this opposition should be viewed as reflective of ordinary people's ability to make political decisions and act upon them. However this print discourse emanated from the political elite and was motivated by a desire to create

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[75] Anon, *The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable: Where the Union between the Two Kingdoms is Dissected, Anatomised, Confuted and Annulled. Also That Good Form and Fabrick of Civil Government, Intended and Espoused by the true Subjects of the Land, is illustrated and held out*, Edinburgh, 1706, pp 11-12.
[76] Ferguson, *Scotland Relations with England …*, p 185, 259
[77] Davis, *Acts of Union*, p 21

an ideological connection between the parliamentary oppositional political strategies of the Country Party and the defence of the Scottish patriotic interest. As Bowie discusses, from Darien onwards within Country Party political propaganda texts by writers such as Wylie, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653-1716) and George Ridpath, popular opposition was encouraged and claimed as national opposition.[78]

Public opposition to the Union had an important impact on the final Act of Union, and can be considered as the major reason for the many amendments to the Act, such as in regards to taxes and tariffs (known as the 'explanations'). The protection granted to the Church of Scotland in the separate 'Act of Security of the Church of Scotland' (1706), can also be said to have been motivated by a desire to quell religious opposition.[79] However, this public opposition does not necessarily equate to national opposition. For example, only 46 percent of shires and 31 percent of royal burghs submitted petitions against the Union. In response to this some historians assert that the importance of these texts as indicators of people's articulation of opposition derives not from the number of submitted, but the fact that not a single petition was received that argued in favour of the Union.[80] Although this position ignores the Court party ideology which rejected the sovereignty of the constituents, let alone 'the people' broadly defined, and so informed a political practice averse to petitioning, it does highlight the importance of petitioning as an expression of political agency.[81]

Petitioning was an important expression of national political agency in the context of an undemocratic political system. Young asserts that the political activity of petitioning indicates the Scottish peoples' representative voice in the nation at a time of limited democracy, and needs to be read in the context of the 1690 Revolution Settlement, which ensured the freedom of all subjects to petition. He argues that the Revolution represented a re-assertion of Scottish national identity, as grounded in parliamentary sovereignty.[82] The sentiment expressed in Wylie's 1706 pamphlet, *A Letter Concerning the Union*: 'why should a business of that Nature and Importance,

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[78] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 6-99.
[79] Whatley, *Bought and Sold*, p 80.
[80] Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and National Identity' in Broun, Finlay, Lynch, *Image and Identity*, p 127.
[81] For a discussion of Court party ideology see Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 131-134.
[82] Young, 'Scottish Parliament and National Identity', pp 123-127.

that concerns the whole nation, and every person in it, be concealed?' is clearly expressed in the action of petitioning.[83] One petition from the 'Provost, Baillies, Town-Council, and Other Inhabitants of the Burgh of Stirling', states that, 'We Judge it our Indispensible Duty to the *Nation*, to this Place, yea to Posterity,' to defend the independence and sovereignty of, 'our *Nation* and *Parliament*.'[84] By invoking the cause of the nation the petitioners not only use patriotic discourse to support their argument and the right to make it but, by appealing to conceptions of national independence and sovereignty, they define nationhood and claim political agency. This constructing and enacting of political agency was highly gendered because all of the petitioners appear to have been male.[85] This is despite the fact that women are known to have independently owned business and engaged in trade in Edinburgh (and, we can assume, other urban centres) at this time and so shared a similar burgh status to many of the male petitioners.[86]

Although the legal right of all subjects to petition was conferred by the Claim of Right, political action such as petitioning occurred in the context of an underlying discourse that considered the legitimate political subject to be an 'independent' man. Within Country party discourse, more important than 'Scotsmen' broadly defined was the notion that male freeholders, burgesses and other 'gentlemen' (or in other words 'independent' men) opposed the Union. This was central to Country Party claims to represent the national interest. As Bowie states, petitions, or addresses, against the Treaty were generated, 'to communicate freeholder opposition to the treaty'.[87] Whatley's work also supports this view, and discusses the fact that although Court politicians such as the Earl of Mar sought to discredit petitions as being from the 'commonalitie' and signed as a result of pressure from the elites, shire and burgh

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[83] Wylie, *Letter Concerning*, p 3.
[84] 'To His Grace Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and Estates of Parliament. The Address of the Provest, Ballies, Town-Council, and other Inhabitants of the Burgh of Stirling', in *The Following Two Addresses were presented and Read in Parliament, upon Saturday the 23 of November 1706*, Edinburgh, 1706, p 1.
[85] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 288.
[86] H. Dingwall, 'The Power Behind the Merchant? Women and the Economy in Late-Seventeenth Century Edinburgh', in E. Ewan, M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland, c.1110-c1750*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, pp 152-162.
[87] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 116.

petitions were generally headed by men such as lairds, farmers, and substantial tenants.[88] In the act of petitioning and debates about its legitimacy there is a clear division between legitimate male political actors and illegitimate ones on the basis of 'independence'.

In terms of political practice, Bowie has demonstrated that the landed Scottish elites, and especially the Hamilton family, were hugely influential in the mobilization of public opinion in opposition to the Union such as in the form of petitioning.[89] However, Bowie also argues that it is too simplistic to view public protest against the treaty as only the result of elite manipulation (e.g. elite influence over non-'independent' men). Petitioning against the treaty involved elite organisation but also required that non-elite people were willing to participate, and so 'represented neither straightforward popular opinion nor deference to elite organisers.'[90] The people who put their names to the petitions submitted to Parliament in 1706 and 1707 were predominantly town-councillors, merchants, Kirk ministers, tradesmen, freeholders and judges. They placed themselves as the representatives of Scottish people and their subject-hood within the nation conferred 'the undoubted Privilege of the People to petition'.[91]

Despite the dominant position of 'independent' men in the act of petitioning, this political process also involved other men. A number of the larger shire petitions, which included up to 2000 signatures, included signatures from non-'independent' men such as cottars and servants, and a number of the burgh petitions (of which the majority contained 100 to 400 signatures) included signatures from men such as unskilled workers. This inclusion of non-'independent' men is reflective of the Country Party's desire to represent opposition to the Union Treaty as evidence of a general unanimous national opposition. However, the inclusion of such a large number of signatures, and from so many social levels, fed Court party notions that public petitioning was a dangerous and disorderly political activity. To combat this some petitions listed the

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[88] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 287.
[89] Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*¸ 82.2:214 (2003), pp 227-243.
[90] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 115.
[91] 'To His Grace Her Majesty's High Commisioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament, The Address of the Heritors, Magistrates, Town-Council and other Inhabitants within the Town and Paroch of Culros in Perthshire, and of the Heritors and other Inhabitants of the Paroches of Salime, Carrock, and Torie in Fife-shire', in *Following Two Addresses*, p 3.

signatures according to social hierarchy.[92] In hierarchically listing the signatures, an implicit connection is made between 'independent' manhood and legitimate political action, and by extension, legitimate political agency.

The political illegitimacy of non-'independent' men was demonstrated by the reaction of the Town Council of Glasgow to the violent November 1706 riots which took place in the city. Although the Country party sought to represent riots as representative of popular opposition to the Union Treaty (and used them to achieve amendments to the Treaty), their place as a legitimate expression of opposition was unstable.[93] This instability was primarily because riots typically involved the lower orders and contained an implicit threat of anarchy. The idea of the illegitimacy of the riots was also gendered. In response to the November 1706 riots in Glasgow the Town Council formed a militia and implemented a curfew which banned, 'all women, boys, young men, and servants' from the streets after dark.[94] Women's place in riots will be discussed in chapter 3; in the context of this current chapter, the key issue is that these four sectors of Glasgow's population were unified by the fact that none of them could claim to possess 'independent' manhood.

The process whereby popular political action against the Union was informed by an ideology of 'independent' manhood, and in turn reinforced this ideology, was also demonstrated when the Country Party called upon 'gentlemen' to gather in Edinburgh in December 1706 to force their parliamentary representatives to adhere to the sentiments expressed in the petitions and vote against the Union Treaty. This implicitly placed the gentleman petitioners as the most important signatories, reflecting links between 'independent' manhood and political agency. That this was the case is further supported by the fact that this gathering was viewed as, in Bowie's words, 'a legitimate alternative to open resistance.'[95] As opposed to the riots against the Treaty, the gathering of gentleman petitioners was a legitimate expression of popular opposition. As Robertson argues, conceptions of national sovereignty were principally centred upon the rights of

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[92] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 127.
[93] *Ibid*, pp 131-157; Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, pp 11-12.
[94] Quoted in Young, 'Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707', p 39.
[95] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 149.

enfranchised freeholders.[96] This legitimacy was founded upon a broader socio-political discourse in which the 'independent' man embodied the legitimate political subject.

There is, however, a tension within anti-Treaty conceptions of masculine political agency between an adherence to emphases on economic, and by extension political 'independence' and an idea of popular sovereignty founded upon a common male ancestry and common masculine duty to the nation. There is a blurring of the early modern chivalric ideal centred upon the martial struggles of the nobility, the classical republican ideal of masculine 'independence' (moving beyond the nobility, but firmly located in the propertied male elites) and the broader republican ideal of the citizen-soldier (which would become prominent in American and France during the Revolutionary era). Despite the clear association of political legitimacy with property-owning men, there was a strong tendency within Country party discourses of sovereignty to represent nationhood, and national agency, as founded primarily upon men's status as Scotsmen. It is a generalised nationhood that is emphasised in the addresses contained in anti-Treaty petitions, and is reinforced by the inclusion of a broad cross-section of the male community. Certainly when included ordinary men's signatures are often organised according to a social hierarchy, but they are still there and they exist in the context of a conceptualisation of a broad and inclusive (for men) Scottish nationhood. All men are envisioned as subjects of Scotland, and that subject-hood was expressed in the act of petitioning.

The addresses to Parliament which appeared in the petitions above the signatories, employed a patriotic rhetoric which emphasised Scottish nationhood as defined by 'Heroick Ancestors' who had defended Scottish independence and sovereignty for 'two thousand years'.[97] This gendered assertion of national sovereignty comprised part of a standard text supplied by the Country party to localities, and was used (sometimes with amendment) by around half of the petitions submitted by localities, such as shires, royal burghs and towns. The use of broad nationalistic rhetoric within the standard text provided the Country Party with a means to appeal to both

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[96] Robertson, 'An Elusive Sovereignty', p 219.
[97] Reproduced in Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 120-121.

Presbyterians who supported the Revolution Settlement and Jacobites.[98] The text demonstrates the interconnections between gendered discourses of nationhood and the gendered act of petitioning. In the context of a patriarchal socio-political culture, patriotic rhetoric centred upon a common heroic ancestry, defined nationhood as masculine and informed the maleness of the petitioners.

The male political nation constructed and reflected by the petitioners needs to be viewed in terms of the construction, by Country Party propagandists, of an idea of political agency that extended beyond the elites. Rather than political legitimacy being grounded in landed interest, it was discursively grounded in manhood. As in Belhaven's speech and other anti-Treaty texts, such as the *Account of the Burning of the Articles at Dumfries*, the extension of the political nation beyond the elites is evident in the emphasis on heroic ancestors as the embodiment of the antiquity of Scotland and regal sovereignty, and the implied connection between these ancestors, the kingdom of Scotland and current Scotsmen. The imagining of a common ancestry (an often essential element of national identity creation) is enabled though a myth of masculine struggle and sacrifice that current Scotsmen must emulate, not necessarily by waging war but in the modern political context by asserting their political agency as members of the nation and opposing the Treaty of Union.

Emphasising the importance of maintaining national independence, secular petitioners employed a similar method to that employed by Belhaven in 'Mother Caledonia' by appealing to a national identity forged upon a common ancestry. Often working from the standard text, a large number of the petitions contain variations of the statement in the petition from the burgh of Dunfermline, that Scotland's independence and sovereignty and the rights and privileges this entails, have been, 'so valiantly maintained by our Heroick Ancestors, for near 2000 Years.'[99] The use of the term 'Ancestors' represents Scots as connected to each other, and so the nation, by blood. This construction of the nation as an extension of the family, coupled with the emphasis on the martial achievements of these ancestors, conferred upon men a national belonging

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[98] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 120.
[99] *To the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament; the humble address of the magistrates, town council, merchants, deacons of crafts, and other tradesmen and inhabitants of the burgh of Dunfermling*, 1706.

based upon their gender. This conflicted with notions of political legitimacy as informed by male 'independence'.

The Court party had no such tension; they believed in the sovereignty of the Parliament and the Crown and rejected Country party notions of popular sovereignty. However some pro-Union writers also employed a broadened concept of the Scottish political nation in order to combat popular opposition to the Union. An example of this is the text of a sermon delivered at the Market Cross in Edinburgh in 1706. In this sermon, published anonymously, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), a Scottish Episcopalian and physician in London to Queen Anne, referred to his audience as 'Beloved Country-Men and fellow citizens'.[100] This conflated identity as countrymen and citizens is not just directed to the elites but to 'all Ranks and Degrees of People', in particular 'Landed-men', 'Tradesmen' and 'Labourers', that is to most men within the social hierarchy, excluding those at the very bottom, such as beggars.[101] Arbuthnot called upon these men (women do not appear to be included) to end their opposition to the Union because 'it's better to Encrease our Trade, Manufacture and Riches, by an Union with *England*, than to boast of our Soveraignty and starve'.[102] In presenting his argument Arbuthnot addressed the issue of independence, and defended his own position through an acknowledgement of gendered nationhood, stating, 'None can have a greater value for the noble Atchievements and Honour of our Ancestors, than I have'.[103] However, contemporary Scottish sovereignty was represented as being 'Imaginary and Fantastical' and 'no more than the Privilege to be Govern'd by a Ministry under foreign Influence'.[104] Wealth and liberty are presented in the Edinburgh sermon as defining features of English politics and the Scots as having a choice between, 'on one hand Industry and Riches, on the Other Pride and Poverty'.[105]

Despite the representation of a broadly defined political agency in the Edinburgh sermon, Arbuthnot also made a case for the exclusion of those outside Parliament, especially those of the non-elite, to participate in the political process, arguing that the

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[100] [J. Arbuthnot], *A Sermon Preach'd to the People, At the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh*, 1706, p 1.
[101] *Ibid*, pp 16-17.
[102] *Ibid*, p 5.
[103] *Ibid*, pp 12-13.
[104] *Ibid*, p 13.
[105] *Ibid*, p 15.

Treaty is 'a matter of that weight as made it a very unfit Subject for the Judgement (much more for the Scorn and Contempt) of Boys, Apprentices and Tradesmen'.[106] The reference to boys and apprentices as having no legitimate political voice clearly fits with early modern concepts of manhood, which saw it as a life stage, and thus boys and apprentices could become men, but were not yet men.[107] The position of tradesmen in this text is more problematic, at one point they are included as 'Countrymen' but at another they are specifically mentioned in order to deny the legitimacy of anti-Union opposition.[108] This highlights the unstable position of non-elite men within the Union debates generally; within broad representations of Scottish nationhood they are granted political agency, but in terms of actual political action their legitimacy is often denied.

Within the addresses to Parliament non-elite men occupy a position as legitimate members of the political nation. This broad conception of national identity relies upon a gendered rather than status based representation of national agency. The emphasis upon 'heroick ancestors', who fought and sacrificed for Scottish independence, implies that national duty and so the right to political agency, is expressed through a willingness to fight for the nation. In 1707, when the burgh of Stirling stated in their petition that, with the Union, 'one of the most Ancient *Nations* so long and so Gloriously Defended by our Worthy *Patriots* will be Suppress'd' they suggest both a chivalric and classical republican view; that men must embody the values of courage and sacrifice if they wish to be considered 'worthy patriots' and that this status as patriots extends beyond the nobility and aristocracy (this extension being demonstrated by the act of petitioning).[109] They also clearly figure patriotic identity as male.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century understandings of sexual difference were defined largely by the Renaissance one-sex model, which considered women's bodies to be inferior versions of the male, and informed a general discourse of female inferiority. Whilst not entirely stable, this model dominated medical thinking in Europe and, as Laqueur states, 'subsisted also, easily or not so easily, in the midst of other discourses, other political demands, other social relations, even other medical ways of

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[106] *Ibid*, pp 4, 16-17.
[107] A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003, pp 21-23; S. D. Amussen, 'The Part of a Christian man', p 222.
[108] [Arbuthnot], *A Sermon Preach'd*.
[109] 'Burgh of Stirling', p 2.

speaking.'[110] Although discourses of sex and gender were often a site of contestation (especially between each other), the dominant medical theories on sexual difference – Aristotelian and Galenist – both emphasised the humours and considered that typically men were hotter and drier and, conversely, women were colder and wetter. Combined with broader cultural, social and political discourses, these ideas asserted that men being hotter and drier were more likely to possess courage, reason and physical and moral strength.[111] In the context of these early modern discourses of sexual and gender difference, the sentiment expressed in the Stirling petition implies that only men can fully engage in patriotic activity.

Anti-Treaty Discourse and Patriotic Manhood: Feminine Symbolism and Union as Marriage

In his 1706 'Mother Caledonia' speech (see above) Belhaven depicted the Scottish nation as unified and embodied by Mother Caledonia.[112] This speech is a prime example of the use of a symbolic female figure as representative of the Scottish independence that men, invoking their heroic ancestors, must defend. The idea of the nation as a family, defined by shared lineage, not only employs and reinforces ideas of 'independent' manhood, but also places femininity as the symbolic expression of the nation, asserting an idea of women's passive and domestic place in the nation. Discussing modern nationalisms, Tamar Mayer defines the production of the nation within this model as a masculinist project; the nation is feminised, whilst masculinity is used to articulate the boundaries of national membership.[113] This conception of nationhood reinforces the idea of men's masculine moral duty as the primary source of protection for their family and extends this duty to include the nation as a whole. Men's

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[110] T. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard U.P., 1992, p 114.

[111] M. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2000, pp 32-33.

[112] J. Hamilton, lord Belhaven, *Lord Beilhaven's* [sic] *speech in Parliament, the second day of November 1706. on the subject-matter of an union betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England*, Edinburgh(?), 1706.

[113] Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism', pp 1-16.

national agency is founded upon their ability to fight for their nation and this in turn comes to define their manhood within the nation.[114]

Belhaven invoked the cause of the Scottish nation in his speech by representing it as a product of pure genealogical heritage. His constant reference to common ancestors employs the myth of a national belonging forged by blood. This family of Scotland is articulated in the figure of 'Mother Caledonia', who is 'like Caesar sitting in the midst of our Senate, Rufully, looking about her … attending the Fatal Blow, and breathing out her last.'[115] As Davis discusses, Mother Caledonia represents a combination of the ravaged woman and a betrayed Caesar, and is used to propagate moral outrage at the Union. Whilst her role as Caesar symbolises the civic tradition of the Scottish Parliament, Mother Caledonia primarily exists as an embodiment of an idea of Scotland's sovereign heritage.[116] Symbolising the nation as a mother figure, Caledonia's role is as a figurehead of the family of Scotland; she represents both regal sovereignty and the ancestral connections that are claimed to exist between all Scots. Mother Caledonia enables a representation of Scottish sovereignty as something in which Scotsmen have a personal stake.

Developing a conception of Scotland as a form of identification that is an extension of familial ties, Belhaven listed the perceived disastrous consequences of Union on all levels of society. He stated that he saw the church accepting religious inferiority, Scotland's peers divesting themselves of power, the Royal burghs emptying their streets, judges learning English law, soldiers impoverished or abroad, tradesmen and labourers struggling under new taxes and trade regulations, landowner's children without opportunities, and mariners as underlings in the English navy. All of these people were then unified under, and embodied by, the figure of Mother Caledonia.[117] In this way Belhaven extends the notion of national belonging beyond the electoral elites and beyond traditional notions of 'independent' manhood which typically excluded groups such as soldiers and labourers. Instead men are included within the nation by virtue of their national identity as Scotsmen. Belhaven's nation is gendered; the nation is

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[114] I. Blom, 'Gender and Nation in International Comparison', in Blom, K. Hagemann, C. Hall, *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Berg, 2000, pp 10-15.
[115] *Belhaven's Memorable Speeches*, p 5.
[116] Davis, *Acts of Union*, p 33.
[117] *Belhaven's Memorable Speeches*, p 3-5.

symbolised through the feminine figure of the Mother thus providing an object upon which to project male patriotic virtue. Within this representation of nationhood it is men whose actions are depicted as embodying the nation. In his description of the different sectors of Scottish society women are only included as the 'pretty daughters' of landed men whose choice of husbands will be diminished as the Union draws men to London.[118] Women's role in the nation, as presented by Belhaven, can be read as one of passive symbolism through the feminine mother and material reproduction through women's procreative role in the family.

The representation of Scotland as a female figure linked opposition to the Union Treaty with men's duty within the family and thus enabled the representation of active opposition to the union as a masculine duty, as a display of masculine virtue. As Wylie wrote, 'all true *Scotsmen*' should oppose Union.[119] The interconnection between the maintenance of manhood and opposition to the Union is clearly articulated in the pamphlet *Scotland's Speech to Her Sons* (1706), by John Clark (1660-1723?), a Presbyterian minister at the Tron Church in Glasgow. In this text Scotland is represented through the symbolic Mother figure and is written in 'her' voice. The Mother states that she has been, 'stript naked of my *Ancient* Honour and Glory, and covered thick with Disgrace and Contempt among Neighbour Nations.'[120] The use of the feminine symbol of the Mother extends the idea of family honour to the nation; the disgrace of the nation is represented through the defilement of the Mother. This imagery of the defiled Mother, deployed by Belhaven and Clark respectively, employs a concept similar to one that is common to modern gendered nationalisms, which is that the rape of women is an attack on national sovereignty, that it is a violation of national autonomy.[121]

By making a symbolic reference to the defilement of the female body, Clark expresses a prototype of a view that would become dominant in modern nationalisms, which is the idea of the woman's body as a biological representation of nationhood. Within this discourse, just as a man should defend his family so he should defend his

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[118] *Ibid*, p 4.
[119] Wylie, *Letter Concerning*, p 7.
[120] J. Clark, *Scotland's Speech to Her Son's*, Edinburgh (?), 1706. [one page].
[121] Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism', p 18.

nation.[122] As John Tosh argues, men's heading of and control over the household appears as a constant feature of assertions of manhood from the early modern to the modern period.[123] In this context, discourses of national identity can be read as propagating a masculine nationhood through questioning the manhood of men who do not adopt and adhere to that discourse of nationhood. The context of the 1706-07 Union debates, the imagining of a manly Scotland, enabled oppositional writers to link their cause to defeat the Union treaty to the display of appropriate patriotic manhood.

Clark depicts Scotland as the defiled Mother to convince his male readers that if they are to be true Scotsmen they must defend the nation as they would their own mother. As Clark writes in the voice of the Mother, 'is there no *Scots Blood* in your veins? Are *Scots Spirits* sunk into Silliness? Will Ye be so unnatural and devoid of Respect to your *Old Mother*, so sadly beaten at all hands, as to do nothing for my Relief and Reputation.' The use of the word 'unnatural' in this sentence denies manhood to men who will not oppose the Union. The national mother is under threat and the appropriate response is articulated through the implication that only men who lacked manhood would not act to protect their mother. Clark attacks the loss of manhood that Union for him represents when the Mother questions readers, 'are you not as *Free-born Scotsmen*, as they are *Free-born Englishmen*, Pray be as Faithful and True to your Country.' The masculinity of Englishmen is secure as they are not allowing their nation to be disgraced; Scotsmen however have a choice to make. They can allow the destruction of their nation and so relinquish their manhood, or they can acquit themselves, 'at this *Critical Juncture* as becomes Dutiful *Sons*, Worthy *Patriots* and Honest *Country-men*.'[124]

The relationship between men's masculinity and their national role acts to extend their power in the family to their position within the nation. Clark's Mother has symbolic power but in real terms she is subordinate; her dependence upon the protection of men is unquestioned. As Clark states in her voice, 'you should (as becomes True-

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[122] F. Anthias, N. Yuval-Davis, 'Women and the Nation State', in J. Hutchinson, A.D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1994, pp 314-315.

[123] J. Tosh, 'The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities', in T. Hitchcock, M. Cohen, *English Masculinities 1600-1800*, London, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, p 223.

[124] Clark, *Scotland's Speech*.

hearted *Scotsmen*) with Courage and Conscience, Unite your Counsels to provide for my *Safety and Honour*'.[125] The masculine characteristics of courage and conscience that define men's position of power in the family are also what define him as a 'true-hearted Scotsman'. The feminine is placed as symbolic of the nation, but it is men who are deemed to be actively involved in the national project. Women's participation does not appear within discourses of nationhood to extend beyond their symbolic, and secondary, position as those whom men must defend. Men's defence of the nation, symbolic and actual, enables a claiming of political agency.

The symbolic representation of the nation as female is also evident in some texts published in support of incorporating Union. For many Scots who supported Union, issues of trade and the economic security and prosperity of Scotland were paramount, a motivation that is reflected in the number of Articles of Union, fifteen out of twenty-five, that were dedicated to economic issues.[126] In arguing for the benefits that Union would bring, many pamphleteers and Parliamentarians depicted Union as a partnership of equals. Some writers also represented Scots and English as united under a British identity. In *A Letter from E.C. to E.W. Concerning the Union* (1706), George Mackenzie, earl of Cromarty (1630-1714), rejected the existence of an ancient Scottish nation and argued that Union is the 'great Design to unite the Affections of *Britains*,'[127] With Union, England and Scotland 'both conquer and are conquered.'[128] It is a partnership of equals that should be supported by all 'who are true hearted *Britains*'[129] In the postscript of this pamphlet Mackenzie states that those who are in favour of Union 'are as the *True Mother*, and so the true Patriots of their Country'.[130] Employing feminine symbolism to depict national identity in a similar manner to anti-Treaty texts discussed above, this (pro-Union) Mother of Britain is placed in opposition to the Biblical whore of Solomon, who divided the child. Britons can be united under the Mother, whilst to reject Union and leave the nations divided is to reject the Mother in

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[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, pp 43-45.
[127] [G. Mackenzie], *A Letter from E.C. to E.W. Concerning the Union*, Edinburgh, 1706, p 8.
[128] *Ibid*, p 15.
[129] *Ibid*, p 16.
[130] *Ibid*, p 18.

favour of the Whore. The Christian dichotomy of the female whore and the virgin mother is here transferred to debates about national identity.

Another pamphlet in favour of Incorporating Union, *A Letter to a Friend, Giving an Account of how the Treaty of Union has been Received Here* (1706), published anonymously by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755), also employs feminine symbolism, in this context to represent Britain as the product of an honourable marriage. Scotland is conceptualized as a chaste virgin who, 'because she fears her own weakness … prudently enters into Wedlock.'[131] This representation of Scotland is informed by other, less gendered, arguments in favour of Union. For example, as the prominent Court Party politician William Seton of Pitmedden, argued in 1706, 'This nation, being poor, and without force to protect its commerce, cannot reap great advantage by it, till it partake of the trade and commerce of some powerful neighbour nation.'[132] *A Letter to a Friend* uses feminine symbolism to link this economic argument to broader concerns about Scotland's honour within a Union with the more powerful English state. The argument that Union does not threaten to Scotland's honour is expressed in the symbolic use of the female virgin who enters into a partnership because, although she will lose her virginity, the marriage will protect her feminine morality.[133] That pro-Union texts also deployed gendered discourse regarding men's familial duty highlights the centrality of this discourse to conceptualisations of politics and nation in 1706-07.

In the early modern period, marriage, especially for the elite, was a means of uniting families and forging allegiances. In his analysis of the development of Britishness, Keith Brown cites the formation of English marriage alliances during the post-Restoration period by Scotland's five magnate families, the Murrays, Gordons, Douglases, Hamiltons and Campbells. Though asserting that these alliances did not necessarily equate to Anglicisation, Brown considers them as evidence of an increased integration of the Scottish and English aristocracy during the pre-Union period.

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[131] [J. Clerk], *A Letter to a Friend, Giving an Account of how the Treaty of Union Has been Received here And Wherein are Contained, Answers to Material Objections Against it, with some remarks upon what has been written by Mr. H. and Mr. R.*, Edinburgh, 1706, p 9
[132] W. Seton, *A Speech in Parliament on the First Article of the Treaty of Union*, 1706, (abbreviated) Appendix 1, Whatley, *Bought and Sold*, pp 91-94. For a discussion of Seton's pro-Union ideology, particularly his ideas regarding Union and the securing of liberty and property for the common people see Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp 39-41.
[133] [Clerk], *Letter to a Friend*.

However, this familial, economic and political integration did not impact upon voting patterns in the Scottish Parliament on the Union. As Brown states, six peers who voted against Union had a wife from England or held a British military post or political office, whilst forty peers who supported Union had no apparent connections with England.[134] Whilst marriage allegiances are not reflected in Parliamentary political action, the use of marriage as a metaphor for Union in pamphlets produced during the Union debates reflects the discursive importance of marriage in early modern Scotland.[135]

The concept of Union as marriage was also used by writers who opposed Union and argued for the retaining of Scottish independence. For example in William Wright's, *The Comical History of the Marriage Betwixt Fergusia and Heptarchus* (1706), rather than defending Scotland's honour, Union is instead represented an unequal marriage - the selling of a modest woman to a corrupted libertine. Wright's pamphlet discusses the negotiations for Union and the history of Anglo-Scottish relations through the characters of Fergusia and Heptarchus who are the anthropomorphized symbols of the sovereign kingdoms of Scotland and England. Fergusia represents King Fergus MacFerquhard who according to myths of Scottish nationhood, first set out by Fordun in *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (c.1380), founded the kingdom of Scotland in 330 B.C.[136] Similarly Heptarchus represents myths of ancient English nationhood, specifically the myth of Heptarchy, a collective name used to describe the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms from c.AD500-850. Like Fergus this myth is the product of medieval chroniclers, particularly the twelfth century historian, Henry of Huntingdon.[137] Although Heptarchus is old, Fergusia in this text is obviously far more ancient.

Fergusia is, 'a Lady of Venerable Antiquity, of a Competent Estate and Fortune', whilst Heptarchus is, 'young and lusty, very opulent and rich.'[138] Here we see the

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[134] K.M. Brown, 'The Origins of a British Aristocracy: Integration and its Limitations before the Treaty of Union', in S.G. Ellis, S. Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1995, pp 228-248.

[135] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2000, pp 113-122.

[136] Mason, *Kingship and Commonweal*, p 87.

[137] J. Campbell, 'Heptarchy', *The Oxford Companion to British History*. Ed. John Cannon. Oxford U.P., 1997. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. [http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t110.e2090, accessed 14/7/2008].

[138] W. Wright, *The Comical History of the Marriage Betwixt Fergusia and Heptarchus*, 1706, p 1, 6.

application of representations of gender to conceptions of national identity. Fergusia as a symbolic feminine figure embodies Scotland's antiquity and national virtue. By contrast Heptarchus represents the non-virtuous aggressiveness of England's commercial wealth and Imperial power. Although masculine, England is a youthful, corrupted libertine. Whereas Fergusia is a pure feminine figure who is chaste and modest, Heptarchus is aggressive and in adulthood has done nothing but, 'commit Rapes on his Neighbours.'[139]

In *Comical History of the Marriage* an attack on national sovereignty is envisioned in terms of the violation of a symbolic feminine purity. Wright discusses the Union through a dialogue concerning the marriage between the two characters. In this dialogue, which covers key issues of debate including religion, Crown Rights, taxation, the Equivalent and the Navigation Acts, Scotland is represented as an uncorrupted woman being sold off into an unequal marriage with a man whose tendencies lend themselves to abuse. Whereas Fergusia wishes for a federal marriage, in which they become one head, but retain their separate laws, customs and Parliaments, Heptarchus views this as a sham marriage. He declares, 'No I can never be happy till you and I become Flesh, and be entirely Incorporated,' to which Fergusia answers, '… You'd devour me, and burie me in the midst of yourself.'[140] In this text Fergusia's sons are mainly depicted as the Parliamentarians voting on Union, but appear in general terms to represent all Scotsmen. These sons are called upon to defend the honour of Fergusia, by not marrying her to Heptarchus, by maintaining Scotland's ancient independence. It is Heptarchus that will oppress Fergusia, but it is Fergusia's sons, who have 'been so forgetful of my Honour,' that will be held guilty. [141] The threat posed to her sons by Fergusia is that if they sell their country into a Union, 'let Posterity call them no more Peers of *Caledon*.'[142] By agreeing to Union, Wright argues, the Parliamentarians will relinquish their Scottish manhood.

Fergusia is used in *Comical History of the Marriage* to express moral outrage at the possibility of the subjection of the Scottish nation to a corrupt and aggressive state. As Fergusia claims, 'I'm a Sovereign Independent Lady, and I have the Honour to be so

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[139] *Ibid*, p 6.
[140] *Ibid*, p 11.
[141] *Ibid*, p 16.
[142] *Ibid*, p 25.

for one third of the Worlds age: By this Incorporation I basely Surrender it'.[143] Similarly to the Mother in Belhaven and Clark's respective texts, Wright's Fergusia combines ideas about manhood, heading a household, and the related male duty to protect their family, with men's duty to defend Scottish sovereignty. Fergusia, whilst a powerful symbol is not autonomous. She will not 'give up that Independency & Sovereignty, which has cost the blood of so many brave Men to defend it,' but despite her personal resistance, she is reliant upon the men of Scotland not to surrender her. [144]

Conclusion

In the texts produced in opposition to the Treaty of Union, such as pamphlets and petitions, men's role in defending the nation is emphasised. Allusions to 'heroick ancestors' and 'true Scotsmen' are commonplace, as men's masculinity is utilised to instil a sense of nationhood and thus encourage identification with Scottish sovereignty. For Scotsmen the patriotic masculine ideal informed (at least discursively) a political agency, a level of power in the nation. Women exist as a powerful symbolic feminine stereotype, but this feminine symbol of nationhood exists only in relation to men's actions. The Mother of Scotland is the figure that calls upon men to do their masculine duty, and in doing so she is always the protected. Men are the active participants in the nation, whereas she is the passive representation of it. Women's place in the Scottish nation is implied in these nationalistic discourses to be one that is conferred through men; they are the Scotland that men must fight to defend, but are never themselves placed in the position of the defenders.

What all of the texts discussed above have in common is the deployment of gender in order to represent the nation and construct political argument. In defining a masculine Scotland, anti-Union representations of Scottish nationhood provided a discursive foundation for male political agency. In regard to this agency, there was a tension as to which men it applied to. Whereas popular opposition was represented through a discourse which claimed political agency for all Scotsmen (or at least all those

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[143] *Ibid*, p 24.
[144] *Ibid*, p 16.

who opposed the Union) and depicted this by including non-'independent' men within petitions, many aspects of anti-Treaty discourse restricted political agency to landed men. The political legitimacy of these men was informed by their independence, demonstrating that status remained a dominant determinant of political agency. The importance of status in enabling legitimate political power is also demonstrated by women's expression of political agency. Except as a feminine figure, women are almost entirely absent in discourses of Scottishness. However, as the following chapter will demonstrate, women's discursive absence did not equate to their actual absence.

Chapter 3:
Women, Gender, Status and the Union Debates

The context of the passing of the 1707 Act of Union in Scotland with a male-only Parliament and textual discourse that propagated a concept of masculinized nationhood, means that this event appears at first glance to have occurred within an exclusively male realm. However, when examining gendered involvement in early eighteenth-century Scottish politics it is important to recognize the complex relationship between prescriptive gender ideologies, the reality of institutional male power, and women's potential agency and informal influence within a hierarchical, status-based political structure.

This chapter will demonstrate that, despite the apparent maleness of the political landscape in Scotland during the Union debates of 1706-07, women did participate in the political realm and that the nature of this political participation was determined by social status and location as much as gender. In the case of the women who adopted an anti-Union stance and who are the main subjects of this chapter, their political activity both reflected and re-asserted their self-identification as members of the Scottish nation. This identification occurred despite the gendering of national agency as male within the dominant discourse of Scottish nationhood and the institutionalised denial to women of direct participation in parliamentary politics.

Elite women dominated female political participation during the early modern period, and they dominate this chapter. Central to elite women's political participation was the home. This informal political realm of the noble family and household allowed noblewomen a certain level of political power despite gendered restrictions on their institutional activity and authority. As James Daybell discusses in relation to England, within the patronage-dominated society of the early modern period the domestic was political and familial politics provided a space for women's political action.[1] Merry Wiesner argues that, excepting a few queens, noblewomen and abbesses, women had no formal political role in early modern Europe, but reminds us that there is a need to

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[1] J. Daybell, 'Introduction: Rethinking Women and Politics in Early Modern England', in Daybell (ed), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, p 2.

differentiate between institutional, formal and legitimated power and informal power. Women may have lacked the former but they often had the latter, and they were able to shape events through status based influence.[2] A similar argument is made by Natalie Zemon Davis, who highlights the fact that, when examining early modern political power, status is central. Requirements of property, wealth, or social standing (e.g. through profession) meant that some women held a level of political power that was denied to a large number of men.[3] In the Scottish context, Keith M. Brown argues that during the early modern period the 'private' world of nobles, such as their houses, their economic management and display of wealth, their education, their marriages, and their funerals were not separate from their 'public' actions. It was through family connections forged by marriage and influence obtained through hospitality and patronage as much as public actions at Court, on the battlefield, or in Parliament that political strategy was developed and implemented.[4]

The 1706-07 Union debates need to be recognised as an expression of early modern politics, and therefore political spaces need to be recognised as fluid, as not adhering to, or being informed by, a modern notion of a public-private division. It is in this theoretical context that I analyse women and political agency in this chapter. The elite women examined below were able to engage in, and in some cases directly influence, the Union debates due to their social status and participation in informal familial politics. I contend that these women practised a form of informal political agency, or informal citizenship, by associating their political interests with national politics and by assuming a political voice.

The expression of citizenship without rights has been termed proto-citizenship by Darline G. Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite in their examination of women and politics during the eighteenth-century, particularly the revolutionary period.[5] Although their identification with the nation differed to that of French women in the 1790s, the term

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[2] M.E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge, U.P., 2000, pp 288-289.

[3] N.Z. Davis, 'Women and Politics', in Davis, A. Farge (eds), *A History of Women in the West: Vol. III Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard U.P., 1993, p 168.

[4] K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2000.

[5] H.B Applewhite, D.G. Levy, 'Introduction', in Applewhite, Levy (eds), *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1990, p 4.

proto-citizenship (or de facto citizenship) is a useful descriptor of some Scottish women's political agency at the turn of the eighteenth century. These women self-identified with the nation (an identification often combined with religious belief and familial interest). By identifying with the nation, women re-worked the idea of national membership and sovereignty to include themselves Although women were excluded from institutional political structures they were able to express political agency within a broader public sphere which included the noble house and (for non-elite women) the street market as much as the Parliament and the printing press.

As Sue Innes and Jane Rendall argue, in order to understand women's political participation in Scotland it is necessary to extend the definition of what constitutes political action beyond the institutional bourgeois public sphere defined by Jürgen Habermas to include sites of informal political action largely centred around landowning networks.[6] This was particularly the case for the early modern period. Central to women's participation was the link between noble familial politics and the elite dominated Parliament. Daybell argues that, in the English context, the early modern period 'marked an epoch of women's political influence', which was slowly undermined with the development of parliamentary democracy from late seventeenth century.[7] This argument is problematic because it assumes that women's familial influence did not extend from early modern court based patronage to parliamentary politics. Until the early twentieth century, parliamentary politics (whilst increasingly democratic) remained dominated by the elites. As Elaine Chalus has shown, patronage and parliamentary politics were often interconnected, and eighteenth-century British (mainly English) elite women engaged in a variety of familial politics from patronage requests to electioneering. In the case of the latter, the links between familial and parliamentary politics in an unreformed and elite-controlled eighteenth-century parliament provided a space for women's political action. Chalus' analysis places political power firmly within the elite household and she discusses the ways in which women were able to overcome institutional boundaries to political involvement through participation in the informal

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[6] S. Innes, J. Rendall, 'Women, Gender and Politics', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, E.J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, pp 43-45.
[7] Daybell, 'Introduction', p 3.

political spheres of family connections and social interaction, both of which were integral aspects of eighteenth-century political management.[8]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the landed elite dominated Scottish parliamentary politics at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[9] This elite dominance meant that rather than being an institutional alternative to familial politics, the Scottish Parliament was a site for familial politics. Arguments such as Chalus' offer a useful theoretical model that can be applied to early eighteenth-century Scottish politics (though, as I will argue in Chapter 6, not necessarily to post-Union politics in Scotland). The model is applicable because conclusions regarding the fluidity of politics, of the links between institutionalised spaces such as Parliament and informal spaces such as the noble house or race meets, can be applied to Scotland at the turn of the eighteenth century. In early eighteenth-century Scotland those who were able to participate within a system of limited political franchise tended to make their voting decisions on the basis of kinship and friendship as well as ideological position.[10] Within this system of political management women who were members of powerful families were able to influence institutional parliamentary politics through their position as representatives of their families within informal political networks. This link between family, party and political agency is apparent in the political engagement in opposition to the incorporating Union of the three elite women discussed below.

In addition to elite women, this chapter will include a study of women and anti-Treaty riots. As both Wiesner and Davis argue in a European context, and R.A. Houston argues for Scotland, early modern women of the lower social orders often involved themselves in riots around issues of food price, taxes, threats to religion and other issues regarding community order and survival.[11] In his examination of food riots in England,

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[8] E. Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2005; see also Chalus, ''That Epidemical Madness': women and electoral politics in the late eighteenth century', in H. Barker, Chalus (eds), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1997, pp 151-175.

[9] See Brown, A.J. Mann, 'Introduction: Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707', in Brown, Mann (eds), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2005, pp 49-51.

[10] Brown, 'Party, Politics and Parliament: Scotland's Last Election and its Aftermath 1702-1703', in Brown, Mann (eds), *Parliament and Politics*, p 255.

[11] Davis, 'Women and Politics', p 179; Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, p 299; R.A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland 1500-1800', in Houston, I.D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1989, pp 137-138.

John Bohstedt rejects the notion that they were a feminine event. Instead, he argues that the food riot was an expression of community politics, acted out by men and women in defence of the family and community economy.[12] As I will demonstrate below, women were involved in anti-Treaty riots and this involvement reflects the importance of status over gender in determining political agency, and the character of political participation.

As the previous chapter illustrated, the idea of Scottish national identity as it was invoked within the printed public debate on Union was founded upon a myth of a heroic male martial ancestry. This masculinist construction of national identity could be read as further evidence of women's exclusion from political participation in early eighteenth century Scotland. Or, alternatively, this gendered construction of nationhood could be interpreted as a means of employing culturally powerful notions of manhood (e.g. defence of family and nation) in order to encourage a broad spectrum of Scottish men to act publicly against the Union. The examination in this chapter of evidence of women's engagement in the Union debates will demonstrate that the gendering of national agency within the printed textual discourse on Union was 'prescriptive not descriptive'; the imaging of national agency as male within these texts should not be taken as evidence of women's exclusion from the politics of nationhood.

Except in the form of a symbolic mother figure, within the printed debate concerning the 1707 Union, women were almost entirely absent. This should not be read as indicative of their actual absence from political activity. Instead, it is necessary to question this historical record and attempt to find women beyond the readily available published material related to Union, such as speeches and pamphlets. It is other, generally unpublished, archival sources such as letters, diaries and poetry that can provide us with glimpses of women's lives, and importantly in this context, their political activities and/or opinions.

Elite Women and the Union Debates

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[12] J. Bohstedt, 'The Myth of the Feminine Food Riot: Women as Proto-Citizens in English Community Politics, 1790-1810', in Applewhite, Levy (eds), *Women and Politics*, pp 21 – 50.

The majority of this chapter focuses upon three women who did not perceive of the Union debates as exclusively men's business and who showed a self-identification as members of the Scottish nation in their adoption and expression of an anti-Treaty position. These women were Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton (1632-1716), her daughter Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl (1662-1707), and Katherine's sister-in-law Katherine Skene, lady Murray (d. 1743?). All three of these women were by marriage and/or birth members of powerful Scottish families, and so all had a certain level of political influence due to their proximity to powerful men. Anne Hamilton was the daughter of James Hamilton (1606-1649) the third marquess and later first duke of Hamilton, an important political actor in the court of Charles I. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Hamiltons were one of the most powerful families in Scotland.[13] Anne Hamilton's daughter Katherine Hamilton was the wife of John Murray, first duke of Atholl (1660-1724), a member of the Scottish Parliament from the late 1690s, an important opposition figure during the 1706-07 Union debates and the head of a powerful magnate interest.[14] Katherine was also the sister of James Hamilton, fourth duke of Hamilton (1658-1712), a peer in the Scottish Parliament from 1700-1707 and the nominal leader of the opposition Country party. Another brother, Charles Hamilton, earl of Selkirk (1664-1739) also sat in Parliament and opposed Union.[15] Katherine Skene was the wife of Lord Edward Murray (d. 1737), a younger brother of the duke of Atholl and a captain in the Earl of Orkney's Royal Regiment of Foot.[16] Highlighting the level of familial connection amongst the Scottish elites, George Hamilton, earl of Orkney (1666-1737) was Katherine Hamilton's brother.[17]

Familial connections to men who held power within the institutional political sphere necessarily extended the scope of these women's political influence. However, women's political opinions were not wholly defined by men and their political role in

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[13] R.K. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton 1656-1716*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2000, pp 13-15.

[14] J.R. Young, 'Murray, John, first duke of Atholl (1660-1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford U.P., 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19627, accessed 13 October 2004].

[15] Marshall, 'Hamilton, James, fourth duke of Hamilton and first duke of Brandon (1658-1712)', *ODNB*, accessed: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7898 13 October 2004].

[16] NAS Archivists notes for RH15/10, 'Lord Edward Murray and John Murray, his son'

[17] P.W.J Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1978, p 218.

relation to their close male relatives was as much one of influencing the public political actions of men as of being defined by them. The fact that these women all belonged to the upper sectors of society cannot be ignored. As well as increasing their political influence, it is also the main reason that their letters and other papers are still in existence. Many poorer women could not write, and even if they could, it is unlikely that their families would have kept a library and archive in which to store their correspondence for posterity. This chapter raises the issue of other women's involvement in Union politics but due to source limitations the primary focus is on elite women.

The women studied here were also Lowland women. Although Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl, married into a noble family whose power and influence in Perthshire and Fife straddled the Highlands and Lowlands, she was brought up in the Lowlands, and the Murrays were richer and more Anglicised than most Highland noble houses. This is important because these women's position as Lowlanders was a factor in their literacy, and thus our ability as historians to attempt to re-create their experience.

According to Stana Nenadic, in 1680 the typical wife or daughter of a Highland laird spoke Gaelic as a first language and although she might speak English competently, she was usually illiterate in the language. Compared to Highland women, female members of the Lowland elite at the end of the seventeenth century, often spoke English as a first language, and were likely to be at least semi-literate in this language.[18] The difference in signature literacy rates between Highland and Lowland Scotland is shown in an examination by Houston of the ability of people involved in lawsuits to sign their names, which evidenced a rate of illiteracy in English of 35% amongst Lowland men and 55-60% of men living in the Highlands.[19] Rates of female illiteracy at this time were even higher, but the same division between Lowland and Highland Scotland occurs. Whilst illiteracy rates for Lowland women were 70%, Highland women were 90% illiterate.[20] The fact that Gaelic was the first language for many Highlanders is an important factor behind this division in literacy levels. It is also cited as a reason for the

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[18] S. Nenadic, 'Experience and Expectation in the Transformation of the Highland Gentlewoman, 1680-1820', *Scottish Historical Review*, 80:2 (2001), p 202.
[19] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1985, p 56.
[20] Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society', p 136.

absence of Highland women from the Scottish historical narrative. According to Nenadic, many Gaelic speaking women operated in a culture formed around oral discourses, and so they did not leave records such as letters and diaries. Whilst Highland gentlemen were able to gain and exercise power by operating within an Anglicized culture of English literacy and urbanity, Highland women of the elite were often confined to their estates and immediate localities.[21]

However in regards to literacy rates, T.C. Smout has shown that, at least in the Lowland context, writing literacy and reading literacy were not necessarily closely related. Smout has found evidence in his examination of 100 interviews taken at Cambuslang in the 1740s that all the men and women could read, but only a third to three quarters of the men and about a tenth of the women could write. If taken as a reasonably representative sample of Lowland Scotland then these interviews demonstrate that whilst writing literacy may have been rare, reading literacy was not.[22] This suggests that whilst only women of the elite were likely to be able to write and so leave evidence of their political views for the historian, many women were probably able to engage with politics through the print culture of broadsides and pamphlets.

The issue of status is integral to a study of women and politics in late seventeenth to early eighteenth-century Scotland. In the gendering of political history a study of upper status women can provide insights into the power of social class. Specifically, it can demonstrate the power of wealth and privilege in regards to political agency by showing the means by which status could sometimes override the discursive and institutional restrictions placed upon women because of their gender. This is not to say that gender is not a decisive category of identity but that status and gender operated interdependently in determining women's political agency and activity. It is the first subject of this chapter, Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton who, due to her particularly powerful position, provides the clearest example of the interconnectivity of status and gender and the ways in which the former could, to a limited degree, override the other.

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[21] Nenadic, 'Experience and Expectation', pp 202-203.
[22] T.C. Smout, 'Born Again in Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-century Scotland', *Past and Present*, 97 (1982), pp 114-127.

Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton (1632-1716)

Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton was the head of the Hamilton family during a period in Scottish history marked by Cromwellian 'union', followed by the rule of four different monarchs, the religious conflict and Covenanting rebellion of the Restoration period, and massive constitutional change brought about by the Union of 1707. She wielded political influence by birthright as the representative of one of Scotland's main magnate interests, alongside the Murray (led by the marquess and then dukes of Atholl), Campbell (led by the dukes of Argyll) and Douglas (represented by the earl and then dukes of Queensberry) families.[23] Anne Hamilton led a family whose estates extended from the Isle of Arran in the west of Scotland to Kinneil in the east of the country, and from the town of Hamilton down into the Clyde valley. Her properties included Brodick, Kinneil and Cadzow castles, and Hamilton Palace.[24]

Unlike many other noblewomen whose rank and power was derived through their husband, Anne Hamilton held the title of duchess of Hamilton in her own right. In most Scottish noble families during the early modern period the family estates and titles were passed to the next generation through a system of male entail which ensured the inheritance of eldest male heirs. Legal entail documents, or tailzies, were popular during the period and existed primarily to ensure male succession. Female inheritance was unpopular because of the risk that this posed to the survival of the family name, for although Scottish women usually kept their own surname the children would typically take that of their father.[25]

In Anne Hamilton's case she was the second heir to the Hamilton family when, during the British Civil War, her royalist father James, first duke of Hamilton was executed by English Parliamentary forces for high treason in March 1649. The fact of her succession to the Hamilton title had been set out in a patent of 1643 which after creating her father James, (who was then third Marquess of Hamilton), the Duke of Hamilton, Marquess of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Aven and

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[23] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p 11.
[24] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 13.
[25] Brown, *Noble Society*, pp 34-38.

Innerdale, provided remainders to male heirs of his body, and if male heirs did not exist to his brother William. If neither male heirs nor his brother existed to inherit the estates and titles the patent allowed for these to pass to the eldest female heir and then to the male heirs of her body who would bear the name of the Hamilton family, rather than that of their father.[26] The stipulations of the Hamilton inheritance, that future sons would take the name of Hamilton, acted to ensure the longevity of the family name despite the possible female succession which did eventually occur in the case of Anne Hamilton. The gendered notions of political power and leadership that underlie this arrangement illustrate the complex negotiation of social status and gender that both created and restricted Anne Hamilton's political influence throughout her later life.

Though he briefly inherited the title, the Duke of Hamilton's younger brother William, earl of Lanark, lord Machaneshyre and Polmont, died in September 1651, from wounds received during the Battle of Worcester, and Anne became the official heir to the title and estates of the Hamilton family.[27] However, whilst Anne Hamilton inherited the title and became at the age of 19, the duchess of Hamilton and Châtelherault, marchioness of Clydesdale, countess of Arran and Cambridge, and lady Aven, Polmont, Machanshire, and Innerdale, the vast family estates had been confiscated and distributed to various officers in Cromwell's army. It was only after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 that Anne regained her full inheritance. In the meantime she had married William Douglas, earl of Selkirk on 29 April 1656, who helped Anne to raise money to pay the fines on the family estates.[28] It was also after the Restoration that Charles II, on Anne Hamilton's request, granted William Hamilton (nee Douglas) the title of duke of Hamilton, and other titles held by Anne, in addition to titles of Earl of Selkirk, Lord Daer and Shortcleuch which he had obtained in his own right in 1646.[29]

William Douglas' marriage to Anne Hamilton and his adoption of her name and titles was dependent upon his rejection of his Catholicism, reflecting the importance of

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[26] G. Hamilton, *A History of the House of Hamilton*, Edinburgh, J. Skinner and Co., 1933, pp 22-23

[27] *Ibid*, 4 – 25.

[28] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Anne, suo jure duchess of Hamilton (1632-1716), *ODNB*, [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/120460 accessed October 2004].

[29] Marshall, 'Hamilton [Douglas], William, third duke of Hamilton (1634-1694)', *ODNB*, [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/7935, accessed 10 May 2006]. In line with conditions set out in the entail of the second duke of Hamilton (Anne's uncle), William had already adopted Anne's name becoming William Hamilton upon, or very soon after, their marriage in 1656.

Presbyterianism to the Hamilton family interest.[30] Anne Hamilton's familial power was such that her husband was willing to change both his name and his religion in order to marry her. The influence of Hamilton women over their husbands' religious loyalties was seen again a generation later in the conversion of John Murray, duke of Atholl from an Episcopalian to a Presbyterian position, a change greatly attributed to the influence of his wife, Anne's eldest daughter, Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl.[31] The change in public religious belief was in both cases a political act as well as (possibly) a personal change of faith. As Brown discusses, faith in early modern society was not a private matter and often the religious allegiances of nobles were founded upon political calculations rather than spiritual concerns.[32]

Much of the political power of William, 3rd duke of Hamilton (who became a leading Scottish politician during the Restoration and Revolution) was conferred through Anne due to her position as the duchess of Hamilton in her own right and she appears to have retained a large amount of influence over him, with their marriage in many ways operating as a political partnership.[33] After his marriage to Anne, William was able to protect her from claims to the family estates made by the earl of Abercorn (James, 1st duke of Hamilton's second cousin), who argued that the Hamilton estates were his by virtue of male entail.[34] It appears that Anne Hamilton's maintenance of her own power, and by extension that of the Hamilton family, required a male body in which to place the dukedom, even if, as was the case with her husband and later her son, his power as the duke of Hamilton was dependent upon her.

This issue of mutual dependence is important, for whilst Anne Hamilton was not able to represent the family in the exclusively male institutional political sphere, she was, by virtue of her position, able to wield influence over the men who did. But only through them was the house of Hamilton able to be represented in this political sphere. In the context of the Union Parliament this meant that she was dependent upon her eldest son, James, duke of Hamilton to represent the family interest. For Anne this interest was

[30] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Anne', *ODNB*.
[31] D. Hayton, 'Traces of Party Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Elections', in C. Jones (ed), *The Scots and Parliament*, , Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1996, p 94.
[32] Brown, *Noble Society*, pp 228-229.
[33] Marshall, 'Hamilton [Douglas], William', *ODNB*.
[34] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Anne', *ODNB*.

interconnected with the Presbyterian and the Scottish patriotic interest. However it was not necessarily the case for James, who tended to cast the family interest within his own pursuit of personal political power and wealth.[35]

In order to put Anne's involvement in the politics of Union into perspective, I will first provide an overview of her previous political engagement, with specific reference to the later Covenanting period and the Darien scheme.

Anne Hamilton reigned as the head of the house of Hamilton during a long period of religious and political upheaval. She, along with her husband, represented the family (and moderate Presbyterian) interest during the Covenanting rebellion that occurred after the Restoration Settlement which followed the return of Charles II to the Scottish and English thrones in 1660.[36] Anne Hamilton's political position in regard to Covenanters was half way between that of her father, who as a loyalist to the Crown had represented the interests of Charles I in Scotland during the Covenanting Rebellions of the 1630s and 1640s, and her grandmother Anna Cunningham, who according to the Rev. James Anderson writing in 1857, when her son James, 1st duke of Hamilton, arrived in Scotland in 1639 with a fleet and three regiments under the King's orders to subdue the Covenanters, led a troop of horse to oppose his landing at Leith.[37]

Anne Hamilton had spent her first ten years of life living in England in the periphery of the court of Charles I, but from 1642 had spent the remainder of her childhood with her grandmother, Lady Anna Cunningham (c.1593-1647), in Scotland.[38] Her childhood, especially in regards to her Presbyterian faith and her assumption of political power, as well as a reaction to specific historical circumstances, informed Anne Hamilton's political position in regards to the Covenanting movement during the Restoration period.[39] Anne Hamilton's role in the politics of the Covenanting period was not restricted to influencing her husband; her position as the representative of the house of Hamilton enabled her to directly influence Presbyterian opinion and policy.

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[35] C.A. Whatley, with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, p 47.

[36] I.B Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688*, London, Victor Gollanncz, 1976, pp 49-53.

[37] J. Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of Distinguished Scottish Female Characters, Embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution*, Glasgow, Blacke and Son, 1857, pp 139-140.

[38] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, pp 8-20.

[39] For details of Anne Hamilton's involvement in the Covenanting movement see Anderson, *Ladies of the Covenant*, pp 152-172. For a discussion of the Covenanting movement see I.B Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters*.

According to Anderson, Anne Hamilton supported moderation because she believed that it would bring order to the country and end the persecution of Presbyterians.[40] However, despite opposing the more extreme elements of the Covenanting movement, Anne Hamilton's sympathies for those Presbyterians of a militant persuasion were shown after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679 when fleeing Covenanters were given refuge in the woods surrounding Hamilton Palace and Anne was able, by direct request, to prevent the Duke of Monmouth's soldiers from pursuing them.[41] Anne Hamilton's moderate political stance of opposing Court policy but believing in the importance of the maintenance of order in society shown during the Restoration period would inform many of Anne Hamilton's political judgments regarding anti-Union opposition in 1706.

During the 1660s and early 1670s Anne Hamilton was in close contact with Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), bishop of Salisbury between 1689 and 1702 and historian. In the early stages of his career, which were spent in Scotland, he was under the patronage of John Maitland, second earl of Lauderdale, Charles II's secretary of state in Scotland. According to Anderson, Anne Hamilton was useful to Burnet as mediator between himself and moderate Presbyterians in an attempt to establish an accommodation between the established Church and non-conformists. According to Martin Greig, Burnet's suggestion in 1699 of an attempt at indulgence was developed with the advice of Anne Hamilton. Burnett set out his argument for an indulgence in a paper entitled, 'The constitution and present condition of the Church of Scotland', where he suggested that moderate Presbyterian ministers be re-admitted to their parishes.[42]

Through her relationship with Burnet, Anne Hamilton was able to directly engage in Covenanting politics, and support the case for a moderate stance. But this was not a one way relationship. Burnet was able to obtain the professorship of Divinity at the University of Glasgow through his contact with James Ramsay the rector of the University whom he met whilst visiting Anne Hamilton at Hamilton Palace in 1669. Burnet also met his wife, Lady Margaret Kennedy (d. 1685), Anne Hamilton's cousin, during his frequent visits to Hamilton Palace during his time in Scotland before he

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[40] Anderson, *Ladies of the Covenant*, pp 163.
[41] *Ibid*, pp 162-171.
[42] *Ibid*, pp 162-163; M. Greig, 'Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715), *ODNB*,
[http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/406, accessed 10 May 2006].

permanently departed for England in 1674.[43] The relationship between Hamilton and Burnet is indicative of the importance of the noble household to early modern political practice.

Anne's involvement in the national politics that would eventually lead to the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland began with Scotland's failed attempt to establish an independent trading colony on the isthmus of Panama. Known as the Darien scheme, this event was not the only motivation for some Scots to accept a Union with England, but it did highlight the constitutional and economic problems caused by a political structure in which two economically competitive nations were ruled by one monarch; problems which many felt could be only be resolved through a reform of the constitutional relationship between the two nations, either through a federal or incorporating union.[44]

The Darien project became a patriotic project after subscriptions to the Company of Scotland (established in 1695 with the purpose of establishing a Scottish imperial trading port) were stopped in England due to opposition from the East India Company, the English Parliament and King William.[45] The opposition of the King, perceived in Scotland as supporting English commercial interest, enabled Darien to be cast in a patriotic light both at the time of subscription to the company and after its eventual failure.[46]

Anne Hamilton was the first person to subscribe to the Company of Scotland and was followed by four other women of the nobility and in time these women were followed by eighty-six more women from a range of backgrounds.[47] Ninety out of 1,500 is a small proportion but a significant one as it shows that whilst the majority of men had more economic independence than the majority of women, gender was not necessarily a barrier to participation in politicised economic investment. According to W. Douglas

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[43] Greig, 'Burnet, Gilbert', *ODNB.*

[44] D. Armitage, 'The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture', in J. Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995, p 98.

[45] T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, London, Allen Lane, 2003, pp 40-44.

[46] K. Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review* 82:2 (2003), p 229.

[47] W. Douglas Jones, ' 'The Bold Adventurers': A Quantitative Analysis of the Darien Subscription Lists (1696)', *Scottish Social and Economic History* 21:1 (2001), pp 30-36.

Jones, investment in the Company of Scotland by wealthy and powerful Scots spurred investor confidence.[48] In February 1696 subscription books opened in Edinburgh and Glasgow with the aim of raising £400,000 sterling. This figure was reached within six months and, according to Devine, was a sum equal to nearly two and a half times the estimated value of Scotland's annual exports.[49] The fact that between 26 February and 1 August 1696 almost 1,500 Scots pledged money ranging from £100 to £3000 sterling shows, as Douglas Jones argues, that people's motivations for subscribing were not simply economic.[50] As David Armitage argues, alongside personal economic gain many subscribers were also motivated by a belief that trade was key to Scotland's economic modernization, and a means to escape English dominance within the Union of Crowns, as well as competing with other European nations on an equal footing and maintaining self-defence through economic prosperity.[51]

Anne Hamilton's position as the first subscriber can be read as representing both an individual commitment and a desire to demonstrate the support of the house of Hamilton to the Darien project. This is reflected in the large sum of £3000 which was invested by Anne, an amount only matched in individual subscriptions by James, duke of Queensberry.[52] Whilst the size of Anne Hamilton's subscription highlights her role as the representative of the House of Hamilton, her subscription and that of the other eighty-nine women also evidences the fact that the issues which motivated people to subscribe were not exclusively male concerns. 39.6 per cent of women who subscribed were from the nobility or landed gentry, a percentage in line with the overall contribution of 45.2 per cent by the landed classes in general.[53] Most of the other 60.4 per cent of women subscribed the lowest amount of £100, an amount that was also subscribed by many men of lower status.[54]

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[48] Douglas Jones, ' 'Bold Adventurers', pp 25-30.
[49] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 43.
[50] Douglas Jones, 'Bold Adventurers', pp 22-25.
[51] Armitage, 'Scottish Vision of Empire', p 102.
[52] The towns of Glasgow and Edinburgh also subscribed £3000, but as these were group subscriptions they must be considered as distinct from those of individuals.
[53] Douglas Jones, ' 'Bold Adventurers', pp 30-31.
[54] Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, *A Perfect List of the Several Persons Residenters in Scotland, &c.*, Glasgow, 1857.

Anne Hamilton's involvement in the Darien scheme did not end with the closing of the subscription books on 1 August 1696; her interest and by extension the Hamilton family interest, in the scheme went beyond helping to finance it. Her fifth living son, Lord Basil Hamilton, was one of the directors of the Company of Scotland. Her eldest son James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton was also actively involved with Darien. James was a key player behind the formulation of a National Address in 1699-1700 in opposition to King William's lack of support for Darien.[55] It was on the subject of the Darien scheme that James Hamilton first addressed Parliament on 21 May 1700 and, Marshall argues, his patriotic stance on the issue increased his popularity.[56] As Bowie discusses, James sought to capitalise on his family's involvement in Darien as part of his strategy to unify and lead the parliamentary opposition.[57] James' politics and Anne's role in influencing and attempting to manage his political actions will be discussed in more detail below.

The involvement of the Hamilton family with Darien on an elite political level was to be expected. Where the true level of Anne Hamilton's commitment to the venture becomes apparent is in her desire to have her youngest son Lord Archibald Hamilton (1673-1754) actually sail to Darien as one of the colonisers. Archibald had joined the Navy after completing his education at the University of Glasgow.[58] This naval background would have made him the obvious choice to represent the family interest in Darien colony. It appears however that he preferred his current place in the Navy as opposed to partaking in a risky attempt to establish a Scottish colony in the Spanish occupied Americas, offering his excuses and apologies to his mother for this.[59]

Female familial political power, clearly demonstrated by Anne Hamilton's involvement in Restoration politics and her support of the Darien scheme, is particularly apparent in her political influence during the Union debates of 1706 and 1707. This influence centred upon her role in advising and directing the political actions of her eldest son James Hamilton (who sat as a peer in the Scottish Parliament from 1700-

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[55] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 220; G. P. Insh, *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, London, Charles Scribners & Sons, 1932, pp 201-207.
[56] Marshall, 'Hamilton, James', *ODNB*.
[57] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 16.
[58] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, pp 145-146.
[59] See NAS GD406/1/6981, Lord Archibald Hamilton, to duchess of Hamilton, 13 May 1699.

1707) and in coordinating extra-parliamentary activities amongst those under Hamilton family influence, especially the parishes on Hamilton lands. Prior to discussing Anne Hamilton's political influence over, and attempted management of, her eldest son, James, it is necessary to place this in the context of an illustration and analysis of James Hamilton as a political actor.

The Eldest Son: The Politics of James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton

As a politician James Hamilton can be read as displaying a dual, and contradictory, identity as a Scottish patriot and as a double-dealer who undermined the opposition cause. In his patriotic identity he embodied the anti-Treaty discourses of manly independence discussed in the previous chapter. This, and his failure, due at least in part to self-interest, to succeed as an opposition leader, highlights the very real restrictions on Anne Hamilton's political position. Although she was the head of the house of Hamilton, her sex denied her physical access to the Scottish Parliament. However, Anne accepted that her husband and then, after William's death, her eldest son James (and to a lesser extent her next two elder sons William Hamilton, earl of Selkirk, and John Hamilton, earl of Ruglen) must represent the family interest in the institutional political sphere. In accepting this Anne adopted a patriotic discourse of familial, national and religious duty when instructing her son on his role as heir, and then duke, of Hamilton.

The conditions upon which James was to become the Duke of Hamilton were set out in a letter from Anne to her eldest son, then earl of Arran, dated June 30 1698. In this letter Anne wrote:

> I am willing to resign the title of Hamilton so that you may be in
> a capacity to represent the family, which I wish you may doe for
> the interest of king and Country, as your father and predecessors
> have done Since I give my consent to this sooner, than otherways
> you might have had it, if you act otherways it will be a great
> grief to me[60]

In this text Anne connects James' duty to his family and his country. Anne often used patriotic discourse such as this to emphasise her son's birthright and duty as the future

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[60] NAS GD406/1/9068, Duchess of Hamilton to earl of Arran, 30 June 1698.

head of the powerful Hamilton family. In 1671 when James was thirteen years old Anne wrote to him so as 'to leave you my advice [as] your yeares ar yet so fwe [few] as to forgett what might be spoken to you.' In this advice letter Anne sets out her expectations for James' adult life. These were to 'make Coninuas [continuous] of serveing god,' to follow 'your predecesores footsteps In beien [being] Faithfullie Loyal to your King', to 'lett your services be at home I meane In scotland whare you may signifie most for his Majesties Serves [service] but follow not the Court', and to be a dutiful son to his father and kind to his brothers and sisters who would inherit smaller portions of the family fortune than himself.[61] In October 1699, embodying the patriotic position of the Hamilton family (especially in terms of their support for Darien) James Hamilton entered Edinburgh as a national hero. According to Bowie, the crowd activities that shaped Hamilton's 'grand entry' were reminiscent of the official state pageantry organised to encourage popular support for the Royal Commissioner, James Douglas, duke of Queensberry's on his arrival in Edinburgh.[62] The position of political power held by James Hamilton before he had even sat in Parliament was by virtue of his family position, and (to a large extent) it was dependent upon his representation of the family, and hence, his mother's political interest. However, Hamilton also transcended the family interest, and came to embody Country party patriotism.

The adoption of patriotic discourse so central to James' public persona as a patriot was evidenced by his 'grand entry'. By 1706 Hamilton was a hero to the anti-Treaty crowd and according to Christopher Whatley, 'found it hard to resist stirring the mob', through actions such as spreading rumours that the crown and regalia of Scotland (the symbols of ancient sovereignty) were to be removed to England – an act which caused such uproar that the retaining of them is specified in Article XXV of the Act of Union.[63] On 23 October 1706 the first anti-Union riots appeared in Edinburgh and often the anti-Union crowds escorted James Hamilton from the Parliament to his family's Edinburgh home at Holyrood Abbey, treating him as a hero of the Scottish nation, as the embodiment not just of the Parliamentary opposition but of opposition to Union in general.

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[61] NAS GD406/1/7314, Duchess of Hamilton to earl of Arran, 29 November 1671.
[62] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 34.
[63] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 11, 47.

A 1707 poem written in honour of James Hamilton, reflects his popularity as a patriot hero. In this poem the author writes, 'The LORD Bless Brave Duke *Hamiltoun*; For He's a Man of great Renown; And has been born for *Scotland's* Good; And under GOD He is there Head; For He's the Head of this Nation; Except Queen ANN that now doth reign; Therefore Good People Sing and Say; GOD send him great Prosperity … He's the Highest *Peer*; And yet he is as Humble as a Man'.[64] This poem is indicative of James Hamilton's public patriotic persona which embodied the Country party discourses studied in the previous chapter, and which was also informed by his familial duty and the Hamilton family position as representative of the Country and patriotic interest.

James' patriotic duty as emphasised by Anne Hamilton in the letters of 1671 and 1698 cited above, needs to be recognised as key to James' public persona as a Scottish patriot and his subsequent propagation of patriotic discourse. Anne's emphasis on James' duty to God, King and country in their correspondence was matched by actual practical political advice. In a letter dated 12 February 1700 Anne Hamilton encouraged James to take his national address in support of Darien to London, and attempted to put to rest his misgivings regarding the fact that only he and the Marquess of Tweedale would be going, stating 'you together may be as significant as tho more nobel men had gone, you know whats at stake and I did not think if you had ben once In Scotland that I should ever have ben for you going [to London] againe but this is a good cause.'[65]

In his history of Union, Whatley describes Anne Hamilton as 'a highly principled opponent of incorporation' and includes her as a contrast to James, who acted with more self-interest, and whose 'objective was to be top dog in Scotland and to have the preference of the reigning monarch.'[66] James Hamilton was a self-interested political actor and, because his actions sometimes went against his clear ideological position, he is one of the strongest cases for the impact of political management in enabling the Union's passage through Parliament.[67] With a large system of clientage under his control, Hamilton was recognised by the English government as holding great political

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[64] Anon, *A Poem Upon the Most Potent Prince James D e Hamilton; Anent the Union, of Great Britain*, Edinburgh, 1707.
[65] NAS GD406/1/7817, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 12 Feb 1699/1700.
[66] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 47.
[67] Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold?: Explaining the Union of 1707*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2001, pp 40-42.

influence in Scotland and so was 'bought off by English ministers'.[68] As Whatley argues, Hamilton did act in the familial interest, but he conceived of the Hamilton family interest in terms of his own political power and so he sometimes acted contrary to the popular patriotic interest, 'in spite of her [Anne's] prodding.'[69]

Two main events have made James Hamilton infamous in historical narratives of Union. The most famous are Hamilton's actions in early January 1707, when he failed to enact a last ditch opposition attempt to stop the Act of Union. Claiming that he had a toothache, Hamilton refused to attend Parliament to deliver a protestation to the Queen (after which the opposition was to walk out en masse). Although Hamilton was finally convinced to attend Parliament, once there he still refused to act. However, prior to this there had been clear evidence of a contradiction between Hamilton the public patriot and Hamilton the private politician. On 1 September 1705, during parliamentary debates on whether to pass an act authorising union negotiations with England, and after most commissioners had left Parliament House, Hamilton proposed that the Queen should select Scotland's Union commissioners. Twelve to fifteen other opposition members responded to Hamilton's actions by walking out of the House, after which a vote was held and the motion passed with a majority of eight votes, including Hamilton's. George Lockhart of Carnwath (1681?-1731), an opposition ally of Hamilton's, writes of this move as a betrayal to the Country and Cavalier opposition and went against James Hamilton's own previous protestations against giving the Queen nominating power as she did not know the interests of Scotland.[70] According to John Robertson, Hamilton's motion in favour of the Queen's nomination meant that the political initiative passed to those in favour of Union.[71] Riley explains Hamilton's actions as due to his aim to gain Court preferment. This reason is also argued by Bowie, who emphasises Hamilton's desire to maintain the goodwill of Queen Anne and cement his political influence by becoming a Union commissioner.[72]

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[68] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 48.
[69] *Ibid*, p 47.
[70] G. Lockhart, *'Scotland's Ruine' Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union*, ed. D. Szechi, Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen, 1995, pp 105-106.
[71] J. Robertson, 'An Elusive Sovereignty: The course of the Union debate in Scotland 1689-1707', in Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire*, p 213.
[72] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 81.

The conflict between Hamilton's patriotic identity and his actual political interests is evidenced in a letter sent by Hamilton to his mother, Anne Hamilton on 1 September 1705 - the day it was decided that the Queen would nominate the Union commissioners. This letter was written either soon before or soon after Hamilton's infamous actions in granting the Queen nominating powers. In this letter Hamilton writes in exasperation at the actions of his fellow politicians:

> … I am now come in my own thoughts to resolve of Leaving this nation for I see they will do nothing for themselves but surrender at all discretion(?) … since I am noe way supported neather in my privatt noe publick concernes I must sucombe … I am now resolved to Lay down the Cudgell & acknowedg I am beaten in all manner of ways … this nation are so debased … for which reason as you are my Parent and to whom I ow dieuty: I accquaint your Grace that after this I am resolved to alter my method intirly I think I have given my Countrie sufficient demonstration of my Inclination to serve itt & its trieu Interest: but since they are so irretrievably debased men of sence must be look't one [on] as mad[73]

This letter reflects Hamilton's frustration at his inability to control the Parliament. In this context Hamilton's lack of power is figured in terms of his inability to fulfil his patriotic duty, to embody the masculine Scottish nation that would be represented in anti-Treaty propaganda. Hamilton's dealings with the Court suggest a different story. This self-interest is hinted at in the letter, as James' patriotic duty is represented as almost transient; '… I think I have given my Countrie sufficient demonstration of my Inclination to serve itt'. Implied here is a high level of self-interest, Hamilton is not to blame for his failure to fulfil his adopted patriotic identity, instead it is the political nation which is debased.

Hamilton's political actions on 1 September 1705 appear as inconsistent with his professed political principles. But the question needs to be asked as to the possible instability of Hamilton's patriotic identity. Just as constructions of a patriotic masculinised popular sovereignty did not reflect actual political rights neither did Hamilton's public persona necessarily reflect his core political identity. Central to James' actions in Parliament was his perilous financial position. Although he was made Duke of Hamilton in 1698, James did not acquire control over the family finances. Due

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[73] NAS GD406/1/5137, Duke of Hamilton to duchess of Hamilton, 1 September 1705.

to his constant indebtedness, which Anne saw as a threat to the future financial stability of the house of Hamilton, and also to maintain her own political power, Anne maintained control of the family finances.[74] As both Riley and Whatley argue, Hamilton's political actions need to be viewed in terms of his large debts, his lands in Lancashire, and his income from the trade in black cattle. The 1705 Alien Act, and later the possible failure of the Union, posed a direct threat to Hamilton's economic interests. This informed Hamilton's actions in opposition to his patriotic identity.[75]

James' political actions were a frustration to Anne Hamilton, but they would not have come as a surprise. Whatley asserts that like other men from of the European aristocracy, many Scottish politicians had 'a powerful streak of libertinism in their make-up'.[76] It could be argued that this 'libertinism', in terms of a self-interested pursuit of wealth, power and pleasure, provides a key to James' political identity, and was clearly apparent in his life as the Earl of Arran, before he became Duke of Hamilton in 1698. Anne was aware of James' possible inconsistency in his public actions, of a contradiction between patriotic and self-interest. This is apparent in her warnings in the 1698 letter resigning the dukedom, that James should not act 'otherways' to his familial patriotic obligations.[77] That James might act 'otherways' was feared by Anne because of his past behaviour. One condition of James' inheritance of the dukedom which is not stated in the letter was his marriage to Elizabeth Gerrard in 1698 and his return from London to Scotland.[78]

Prior to James Hamilton's first marriage to Lady Anne Spencer in 1688 and brief return to Scotland, Anne and William Hamilton, duchess and duke of Hamilton, had threatened to withdraw James' right, through primogeniture, to full inheritance of the Hamilton estate. Writing in 1682 on the subject of his marriage she stated, '… I have given over the expectation of ever seeing itt,' and later adding, in reference to James' siblings, 'since we can expect nothing by you to provide them we will neccetate to break the Estait and divide amongst you which has ben our great desyn to have left Intire to

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[74] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, pp 176-177.
[75] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p 275; Whatley, *Bought and Sold*, p 42.
[76] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 33.
[77] NAS GD406/1/9068.
[78] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, pp 215-216.

you.'[79] James was not fulfilling his duties to family, King, country, and God as had been set out by Anne, and so he would not inherit the wealth and power these duties inferred.

Between 1690, when James' first wife Anne Spencer died and James returned to London, there had been constant conflict between James and his family who urged him to marry and return to Scotland.[80] During this time Anne wrote to her daughter Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl, that James 'is liker a man that's out of his wits than in them.'[81] There was always a conflict between James' duties, as heir of the house of Hamilton, to family, monarch, country, and God and his own self-interest. This informed the later conflict between James' patriotic identity and his self-interest and is exemplified in a letter sent by him to Anne Hamilton on 29 December 1704. Writing about the upcoming Parliament and negotiations for a Union with England, James writes that:

> by experience I have found soe much basness amongst our Selves that it's not to be expected wee shall doe that which is best for uss, & to joyn in our own destruction it goes to my heart, I can neaver doe itt, and my actions are soe often misconstructed when I am sure they are meant with the Greatest Sincerity for the Good of my Country thats possible that if it ware not lookt upon as abandoning the Countrie I should really Inclyne not to bee at the next Parliament[82]

In his self-representation to his mother, James adopts a patriotic identity but at the same time he emphasises his inability to fulfil this identity. Just as a conception of masculine nationhood founded upon the actions of heroic ancestors is emphasised in Country party discourse against the Incorporating Union so as to extend political agency beyond the elites, Hamilton also employs patriotic discourse to define his own political identity. However, Hamilton's self-representation (if not self-perception) of helplessness highlights the tension between discourse and reality. Hamilton is represented as a patriot, but this does not necessarily mean that he will act as a patriot.

Hamilton's expression of patriotic discourse in his letters to Anne is not just a reflection of his recognition of her firm opposition to Union, but also of her role in the

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[79] NAS GD406/1/6221, Duchess of Hamilton to earl of Arran, 21 August 1682.
[80] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 188, 209-216.
[81] Quoted in Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 211.
[82] NAS GD406/1/8071, Duke of Hamilton to the Duchess of Hamilton, 29 December 1704.

formation of this public persona. The patriotic identity displayed by James when he addressed Parliament in 1706, asking, 'Shall we in Half an Hour yield what our forefathers maintain'd with their Lives and Fortunes for many Ages',[83] was encouraged by Anne from an early age. Denied access to Parliament, Anne Hamilton saw her eldest son's political career as a means to directly engage in Parliamentary politics. Anne Hamilton's adoption and use of patriotic discourse was not simply empty rhetoric but can be read as evidence of her self-perception as a leader of the communities under her family's control and by extension as a leader of the nation. This leadership was shown in practical terms by, for example, her introduction of coal mining and a salt industry to the Isle of Arran as well as the building of a harbour at Lamlash on the island and the rebuilding of a school and the establishment of a woollen manufactory in the town of Hamilton.[84]

Although Anne Hamilton was physically excluded from the Scottish Parliament she was not separated from political life and during the 1702 elections managed the Country Party interest in the Hamilton base of Lanarkshire with her second eldest son, Charles Hamilton, earl of Selkirk. [85] This political participation was based upon her institutional power obtained through her position, gained by virtue of her status as head of the House of Hamilton, as the Sheriff of Lanarkshire. Also, though excluded from Parliament House, Anne had access to detailed information about Parliamentary affairs through visits of people to Hamilton Palace, as well as letters from James and his brother Charles, and from her son-in-law John Murray, duke of Atholl.

Like many Scots at the beginning of the eighteenth century, religion and politics were not separate for Anne Hamilton. As Whatley states, the Scottish elites at this time displayed an 'extraordinary degree of devotion to spiritual matters.'[86] God's will figures prominently in Anne's correspondence with James. For example in a 1705 letter, Anne Hamilton directly linked James' political activities with doing God's duty. In this letter

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[83] J. Hamilton, duke of Hamilton, Nov. 1706, quoted in G. Lockhart, *Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's accession to the throne, to the commencement of the Union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, in May, 1707*, London, J. Baker, 1714, p 252.
[84] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Anne', *ODNB*.
[85] Brown, 'Party, Politics and Parliament', pp 256-258.
[86] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 38.

James is excused for not attending a family communion at Evendaill [Avondale] because:

> you that are in the Parl[iament] may be Imployed In his services and for the good of our poore distrest nation Is a duty the performance of will be acceptable both in the sight of God and man and all that are betrayers of there countrie and prefering there owne self ends will find there purchase deare bought[87]

Anne Hamilton's political involvement in terms of parliamentary politics should be viewed as an attempt to manage James' parliamentary career, rather than her simply having influence over him. Anne expected to be kept up to date with James' public political life. In a letter of March 1702 she wrote, 'I thought it strang to hare that you had ben called before any of the privie councell and that nether you nor your wife from whom I had a letter after yours mentioned anything of it'.[88] In April of the same year, it was Anne as the primary representative of the family who wrote to Queen Anne to congratulate her on her accession to the Crown and to offer 'the servisis of my sons the Duke of Hamilton and his brothers whom I hope I may say without vanitie are as able to serve your Majestie as any In this natione'.[89]

Anne Hamilton and Union Politics

Anne Hamilton's political strategy during the Union debates centred upon the importance of uniting the opposition, and her letters to James demonstrate an acute awareness of the Hamilton-Murray division and the threat this posed to the parliamentary opposition to Union. In particular she recognised the importance of, and sought to build, a political allegiance between James Hamilton and John Murray. William Ferguson, in his study of the politics of the 1707 Union, argues that a lack of cohesion within the Country Party partly explains the success of the Treaty of Union in the Scottish Parliament and that this lack of cohesion was largely caused by 'jealousy

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[87] NAS GD406/1/6954, Duchess of Hamilton, to duke of Hamilton, 8 August 1705.
[88] NAS GD406/1/7061, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 24 March 1701.
[89] NAS GD406/1/11809, Duchess of Hamilton to Queen Anne, 9 April 1702.

and distrust' between James Hamilton and John Murray.[90] Whatley also emphasises the negative impact of the political division between Hamilton and Murray, and states that their relationship through marriage failed to materialise into a close political allegiance. One of the main sites of division was over the issue of the Hanoverian succession (something generally supported by Hamilton, but often opposed by Murray, whose political power base was Jacobite).[91]

On 25 September 1706, eight days before the opening of the 1706 Parliament, Anne wrote to James, 'The D. of Atholl is to be in toun [Edinburgh] this week and I hope you and he will concert measures together, For it cannot but be for the publick advantage how long you are well together.' She then goes on to agree with James' misgivings about John Murray's lateness in arriving in Edinburgh, but then warns her son, 'Tho at this tyme, I know you will not think fitt to quarrell any body: but make the best of them you can'[92] The importance of a Hamilton-Murray alliance is re-iterated by Anne in a letter dated 10 December 1706 in which she writes to James, in relation to Murray, 'God send good agreement amongst you for what can be expected if those that are against the union doe not concure together'[93] On 21 December 1706, when most of the Articles of Union had passed through Parliament and a final successful opposition attempt to block the Treaty seemed unlikely, Anne wrote, 'I am very sorry there is not a better understanding and consent among you I pray god direct you right.'[94]

In her letters to James, Anne also stresses the need for general unity and decisive action amongst the opposition as a whole. On 3 November 1706, the day before James' patriotic speech against Article 1, she wrote:

> I think you are right to dispute every inch of ground, and when no better can be to gett as many as you can to join with you in a protest. But I doe not think it proper at this tyme when you are so in a state to write to the Queen yourselfe alone, But if a Company of you together would joine in a representation to her majestie, I think would doe better.[95]

[90] W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1977, p 252.
[91] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, pp 27, 306.
[92] NAS GD406/1/7138, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 25 September 1706.
[93] NAS GD406/1/9736, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 10 December 1706.
[94] NAS GD406/1/9738, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 21 December 1706
[95] NAS GD406/1/9732, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 3 November 1706.

Anne Hamilton's letters reflect her belief that a unified protest to the Queen could halt the Union proceedings and a sense of frustration that as much as she could advise her son she could not force him nor the rest of the opposition to take what she considered to be the necessary actions. In the 21 December 1706 letter she wrote, 'I wish from my heart That you and those with you had left the parliament alltogether when the First 3 articles pass: and entered your protest … For I know not to what purpose you should sitt still, and strive in vain; and be outvoted in every thing, … and wheras it was preposed That you should break off at the 22nd article I am of the opinion that the 19th is much more popular being every bodys concern'.[96] It was this protest against the 22nd Article the James Hamilton infamously refused at the last minute to lead.

On 30 December 1706 Anne Hamilton wrote to her son expressing the same frustration at the opposition's failure to act as she thought it should, stating, 'For the more I think on this affair I understand it the less, I doe not comprehend the politicks on either syde, Only I am still of the same opinion, That I think you had better have left the parliament on the 3rd article, and still doe it, rather than sitt, and sie yourselves outvoted in everything'.[97] Anne's frustration at her son's failure to lead an effective opposition campaign appears to have been exacerbated by his personal aim of having the Hamilton family's claim to the Scottish Crown formally recognised, an aim that (for Anne) demonstrated a lack of political pragmatism. Ferguson states that at the end of Hamilton's speech opposing Article I, Hamilton made 'a cryptic statement about 'peculiar a concern of his family' and cites the opinion of the Earl of Mar, a contemporary of Hamilton, who believed that he was referring to the Hamilton claim.[98] Mar's opinion is supported by a letter written in November 1706 from Anne Hamilton to her eldest son in response to a letter from him in which he had enclosed a protest which stated:

> I James Duke of Hamilton for my self & in the name of Anne Dutchess of Hamilton my mother, protest that if the first article of the treaty of union (By which it is provyded that the two Kingdomes of Scotland and England shall forever by united into one Kingdome by the name of Great Brittane) shall by vote of parliament be allowed & approven,

[96] NAS GD406/1/9738.
[97] NAS GD406/1/9740, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 30 December 1706.
[98] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p 260.

That the samene shall no wayes prejudge our right and Interest to the sucession of the Crown of Scotland, as the samene was settled and Established by act of parliament in favour of our predecessors, as also shall be but prejudice to the said Dutchess of Hamilton and me hereafter to give in more full & ample protestation salving[?] of our right as wee shall think proper and necessary[99]

In her answer to this planned protest Anne wrote that she had:

thought much on it since the first motion you made of it to me, and am still more and more against the same; … The doing or not doing of this would neither further, nor obstruct the same, and I am confident the doing of it now, will doe more hurt than good and only expose me to be laughed at, For the protestations made formerly were by the nixt person to the Croun, and altho I were nixt to the Queen I would not think fit to doe it[100]

Anne Hamilton was fully aware that the Hamilton family had a claim to the Scottish throne but her sense of political pragmatism meant that she had no intention of publicly raising the issue. In a further letter on the subject, dated 3 December 1706, she reasserts her opposition to James' protest and makes clear that he cannot speak for her without her approval, writing:

As to that protest that you so desirous to make, and would have me reconsider the same, I have over and over again considdered and am still more and more against it, for I think it being unfit at this tyme; and I think also we should not prejudice our selves, upon pretence of doing that for our posterity; which will not signify anything to them … and I should be sorry if you did any such thing without my allowance, because if you doe I shall be obliged to declare against it, and beside will take it very ill from you[101]

As this statement shows, Anne Hamilton exercised a level of power over her eldest son. She may not have been able to control his actions in Parliament and force him to adopt her advice, but her position as the head of the Hamilton family meant that she could veto public statements concerning the family interest. In response to Anne's letter of 3 December, James wrote, 'I am sorie your Grace contineus your averness to what I

[99] Enclosed in NAS GD406/1/9744, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, November 1706.
[100] NAS GD406/1/9744.
[101] GD406/1/9735 Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 3 December 1706.

proposed: … I'll doe nothing of that nature in opposition to you but I still crave your pardon to that I difer intirly in my sentiments upon that matter with your Grace'.[102]

Anne Hamilton could directly influence parliamentary politics, but her power was limited because she herself was barred from sitting as a peer in Parliament. However, when it came to the Hamilton family interest her power was not limited in this way because she was the recognised head of this interest. This familial power meant that Anne Hamilton was able, like other leading aristocracy, to assert a level of local political authority. Anne Hamilton's political power outside of institutional politics is clearly demonstrated by her role in coordinating anti-Treaty petitions and public demonstrations in areas of Scotland under Hamilton control and influence, particularly in Lanarkshire the location of Hamilton Palace, and the centre of Hamilton power. The production and dissemination of pamphlets and petitions submitted to Parliament and demonstrations and/or riots against the Union treaty reflect the opposition's campaign to convince the Court and Scottish and English members of parliament that a full incorporating union between the two nations went against the wishes 'of the Generality of this Nation'.[103] Popular anti-Union opposition (especially petitioning), whilst reflecting a level of political agency on the part of the participants, was an expression of an oppositional discourse that was coordinated by Country Party writers and politicians.[104] It was this role of mobilization and coordination of extra-parliamentary opposition by those with political influence that provided the space for Anne Hamilton to directly engage in the opposition campaign.

Anne Hamilton's role as a link between the Parliament and 'the people' was also apparent in the petitioning of localities against the Union. During the passing of Union, Defoe wrote that 'the worst people are about Hamilton and that Side of the Country and principally because they have the worst Engines about them and are Dayly Deluded by the party of that family.'[105] Defoe's notion is reflected in the fact that twenty-two parish petitions (two-thirds of all parish petitions) were submitted from presbyteries which

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[102] NAS GD406/1/8074, Duke of Hamilton to duchess of Hamilton, 9 Dec 1706.
[103] *An Account of the Burning of the Articles at Dumfries*, Edinburgh(?), 1706.
[104] Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', pp 226-260.
[105] Daniel Defoe to Robert Harley, 27-28 December 1706, reproduced in G.H. Healey (ed), *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p 183.

were all under Hamilton family influence.[106] Bowie, in showing that addresses against the Treaty can be linked to Country Party nobles, cites the fact that 30 out of the 79 addresses submitted were from Lanarkshire. However, whilst Bowie argues that this high proportion reflects the local importance of the Duke of Hamilton and Covenanting ministers, I would argue that it also reflects the importance and political influence of the Duchess of Hamilton.[107]

In September 1706 Anne Hamilton wrote to James Hamilton that she was, 'of opinion that against the union, The ministers of this Country will be of more use than the gentlemen'.[108] This religious opposition was partly coordinated by Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton parish who was a close political ally of Anne and James Hamilton and who with them provided a bridge between ministers of Lanarkshire and the Parliament. Writing to James on 3 November 1706, Anne stated, 'I received yours [letter] yesterday, and if it had come on Friday The address from this might have gone in yesterday: But now the addresses from the rest of the parishes in this presbytery being appointed to goe in tomorrow. The address from this goes along then also; I wish they may doe good, for both ministers and people hereabouts are very heavily[?] in it'[109]

Anne Hamilton strongly believed in the power of petitions to support the opposition cause, and as Whatley states, was active in the obtaining of signatures along with other Scottish nobles such as Lockhart and the Earl of Errol.[110] Writing to James Hamilton in November 1706 Anne Hamilton argued:

> As to the Address from this shire I thought the parochiall addresses of much more consequence and were both more numerous and more sooner dispatched then a universall one would be For different parishes has different sentiments, and so you would sie by the addresses, and it will be impossible allmost to frame an address to please all party's: However to satisfy you I shall advertise as many gentlemen as the short tyme will allow to meett Carnwarth at Lanerk on Tuesday to concert an address, and afterwards it may be sent about'[111]

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[106] Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', pp 247-248.
[107] *Ibid*, p 242.
[108] NAS GD406/1/7138.
[109] NAS GD406/1/9732.
[110] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 268.
[111] NAS GD406/1/9744.

Also to James Hamilton in November 1706, this time in reference to the failure of Parliament to fully acknowledge extra-parliamentary opposition to the Union, Anne wrote, 'as for the members laughing at instructions from their Constituents, think ought not to hinder places to doe it [petition Parliament] for they will be less able to answer for themselves when they doe wrong.'[112]

Anne also supported the public protests against the Union, which were often intended to add weight to a petition previously submitted. For example as James wrote to Anne on 9 December 1706, 'I hear the Gentlemen: of Galowey are coming [to Edinburgh] … they say since ther adres has not been minded they will come and represent this humbly themselves.'[113] Here James is referring to the gathering of gentlemen in Edinburgh discussed in the previous chapter. Although the legitimacy of this action was founded upon a relationship between ideas of independent manhood and political sovereignty, Anne Hamilton was involved in co-ordinating this protest. According to Lockhart in his *Memoirs*, letters had been sent to heritors in Clydesdale shire by Andrew Hay of Craignethan, Sheriff Deputy under the authority of Anne Hamilton. These letters invited petitioners to come to Edinburgh to enforce the petitions previously submitted against Union.[114]

In Lanarkshire, where she was based, Anne Hamilton was even more directly involved in organizing public protests, as she wrote on 29 November 1706:

> We have frequent Rendevouz here, and as long as we have Law for it,
> Lett then say what they will of me, I will encourage them, and if other
> people had done as Clydsdale has, they had prevented much of what is
> come to pass, and I don't hear they are rendevouzing any where else,
> which I think is very strange, for I think in this Cause wherin all
> people are concerned, Every Body should Joine together[115]

The rendezvous mentioned in this letter refers to militia musters which took place in Lanarkshire with the permission of Anne Hamilton. Important in this is the statement 'as long as we have Law for it'. This refers to the legal rights, as set out in the 1704 Act of Security, to raise a Protestant militia in the parishes and burghs. As Bowie discusses, in the context of anti-Union opposition, musters were an oppositional show of force which,

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[112] NAS GD406/1/9732.
[113] NAS GD406/1/8074.
[114] Lockhart, *'Scotland's Ruine'*, pp 186-187.
[115] NAS GD406/1/9734, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 29 November 1706.

whilst intended to intimidate the Court party, were fully within the law and so (to an extent) legitimate.[116]

Reflecting her previous moderate position in regards to the Covenanting Rebellion during the Restoration period, Anne Hamilton supported and encouraged a certain level of public disturbance so long as it was orderly. For this reason she did not support the development of the November 1706 anti-Union riots in Glasgow into attempted armed insurrection. This became most apparent when a group of those rioters, led by the ex-soldier and Jacobite George Finlay arrived in Hamilton. Finlay had been involved in the November riots in Glasgow, and is depicted by Defoe, in his very biased 1709 *History of the Union*, as 'an Abject Scoundrel Wretch' leading a 'Rabble' against the 'Faithful Honest Gentleman' who were the captains of the city militia, and other 'Citizens' of Glasgow.[117] Defoe uses gendered language to deny the legitimacy of Finlay and the Glasgow rioters. This sort of language is not used by Anne Hamilton and her position on the Union was oppositional to Defoe's. However she too rejected Finlay's legitimacy.

It is claimed that during the riots in Glasgow there were rumours of a gathering in Hamilton of armed men from Angus, Stirling, Galloway and Lanarkshire. By Defoe's account, on the basis of this Finlay led approximately 45 men from Glasgow to join with the others and 'March to Edinburgh, to raise the Parliament'.[118] Following this, after the repeal of the right to muster and the government's sending of a troop of Dragoons to Glasgow, Finlay and his men marched to Hamilton where he expected others to rise to join him.[119] Anne Hamilton refused support for Finlay, and no men in Hamilton joined his attempted rising. After Finlay and his men arrived in Hamilton on Sunday 1 December 1706, David Crawford, the secretary to the house of Hamilton, wrote to James Hamilton on behalf of Anne (because 'this being sabath night' she would not write), that Anne was 'ill pleased that they should come here'. However seeing they were desperate and had 'promised all civility in the place' and were able to pay for what they were given, Finlay and his men were allowed to set up quarters for the night. Anne

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[116] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 147.
[117] D. Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain*, Edinburgh, 1709, pp 63-66.
[118] Defoe, *History of the Union*, p 66.
[119] For an account of Finlay's attempted rising see Defoe, *History of the Union*, pp 63-70; Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 142-143.

Hamilton did however order some inhabitants of the town of Hamilton to keep an all night guard at the Tolbooth and placed sentries 'up and doun the toun to prevent any disorder or abuse here'.[120] Anne's reaction to the arrival of armed men who were attempting to turn opposition to the Union into armed insurrection reflects both Anne's personal opposition to Jacobitism and role, as Sheriff of Lanarkshire, to maintain public order. 'Rendevouz' against the Union were to be encouraged so long as they were controlled, and legal, and so acted primarily for the interests of the political elite and not the 'mob' itself.

Following up Crawford's letter about Finlay and his followers' arrival in Hamilton, Anne wrote to James, 'It's true if I hadn't prevented it, the same things might have been done in this shire as was done at Dumfries, and perhaps worse'. Anne obviously felt that the actions of 300 armed Hebronites marching into Dumfries to publicly burn the Articles of Union was too disorderly. The prevention of similar disorder was Anne Hamilton's motivation in stopping 'the rendevouz of several parishes agreed on to be here [Hamilton] yesterday the 4th [December]'. Anne states that because of 'the parliament act suspending the act of security … I had sent express word to every parish not to come here' She then informs James that despite this order, 'a great many conveened out of this parish, Abendale and Killbryde, and forced their officers along with them; about 5 or 600 and Rendevouzed doun at Clydsdale, and at night marched peaceably home againe.'[121] Although she could issue orders against public protest the 'crowd' would not necessarily listen.

The Court Party's reaction to the threat of the anti-Union 'crowd' was seen in Parliament's suspension of the arming and musters clause of the 1704 Act of Security, which Anne Hamilton refers to, and the issuing of a proclamation forbidding unauthorised assemblies. Anne's attitude to the protests in the light of these government actions was paternalistic, as she wrote, 'I am very much cry'd out against for stopping the other parishes to Joine with them, and they now say: you are not so much their friend: I did indeed stop them to prevent any trouble to them afterwards, because this is

[120] NAS GD406/1/5383, David Crawford to duke of Hamilton, 1 December 1706.
[121] NAS GD/406/1/9735, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 3 December 1706.

the place that the Court seems most to rebell att'.[122] This letter suggests Anne Hamilton's political power was recognised by contemporaries and has perhaps been lessened by later historians.

In her letter of 3 December 1706 Anne refers to the 'crowd' blaming James Hamilton for the calling off of the protests; this misdirection of blame corresponds with the treatment of the event by Lockhart and subsequent historians. On the cancelling of the gathering of men from across the country in Hamilton in preparation to march on Edinburgh, Lockhart claims that that there were 'above seven or eight thousand men' who were armed and ready and 'would without doubt have kept the tryst, had not the Duke of Hamilton a day or two before … sent expresses privately … strictly requiring them to put of their design at this time. And his grace, being entirely trusted, by these means so thwarted and broke the measure'.[123] Riley, in his examination of this event, repeats Lockhart's claim that Hamilton, 'at the last minute, privately and on his own initiative, cancelled the assembling of forces.' Riley accepts this view to an extent as it would have 'accorded well with Hamilton's usual conduct'.[124] Ferguson also accepts that it was James Hamilton who is to blame, stating, 'The plan was ruined by the mercurial Duke of Hamilton'.[125]

There were a number of initiatives based around the concept of an armed uprising, and the degree to which these were serious and realistic plans is debateable, but what is certain is that whatever form of mass gathering was planned in Hamilton in December 1706, it was Anne Hamilton who cancelled it. Whilst she was aware that much of the public blame would be directed at James Hamilton as the Parliamentary representative of the family, Anne accepted that the government's blame for the uprisings that did take place would also be directed at her, writing, 'I wish I had not stops their meeting since much Law is yet intimatt here, and I know I will be as much blamed for those few who mett, as if 3 or 400 had mett'.[126]

That Anne Hamilton cancelled the planned rising was recognised by some contemporaries, such as Defoe, who wrote to Robert Harley, secretary of state for

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[122] *Ibid.*
[123] Lockhart, *'Scotland's Ruine'*, pp 182-183.
[124] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p 285.
[125] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p 268.
[126] NAS GD406/1/9735, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 3 December 1706.

England, that 'the prudence of the Dutchess Dowagr of Hamilton prevented their assembling at Hamilton.' Defoe then goes on to explain that, 'They did not meet it seems, for the Dss of Hamilton haveing Recd the proclamation and act of Parlmt sent Ordrs to all the places in her Country & perticularly to her Own Tenants not to Meet upon any Terms'. This 'prudence' of Anne Hamilton is contrasted with the reckless politics of the Duke of Hamilton, Defoe states, 'Had his Grace the Duke behav'd like this Matters had not Come thus far.'[127] Defoe's letter, and his later December 1706 letter decrying the local political influence of the Hamilton family cited above, evidences the fact that Anne Hamilton was recognised by contemporaries as an important political actor.

Anne Hamilton's letters demonstrate that elite management of political protest provided a space for Anne Hamilton to participate directly in anti-Union politics. As her letters to James Hamilton show, she was also able to participate indirectly in Parliamentary politics, although the failure of the anti-Union opposition may indicate that she was not successful in managing her eldest son's political actions. Before the Union Parliament, Anne was fully aware of James' political failings, writing in May 1705, 'As for your politicks truly I understand none of them'[128], and her reliance on him to represent the Hamilton family interest in Parliament demonstrates that, although status could override gender to an extent, the denial of women's access to the male institutional political spheres necessarily lessened women's political power. However women's ability to develop political opinions and indirectly influence parliamentary politics did not depend on them holding the independent power which Anne Hamilton did, as the case of her daughter Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl shows.

Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl (1662-1707)

Katherine Hamilton's correspondence with her husband, John Murray duke of Atholl, her brother, James, duke of Hamilton, and her mother, Anne duchess of Hamilton, as well as private notes and poetry, show a woman who held strong beliefs regarding the

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[127] Defoe to Harley, 5-7 December 1706, in Healey (ed), *Letters of Daniel Defoe*, p 165.
[128] NAS GD406/1/6540, Duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 28 May 1705.

Presbyterian religion and Scottish independence. However, unlike her mother and her male relatives, Katherine Hamilton is absent from almost all material published during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and so is largely ignored in past and current histories of Union.[129] Although she saw herself as a member of the nation, history has primarily relegated Hamilton to a domestic role, existing only as the wife of the Duke of Atholl. Karl von den Steinen has examined Katherine Hamilton's position in an examination of the political views and activites of her and her two sisters Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure and Susan Hamilton, marchioness of Tweedale, but only touches upon Katherine's involvement in the Union debates.[130] Rosalind Marshall's entry on Katherine Hamilton in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* recounts Katherine Hamilton's support for the Darien scheme and opposition to the Union, but asserts that along with running the estates and raising thirteen children, her main preoccupation was with spiritual matters.[131] This is a fair conclusion as many of Hamilton's papers are concerned with God and the Presbyterian religion. However, this spirituality should not be separated from her political beliefs because for Katherine Hamilton it was her Presbyterianism that largely informed her opposition to the Union.

Katherine Hamilton did not play the same active public political role as her mother, husband or brother. As a woman she could not sit in Parliament and make speeches, and being duchess of Atholl by virtue of her marriage meant that she lacked the level of independent status-based power held by her mother. Her political activity was not however only impeded by her gender; living at the Atholl estates in and around Blair Atholl and Dunkeld in the Southern Scottish Highlands meant that she was geographically isolated from Edinburgh, the centre of political power in Scotland. As she wrote to her eldest brother James Hamilton from Blair Castle in 1704, 'I have no

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[129] She is briefly included in Whatley, *The Scots and the Union*, p 288.

[130] K. von den Steinen, 'In Search of the Antecedents of Women's Political Activism in early Eighteenth-Century Scotland: the Daughters of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton', in E. Ewan, M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland c.1110-c.1750*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, pp 112-122.

[131] Marshall 'Hamilton, Katherine, duchess of Atholl (1662-1707), *ODNB*, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70530 accessed 13 October 2004] Katherine Hamilton's diary provides a useful insight into her spiritual beliefs. This diary is reproduced with an introduction in D.G. Mullan (ed), *Women's life writing in early modern Scotland: writing the evangelical self c.1670-c.1730*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003.

news to acquaint you with from this for I have nothing to converse with but the roks and mountains.'[132]

Katherine Hamilton's level of political understanding and engagement was untypical of a Highland gentlewoman at the beginning of the eighteenth century, especially in regards to her literacy, and so can be seen as reflective of her Lowland upbringing and her position in the upper echelons of Scottish noble society. As discussed above, in general female literacy was higher amongst Lowland women, and in the Highlands belonging to the upper levels of the social hierarchy did not necessarily equate to full literacy in English for women.

This physical isolation did not however result in intellectual isolation, and despite her remote location Katherine Hamilton was able to develop, form and express a political opinion. She was aware of political developments, such as increases in Jacobite activities, hoping in 1703 that Presbyterians who supported them would open their eyes.[133] She was also up-to-date with events in the Anglo-Scottish Court. In one letter, for example, she discusses Queen Anne putting off settling her affairs in Scotland.[134] Steinen, in his examination of her politics, shows that Hamilton was involved in her husband's political affairs prior to the Union, including the intrigue surrounding the 'Scotch Plot' when the Duke of Queensberry attempted to implicate John Murray in a Jacobite plot.[135] As Marshall states, when John Murray was in London in his capacity as secretary of state for Scotland (1696-1698), Katherine Hamilton was 'his principal source of political intelligence'.[136]

Katherine Hamilton's writing and reading literacy in English enabled her to express her political opinions and to gain information in the form of news and reading material such as pamphlets. Engagement with this textual discourse was necessary for Hamilton to develop an understanding of public political affairs. In regards to her gender, it is unlikely that Hamilton grew up expecting to play the role of a meek and

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[132] NAS GD 406/1/6500, Duchess of Atholl to duke of Hamilton, 14 October 1704.
[133] NAS GD 406/1/6937, Duchess of Atholl to duke of Hamilton, 23 December 1703.
[134] NAS GD 406/1/7058 Duchess of Atholl to duke of Hamilton, 12 April 1704.
[135] von den Steinen, 'In Search of the Antecedents', p 113 For an account of the Scotch plot see Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, pp 62-63.
[136] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Katherine', *ODNB*. For Katherine Hamilton's political engagement prior to the Union see for example letter reproduced in J.J.H.H. Stewart-Murray, duke of Atholl (ed), *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, Edinburgh, Ballantyne Press, 5 vols, 1908, Vol. 1, pp 461-466.

modest wife. As we have already seen her mother, Anne Hamilton, was an independently powerful woman; her political influence must have had an effect on Katherine Hamilton's engagement with the Anglo-Scottish Union. The example of a strong political female figure in Katherine's childhood and her correspondence with her mother in later life would not only have affected Katherine's viewpoint, but would have also shown her that it was not unnatural for a woman to engage with and influence national political affairs. In a letter to Katherine, dated 16 September 1706, Anne Hamilton (dictating through Anne Hay) discusses the debates on Union and speaks of the 'treators having been very busie perverting people to being for this incorporating union.'[137] Whilst Anne's letters to her daughter did not contain the same level of political advice as those to her sons, as Katherine was not in a position of institutional power, there was a consistent level of political engagement.

The influence of Anne, duchess of Hamilton on her eldest daughter derived not only from her political influence, but the simple fact of the position of wealth and status into which Katherine was born and the environment, both social and geographic, in which she grew up. Katherine Hamilton's childhood was situated in the Scottish Lowlands, primarily at Hamilton Palace. Her education, whilst different from that of her brothers, cannot be ignored as an important influence on her later understanding of and engagement with, politics.

Hamilton's brothers were educated in a similar manner to most sons of Scottish noble families. They went to a local school, then to a town grammar school and finally to university. One brother died aged twelve, but of the remaining six, four attended the University of Glasgow and two attended St Andrews. All except the youngest two also completed a tour of Europe, a male rite of passage common amongst the English aristocracy, and popular with wealthy Scottish aristocrats. Like most female children of the aristocracy, Katherine and her sisters did not attend grammar school, university, or embark on a tour of Europe; instead they were educated at home. The education of Anne Hamilton's daughters consisted of reading and writing, account keeping and other

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[137] BC MSS 45.(6).94, Anne Hay on Behalf of duchess of Hamilton to duchess of Atholl, 16 September 1706.

household management skills, and social accomplishments.[138] Their education suggests that they were expected to fulfil the roles of aristocratic women, which included not only motherhood and entertaining guests, but also often managing estates in the husband's absence.[139]

The social position of Katherine and her three sisters who survived into adulthood made marriage an important issue. According to Marshall, Anne Hamilton saw mutual attraction as the most important aspect of a marriage contract.[140] By law Scottish parents could neither force nor prevent a marriage. Arranged marriages based on political and economic interests were still practiced by the aristocracy in the seventeenth century, but were becoming less common. [141] Katherine Hamilton's marriage to Lord John Murray (earl of Tullibardine from 1696, duke of Atholl from 1703) in 1683 was first suggested by Murray's father the Marquis of Atholl, and was most likely motivated by political concerns, primarily a desire to unite the Hamilton and Atholl interests. However it was not agreed to until Katherine Hamilton was, in Marshall's words, 'wooed' into it.[142] The marriage between Katherine Hamilton and John Murray was a combination of familial marriage allegiances and emotional attachment, and their relationship highlights the tension between the legalities and realities of marriage in the early modern period.

Although married women were by law under the control of their husbands, not all marriages were necessarily sites of domination and subordination.[143] As Robert Shoemaker discusses in relation to England, a truly equal marriage was not possible within a patriarchal system in which laws governing the marital institution asserted and maintained male authority. However the actual power relationships within individual marriages were largely dependent on the personalities of the parties involved.[144]

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[138] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, pp 131-147.
[139] Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, London, William Collins and Sons, 1983, p 144.
[140] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 147.
[141] Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society ', pp 130-131.
[142] Marshall, *Duchess Anne*, p 147.
[143] Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, p 89.
[144] R.B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1998, p 308.

Katherine Hamilton's marriage to John Murray appears in the sources to be based more on mutual affection and respect than dominance.[145]

The fact that Katherine Hamilton was the eldest daughter of a powerful Scottish family must have influenced her power within her marriage to John Murray. His wealth and position would most likely have been of as much concern to Katherine, as hers was to him.[146] However, it should not be ignored that Murray enjoyed privileges on the basis of his gender that conferred upon him power that was denied to Hamilton. These privileges included full legal control over all their movable property and the right to sit in Parliament and take up government offices.[147] The character of Katherine Hamilton's political engagement was in many ways a reflection of her negotiation of her power based upon her wealth and social status and the inequality resulting from her gender. She never attempted to enter the sphere of high politics from which she, along with all women, was formally excluded, but she also considered it natural that she should form and express political opinions. Katherine Hamilton's identity as a politically involved women is evidenced by Elizabeth Gerard who, writing to her husband James Hamilton in 1704, expressed frustration at his absence from their home at Kinneil, stating, 'I wish you were here … but I fear your Politick self designing sister will prevail to keep you where you are'.[148]

It was with the passing of the Act of Union that Katherine Hamilton's political views found their greatest expression. The threats that Union posed to the independence of the Presbyterian Kirk was the basis of many people's opposition to Union. As discussed in the previous chapter, this opposition, whilst religious in origin was linked to ideas of Scottish nationhood. Katherine Hamilton's anti-Union stance is one example of this conflation of religious and national identity. In a personal note written in 1706, she states, 'when thou [herself] was much troubled … about the sad couis [cause] and condition of this nation in relation to the dishonourable union … how afflicting it was and how God comforted thee concerning it'. The importance of God's place in the

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[145] K. Barclay, ''I rest your loving obedient wife': marital relationships in Scotland, 1650-1850' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2007). Barclay argues that although married couples typically endorsed societal discourses of male power and female subordination, they negotiated the meanings of these discourses, creating unique relationships in which power was always unstable.
[146] Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, p 66.
[147] Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society', p 129, 137.
[148] NAS GD406/1/6894, Elizabeth, duchess of Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 8 February 1704.

nation is highlighted, when she continues this statement with a hope that God will 'bring to pass the good of this land and put a stop to uniting of it on such monstrous ill terms … that he may open peoples eyes … that they may have no hand in the ruin and distruction of their natuve country'. [149]

For Katherine Hamilton the Union went against God's will. As she wrote in a letter to her husband in Edinburgh in 1706(?), 'if the Presbetirens be for it [Union] I think they are indeed infatuat and left of God to themselves in that particular'.[150] Religion and nation were not separate entities in Hamilton's opinion. In fact her Scottish patriotism appears to be an unquestioned extension of her religious faith. In the same letter she writes, 'I am heartily sorry this nation is so deluded,' and follows this with a hope that God 'will yet save this sinking nation'.[151] Hamilton's faith-based politics is perhaps typical of women who actively opposed Union. Whatley asserts that 'It is quite conceivable that female presbyterians formed the biggest single group of objectors to the Union.'[152] However except for a brief mention of Katherine Hamilton, he does not explore this issue further.

Katherine Hamilton's knowledge of and engagement with politics was not however confined to a belief that Union went against God's wishes for Scotland. Certainly her Presbyterian faith was the basis of Hamilton's opposition to Union, but her knowledge of the politics of Union was greater than that gained from her interpretation of God's will for Scotland. Her husband, John Murray, was the most important source of news and information. As discussed above, during the Union Parliament Murray was a key opposition politician. Murray not only provided Hamilton with news of events in Edinburgh, but also sent his wife copies of pamphlets and other texts that were being publicly disseminated. These included a copy of the Articles of Union and the speeches of the Duke of Queensberry, the Queen's Commissioner in Scotland. Like many Scots, Hamilton's reading of these texts only cemented her opposition.[153] As she wrote in a letter on receipt of the Articles of Union, 'as for the treaty I am still of the same mind I

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[149] BC MSS 29.(2).4, My Wife's Meditations Concerning the Union, October 13 1706.
[150] BC MSS 45.(6).120, Duchess of Atholl to duke of Atholl, 1706.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 288.
[153] Robertson, 'An Elusive Sovereignty', p 216.

was, but more and more against it and shall never belive it will take effect till it be don[e]'.[154]

Katherine Hamilton's reliance on her husband for news of events in Edinburgh did not result in her simply adopting his position. Rather, the correspondence between the duchess and duke of Atholl suggests that their political discussions were a two way process. In a letter of 1702 to her husband, Katherine wrote, 'I cannot bring my selfe to believe what I find you doe [that] any English are serious for an union [with] Scotland on any honourable or good terms for us'.[155] This willingness to disagree with her husband regarding political affairs does not seem out of the ordinary for her. This particular statement is not emphasized in the letter and is followed with both a discussion of Queen Anne's coronation and a request for her husband to purchase some material for waistcoats.

John Murray also seems to have respected his wife's opinions. In a 1706 letter to Katherine, he wrote, 'I find you are uneassie about this union as I confess I have been, … one Thing I have great satisfaction in that you & I agree so well in this matter as I hope we shall alwayes doe in all publick concerns'.[156] This letter suggests that John Murray did not view Katherine Hamilton as simply a wife and mother whose concerns should not extend beyond her family and estates. Instead he appeared to consider it natural that she should hold and voice a political opinion, and he viewed Hamilton as a political companion.

Katherine Hamilton was able to engage in politics and not be seen to be transgressing the boundaries of her noble womanhood. However she did not have access to political influence and power at the same level as her husband, a fact she was aware of. Recognising the importance of her husband's role in local politics, Hamilton wrote to him in 1702 about the death of the representative of Stirlingshire. In this letter she states, 'so there will be a new election in Stirling shire [which] I doubt will not goe the better [that] you are not at home'.[157] This statement demonstrates that Hamilton was aware that her husband's influence, in ensuring their favoured candidate was elected, was much

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[154] BC MSS 45.(6).120.
[155] BC MSS 45.(2).114, Lady Tullibardine to earl of Tullibardine, April 23 1702.
[156] BC MSS 45.(6).121, Duke of Atholl to duchess of Atholl, October 19 1706.
[157] BC MSS 45.(2).114.

greater than her own. However, status may be as important here as gender. As discussed above, as the Sheriff of Lanarkshire (an inherited position) Anne Hamilton was actively involved in the 1702 election campaign, and during the Union debates her role in organising petitions and controlling public protest evidences a massive amount of local influence. That Anne Hamilton was exceptional, as demonstrated by her daughter's relative lack of respective local influence, highlights the importance of status, of being the head of a household by birth.

Katherine Hamilton's political activity and power was certainly influenced by her gender, but this did not restrict her activity simply to letter writing. In the Blair Castle archives there is a poem apparently written by Hamilton, entitled 'On the Union'.[158] This poem is attributed to her as an original work in the National Register for Archives of Scotland (NRAS) catalogue of the Blair Castle archives, an attribution accepted by von den Steinen.[159] However, an almost identical poem was published in 1706, entitled 'A Poem Upon the Union'.[160] This poem has not been attributed to any author, either in the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland[161] or in the catalogue of 1701-1714 Anglo-Scottish tracts published in 1979 by W&V McLeod.[162] It is possible that Hamilton wrote this poem, but it is also possible that she copied it from the published version. In addition to the catalogue entry, supporting the argument that Hamilton did write the poem is the fact that in 1705 she had a text, entitled *Christmas Cordials, fit for refreshing the souls, and cheering the hearts, of all the professors of the Christian Religion*, reprinted by G. Mossman in Edinburgh, after a version was sent to her anonymously.[163] This demonstrates that she had connections to publishers in Edinburgh, and thus, if she did write the 'A Poem Upon the Union', she could have had published it. If Hamilton did publish an anti-Union poem, this shows that she was able to influence public opinion without physically entering the public political arena.

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[158] BC MSS 45.(6).133, Poem, Katherine, duchess of Atholl, 'On the Union'.
[159] von den Steinen, 'In Search of the Antecedents', p 115.
[160] Anon, *A Poem Upon the Union*, Edinburgh, 1706.
[161] National Library of Scotland Online Catalogue, [http://main-cat.nls.uk/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=Poem+upon+the+Union&SL=None&Search_Code=TALL&PID=27869&SEQ=20041203210448&CNT=50&HIST=1, accessed 8/12/2004].
[162] W&V, McLeod, *Anglo-Scottish tracts, 1701-1714: A Descriptive Checklist*, University of Kansas Libraries, Kansas, 1979.
[163] Editor's notes in Mullan (ed), *Women's Life Writing*, pp 360-361.

It is in this poem that Hamilton clearly articulates a broad concept of national identity.

> Before the Thistle with the Rose is Twined
> Our Patriots about it thus divin'd
> Two Partts the one of brass the other of lame[?]
> Were Carried by the violence of a Streame
> The brasen cry'd come sister joyne my side
> When we contiguas shall more safly Ride
> I will protect you from the winde and wave
> And from the Rock your brittle fabrick save
> They joyne and downe the Rivr justling pass
> Till the Lame by the Brasen Chattered was
> By this their Union she was undone
> Then if she had outbraved the storme alone
> There's non who breath in Calidonias Aire
> But feel how much this Union did impaire
> Her fabrick. And shall we our fears forget
> And to our Ruine be now more unite
> Unite on such a Bottom will us bring
> Under subjection to an English King
> Unite and on such terms we must at once
> Our Independence and our King Renounce
> Part with our money and our ancient Rights
> Turne Traitors and be worse than Gibeonists[164]

This poem is similar to many of the anti-Treaty texts discussed in the previous chapter. Caledonia is imagined as a feminine figure, and the importance of true patriots protecting her is emphasised. Where it differs is in the gendered depiction of these patriots. Unlike most anti-Union texts, the patriots in this piece are not necessarily imagined as male and so nationhood is figured within a wider framework. Rather than being embodied by Scotsmen and their heroic ancestors, in this poem it is all those who 'breathe in Caledonia's air' who will lose their independence with Union. This broadened conception of national identity as articulated by Hamilton is evidence that women could identify themselves as members of the nation. However, the line, 'Our Independence and our King Renounce', suggests a Jacobite opposition to Union which runs counter to her Presbyterian based politics. Whilst the poem's importance would be greatly lessened if Hamilton's poem was proved to have been copied from another's

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[164] BC MSS 45.(6).133.

original, the copy would still be a useful source. Even as a copy it would show that Hamilton related to the poem enough to copy it out, and so could still be considered as evidence of her self-identification as a patriotic member of the Scottish nation.

Katherine Hamilton's engagement with the political issues of Union also extended beyond the act of putting pen to paper. Hamilton's position as a trusted political ally and a woman divorced from high politics was a useful tool to John Murray in negotiating the political intrigue that engulfed Parliament in 1706 and 1707, in this case attempted bribery. Owed money by the Court for unpaid salaries from his holding of royal offices, these back payments were offered to Murray in return for his absence from Parliament on days when certain Articles would be voted upon.

It would be wrong to deny that at the turn of the eighteenth century there was not a dominant discourse which defined public politics as a predominantly male realm. As well as the obvious fact that women were not permitted to sit in Parliament, the assumed maleness of high politics is apparent in Katherine Hamilton's role in John Murray's rejection of the bribery offer. Her gender was the reason that he was able to find out about the bribery plans early. The fact that women were not involved in institutionalised high politics meant that their correspondence was less likely to come under scrutiny. On 15 July 1706 Patrick Scott wrote to John Murray from Edinburgh to inform him that 'I have reason to believe that ther is a project on foot of paying your Grace what is due by the Publick on condition you stay away from Parliament'. This letter was not however addressed to Murray. As Scott wrote, 'I am apprehensive His Lord may ask me if I have write to your Grace about this But I may tell him I had no commission from His Lord to do so … And therefore I will now think of discharging this to my Lady Duchess'.[165] The relative lack of suspicion directed at letters addressed to women, even the wives of powerful political actors, allowed Katherine Hamilton to provide a means of secret communication.

There is debate as to whether Murray took the money. Ferguson asserts that he did not, whereas Riley argues that Murray did benefit economically in terms of the family interest by enabling his brother, Charles Murray, earl of Dunmore, to receive the £1000 he was offered. None question John Murray's strong and consistent opposition to

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[165] BC MSS 45.(6).73, Patrick Scott, addressed to duchess of Atholl, July 15 1706.

the Treaty, but Riley points to Murray's absence for the ratification vote on 16 January 1706.[166]

Riley's contention regarding Murray and bribery highlights an important issue regarding the place of women's history within traditional political history. If Riley had paid attention to Murray the man rather than just Murray the politician he would have been aware that Katherine Hamilton, with whom Murray appears to have had a close emotional relationship, died on 11 January and was buried in Hamilton on 17 January 1707. On hearing of his wife's illness, Murray wrote to her on 6 January, that 'I shall long extreamlie till I hear againe'.[167] He then left Edinburgh for Hamilton Palace (where Katherine was visiting her mother) on 10 January.[168] On finding out, on his way to Hamilton, that she had died, he (according to his own notes written at the time), 'cast myself on the ground, where I doe not remember what I said or did.'[169] It is far more likely that a grief stricken Murray was absent from Parliament on 16 January because of his wife's death, than because of a £1000 payment he may have been able to funnel to his brother. As McCormack argues, it is important to recognise that, like women, men in the past did not exist in a public world sharply divided from the private world.[170] John Murray the politician was not a separate entity to John Murray the husband.

Katherine Hamilton was staunchly opposed to the Union and used correspondence with her husband, brother and mother to express these views. Her letters and other papers provide a glimpse into the political world of an upper status Scottish woman at the time of Union. Hamilton demonstrates that elite women could engage in politics without entering, or even directly influencing the institutional parliamentary realm, and that this political engagement was not considered abnormal. It is also through letters that we can gain an insight into the political observations of another woman: Katherine Skene, lady Murray, who was living in Edinburgh during the passing of Union and who also included discussions of the Union in her private correspondence.

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[166] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p 247; Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, p 259.
[167] Duke of Atholl to duchess of Atholl, reproduced in Stewart-Murray (ed), *Chronicles of the Atholl*, Vol. 2, p 69.
[168] Marshall, 'Hamilton, Katherine', *ODNB*.
[169] Duke of Atholl, personal notes, reproduced in Stewart-Murray (ed), *Chronicles of the Atholl*, Vol. 2, p 69.
[170] M. McCormack, 'Men, 'the Public' and Political History', in McCormack (ed), *Public Men: Masculinities and Politics in Modern Britain*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp 20-23.

Katherine Skene, Lady Murray (d. 1743?)

Katherine Skene's correspondence differs from that of Anne and Katherine Hamilton. Whilst Anne and Katherine Hamilton's correspondence was often directed to men in positions of institutional power, Skene's letters of 1706-07 (the only known letters by her remaining) are to her husband who was fighting in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713) and stationed with his company, the Earl of Orkney's Royal Regiment of Foot, in Flanders. Reflecting her relative lower social status Skene does not assume the same level of political influence as either Anne or Katherine Hamilton. Though Skene's letters imply an anti-Treaty position, the primary purpose of her political correspondence was to provide news to her husband, Lord Edward Murray, and so they have a more observational character. Skene's letters offer an insight into the political engagement of women of the gentry, and their difference to those of the Hamiltons highlights the role of status in determining women's political engagement.

Skene was the daughter of Anna Drummond and James Skene of Grange and Kirkaldy. Lord Edward Murray was Skene's third husband. She had been widowed by her two previous husbands, Sir James Anstruther of Airdrie and Andrew Whyte, who was at one time the Governor of Edinburgh Castle. Although she was not from the peerage, Skene was a member of Scotland's gentry. Like Katherine Hamilton, Katherine Skene (because of her background) was fully literate in the English language. This literacy enabled her to engage in written correspondence with her husband, Lord Murray, but it was her location, living in Edinburgh, that gave her access to information regarding decisions in the Parliament and actions on the street.

On 16 November 1706, Skene wrote to Lord Murray about the public reaction to the Union. First stating that 'ther are such a firment and confusion like to be in this nation about the Union', she then discussed the raising of soldiers to deal with the civil disturbances that the Union was causing, writing that 'all the troops we have in Scotland ar laying att this place'. Probably because of her physical location Skene had substantial knowledge of activities on the street, and describes them to her husband. On the riots she wrote, 'they have burned the articles by the hand of the hangman att the mercat cross, as

the comishioner [duke of Queensberry] goes up and down the streets the peeple … curse him to his face he goes always like a crimenal with a guard in each sid of his cocth [coach]'.[171]

The use of terms such as 'they' and 'the people' suggests that Katherine Skene saw herself as separate from the protestors. She presents herself as an observer rather than a participant. She does, however, express a particular understanding of Scottish nationhood. The protestors were not in her eyes simply a riotous mob, but an expression (possibly unwelcome and somewhat threatening to her social position) of the discontent of the whole nation with the Act of Union. Expressing this sentiment, in the same letter she writes, 'by all appearances the Union will go through tho in a maner the whol nation is against it'.[172]

Like Katherine Hamilton, Skene's discussions on the Union appear to be as natural a part of her correspondence as other topics. It was obviously not outside her role as his wife to inform Edward Murray of political events. Most of the letters in the collection are personal. She writes about her health, often states that she misses her husband and is in constant fear for his safety, requests him to send products such as coffee from Holland, and often discusses the state of the family finances. This political news is not simply reported but offered with an analysis of the situation. As Skene wrote to Murray on November 26th 1706, 'as for nues our parliament is still going on everay day it sits they pas one of the articels of union so it is thought [by] crisemas it will be concluded as I told you in my last letter ther ar grate ferments and heats in this nation … threatening that all the cuntray will rais in arms'.[173]

Skene appears to be informed about the debates on Union and is aware of Court-Country party politics. In the 26 November letter, she writes of Lord Murray's brothers and their wives being in Edinburgh. Skene states that she does not often see them, but informs her husband of their political positions, writing that Atholl and William Murray, lord Nairn are for the country, whilst Charles Murray, earl of Dunmore is for the Union.[174] The statement that Atholl and Nairn are 'for the cuntray' appears to link the

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[171]NAS RH15/10/4-B3, Katherine Skene to lord Edward Murray, 16 November 1706.
[172] *Ibid*.
[173] NAS RH15/10/4-B4, Katherine Skene to lord Edward Murray, 26 November 1706.
[174] It is likely Katherine Hamilton was one of the wives referred to here.

Country party with the patriotic interest, and demonstrates Skene's awareness of ideological party divisions. Her letter is also highlights another important issue of Union politics, which is that family allegiance, even between brothers, did not necessarily result in political allegiance.[175] Familial politics were a complex factional game. That women were involved in these familial politics is reflected in Skene's inclusion of the 'wives'. These wives are not differentiated from their husbands in being 'all taken up with the politiks'; it is not just Atholl and Nairn who are for the 'cuntray' but also 'ther Ladys' and it is '… Dumor and his familie [who are] violent for the union'.[176] This observational letter is a clear indication of the familial nature of parliamentary politics during the Union debates.

Like her letter of 16 November 1706, Skene's 26 November letter also offers an insight into popular opposition to the Union. Whilst expressing a certain level of support for the opposition, Skene presents herself as separate from the mob. This separation is not based upon gender, but appears to be due to her social position and suggest a desire to maintain the status quo. In fact Skene makes reference to the rioters as including both men and women. In the letter of 26 November, she writes that 'ther are peepell put in prison everay day hear both men and weemon for cursing the commishioner as he goes up and down the streets and throing stons att his cocth [coach]'.[177] The fact the Union may cause more mob uprisings appears to be one of Skene's greatest concerns regarding its ratification in Parliament. Although Skene makes no direct reference to herself as a member of the nation, the interest she takes in the Union debates suggests that she considered national politics to be within her concerns.

Katherine Skene highlights the fact that women were not completely excluded from public politics. Her interest in the political events of Union and her role in communicating news of these events to her husband provides an insight into women's lives that is necessarily absent when they are examined within a false public-private dichotomy. Like Katherine Hamilton's correspondence, Skene's letters show that for a woman to discuss politics with her husband was normal. In addition, the different

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[175] For a discussion of the Atholl and Dunmore division over Union, see Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 27.

[176] NAS RH15/10/4-B4.

[177] *Ibid.*

character of Skene's letters when compared to those of Anne and Katherine Hamilton highlights the impact of status on political engagement. That Skene writes about 'men and weemon' being arrested at anti-Treaty riots also provides an insight regarding the political participation of non-elite women.

Non-Elite Women's Political Agency

Women were an active part of the anti-Treaty crowd. This crowd is often presented as gender neutral, something informed by often generalised representation of the crowds as the 'rabble' or 'mob' in the contemporary histories of Defoe and Lockhart.[178] In addition there has been a tendency in histories of women in Europe to emphasise community-focussed rioting when discussing non-elite women's political agency. Robert B. Shoemaker argues that women during the early modern period were rarely engaged in riots that were primarily political, and instead were more likely to be participants in riots that involved food supply and cost, enclosure of land, the defence of jobs or marital norms.[179] It is not incorrect to argue that women were commonly participants in public events such as food riots; it is however wrong to assume that issues of domestic security such as food supply were not also highly political.

John Bohstedt argues that women's roles in food riots were not due to their position as consumers, but as equal producers within the proto-industrial household economy; women and men were nearly co-equal as breadwinners and bread-rioters. Food riots may have been the most common form of riot in which women were involved, but women's community status due to their economic role also meant that they were likely to be involved in other forms of riot.[180] As Houston states, Scottish women during the period 1500-1800 were formally excluded from high politics and so taking part in riots was their most direct possible form of political activity. Women's role in riots has traditionally been understated by historians because women were less likely to be prosecuted in secular courts than men, and so there are fewer historical records

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[178] See for example, Defoe, *History of* Union, p 252; Lockhart, *'Scotland's Ruine'*, p 177.
[179] Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p 233.
[180] Bohstedt, 'Myth of the Feminine Food Riot', pp 21 – 50.

related to their participation in civil disobedience.[181] In addition, women's invisibility is due to the use of generalisations such as 'the mob' to describe rioters in contemporary texts.[182]

Women rioters were not, however, entirely ignored in printed comment on anti-Union riots. For example, the contemporary pamphlet, *A Seasonable Warning or the Pope and King of France Unmasked* (1706), published anonymously by Defoe, makes specific reference to women when describing the anti-Treaty riots. Attacking the addresses and public protests against Union as the expression of an 'ignorant People' who have been persuaded to oppose Union by 'Popish Lords and Gentlemen' whose real aim is personal advancement and the destruction of the Presbyterian religion, Defoe argued that only the pro-Union men in Parliament understood the true interest of Scotland and had the 'capacity to judge what is to be done.' In a clear rebuttal of the Country Party argument that petitions and the anti-Treaty crowd represented the political will of the Scottish nation, Defoe describes the anti-Union crowd as a 'Company of Rude, Ignorant and Desperat Fellows, Mad Women and Boys with Huzzas'.[183] The description of women taking part in the riots as 'Mad' emphasizes the disorderly nature of their political activity but this is due not to their gender but to the nature of their activity as the legitimacy of the politics of the male rioters is also denied through the description of them as 'Rude' and 'Ignorant'. Defoe's use of the term 'Mad Women' suggests that women's presence in the anti-Union crowd, like that of young men and men whose social position did not confer 'independent' manhood, was used to deny the legitimacy of popular Union opposition.

The mixed-sex, and lower social status, and so lack of legitimacy of the crowd is also emphasised by Robert Wodrow, a prominent Church of Scotland minister, when he referred to the people who rioted in Glasgow in November 1706 as a 'Rabble of whores & scumm … [and] a pack of graceless Rakes'.[184] Within early modern discourse the term whore rarely denoted prostitute, instead it was primarily use to accuse women of extra-marital sexual activity. In gendered discourses of social order, a husband's control

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[181] Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society', pp 137-138.
[182] Bohstedt, 'Myth of the Feminine Food Riot', p 29.
[183] [Defoe], *A Seasonable Warning or the Pope and King of France Unmasked*, 1706.
[184] Quoted in Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 143.

over his wife's body was deemed as central to his control over his family and household. A woman's status as whore undermined this control and thereby undermined his manhood (seen in the related male insult of cuckold).[185] Whore is here deliberately used by Wodrow to emphasise the disorderly nature of political riot. Similarly the term rake acts to deny the legitimacy of male rioters by accusing them of libertinism denying their manly virtue as situated within the orderly, chaste household.[186] By employing early modern political discourse regarding the patriarchal household and the broader social hierarchy – both analogous to each other – Wodrow (who opposed Union, but believed in legal, legitimate protest[187]) denied the political sovereignty of the rioters and thereby denied the legitimacy of their expression of their political agency. Rioters were referred to as 'Mad women', 'whores', 'ignorant and desperate fellows' and 'rakes' because conceptions of gender informed conceptions of legitimacy; only the independent man was the legitimate political subject. This is apparent not just in print discourse but also informed legislation such as Glasgow's curfew on 'women, boys, young men, and servants' in response to the November 1706 riots (see Ch. 2, above).[188]

Alongside the references to female rioters in Skene's correspondence, in *A Seasonable Warning*, and by Wodrow, the circumstantial evidence also weighs heavily in favour of an assumption of women's involvement. For example, Whatley discusses the role that fears regarding the post-Union economy, such as the draining of Scottish wealth into England, and Scottish manufacturers inability to compete with their English counterparts, played in the popular developments of anti-Union sentiment.[189] These financial concerns could have motivated women to adopt an anti-Union position and take part in anti-Union riots, as much as they motivated men to do so. Most Scottish women in 1706 and 1707 did not exist only in the domestic home, but were out on the street as shopkeepers, traders and consumers.

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[185] A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003, p 104.
[186] For a discussion of the socio-economic implications of gendered insult, see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp 157-161.
[187] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 279.
[188] Young, 'The Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707: Political Management, Anti-Unionism and Foreign Policy', in T.M. Devine, Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, p 39.
[189] Whatley, 'Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey', *Scottish Historical Review*, 68:2 (1989), pp 159-162.

Elizabeth Sanderson, in her examination of women and work in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, argues that women's work led to a sense of status in the community in a similar manner to male professions. Mainly employed in the shopkeeping and textile trades the majority of female workers were not from the poorer sectors of society. Those involved in shopkeeping and textiles included single, married and widowed women, and all had the right and obligation to membership in burgh institutions such as the Merchant Company. Unlike England, women in Scotland did not lose the right to trade when they married. In fact women in Scotland could pass their right to trade on to their husband and vice versa. Women's role in the economic family unit where they could, and did, carry out independent businesses or run the retail side of a family craft business, meant that women played an important part in burgh life and gained an identity that extended beyond their domestic role to the economics and politics of community.[190]

Women's greater economic rights compared to England reflect Scotswomen's greater rights in marriage; most importantly, a married woman in Scotland was not defined as the legal property of her husband (as she was in England). However, this is not to suggest gender equality within marriage in early modern Scotland. For example, whilst a woman in Scotland could pursue an action in court, she required her husband's consent and she could only legally separate from her husband if she could prove mistreatment.[191] What this does suggest is that, although limited, married women in Scotland had greater rights than their English counterparts, something which is evidenced by their ability to independently engage in trade.

That women were involved in anti-Union riots on the basis of economic concerns also supported by the fact that women participated in later, related, riots such as the 1725 Malt Tax riots in Glasgow. The 1725 Glasgow riots were motivated by the fact that few economic benefits of Union had materialised by the 1720s, in addition to the notion that the 1725 tax rise went against the protections afforded to Scotland within the Articles of Union and resentment at an increasingly interventionist state.[192]

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[190] E. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996.
[191] Brown, *Noble Society*, pp 138-139.
[192] Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards Industrialisation*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2000, pp 158-164.

David Garrioch, writing about women's role in the French Revolution, argues that their appearance on the national political scene in the march to Versailles was not a mysterious political awakening of women, but a logical continuation of their traditional role in policing and defending their local communities.[193] If this analysis of the reasons for female involvement in political action is applied to Scotland then women's public role in the economic life of Edinburgh and other Scottish cities makes it likely that they would have involved themselves in community protest, including protests against the Union. That is to say, women were publicly involved in their respective communities and so it is unlikely that they would not have involved themselves in action aimed at influencing political decisions which affected those communities. Union was one such political decision. It could also be argued that women's economic role led them to protest the Union not simply on the general grounds of joining men in protecting the community from the perceived threat of Union, but on the same specific economic grounds that motivated men to protest. Most importantly, the fact that women were engaged in the public economy physically places them in close proximity to the anti-Union riots.

Also important when considering women's participation in anti-Union protest is the issue of religious-based opposition. As mentioned above, Whatley asserts that female opposition was primarily by Presbyterian women and was founded in their religious faith. Whatley also says that women's opposition was largely invisible. Yet women's role in riots suggests a much greater visibility than hitherto assumed.[194] In fact, it is likely that the women of Glasgow who participated in anti-Union riots were motivated by religious as well as economic concerns. The November 1706 riots in Glasgow were encouraged by anti-Union preaching by ministers such as James Clark of the Tron Church (the author of *Scotland's Speech to her Sons*, 1706).[195] Women would have had just as much reason to oppose, or support, the Union on religious grounds, as men did. It appears that female religious opposition, far from being an invisible opposition, was one that expressed itself in the public realm, that it was a legitimate form of female political

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[193] D. Garrioch, 'The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women and the October Days of 1789', *Social History*, 24:3 (1999), pp 231-249.
[194] Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, p 288.
[195] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp 141-143.

expression. This is apparent not just in the case of riots, but the politics of Katherine Hamilton which were familial rather than private, and those of 'ordinary' women such as Jonet Fergusone from Glasgow who, as Bowie discusses, wrote to the Duke of Hamilton to urge that if the Union did go ahead, that the Covenants would be renewed in it.[196]

The Covenanting rebellions offer an historical precedent for women's involvement in Union politics. In his study of the Covenanters between 1660 and 1688, Ian B. Cowan gives many examples of women's involvement in protests against ministers attempting to take the place of deposed ministers and repression of conventicles. These included fifteen women who demonstrated in Parliament Close in Edinburgh on 4 June 1674 after people had been arrested at a conventicle at Magdalene Chapel. These women accosted members of the Council before submitting a petition requesting liberty for ministers to provide citizens with Presbyterian worship. The petition was declared seditious by the Council and at least some of the women were banished from Edinburgh in November of 1674. In addition women were also often amongst those arrested at conventicles, and at least two female Covenanters were executed.[197]

To assume that women were not involved in anti-Union riots requires a prior assumption that women's primary life experience took place in the domestic sphere, and that the public economic and political world was a male domain. To make this assumption is to imply that the historically specific separate spheres ideology was trans-historical and even in its day (the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) that it reflected reality rather than a discursive imperative. The anti-Union riots were aimed at affecting parliamentary legislation of national import; women's involvement in them can therefore be read as an assertion of political agency by non-elite women. Like the political engagement of the elite women discussed above, female rioters evidence the importance of status in determining the level and nature of political participation.

Conclusion

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[196] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p 166.
[197] Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters*, p 57, 83, 105-106, 126-127.

The women discussed in this chapter do not represent the whole of women's experience during the passing of Union in Scotland. Not all women were against the Union and there is evidence that some women actively supported the Union, such as Elizabeth, duchess of Argyll who wrote to James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton in regard to England, 'Such a wife, estate and two sons that it has obliged you with [?] to incline you to a union, which your grace can only obstruck,'[198] I have focused on women who opposed the Union to show that despite the masculinist discourse of Scottish nationhood that was propagated at the beginning of the eighteenth century, women did engage with political issues and that this engagement was motivated by an identification with the nation. These women show that early eighteenth-century Scottish politics was not confined to institutions such as the Scottish Parliament but that politics was practised within the socio-political networks of noble families and in the street.

This is one of the complexities of the relationship between political activity and gender at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Women were not expected to be involved in institutional politics, but certain forms of engagement in the public political realm were not considered to be acts that overstepped the boundaries of their womanhood. The realm of parliamentary politics was exclusively masculine, but the public discourses that often accompanied it were less so. According to John Dwyer, by the late eighteenth century, a woman's engagement in any aspect of public politics was considered to blunt her delicacy, and so cause her to lose her 'natural' femininity.[199] Women's rational capacities were denied in favour of an emphasis on their emotional and moral attributes. This particular discourse of femininity is not applicable to the period of the Union debates which occurred in an early modern political context. Women may have been considered to possess uncontrollable emotions, or passions, that caused them to lack the ability for sober reasoning deemed necessary in fulfilling a public political role, but, at least in the case of noblewomen, they were not considered to be incapable of understanding political debates.

As Innes and Rendall argue, the history of women and politics in Scotland needs to be understood as extending beyond campaigns for suffrage and access to institutional

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[198] NAS GD406/1/7150, Duchess of Argyll to duke of Hamilton, 10 April 1705.
[199] J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, p 122.

political power.[200] The examples of Anne Hamilton, Katherine Hamilton and Katherine Skene demonstrate that women's history cannot be viewed as a linear progression from women's oppression to women's liberation within an unchanging patriarchal hierarchy. Instead they and the female rioters show that women's political power was dependent upon historically specific expressions of patriarchal hierarchies and that in early eighteenth-century Scotland, where politics was still dominated by large landholding families, social status had as large a role in determining political power as gender.

By the mid-eighteenth century with the ascendancy of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, North Britishness had replaced Scottishness as the dominant national identity (at least amongst the Lowland elite). Scottish political culture was no longer centred upon a parliament, but located instead in masculine institutions such as the universities and societies such as the Select Society. Scottish Enlightenment culture, with its emphasis on the importance of homosociality and on women's feminine role in propagating sensibility within the mixed-sex social sphere, decreased women's access to the politics of nationhood.

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[200] Innes, Rendall, 'Women, Gender, Politics', p 44.

Chapter 4:
North Britishness and the Refined Gentleman

In 1707 Scotland lost its Parliament and political power in the institutional sense could be said to have been transferred to London. This does not however mean that Scotland ceased to have a political culture. During the eighteenth century, Scotland experienced massive economic and demographic changes. Agricultural modernisation and post-Union access to Imperial markets fed increased urban commercial wealth and early industrialisation, which in turn fed urbanisation. In 1750 only one in eight people lived in towns with populations of 10,000 or more, however from mid-century Scotland underwent urbanisation at one of the fastest rates in Europe (by 1850 one third of the population lived in towns). These growing urban spaces were key sites for the enactment of a Scottish politics aimed at the economic and moral 'improvement' of Scotland in the context of the country's membership of the British state. In terms of this political culture Edinburgh, the home of the pre-Union parliament, remained an important urban centre alongside Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen. The post-Union political culture in these urban centres existed mainly in the institutions retained after Union, namely the legal system and Kirk and in newer urban public spaces such as coffeehouses, clubs and societies. In this chapter we move forward to the period c.1750 to c.1790 because, although enacted on 1 May 1707, in terms of political stability and economic growth Union was not fully achieved until the 1740s-1750s.[1] In terms of national identity, gender and political agency in Scotland, this period provides a dramatic contrast to early eighteenth-century Scotland and the Union debates of 1706-07.

During the eighteenth century in Scotland an image of a commercial but cooperative British society was constructed upon a moral philosophy that emphasised polite behaviour founded upon inner virtue. This ideological construction recast elite manhood; male honour became less defined by martial endeavour and was replaced by

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[1] B. Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster Parliament and the British State in the Eighteenth Century', in J. Hoppit (ed), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2003, p 124; T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, London, Penguin, 1999, pp 106-108; C.A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2000.

notions of refined courteous behaviour and an encouragement of men's emotionality. Rather than the 'Heroick' ancestor of anti-Treaty discourses of Scottish nationhood during the Union debates of 1706-07, within discourses of North Britishness it was the refined gentleman who embodied patriotism and claimed political agency.

The refined gentleman is not a neglected historical subject; of the body of work which considers the relationship between refined manhood and eighteenth century philosophical, moral and political discourse in Britain, four major texts are John Dwyer's *Virtuous Discourse* (1987), G.J. Barker-Benfield's *The Culture of Sensibility* (1992), Michèle Cohen's *Fashioning Masculinity* (1996) and Philip Carter's *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society* (2001). Within all these texts there is a common and well founded argument that the interaction of economic, social, cultural and epistemological changes during the eighteenth century, broadly defined as the development of commercialism, Enlightenment ideology and polite society, led to a change in ideas about gender and the development of a (contested) masculine ideal of a man of sensibility, a refined gentleman.[2] Basing my analysis upon this historiography and focussing upon Scottish Enlightenment discourse, in this chapter I demonstrate the centrality of the refined gentleman to patriotic discourse c.1750-1790. The refined gentleman embodied North Britishness and he existed in opposition to the idea of the effeminate Frenchified Fop who embodied the moral and social corruption of wealth, and by extension the corruption of patriotic commercial 'civilised' masculinity. I will argue that discourses of, and anxieties concerning, patriotic identity and masculinity converged in eighteenth-century Scotland as philosophers and moralists sought to create men into, as James Fordyce wrote, 'useful members of a mighty state.'[3] - a state defined not by the borders of Scotland, but the archipelago of Britain.

The development of North Britishness as a national identity in Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century was an important factor in the domestic and foreign maintenance of the new state of Great Britain. The 1715 and 1745 Jacobite

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[2] J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987; G.J Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992; M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 1996; P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001.
[3] J. Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, London, T. Cadell, 2 Vol.'s, 1777, Vol. 1, p 13.

rebellions demonstrated that the continued existence of a Scottish national identity, expressed through loyalty to the Stuart monarchy, posed a threat to the security of the new British state. By the 1750s the military defeat and political repression (and then management) of the Highlands mean that the Jacobite threat was greatly diminished. At the same time the richer classes in Scotland, particularly in the Lowlands, had begun to receive economic and political benefit from the Union. This benefit, coupled with the emerging culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, motivated the development of a national identity of North Britishness. North Britishness claimed an equal place, alongside England, for Scotland within Britain.[4]

In this chapter I shall first outline changing notions of national identity and masculinity in eighteenth-century Scotland. In order to put the refined British gentleman in his ideological context, I will then define North Britishness and examine the historiography on the subject. North Britishness cannot be separated from the philosophy and culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, and this discussion will be followed by an examination of Scottish Enlightenment theories of society, progress and 'civilisation'. Demonstrating the centrality of the refined gentleman to these discourses, particularly the notion of male refinement as a means to defend British liberty (itself a largely discursive construct) against the perceived corruption of luxury, I illustrate that the oppositional position of the refined gentleman to the effeminate Frenchified Fop enabled the placement of the refined gentleman as a patriotic masculinity. In addition to a discussion of Scottish attitudes towards ideas of artificial French politeness, the links between discourses of refined manhood and critiques of Imperial power will also be considered.

From Heroick Ancestor to Refined Gentleman

The changes that occurred in dominant representations of masculinity during the eighteenth century are illustrated in the story of the last moments of James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton's life in 1712. As discussed in the previous chapter, Hamilton led the

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[4] C. Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *Historical Journal* 39:2 (1996), pp 361-375; C.J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1997, p 18.

opposition Country party in the Scottish Parliament from 1699-1707 and was lauded as a patriot hero, the embodiment of an independent Scotland. In opposition to this, however, Hamilton's actions in Parliament betrayed a self-interest that informed a willingness to allow the Union to succeed. In 1708, after involvement in an abortive attempt at a Jacobite rising, Hamilton returned to London. In England he gained the position of Privy Councillor in 1709 and in 1711 he was made duke of Brandon and Baron Dutton, with a resulting debate about his rights through this English dukedom to sit in the House of Lords.[5] In 1712 Queen Anne made Hamilton her French ambassador and in the same year he died in a duel with Lord Mohn in Hyde Park. The representation of Hamilton and the manner of his death in the pamphlet text, *A full and exact relation of the duel fought in Hyde Park on Saturday, November 15. 1712. between His Grace James, Duke of Hamilton, and the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Mohun. In a letter to a member of Parliament* (1713), highlights changing notions of elite manhood during the eighteenth century.[6]

Hamilton's death in a duel can be read as symbolic of both the noble martial patriot and possible libertine aspects of Hamilton's masculine identity. In the obituary-style representation of Hamilton in the 1713 pamphlet, his masculine identity is placed squarely in the patriotic chivalric and Classical Republican model that was propagated in Country Party print discourse and through Hamilton's own patriotic public identity.[7] In this pamphlet, the anonymous author describes the duel as a tragedy and asserts that Hamilton was, 'universally lamented because he was a Prince of unquestionable bravery, and on all Occasions appear'd for the Honour of his Country, answerable to his High birth and Dignity, being the First Prince of the Blood-Royal in Scotland, next to those of King James the Sixth's line.'[8]

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[5] R.K. Marshall, 'Hamilton, James, fourth duke of Hamilton and first duke of Brandon (1658-1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford U.P., 2004 [accessed: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7898, accessed 12 May 2008].

[6] Anon, *A full and exact relation of the duel fought in Hyde Park on Saturday, November 15. 1712. between His Grace James, Duke of Hamilton, and the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Mohun. In a letter to a member of Parliament*, London, 1713.

[7] See discussion of Country party discourse in Chapter 1 and discussion of James Hamilton in Chapter 2.

[8] Anon, *A full and exact relation of the duel*, p 14. The reference to James Hamilton's royal lineage refers to the Hamilton family's claim to the Scottish crown which was based upon the marriage of James Hamilton, lord Hamilton to Mary Stewart, daughter of James II in c.1474.

Despite this representation of Hamilton as noble and heroic, Hamilton's death in a duel reflects an aspect of elite manhood that was increasingly condemned in Britain. The duel in which Hamilton died was considered by contemporaries to have been fierce and ill-regulated, and it lent weight to the anti-duelling arguments which had been developing since the late seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century there was continual debate regarding the relationship between duelling and male honour. The practice of duelling so as to defend 'gentleman's honour' did not cease until the mid-nineteenth century.[9] However, during the eighteenth century, Enlightenment ideas of refinement informed the construction of an ideal of elite masculinity in which male honour was founded not upon the ability to violently defend it in a duel but upon inner virtue.[10]

The emerging discourse against aspects of male behaviour such as duelling is also reflected in the above pamphlet. Ostensibly addressing a member of Parliament, the author wrote that he hoped the house would 'take some effectual Method, to prevent this Ridiculous, as well as Pernicious, custom of *Duelling*.'[11] The writer then reproduced a text on duelling from *The Spectator*, entitled 'Pharamond's Edict Against Duels', a fictitious text that claimed to be a copy of an original 420AD Gallic manuscript.[12] The reproduction of a text from *The Spectator* places the pamphlet squarely in the context of the emerging culture of politeness. Joseph Addison's *Spectator* periodical was a key institution of the Enlightenment public sphere in early eighteenth-century Britain and influential in the development of polite culture and associated ideals of refined manhood and feminine civility.[13] Reflecting emerging discourses of politeness 'Pharamond'

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[9] D.T. Andrew, 'The Code of Honour and its Critics: the opposition to duelling in England, 1700-1850', *Social History*, 5:3 (1980), pp 409-434.

[10] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, p 72; R.B. Shoemaker, 'Reforming Male Manners: public insult and the decline of violence in London, 1660-1740', in T. Hitchcock, Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, London, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, pp 133-140.

[11] Anon, *A full and exact relation of the duel*, p 17.

[12] *Ibid*, pp 19-24; *The Spectator*, No. 97, 1711, in *The Spectator, complete in two volumes*, Vol. 1, London, Andrew Miller, 1800, pp 200-201.

[13] Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*; N. Phillipson, 'Politics, Politeness, and the Anglicisation of Early Eighteenth Century Scottish Culture', in R.A. Mason. (ed), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, p 233-235.

wrote, 'all Virtue is suppress'd and Vice is supported in the one Act of being capable to dare to the Death.'[14]

With the development of the masculine ideal of the refined gentleman, the image of the noble warrior was replaced with an ideal of a man of letters or of commerce, a gentleman. A refined gentleman was marked not only by his neat dress and elegant walk, but, more importantly, his ability to converse with ease, in a non-competitive manner.[15] Men of the elite were called upon by the Church of Scotland minister James Fordyce (1720-1796) in his *Addresses to Young Men* (1777), to reject extravagant fashion as unmanly and to avoid a focus on personal graces and elegance in polite society, and instead adopt 'a polite address and engaging conversation … with a plain but becoming habit.'[16] Politeness as practised by and within polite society represented a set of social behavioural norms. By performing politeness one could acquire a refined identity. As a dominant cultural ideology amongst the elite, the discourse and practice of politeness enabled an expanding elite (comprised of professionals and wealthy merchants, alongside gentry and nobility) to perceive of themselves as a cultural authority. Central to this, and enabled by it, was the placement of the refined male as the embodiment of 'civilised' society. [17] As Lawrence Klein discusses, politeness was both discourse and the product of discourse, i.e. politeness was both defined and demonstrated by individual and social improvement.[18]

The development of North Britishness as a national identity amongst the elite informed (and was informed by) changing discourses of patriotic masculine identity. But this identity did not go unchallenged; Jacobite ideology continued to draw upon the myth of a heroic Scottish ancestry. As Murray G.H. Pittock contends, within post-Union Jacobitism, in which ideas of Scottish independence were combined with support for the exiled Stewart dynasty, the Highland Jacobite soldier became an 'icon of patriotism'. In Jacobite representations of independent Scottish nationhood, such as in Gaelic poetry, the ideal of the martial Highland soldier became symbolic of a heroic stand in defence of

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[14] Anon, *A full and exact relation of the duel*, pp 20-21.

[15] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 61-63.

[16] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 2, p 168.

[17] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 1-4.

[18] L. Klein, 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in J. Still, M. Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1993, p 108.

an ancient culture. He was the true heir of 'mythical' Scottish heroes such as William Wallace and symbolised the purity of the Scottish nation in opposition to the corruption which Union represented.[19] As I will discuss in chapter 7, only after 1750, following the final military defeat of Jacobitism in 1746 and with the advent of mass military recruitment in the Highlands during the Seven Years War (1756-63), was the martial masculine patriotic ideal combined with notions of patriotic British manhood in Scotland.

Despite its continuation within Jacobite ideology, during the eighteenth century the martial patriotic identity ceased to be an ideal which dominated constructions and performances of elite masculinity. By mid-century when Union had been 'achieved' and there was increased wealth in Scotland (especially for the emerging professional and mercantile elite) and the elite was increasingly integrated into the British state through patronage, patriotic manhood amongst the elite (especially the urban elite) was informed by the ideal of the refined gentleman. The refined gentleman who embodied elite patriotic manhood was defined by polite, courteous behaviour, benevolent actions and a sympathy for others founded upon an inner sensibility (or emotion based moral self-awareness).[20]

The primary space for the performance of male refinement was polite urban culture (see below, Ch. 5). Writing about the impact of discourses of sensibility upon ideas of masculinity, G.J. Barker-Benfield asserts that eighteenth-century manhood in Britain was defined by commerce rather than war.[21] In the specifically Scottish context this argument is supported by Nicholas Phillipson who contends that the coffee-house rather than the military camp came to be perceived as the primary space for the defence of the happiness and liberty of the citizen.[22] As I will explain in chapter 7, the argument that war no longer played a role in the construction of gendered patriotic identity is problematic because a patriotic manhood (predominantly placed upon non-elite Highland men) centred upon militarism and violent war in the Imperial realm also existed during the eighteenth century. Also, the moral philosophy of Adam Ferguson

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[19] M.G.H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*, London, Routledge, 1991, pp 62-67.
[20] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 21-22; Dwyer, *Virtous Discourse*, pp 47-65.
[21] Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, p xxviii.
[22] Phillipson, 'Politics, Politeness and the Anglicisation', p 234.

(1723-1816) argued for the need for the elite to maintain martial virtues to defend against the corruption of commercial wealth. This coupled with the campaign by Ferguson and other members of the literati for the establishment of a Scottish militia, highlights that refined manhood was not necessarily a stable or entirely hegemonic masculinity. Cohen and Tim Hitchcock emphasise that it is important to recognise that there were many possible male identities being acted out during the eighteenth century and their existence was the primary cause of the continual discourse over the category of manhood.[23] Refined manhood was one of many possible masculine identities, and it was one that probably had very little relevance to non-elite men. Refinement was however the dominant patriotic masculine identity within Scottish urban elite culture. It was the performance of refinement which provided access to political agency.

North Britishness

The national identity of North Britishness rejected an allegiance to an independent Scottish nationhood embodied by a mythology of an ancient regal sovereignty, with an unbroken line of kings, 'which has been so valiantly maintained by our Heroick Ancestors, for the Space of near Two Thousand Years.'[24] During the second half of the eighteenth century a re-orientation of patriotic sentiment amongst the elites occurred within the context of economic growth (e.g. through Imperial trade in products such as tobacco and agricultural modernisation) and cultural changes symbolised by what is known as the Scottish Enlightenment. In their writings, the philosophers, moralists, authors, and Moderate Presbyterian preachers, usually referred to as the literati, used the idea of North Britishness in conjunction with a belief in the supremacy of Western European civilisation. This enabled a conception of their society as one that was part of, and contributing to, human progress.

As Colin Kidd argues, Scottish Enlightenment ideologies of progress side-stepped a shared Scottish (Lowland and Highland) Dalriadic heritage. This was replaced

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[23] Hitchcock, Cohen, 'Introduction', in Hitchcock, Cohen, (eds), *English Masculinities*, p 22.
[24] *To His Grace, Her Majesties High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament; The Humble Address of the Magistrates, Town Council, Burgesses and Inhabitants of the Burgh of New Galloway*, 1706.

with an ideology of North Britishness, founded upon a sense of shared Gothic heritage with England, and Europe, and a perception that North Britain's wealth and liberty were enabled by access to English political and commercial institutions granted as a result of the 1707 Union. The Highlands were excluded from this North British identity, and their Gaelic heritage and cultural difference was perceived as representative of their inferiority.[25] Rather than a surrendering of a sovereignty defined by a heroic past, within discourses of North Britishness the Union was perceived as enabling Scotland's development in terms of political liberty and economic modernisation.[26] This new nationhood provided the basis for the development of a new model of patriotic masculinity which was the refined gentleman.

The culture of politeness that developed in Lowland Scotland during the early eighteenth century was influenced by English polite society. The ideals of this society were propagated through the English periodicals the *Tatler* (1709-1711) and the *Spectator* (1711-1714), which were reproduced in Edinburgh immediately after their publication in London.[27] Though the growth of politeness in urban centres, especially Edinburgh, is certainly indicative of the eighteenth-century Anglicisation of Scottish culture, it should not be read as an imposition of English culture upon urban Scotland.[28] In defining themselves as North Britons the urban Scottish elite asserted a British rather than an English national identity. In addition they did not entirely reject an allegiance to Scotland as a country. Using a definition of national identity developed by the political theorist Anthony Smith, in a 1989 essay T.C. Smout defined eighteenth-century national identity in Scotland as an expression of 'concentric loyalties'. The term concentric loyalties refers to the means by which Scots maintained a loyalty to Scotland as their ethnic community but held this in conjunction with a loyalty to the British state in which the ethnic community of Scotland existed. [29] Central to this was the idea that England

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[25] Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp 1205-1210; Kidd, 'North Britishness', pp 362-374; Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge, U.P., 1999, pp 211-236.
[26] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, Hampshire, Palgrave, 2001, pp 73-4.
[27] Phillipson, 'Politics, Politeness, and the Anglicisation', p 235.
[28] A. Murdoch, 'Scotland and the Idea of Britain in the Eighteenth Century', in Devine, J.R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, p 116; Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p 18.
[29] See Ch. 2, p 11.

and Scotland were both partners in Britain. The maintenance of an identification with Scotland as a country co-existed with an idea of Scotland's pre-Union history as defined by backward feudalism and barbarity. Smout asserts that in this way, Scots maintained a Scottish identity that did not exclude (or contradict with) a loyalty to Britain, and one through which Scotland 'made itself a 'historyless nation'.[30]

Kidd expands on Smout's analysis in his examination of changing representations of Scotland's past from 1689 to c.1830. In this study Kidd discusses the ways in which eighteenth-century Enlightenment Whig historians (such as John Millar) believed that Scotland's present state could not be accounted for by pre-Union history. Eighteenth-century historiography which existed as part of the Scottish Enlightenment, asserted that the civil liberties which Scots enjoyed within the British state were a product of a Union which 'had allowed Scotland to leap centuries of national development'.[31] Within elite discourse the Union represented a watershed – a distinct break with Scotland's past and an incorporation of Scotland into English constitutional history.[32] It did not however represent a rejection of an identification with Scotland as a nation within Britain. Scotland was perceived as a significant component in the Union. Perceiving of Scotland within the context of the British state, instead of an identification with Scotland's mythologised Dalriadic past, an identification with Scotland by the eighteenth-century elite tended to reflect a desire to 'improve' Scotland economically, socially and morally through taking advantage of the country's position within Britain. As Smout discusses, the pursuit of national wealth and North British patriotic imperative were closely allied, 'in the literature of rural improvement, where the self-interest of the improver and his country were constantly assumed to be identical.'[33]

Whether North Britishness was a popular or exclusively elite expression of national identity is an issue of contention. In terms of British national identity within the whole of Britain, Linda Colley has produced a strong argument regarding the development of a popular British national identity during the period 1707 to 1837, citing

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[30] T.C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland', in Devine (ed), *Improvement and Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989, pp 2-13.
[31] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1993, p 208.
[32] *Ibid*, pp 207-214.
[33] Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism', p 15.

issues such as war with France, Protestantism, popular engagement with Empire through consumption and public displays of support for the monarchy, as both forging and demonstrating the achievement of a popular British identity by 1837.[34] In the context of eighteenth-century Scotland it is difficult to assess the level to which North Britishness was adopted by the non-elite due to the fact that most records we have available to us were created by the elite. However, Alexander Murdoch has examined people's access to print media to argue that workers and others (at least in urban centres) engaged with the culture of North Britishness through their reading of print.[35] As Thomas Munck discusses, in the European context, print culture, particularly the newspaper press but also the book trade, meant that people of the non-elite engaged with Enlightenment ideas and culture. Combined with the pre-existing realities of mutual economic dependence and social contact, this means, Munck argues, that the Enlightenment should not be interpreted as a purely elite phenomenon.[36] The discourses of North British national identity propagated within Scottish Enlightenment discourse could therefore be said to have infiltrated non-elite society through print. However, counter to the print argument, Richard Finlay argues that amongst the non-elite, and especially at the lower levels of the social hierarchy, there was a 'marked ambiguity to Britishness', primarily because for many Scots the post-Union British state remained irrelevant to their lives.[37] Eighteenth-century improvement most likely impacted upon 'ordinary' Scots through changing their social, economic and material environment, and as Murdoch reminds us it is probably incorrect to view the identity of North Britishness as lacking downward filtration. However, in terms of the enactment of political agency through the performance of male refinement, North Britishness was an elite performance. As Susan Amussen discusses, to engage in polite culture, to develop and display male refinement required a pre-existing social status and related wealth.[38] Although the non-elite may

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[34] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1992.

[35] Murdoch, 'Scotland and the Idea of Britain', p 114.

[36] T. Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721-1794*, London, Arnold, 2000, pp 22-23, 91-122.

[37] R.J. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in D. Broun, Finlay, M. Lynch (ed), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1998, pp 150-151.

[38] S. D. Amussen, ' 'The Part of a Christian man': the cultural politics of manhood in early modern England', in Amussen, M.A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1995, p 217.

have engaged with North Britishness, only the elite were able to embody this identity and claim the political agency enabled by this embodiment.

North Britishness as a national identity reflected the dramatic political and economic changes wrought by the 1707 Union. In terms of masculinity it informed a rejection of the Classical Republican model of 'independent' manhood and the replacement of this patriotic ideal with the patriotic ideal of the refined gentleman.

The Scottish Enlightenment, Luxury and Refinement

The political and social developments of the eighteenth century included urbanisation, the mechanisation of agriculture, and the growth in number and power of the middling ranks. These developments encouraged a re-conceptualisation of the world that found its ideological expression in Scotland within Scottish Enlightenment discourse. Where this discourse had its greatest influence on concepts of North Britishness was within theories of society and morality founded upon the notion of people's innate moral sense, and ideas of progress which asserted that this moral sense reached its greatest expression with commercial 'civilised' society. These theories were propagated by philosophers such as Adam Smith (1723-1790) and David Hume (1711-1776), historians including John Millar (1735-1801) and Henry Home, lord Kames (1696-1782), and moralists such as the preacher James Fordyce (1720-1796).

Differing from the European Enlightenment, the Scottish literati emphasised the passions (feelings) and social customs over reason as the factors that shape individual behaviour and social norms.[39] Scottish Enlightenment philosophy rejected the argument put forward by Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* (1651). Against Hobbes' argument for natural human self-interest and brutish competition, Scottish Enlightenment discourse emphasised people's propensity to form social bonds based upon an innate moral sense. This moral sense encouraged people to form societies and this social formation provided a foundation of human happiness. This emphasis on humans' innate moral sense within Scottish Enlightenment thought is often referred to as 'Common Sense' philosophy, and has its origins in the moral philosophy of Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746). Although the

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[39] Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p 7.

notion that human actions are informed by emotion rather than rationality alone was common to Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, there were some major differences, a primary one being Hume's scepticism. Whereas Hutcheson and then later Smith and Thomas Reid (1710-1796) emphasised people's natural propensity to virtuous action based upon our inner moral sense, Hume asserted that human emotions could encourage a person to act immorally or virtuously.[40]

A belief in man's ability to reason, a cornerstone of the European Enlightenment, was, of course, central to Scottish Enlightenment philosophy. The literati, like their European counterparts, were influenced by seventeenth-century theorists such as John Locke (1632-1704) and believed in natural rights that were not given through divine law, but were founded upon man's ability to reason.[41] Scottish Enlightenment discourse asserted that reason was something attained by individuals as their society progressed from a 'savage' to a commercial 'civilised' state. Individual passions and behaviour and community customs and habits were founded upon an innate moral sense, but they were also deemed to change in their material expression according to the mode of subsistence and resulting political organisation and culture of different societies depending upon their level of progress.[42] This progress of society from the so called 'savage' state towards 'civilisation' was considered a universal principle within Scottish Enlightenment discourse (though whether 'civilised' society could be maintained within commercial society was a contentious issue, see below). Within this discourse, the changes in modes of subsistence and the resulting development of property and the social institutions and norms to protect this property, were deemed to cause man's, 'natural progress from ignorance to knowledge, and from a rude, to a civilised manner.'[43] Scottish Enlightenment ideas of progress towards 'civilisation' were often represented within the Four Stages model, or theory; a stadialist conception of history.

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[40] For a short survey of Scottish moral philosophy see, L. Turco, 'Moral Sense and the Foundation of Morals', in A. Broadie (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2003, pp 136-156.

[41] J. Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce in the Making of Adam Smith's Political Economy', in E. Kennedy, S. Mendas (eds), *Women in Western Political Thought: Kant to Nietzsche*, Sussex, Wheatsheaf Books, 1987, p 46.

[42] Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp 91-94.

[43] J. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or, An Inquiry into the Circumstance which give rise to the Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society*, London, J. Murray, 1779, p 5.

Stadialist historiography was first expounded by John Dalrymple in his *Essay Towards a General History of Feudal Property* (1757). Influenced by Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), the stadialist approach to ideas of social and political progress was developed by Smith in his 1760s lectures on jurisprudence at the University of Glasgow[44] and in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and by John Millar in *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771, revised 1779).[45]

Four Stages theory applied both an empirical and conjectural approach to the study of human society. It was supposedly empirical in that it examined human behaviour in different societies, for example employing European ideas about Native Americans as a 'savage' society to depict them as a living example of the earliest stage of human existence, and conjectural in that it looked for principles, or laws, that governed behaviour in different societies and applied them to topics for which there was little empirical 'evidence'.[46] This conception of history defined human progress as a process of development through four distinct stages: the hunting, 'savage', stage; the shepherding stage; the agricultural stage; and the commercial, 'civilised', stage. As levels and forms of subsistence changed through these stages, so did social institutions and manners. Commercial society was depicted as the final stage as strong government and material wealth provided the social structures necessary for the growth of the sciences, the liberal arts and a moral culture premised on cooperation, or sociability. [47]

Scottish Enlightenment theorists' use of Native Americans and other non-Gothic groups (including Scottish Highlanders) was based upon their own prejudices and legitimated by their notion of empiricism. Empiricism was an Enlightenment philosophy, which built upon Renaissance scientific methods, and asserted man's ability for rational objective observation.[48] Scottish Enlightenment philosophy extended

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[44] A. Smith, 'The Origin and Development of our Property Rights', reproduced in Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, Edinburgh, Cannongate Classics, 1997, pp 478-487.
[45] R.L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1976, pp 99-127.
[46] H.M. Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of British Studies*, 17:2 (1978), pp 24-34; Meek, *Ignoble Savage*, pp 99-128.
[47] Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp 94-113.
[48] For a discussion of empiricism and Enlightenment science see L. Stewart, 'Science and the Eighteenth-Century Public: Scientific Revolutions and the Changing Format of Scientific Investigation', in M. Fitzpatrick, P. Jones, C. Knellwolf, I. McCalman (eds), *The Enlightenment World*, London, Routledge, 2004, pp 234-246.

empirical methods to the study of morality. For example Hume's text *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), critiqued religious superstition through the use of rational and empirical principles and methods (although Hume remained sceptical as to whether human nature was sufficiently dominated by reason so as to encourage most people to embrace a rational religion).[49] The application of empiricism to social and moral issues was a key part of stadialist historiography, and its use in this area highlights a principal limitation of Enlightenment empiricism; objective rational observation equalled the perception of the white European male elite. Writing about 'savage' societies, such as those perceived to exist in America, Millar argued that, 'A savage who earns his food by hunting and fishing or by gathering the spontaneous fruits of the earth, is incapable of attaining any considerable refinement in his pleasures'.[50] According to Millar, 'savage' societies were defined by violence and so the 'civilised' moral characteristics of benevolence and tenderness were incompatible with their social organisation.[51] Male refinement symbolised civilisation, and this refinement was only available to those within commercial Western societies. 'Savages' were considered as capable of progression to commercial 'civilisation', however what constituted 'civilised' was defined by the European elite based upon their perception of their world and projected onto the world's peoples. By defining non-European and Celtic peoples as inferior, the Lowland elite were able to perceive of themselves as superior; in a classic use of the Other, the idea of the 'savage' enabled the idea of the 'civilised'. As Christopher Bayly and Philip Morgon discuss, the use of the Other in terms of interactions with and representations of peoples in areas of Imperial occupation informed the development of a British national identity.[52] Culturally diverse Britons became the same in opposition to the 'native' Other.

Ideas of women were also central to stadialist theories of progress. As Jane Rendall discusses, within late eighteenth-century Scottish historiography women were

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[49] Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001, pp 40-42.
[50] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, p 14.
[51] *Ibid*, p 45.
[52] C.A. Bayly, 'The British and Indigenous Peoples, 1780-1860: Power, Perception and Identity', in M. Daunton, R. Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, London, UCL Press, 1999, pp 19-21; P.D. Morgan, 'Encounters between British and "Indigenous" Peoples, c.1500-1800', in . Daunton, Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others*, pp 43-45.

placed as signifiers of a society's level of progression. Within this model commercial society was defined as enabling women's achievement of the ultimate expression of what was defined as their natural femininity. It was believed that within commercial society women were able to exist as men's companions rather than as their slaves or idols.[53] This placement of women as signifiers of progress did not equate to a proto-feminist viewpoint. Instead this model ideologically subordinated women; women were not historical agents, their status was dependent upon and reflective of the expressions of masculinity that represented man's economic, social and moral progression. As Millar stated:

> When men begin to disuse their ancient barbarous practices, when their attention is not wholly engrossed by the pursuit of military reputation, when they have made some progress in arts and have attained to a proportional degree of refinement they are necessarily led to set a value upon those female accomplishments and virtues which have so much influence upon every species of improvement and which in so many different ways serve to multiply the comforts of life.[54]

As Mary Catherine Moran discusses, conjectural stadialist historiography represented a departure from the classical historiography of the 'public deeds of public men'. Rather than public politics, within conjectural history society (in terms of subsistence, manners, familial relations, religion, legal and political associations) was placed as the central engine of historical change. This enabled the placement of women within the historical narrative. However, this does not mean that women were perceived as independent historical actors. Men progressed from 'savages' to 'civilised' whilst women were placed in an unchanging category of natural sensibility, the expression of which was enabled through men's progression, which its enabling then increased. As Moran states, within Scottish Enlightenment historiography women are like commerce,

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[53] Rendall, 'Clio, Mars and Minerva: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of Women's History', in Devine, Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland*, pp 135-141; see also P. Bowles, 'John Millar, the Four Stages Theory and Women's Position in Society', *History of Political Economy*, 16:4 (1984), pp 619-638; C. Nyland, 'Adam Smith, Stage Theory and the Status of Women', *History of Political Economy*, 25:4 (1993), pp 617-640.
[54] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, p 80.

they are 'the passive agents' of civilisation and (if exerting too much influence over men) its decline.[55]

Stadialist historiography was popularised by William Alexander in his *The History of Women* (1779). Alexander endorsed the view that commercial European society had progressed in terms of its treatment of women. Although Alexander's work rejected misogynistic notions of men's natural superiority, he (and other Enlightenment historians) did not present an argument for gender equality. Instead, a society's achievement of commercial civilisation was evidenced by the existence of complementary gender identities, by women's ability to enact their 'natural' feminine identity.[56] Femininity in the Scottish Enlightenment context meant an emphasis on female emotional delicacy. In *Sermons to Young Women* (1766), Fordyce wrote that, 'Virtuous women are the sweetners, the charm of human life.'[57] This virtue was displayed by female difference, through women's performance of an inequality with men, as Fordyce asserted, 'any young woman of better rank, that throws off all the softness of her nature, and emulates the daring intrepid temper of man – how terrible!'.[58] John Gregory expressed a similar argument to Fordyce in his text, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1774), writing that women were 'designed to soften our [men's] hearts and polish our manners.'[59] The emphasis placed on representations of women and femininity within Scottish Enlightenment historiography is clearly evidenced by the fact that Millar's entire first chapter entitled 'Of the Rank and Condition of Women in Different Ages' is dedicated to charting the supposed progress of women.[60] The ideas of progress espoused by Millar and Alexander underline the centrality of ideas of gender to Enlightenment notions of progress, 'civilisation' and North Britishness.

Feminine women were deemed to be essential to men's achievement of refinement, and by extension the construction and defence of 'civilised' society. Within

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[55] M.C. Moran, ' "The Commerce of the Sexes": Gender and the Social Sphere in Scottish Enlightenment Accounts of Civil Society', in F. Trentman (ed), *Paradoxes of Civil Society: New Perspectives on Modern German and British History*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2003, pp 61-81.

[56] W. Alexander, *The History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time; giving some account of almost every interesting particular concerning that sex among all nations, ancient and modern*, 3 Ed., London, C. Dilly and R. Christopher, 2 vols, 1781; Rendall, 'Clio, Mars and Minerva', pp 135-137.

[57] Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, London, A. Millar & T. Caddell, 2 vols 1766, Vol. 1, p 9.

[58] *Ibid*, Vol. 1. p 104.

[59] J. Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, Dublin, John Colles, 1774, p 3.

[60] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*.

Scottish Enlightenment discourse, and general discourses of politeness in eighteenth-century Britain, language, in the context of social interaction, was deemed to be central to the cultivation of politeness. The importance of language and social interaction shifted the gendered nature of public social space, emphasising women's important role in the development of civility, not in the same capacity as men, but as feminine, complementary beings. As Dwyer discusses, women were defined as having a greater capacity for sympathy, a willingness to show emotion and a natural aversion to conflict. Influenced by the early eighteenth-century moral discourse of Joseph Addison who published *The Spectator* journal, it was accepted within dominant discourse that through conversing with women, men would become more sociable, and more refined.[61] The implication of this belief on Scottish Enlightenment culture was an emphasis on heterosocial spaces as a site for refinement. As Alexander, a firm believer in the importance of women's femininity in the civilising process, warned, 'rape, adultery, and every evil that follows them, are more common in countries where the sexes live separate.'[62]

Interactions with women were viewed as necessary in instilling the characteristics of sensibility in men. As Fordyce stated, men 'possess greater strength of mind in science, in council, in action, and in danger; let them acknowledge, however, that in generosity of soul and nobleness of attachment, they have often been surpassed by women'.[63] In the English context, Lawrence Klein argues that the importance placed on gender complementarity and mixed-sex conversation within polite culture, endorsed 'the female voice', and that in the world of refined sociability, 'women had an assured place.'[64] This argument is not applicable to Scottish Enlightenment culture (and I am sceptical of its application elsewhere). This is because it was not women broadly defined who had an assured place, but feminine women.

Fordyce was a Church of Scotland minister and Doctor of Divinity (awarded by University of Glasgow, 1760), who delivered and published sermons on issues of morality and society during the 1750s and, after emigrating to London in 1760, became

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[61] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 117-118.
[62] Alexander, *History of Women,* Vol. 1, p 494.
[63] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 1, p 262
[64] Klein, 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere', p 104, 111.

a popular preacher. He was the brother of David Fordyce (1711-1751), himself a Presbyterian preacher and important Scottish Enlightenment theorist, and whose *Dialogues on Education* (1745) was, according to Dwyer, one of the earliest Scottish Enlightenment texts to emphasise sympathy as central to the practice of morality.[65] Publications of James Fordyce's London addresses, *Sermons to Young Women* (1766), *Character and Conduct of the Female Sex* (1776) and *Addresses to Young Men* (1777) had a wide appeal. Although written whilst he was in London, Fordyce had an impact on discourses of gender, morality and society in Scotland. As well as being a Scottish moralist, Scots read his texts. For example many of Fordyce's sermons and texts such as *Character and Conduct* were reprinted in the *Scots Magazine*.[66] His ideas on gender can therefore be claimed as influential in the Scottish context.

In *Character and Conduct of the Female Sex*, Fordyce made a sharp distinction between 'giddy girls and insignificant women' and 'reputable women', and it was men's interactions with the latter, which were deemed to encourage 'the decencies of life, the softness of love, the sweets of friendship, the nameless tender charities that pervade and unite the most virtuous form of cultivated society'.[67] As Fordyce stated, 'the sons of Reason should converse only with the daughters of Virtue.'[68]

Within Scottish Enlightenment conduct literature women were deemed to possess intellect and it was generally considered that they should be educated. However women were also represented as naturally modest, as Gregory stated, 'ONE of the chief beauties in a female character is that modest reserve, that retiring delicacy, which avoids the public eye, and is disconcerted even at the gaze of admiration.'[69] As Fordyce asserted, feminine virtue existed in 'those private scenes where show and noise are excluded, the flutter of fashion is forgotten in the silent discharge of domestic duties, and where females of real value are more solicitous to be amiable and accomplished,

[65] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, p 152.
[66] A. Ruston, 'Fordyce, James (1720–1796)', *ODNB.*, online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9879, accessed 19 May 2008]; Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, p 131.
[67] Fordyce, *The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex And the Advantages to be Derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women*, London, T. Caddell, 1776, p 8, 12.
[68] Fordyce, *Character and Conduct*, p 19.
[69] Gregory, *Father's Legacy*, p 13.

than alluring and admired.'[70] The importance of the feminine to the development of sensibility in men denied women's equal participation in Scottish Enlightenment intellectual and political culture and by the end of the century led to the positioning of female virtue within the domestic sphere, where companionable femininity was defended against the corrupting influence of competitive and fashionable society.[71] Women enabled refinement, but refinement was enacted by men.

The idea of wealth, liberty and refinement (as illustrated by women's acquirement and performance of a companionable femininity) as defining characteristics of the final stage in human progress provided an ideological framework for the propagation of the idea of Britain as the epitome of progress. Liberty of thought was a foundational characteristic of the Enlightenment. As Alexander Broadie discusses, the Enlightenment can be thought of as an age of toleration - the ultimate authority was the 'tribunal of human reason'.[72] Authority was not rejected (social stability necessary for the 'enlightened' thought of the elite relied upon authority) but authority – including religious doctrine - was deemed to be subject to reason. Freedom in this context was, to quote Broadie, 'the freedom of a man of letters to put his ideas into the public domain for public discussion.'[73] Broadie's emphasis on the freedom of the man of letters is important. Central to Immanuel Kant's argument in 'What is Enlightenment?' (1784) was the idea that Enlightenment was defined by people's possession of reason and their ability to employ it.[74] The expression of reason, the engagement in public intellectual discussion, enabled the 'man of letters' to claim cultural and political agency through the Enlightenment. As I will discuss in the next chapter the institutions of the Scottish Enlightenment, such as intellectual societies, were key sites for the practice of this agency and central to this agency was the performance of refined manhood.

The principle of liberty was integral to Enlightenment practice. The development of a principle of liberty in men was deemed to be strengthened through exposure to the arts, a growth in scientific knowledge and an individual's sympathetic exchange with other individuals which itself was enhanced through what can be defined as polite

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[70] Fordyce, *Character and Conduct*, pp 19-20.
[71] Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce', pp 56-71
[72] Broadie, 'Introduction: What was the Scottish Enlightenment?', in Broadie, *Anthology*, p 8.
[73] *Ibid*, p 4.
[74] *Ibid*, pp 3-8.

interaction, or in philosophical terms, sociability. Through enacting refinement and sociability the refined gentleman embodied the principle of liberty. In his study of ideas of virtue and morality in Scottish Enlightenment discourse, Dwyer discusses the ways in which three discursive models – civic humanism (or Classical Republicanism), stoicism and sensibility – were interconnected within Enlightenment discourse. Civic humanist discourse sought to challenge the perceived corrupting influence of the wealthy and powerful Imperial state through the maintenance of elite allegiance to the community (public spirit) and the maintenance of 'independence'. Stoicism informed notions of 'independence' because to be stoic was to maintain the ability for independent moral decision making. Both civic humanism and stoicism were intertwined with notions of sensibility.[75]

Developed in its most complete form by Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), sensibility redefined virtue. Rather than being forged through public acts of virtue, such as courage on the battlefield, virtue was determined to be located in sympathetic interactions between individuals. These interactions were performed in public and domestic settings. The ability for sympathy, what Smith refers to as 'fellow-feeling', was founded upon people's inner moral sense. As Dwyer states, sensibility emphasised the emotional over the rational character of man. Reflecting the influence of stoicism, sensibility through sympathetic exchange was deemed to be founded upon men's self-command, itself a reflection of Civic Humanist independence. The cultivation of this inner moral sense through sympathetic exchange was deemed to offer a defence against the corruption of luxury.[76] According to Smith, men's natural ability for sympathy governed morality and through a self-judgement of viewing themselves through the gaze of the 'impartial spectator', men were encouraged to avoid self-interest which did not correspond with the public good and instead act virtuously in favour of the common (or public) good.[77]

Sensibility was founded upon a morality defined by virtues such as temperance, generosity and justice. Men's possession of sensibility was deemed to enable sociable

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[75] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 38-51.
[76] *Ibid*, pp 51-65.
[77] A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (6th ed. 1790), ed. K. Haakonssen, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2002.

interaction between individuals in society; this sociable interaction was itself deemed to be necessary to maintain community, and the overall stability of society and government.[78] Sociability was regarded as central to the maintenance of liberty in commercial society. In *Wealth of Nations* Smith argued that commercial society encouraged liberty because it was based upon a system of interdependence and social stability through law. For Smith, commercial civilisation fully develops when 'Every man thus lives by exchanging, or becomes in some measure a merchant'.[79] As Christopher Berry discusses, Smith's emphasis on the mercantile basis of liberty and virtue, rejects narrow Classical Republican notions of 'independence' and the practice of citizenship. Rather than social virtue being founded upon property ownership (independence) and so reliant upon another man's dependence, within a commercial society each man has the private liberty to participate in trade and so improve his material condition. Within this system all men can acquire independence because within this economic system all men are dependent upon each other to keep the system functioning, and so their self-interest informs the public interest. Sociability was central to the interdependence of commercial society (and was encouraged by it). This sociability was founded upon fellow-feeling, or sympathy.[80] The development of the moral and social virtues encompassed by sensibility and sociability were necessary aspects of the development of commercial society. Merchants, Smith believed, could display a tendency to act with self motives, placing their private economic interests above the public, national, interest.[81] In order to place the public interest first men's economic inter-dependence needed to be matched by the development of their 'natural' sociability.

Smith's work provides a philosophical basis for the refined gentleman. Fellow-feeling and male sociability was a key requirement of male refinement. Male refinement was also displayed by behaviour rather than status; with the requisite wealth (such as

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[78] Dwyer, R.A. Mason, Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Dwyer, Mason, Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1982, p 6.

[79] Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (1776), ed. R.H. Campbell, A.S. Skinner, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 2 Vol.'s, 1981, Vol. 1, p 37.

[80] Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1994, pp 154-163.

[81] Sher, 'Commerce, Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow', in Devine, G. Jackson (eds), *Glasgow, Vol. 1: Beginnings to 1830*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1995, pp 315-316.

that gained by commerce) any man could become refined and exist in polite society, and the selfishness encouraged by the competitive pursuit of wealth would be checked by man's sensibility, by his 'impartial spectator'. This 'impartial spectator' governed men's morality because the refined gentleman existed in a society interdependent with other men. Narrow Classical Republican notions of manhood, due to their reliance on independence founded upon status and property, had no place in Smith's ideal commercial society of rational mercantile liberty.

The influential philosophy of both Smith and Hume asserted that participation in polite society promoted inter-personal refinement, exposure to the liberal arts and the sharing of knowledge, enabling men to establish an ease of communication, or sociability, with others.[82] Like Smith, but to an even greater degree, Hume argued that commercial progress and resultant luxury was a product of positive progress. For Hume, luxury, through encouraging refinement in tastes and manners, lent itself to an increase in human happiness. In his essay 'Of Refinement in the Arts' (1760, originally published as 'Of Luxury', 1752) Hume implores his readers to realise the cultural relativity of ideas of luxury, writing that luxury is a 'word of uncertain signification', 'and any degree of it may be innocent or blameable, according to the age, or country, or condition of the person.'[83] Whilst asserting that ages of refinement are the 'happiest and most virtuous', Hume accepts the idea that luxury can have a negative impact upon society when it 'ceases to be innocent', such as when it is pursued at the expense of virtue (e.g. charitable benevolence) or when, 'for them a man ruins his fortune, and reduces himself to want and beggary.'[84]

Hume's defence of luxury is linked to a defence of the importance of progress in the arts, and refinement of manners, to political liberty. As he states, 'a progress in the arts is rather favourable to liberty, and has a natural tendency to preserve, if not produce a free government.'[85] This is linked to notions of possible aristocratic corruption, the importance of non-aristocratic 'independent' manhood and liberty and the placement of

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[82] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, p 27.
[83] D. Hume, 'Of Refinement in the Arts', in Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (1777), ed. E.F. Millar, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1987, p 268.
[84] Hume, 'Of Refinement', p 269.
[85] *Ibid*, p 277.

these two categories upon the emerging middle classes rather than noble society. As Hume argues:

> where luxury nourishes commerce and industry, the peasants by a proper cultivation of the land become rich and independent: while the tradesmen and merchants acquire a share of the property, and draw authority and consideration to the middling rank of men, who are the best and firmest basis of liberty.[86]

Like Smith, within Hume's theories on progress is the idea of a masculinity that informs men's moral behaviour in favour of liberty, against self-interest and which is not dependent upon landed status; instead of the nobility it is the 'middling rank of men' who embody liberty in commercial society. Hume's political philosophy involved an extension of the civic tradition from Classical notions of political virtue to a modern commercial conception. The Classical civic tradition emphasised the necessity of economic autonomy and independence as a pre-requisite to the status of citizen. Extending this idea, within commercial society, Hume argued, all men had the opportunity to gain economic independence and so develop the political moral virtues necessary for the enactment of citizenship, thus increasing liberty.[87] Through industry and commerce men not of the nobility or gentry could acquire wealth and property, become refined and therefore acquire patriotic manhood.

There is a cyclical aspect of refinement and liberty in Hume's *Essays*; in addition to progress in the arts enabling liberty, liberty was also deemed to enable progress in the arts – they fed each other. As Hume argues in 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences' (1742), the institution of law, the encouragement of eloquence as a necessary skill in popular government, and development of 'genius' within a meritocratic system, 'render free governments the only proper *nursery* for the arts and sciences'.[88] Reflecting the cultural developments in France and elsewhere in Europe, for Hume, the 'polite arts' could flourish under 'civilised monarchy', but, he asserted, 'a republic is most favourable to the growth of the sciences'.[89]

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[86] *Ibid*, p 277.
[87] J. Robertson, 'The Scottish Enlightenment at the Limits of the Civic Tradition', in I. Hont, M. Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of the Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1983, pp 138-159.
[88] Hume, 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences', in Hume, *Essays*, p 119.
[89] *Ibid*, p 124.

Scottish Enlightenment thought emphasised progress and ideas of civility, Smith and Hume's ideas regarding wealth represent a departure from eighteenth-century condemnations of wealth and luxury as necessarily corrupting. Within some Scottish Enlightenment discourse, commerce, wealth and luxury were depicted as encouraging individualistic and egotistical behaviour. The selfishness encouraged by wealth was considered to threaten to undermine progress and 'civilisation'. The threat to the nation was perceived in moral terms, and so rather than the defence of the nation being figured in terms of the need to embody martial ancestors, within North Britishness patriotic manhood was understood in terms of elite men's ability to resist luxury, perform sociability, avoid false refinement and possess inner sensibility, and so defend commercial 'civilisation'.

The debate over refinement and luxury is apparent in Henry Mackenzie's novel, *The Man of Feeling* (1771). In this novel the principal character, Mr Harley, embodies male sensibility; he acts according to his inner emotional reaction, and so frequently engages in benevolent actions (such as giving charity to beggars), and often openly cries in reaction to others suffering. Harley's crying in response to others' distress is used by Mackenzie to indicate Harley's virtue.[90] As Carter discusses, in representations of male refinement, the expression of emotion in men, such as a shudder or a sympathetic tear was not only acceptable but was an indication of inner sensibility.[91] In sections of the text, this male sensibility is depicted as natural. For example, after Emily Atkins (a middling girl from the country who had been betrayed into a life of prostitution in London by Winbrooke, a man of false refinement) is saved by Harley, her father an army captain, on hearing of the reasons for her loss of virtue, 'looked on her [the daughter] for some time in silence; the pride of a soldier's honour checked for a while the yearnings of his heart; but nature at last prevailed, he fell on her neck, and mingled his tears with hers.'[92] In the context of a father's sympathy for his daughter, male sensibility in the form of crying is represented by Mackenzie as natural.

The notion of artificial refinement (politeness without inner virtue) is also a key theme in the text. Harley represents pure refinement and serves to differentiate the

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[90] H. Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* (1771), ed. M. Harkin, Peterborough, Ont., Broadview, 2005.
[91] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, p 89
[92] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, pp 93-94.

practice of politeness founded upon inner sensibility to that of artificial politeness. For example in London, Harley (who is from the countryside) meets a man who on the basis of his appearance and behaviour is recognised by Harley as a 'gentleman'. The 'gentleman' is first described as 'coming out, dressed in a white frock, and a red laced waistcoat, with a small switch in his hand, which he seemed to manage with a particularly good grace.'[93] Harley engages in a sociable exchange with this 'gentleman' that was firmly located in polite culture; as Mackenzie wrote:

> The conversation as they walked was brilliant on the side of his companion. The playhouse, the opera, with every occurrence in high life, he seemed perfectly master of; and talked of some reigning beauties of quality, in a manner the most feeling in the world.[94]

Harley initially views this man as a man of sensibility, one who spoke with 'feeling', however he is soon informed by others that this 'gentleman' was assuming this identity under false pretences in order to take advantage of Harley (in a monetary sense).[95]

Despite the prevalence in the text of arguments for the naturalness of sensibility (implicitly in agreement with the argument proposed by Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments*), Mackenzie also uses the character of Harley to question whether sensibility and refinement really are innate. On his way to London, Harley stops outside an inn and sitting down to remove a pebble from his shoe he sees a barefoot beggar. Observing the beggar, Harley states to himself, 'Our delicacies are fantastic; they are not in nature! that beggar walks over the sharpest of these stones barefooted, whilst I have lost the most delightful dream in the world, from the smallest of them happening to get into my shoe.'[96]

Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* is a sentimental novel that places ideas of male refinement in a literary context. Although the novel is set in England, Mackenzie was a lawyer in Edinburgh and his novel is considered as an important literary contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment. As Dwyer discusses, Mackenzie was a key figure of the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment and extracts from *Man of Feeling* (which became a

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[93] *Ibid*, p 62.
[94] *Ibid*, p 63.
[95] *Ibid*, p 66.
[96] *Ibid*, p 59.

cult novel) were published in the *Caledonian Mercury*, an Edinburgh journal which provided an important means for the propagation of Scottish Enlightenment discourse.[97]

Carter alerts us to certain problems in using the fictional character of Harley as 'synonymous with expressions of idealised male conduct', citing studies which consider Harley's 'marginalisation, weakness and ineffectiveness' within the text and highlight these as characteristics which Mackenzie criticised in his journalistic writing, such as in the *Lounger* (1785-87).[98] However, when read as reflective of the debate over male refinement rather than as conduct literature in literary form, *Man of Feeling* offers a useful insight into Scottish Enlightenment discourses of masculinity and virtue.

A critique of luxury and the means to combat it and maintain morality is apparent in the Moderate Presbyterian discourse which was central to Scottish Enlightenment discourses of morality. Although facing opposition and condemnation from the Evangelical Presbyterian wing of the Church of Scotland, many members of the literati were Church of Scotland ministers. This group are usually referred to as Moderate Presbyterians. As the name suggests, Moderate ministers espoused a religious policy of toleration and rejection of superstition. They were also often perceived by the populace to be integrated with, and dependent upon, elite society. Amongst elite society the Moderate literati enjoyed an influential popularity. For example, the published sermons of Hugh Blair (1718-1800) were, according to Dwyer, the second best-selling work written in the English language during the eighteenth century, losing only to the *Spectator*. Central to 'enlightened' Presbyterian discourse was the desire to preserve people's morality within a wealthy society and combat the selfishness that was perceived to be encouraged by luxury.[99]

Blair was a leading member of the Moderate faction in the Church of Scotland, was minster of St Giles, High Kirk of Edinburgh (a very prominent position) and an active member of the Select Society. One of his published sermons critiqued luxury and its negative effects on individual morality. Entitled 'On Luxury and Licentiousness' this sermon uses the example of the Israelites to present an argument common to Scottish

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[97] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 12-24.
[98] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 101-104.
[99] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 18-19.

Enlightenment critiques of luxury, which is the idea of cyclical corruption.[100] The people of Israel are depicted as 'a sober and religious nation', who 'after they had enlarged their territories by conquest, and acquired wealth by commerce, they gradually contracted habits of luxury; and luxury soon introduced its usual train of attending evils.'[101] Like Alexander and Millar's use of the Roman Empire (see below), Blair uses the example of the Israelites as a synonym for current British society. To stop the cycle - whereby wealth leads to luxury, which leads to licentiousness, which results in a loss of wealth, which then leads to virtue and industry and the acquirement of wealth - Blair implores men to enjoy opulence but to avoid 'intemperate enjoyment of it [pleasure] which wholly absorbs the time and attention of men'.[102] To defend against licentiousness, men needed to recognise God's work in the creation of their world, and so be filled with virtuous awe and to recognise God's role in directing their lives. As Blair stated, 'all our pleasures ought to be tempered with a serious sense of God', this sense of God was presented as, 'the surest guard of innocence and virtue, amidst the allurements of pleasure'.[103] Blair also exhorts his readers remember that God will reward virtue and punish vice, stating that by God's hand the 'sober and industrious' will 'rise to reputation and influence', whilst the 'licentious and intemperate' will be 'checked by some dark reserve either in their health or their fortune'.[104] Blair's sermons combine Scottish Enlightenment moral discourse with Presbyterian religious discourse, something he was attacked for by some Evangelicals and celebrated for by many in urban elite 'polite' society.[105]

Another member of the literati who offered an alternative analysis of luxury to that offered by Hume was Henry Home, Lord Kames. The destructive effect of luxury is a major theme in Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man* (1778). Writing about patriotism, Kames argued that, 'where it is the ruling passion: it triumphs over every

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[100] H. Blair, 'Sermon VI: On Luxury and Licentiousness', in Blair, *Sermons, by Hugh Blair .. Volume the Fourth*, W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1794.
[101] Blair, *Sermons*, pp 113-114.
[102] *Ibid*, pp 115-116.
[103] *Ibid*, p 120.
[104] *Ibid*, pp 128-129.
[105] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 18-19.

selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue.'[106] Patriotism defended against luxury, it was 'at the head of the social affections,' and was the 'great bulwark of civil liberty'; patriotism enabled a nation to flourish.[107] However, in a cyclical fashion, the nation's success brought increased wealth, and resultant luxury could destroy the patriotic public spirit and by extension the nation. Kames discusses the destructive impact of luxury in terms of bodily weakness and disease; the voluptuousness of luxury weakened men in mind and body, which in turn weakened society. Although Kames cited France as more afflicted by the disease of luxury than Britain, he considered Britain to be at great risk due to its increased wealth, writing, 'It grieves me, that the epidemic distempers of luxury and selfishness are spreading wide in Britain.'[108]

The connections between male sensibility and sociability and the patriotic imperative was strongly put by Fordyce. Unlike nations such as France, the Enlightenment in Scotland was integrated in, rather than antithetical to, the national church. Fordyce's ideas on luxury, society and patriotism represent a combination of Moderate Presbyterian religious morality and Scottish Enlightenment discourses of progress, and highlight the place of gender within these discourses. His arguments were founded upon a desire to maintain community morality, patriotic sentiment and therefore British national power. A Scot giving popular (Presbyterian) religious lectures in London, Fordyce was a Briton setting out a British patriotic moral code. Central to this were notions of gendered patriotic performance, specifically refined manhood and its dichotomous opposite, modest femininity.

The emphasis within Enlightenment discourse upon men's development of inner sensibility and engagement in true (non-self-interested) sociability and the performance of patriotic manhood was a response to the perceived threat posed by rapid increases in wealth. As Fordyce warned, a massive influx of wealth could cause men to prostitute the public good for luxury and pleasure, producing, 'softness, idleness, sensuality, debauchery,' in men's behaviour and creating in Britain, 'an effeminate age.'[109] On effeminate men, Fordyce asked, 'Say, my Country, are these the young men whom thou

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[106] H. Home, Lord Kames, 'Sketch VII: Rise and Fall of Patriotism', in Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, W. Creech, Edinburgh, (1778), ed. J.V. Price, London, Thoemmes Press, 4 vols, 1993, Vol. 2, p 314.
[107] *Ibid*, p 317.
[108] *Ibid*, p 333.
[109] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 1, p 140, Vol. 2, pp 292-293.

hast destined to protect thy daughters, to educate thy posterity, to execute thy plans, to assert thy cause, and to perpetuate thy honour?'[110] Effeminate men were denied patriotic manhood and corresponding political agency.

It was upon male behaviour that the defence against the corruption of British society rested. British manhood was defined against the idea of the Fop, and the Fop was defined in terms of French influence, allowing for the transgression of dominant ideas of masculinity to be represented as a threat to Britain.[111] Effeminate men's perceived focus on wealth and fashion and lack of inner virtues such as sympathy and benevolence, was depicted as source of corruption and societal degeneracy. The pursuit of luxury and pleasure, Fordyce argued, promoted pride and vanity, encouraging men to 'sneer at the names of Chastity, Temperance and Religion'.[112] Luxury negated the self-control and sobriety necessary to act in the interests of society rather than the self. As Fordyce asked his readers, 'Does not such general and extraordinary corruption carry a portentous aspect with regard to the religious, moral and political community? Are these not intimately connected in every nation? And has it not been universally found that they advanced and prospered, or declined and perished together?'[113]

Within eighteenth-century Enlightenment moral discourse, the correct expression of masculinity was inseparable from the national project. It is significant that Fordyce's text was published in 1777, one year after the *Declaration of Independence* (1776) was signed in the American colonies, and a time when the British state was engaged in a war to defeat an armed revolution for American independence which was being aided by the French ancien regime. Like the Seven Years War, the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) led to widespread public debate in Britain over issues of wealth, liberty and corruption.[114] Fordyce's text needs to be read in the context of this debate. Also significant is the fact that that the address in Fordyce's *Addresses to Young Men*, that most frequently invokes the cause of the nation is also the one most concerned with effeminacy. Entitled 'On a Manly Spirit as Opposed to Effeminacy', Fordyce writes of

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[110] *Ibid*, Vol. 2, pp 157-158.
[111] Cater, *Men and the Emergence*, p 156.
[112] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 2, p 154.
[113] *Ibid*, Vol. 2, p 138.
[114] K. Wilson, 'Empire of Virtue: The Imperial Project and Hanoverian Culture c.1720-1785', in L. Stone (ed), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, London, Routledge, 1994, pp 152-154.

Britain at the beginning of this address, 'she is in imminent danger from the prodigality, profligacy, and unfeeling luxury of her inhabitants.'[115] Later, he calls on young men to 'oppose against effeminate manners as a masculine virtue.'[116]

Masculine virtue in North British urban culture was primarily defined by male refinement, by men's sensibility and sociability. Sensibility for the Scottish literati represented a moral code which if adopted could control behaviour and maintain community over individualism with a system of political liberty and 'civilised' society.[117] As Hume wrote on the subject of morality, 'We fancy the peace of society to be at stake in every decision concerning it.'[118] The new model of patriotic manhood claimed national agency for the emerging middling sorts, particularly urban professionals. Nicholas Philipson argues that by the mid-eighteenth century, the culture of the intellectual elite, which was dominated by male professionals, became the dominant culture. Whilst not excluded from this culture, Scottish noble society adopted these cultural norms rather than imposing their culture on elite Scotland.[119] In this context the performance of refined manhood constituted the performance of a new kind of virtuous citizenship founded upon commercial interdependence, and resulting sociability, rather than upon a Classical Republican independence which informed the performance of political agency in 1706-1707.

The Fop as an Oppositional Category

Refined manhood acted to define the borders of the new national identity of North Britishness. Commercial 'civilisation' and the sociability which defended morality and related public-spirit within commercial society were evidenced and defended by this masculine ideal. A primary way that the refined gentleman defined North British nationhood was through his oppositional position to the effeminate Fop. Effeminacy

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[115] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 2, p 137.
[116] *Ibid*, Vol. 2, p 186.
[117] P. Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland: A Study and Selection of Scottish Philosophical Prose from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1992, p 116.
[118] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), abstract in Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland*, p 140.
[119] Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: the case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', in Stone (ed), *The University in Society*, Vol. 2, London, Oxford U.P., pp 411-448.

served to represent what threatened the nation both from within and without. The effeminate man embodied an Other, as a servile Frenchmen wishing to destroy the liberty of Britain, or an artificial corrupt selfish failed man surrounded in foreign (usually French) luxury whose actions threatened the morality upon which the nation's strength depended. As Fordyce wrote, the British nation was 'unnerved and corrupted, by luxury and effeminacy.'[120] The idea of the effeminate man as influenced by French culture is indicative of the use of gender to define the ideological boundaries of the nation. The concept of France as a threat to the liberty and Protestant religion of Britain was an important tool in the spread of British patriotism. As Linda Colley argues, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the state of Great Britain was extremely culturally diverse. People's loyalties were not simply English, Scottish or Welsh, but defined by family, clan and/or locality.[121]

Religion represented a site of commonality and played an important role in the broader unification of identity around British nationhood. Protestantism, however, should not be viewed as a homogenous religious identity during the eighteenth century. Many important differences existed between Protestants, especially Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the Church of England and the Church of Scotland had retained respective autonomy within Union due to the 'Act for the Security of the Church of Scotland' (1706), and the defence of the independence of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had been an important element of anti-Union discourse. One of the reasons why Protestantism could be employed in forging a patriotic British identity amongst the various groupings of the British mainland was the perceived and real threat of France, Britain's main military adversary during the eighteenth century. The fact that France was an absolutist monarchy (therefore lacking liberty) and was Catholic meant that it was able to be represented as a nation antithetical to Britishness, to ideas of Protestant liberty.[122]

One concrete example of the differences between eighteenth-century France and Britain in terms of liberty is that of press freedom. The press was a key institution of the eighteenth-century public sphere, and provided an important vehicle for the

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[120] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 2, p 190.
[121] Colley, *Britons*, p 17.
[122] *Ibid*, pp 18-25.

dissemination of Enlightenment ideas. As Munck discusses, a 1985 study of French and English newspapers from 1755 to 1764 suggested that the English press was freer in terms of the reporting of political debate. This is unsurprising considering the policing of political comment in France by the ancien regime. Reflecting the different social and political context of French Enlightenment culture, compared to Britain, prior to the 1780s, in addition to political content, the French and English press differed in terms of audience. Whilst in England newspapers were written for the middling sorts, as well as the landed elite, in France newspapers were written for an almost exclusively aristocratic elite audience. As Munck states, English newspapers were written for the coffee-house, whilst French newspapers were written in a 'tone fit for the salon'. [123] Although, as Munck states, findings from a small sample of eighteenth-century newspapers cannot be used to draw confirmed overarching theories of society, they do suggest an important difference between France and England in terms of press freedom which would most likely have been apparent to contemporaries.

British liberty was not a solid constitutional concept and so comparisons with France enabled its comprehension and assertion. France as Other provided a focus for anxieties over British nationhood, liberty and manliness. In the English context, Kathleen Wilson discusses the fears of British national strength that developed during the 1750s in the face of military defeats by France. Confidence in Britain's imperial greatness was replaced with anxieties over national corruption which was expressed in discourses of corruption and effeminacy. In opposition to the ideal of the commercial, Protestant, libertarian, and (generally) middling Lowland Scotsman or Englishman, were the British aristocracy and nouveau riche who sought to mimic French polite society. The self-interest of the aristocracy and nouveau riche was deemed to be the cause of national effeminacy, and this effeminacy was deemed to subvert manly patriotic virtues such as courage, discipline and strength.[124]

Cohen also writes about eighteenth-century English fears regarding French influence and its threat to undermine the national character. Cohen cites French fashions,

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[123] Munck, *Enlightenment*, p124. Although the study cited by Munck used English newspapers, the findings can be applied to Britain as a whole because English newspapers were often reproduced in Scotland.

[124] Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995, pp 168-187.

luxury goods, manners and language as the main ways in which French culture was seen to be undermining English culture. The development of polite society, based upon French norms, by the elite was viewed as corrupting. When Lord Chesterfield published his 'Letters to his Son' in 1774 he was accused of promoting artificial politeness, of focussing (as French polite society was perceived to) on the public display of politeness through conversation and bodily control. Centred upon self-representation rather than a politeness founded upon inner sensibility, Chesterfield's advice was deemed to encourage effeminacy. Cohen argues that this discourse of effeminacy and politeness led to a rejection of conversation, particularly conversational French (the language of politeness), as the foundation of English polite society by the end of the eighteenth century.[125]

Within some strands of Scottish Enlightenment discourse the French were presented as effeminate in opposition to refined manhood. Kames in discussing the French language wrote that its tone was 'well suited to the nature of its government: every man is politely submissive to those above him.' Political liberty formed the manners of the British people and so 'the English language is accordingly more manly.'[126] Along with security of private property, material improvement, and the diffusion of knowledge, within Scottish Enlightenment discourse civil liberty was represented as essential to the development of a 'civilised', virtuous society.[127] The idea that effeminacy was caused by men's exposure to wealth without corresponding civil liberty enabled the representation of British masculinity as directly associated with the notion of liberty. It was also informed by, and informed, the idea that luxury was a threat to British civilisation. In his argument that luxury weakened the mind and made it 'so effeminate as to be subdued by every distress,' Kames claimed that, 'The French are far gone in that disease.'[128]

In *Man of Feeling* Mackenzie offers a critique of the Grand Tour which is reflective of discourses which represented French, and other foreign (especially Italian), influences on upper status British men as a threat to British morality. In his

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[125] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp 3-7, 42-50.
[126] Kames, 'Sketch V: Manners', in *Sketches*, Vol. 1, p 333.
[127] Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland*, p 271.
[128] Kames, 'Sketch VII: Progress and Effects of Luxury', in *Sketches,* Vol. 2, pp 146.

representation of the Grand Tour, Mackenzie links artificiality with foreign influence. Describing Harley's return from his journey to London (he could not afford to go to Europe), Mackenzie wrote:

> ... Harley returned to the abode of his fathers: and we cannot but think, that his enjoyment was as great as if he had arrived from the tour of Europe, with a Swiss valet for his companion, and half-a-dozen snuff boxes. But we take our ideas from sounds which folly has invented; Fashion, Bon-ton, and Virtu, are the names of certain idols, to which we sacrifice the genuine pleasures of the soul.[129]

The Grand Tour was a rite of passage whereby aristocratic young men, mainly from England but also increasingly from Scotland, went to refine their tastes and expand their knowledge, and learn the skills of polite society in the salons, ballrooms, theatres and other spaces of elite (often aristocratic) culture – in short, to become gentlemen - in European cities such as France and Italy. Discussing the Grand Tour, Cohen argues that the eighteenth century witnessed an increasing distance between the polite cultures of France and England. As a cultural institution the Grand Tour was evidence of the links between European and English (and to a lesser extent Scottish) polite society, and the reduction in the popularity of this institution at the end of the eighteenth century marks a separation between these two nations. According to Cohen, by the end of the eighteenth century politeness in England had taken on an English character, and exposure to French society was deemed to encourage male effeminacy.[130] By associating artificial politeness with the French, the cultural elite were able to create a British politeness divorced from what were seen as negative influences of French culture.[131] Mackenzie's text, read alongside other Enlightenment texts such as Lord Kames' *Sketches* discussed above, suggest that the fear of the negative impact of foreign (primarily French) influence was not confined to England.

The moral corruption and male effeminacy caused by the lack of liberty in France was highlighted by the perceived gender transgressions of French women. Politeness with its emphasis on mixed sex interaction had, it was believed, been taken to the extreme in France, with men adopting feminine characteristics to the extent that they

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[129] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, (see also editor's note), p 116.
[130] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp 56-60.
[131] Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the Construction of a National Character in Eighteenth Century England', in Hitchcock, Cohen, (eds), *English Masculinities*, p 61.

had lost their 'natural' authority over women.[132] French men had become enslaved to the affections of women, and Alexander wrote of the French woman, 'her sole joy is the number of her admirers … over the whole of them she exercises the most absolute power.'[133] This weakening of men's authority was not limited to social intercourse, but extended to all aspects of society. French women were represented as having undue political influence and rejecting feminine propriety to engage in intellectual debates and licentious sexual activity.

As Colley discusses, French women were seen to have too much of the wrong sort of power, rather than instilling virtue in men, they had assumed a public role in the Parisian Salons and the Court of Louis XVI. The French Revolution in 1789 was taken by writers such as the Englishman Edmund Burke as an extreme example of the danger of men losing their masculine authority and women relinquishing feminine modesty and domesticity.[134] This fear over French women's contribution to the revolution caused British women engaged in radical politics during the 1790s to be defined as unpatriotic.[135] Although most vehemently expressed during the revolutionary period, these ideas built upon earlier depictions of France, such as Alexander's, that were used to highlight the links between the weakening of the gender hierarchy and political instability. As Cohen discusses, the heterosociality of polite culture was represented as a primary cause of French gender failings and related artificial politeness, and it was on this issue that, as patriotic gendered identities were conceptualised and asserted, British polite culture gradually distanced itself from the French.[136]

Discourses of French artificial politeness (and therefore inferiority to British 'civility') appear to conflict with ideas of a European Gothic heritage which were also central to Scottish Enlightenment ideas of nationhood. However, as Kidd discusses, ideas of French inferiority and a shared ancestral heritage between them and Britons were not necessarily incompatible. French inferiority was not considered to be innate, it was figured in the same way as Enlightenment ideas of race; just as Native Americans

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[132] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp 76-77.
[133] Alexander, *History of Women*, Vol. 1, p 448.
[134] Colley, *Britons*, pp 251-252.
[135] V. Jones, 'Femininity, Nationalism, and Romanticism: The Politics of Gender in the Revolution Controversy', *History of European Ideas*, 16 (1993), pp 299-305.
[136] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp 43-78.

would one day 'progress' to be like Europeans, their 'savagery' only a result of their current mode of subsistence, so too was French inferiority due to structural differences between France and Britain. The despotism of their government, their Catholic faith, and the corresponding servility of the French people - all evidence of their inferiority - were seen to be the result of historical circumstance. They were a corrupted version of the 'libertarian Goth', whilst as Kidd argues, the British because of their perceived exceptional history in establishing constitutional democracy were depicted as a purer product of Gothic heritage, and so the epitome of 'civilisation'.[137]

The idea of French inferiority as a product of historical circumstance and caused by the resulting structures and norms of French society, can also be applied to ideas regarding French men's effeminacy, and definitions of effeminacy in general. Randolph Trumbach, in his study of the emergence of a homosexual 'Molly' subculture, argues that by the beginning of the nineteenth century effeminacy came to be identified with the exclusive adult sodomite. The rejection of the sexual identity of the libertine rake who had intercourse with boys and women, for Trumbach, represents the development of a masculine ideal that stressed men's exclusive heterosexual desire.[138] Within eighteenth-century discourses of masculinity, effeminacy was rarely used to refer to homosexuality. Effeminacy as it was invoked within the discourse of eighteenth-century polite 'civilised' society should not be read in the terminology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The idea of a homosexual as defined by personal characteristics such as effeminacy was a product of nineteenth century sexology and cannot be applied to the eighteenth century.[139] The eighteenth-century effeminate man was in fact often depicted as a failed heterosexual.

In Fordyce's address on love he stressed to his young male audience that men who lack, 'a masculine virtue and firm deportment,' and instead contract an 'effeminate turn and fantastic manners,' will never engage in an 'honourable passion.'[140] The dishonourable passion is not homosexual sex or love, but a relationship with a woman

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[137] Kidd, *British Identities*, pp 229-236

[138] R. Trumbach, 'The Birth of the Queen: Sodomy and the Emergence of Gender Equality in Modern Culture, 1660-1750', in M. Duberman, M. Vicinus, G. Chauncey Jnr. (eds), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, London, Penguin, 1991.

[139] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 139-147.

[140] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, Vol. 1, pp 185-186.

that is based on sexual gratification, one that seeks to possess her body rather than her soul. Fordyce calls the aims of this selfish love, fed by luxury and a desire for praise, 'foppish'.[141] Within this model the character of Winbrooke, who leads Emily Atkins to prostitution in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, could be defined as a Fop.[142] It was not on the basis of his sexual identity that the Fop within discourses of sensibility embodied a failure of masculinity. Instead, as Carter argues, he represented a social gender failing; he embodied the opposite of the new refined man and highlighted the dangers inherent in the growth of commercial wealth and the luxury and fashions of polite society.[143] A lack of political liberty in a nation whose politics were dominated by the institution of absolute monarchy and not a predilection for sodomy was perceived as the main cause of effeminacy amongst French men.

It is important to note that not all members of the literati were concerned with the excessiveness of French politeness, that not everybody viewed luxury and the French as corrupt. In his short autobiography, written just before his death in 1776, David Hume wrote about his time in France, stating that,

> The more I resiled [recoiled] from their excessive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real satisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of sensible, knowing and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the universe.[144]

Hume's ideas on French polite society reflect his critical support for luxury discussed above. For Hume, the excessive politeness of the French was evidence of their sensibility not artificiality, and his statement reminds us that ideas of French artificial politeness and effeminacy were not universal, and that they should not be used to deny that the Scottish Enlightenment existed within a broader European Enlightenment; through the 'republic of letters' the Scottish literati were connected to other intellectuals, such as the French philosophes and the philosophers of the German Aufklarüng, working within a broadly similar intellectual movement.[145] However, the fact the Hume

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[141] *Ibid*, Vol. 1, p 244.
[142] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, pp 86-90.
[143] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 137-139.
[144] Hume, *The Life of David Hume, Esq. Written by Himself*, in Hume, *Essays*, p xxxix.
[145] Munck, *Enlightenment*, pp 2-3.

made specific mention of his attitude to French politeness suggests that he was countering a popular view.

Empire and Corruption

Related to the debate on luxury and corruption was the debate over the effect of Imperial rule and Imperial wealth on British liberty and 'civilisation'. Empire was focus for both the construction of national pride and for a critique of wealth and power.

Colley argues that the commercial power of Great Britain gained through increased Imperial trade and changes in agricultural practice provided Britons with a focus for national pride. What is termed a 'cult of commerce' developed, through which a large proportion of the population experienced the 'benefits' of colonial invasion, expansion and occupation. The gentry and wealthy merchants (such as large-scale traders) profited most from British expansionism, but even more people were able to partake in imperialism as consumers. As the eighteenth century went on, exotic luxury items such as coffee and tea became increasingly available on the common domestic market.[146] However, the rapid increase in wealth within commercial society, when examined using the principles of conjectural history could, it was believed, lead to the collapse of British power. The Roman Empire for many mid to late eighteenth-century historians, moralists, and philosophers represented an early civilisation, which was as powerful, or greater, than contemporary Britain. In *History of Women*, Alexander used the example of Rome to highlight the moral corruption that commercial wealth and imperial power could cause. Alexander presented Rome as a virtuous nation until it plundered Asia, after which the great wealth and the licentious manners of the countries conquered, corrupted the Romans. This corruption, according to Alexander, resulted in the loss of patriotism in men in favour of venality, and the preference for fashion over chastity in women.[147] Millar also expressed this idea, stating that 'the excessive

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[146] Colley, *Britons*, p 69.
[147] Alexander, *History of Women*, Vol. 1, pp 377-381.

opulence of Rome, and after the establishment of the despotism, gave rise to a degree of debauchery of which we have no example in any other European nation.'[148]

Alexander and Millar's critique of the corrupting influence of rapidly gained imperial wealth on societal morality, and by extension liberty, is reflective of critiques of British Imperial power following the Seven Years War (1756-63). The expansion of the British Empire, enabled through the surrender of French Imperial 'possessions', particularly in North America and the Caribbean after the 1763 'Peace of Paris' treaty, resulted in fears over increased government power and the threat to the principle of liberty in a British nation had extensive dominions in which political liberty was not necessarily practiced.[149]

In addition to Millar and Alexander's warnings, Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* suggests that fears over moral corruption as result of British imperial expansion were shared by Scots as well as by the English. Mackenzie focuses his critique of Empire on British rule in India. Following the Battle of Plassey in 1757, British 'engagement' in India had changed from being primarily mercantile, to one of British Imperial control – India became a subjugated colony. The critique of British rule in India by Mackenzie is directly linked to issues of wealth and corruption, and refinement and virtue. On the subject of India, Mackenzie's principal character Harley asks:

> By what title have the subjects of another kingdom to establish an empire in India? to give laws to a country where the inhabitants received them on the terms of friendly commerce? You say they are happier under our regulations, than the tyranny of petty princes. I must doubt it, from the conduct of those by whom these regulations have been made. … Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the motive upon which those gentlemen do not deny their going to India. The fame of conquest, barbarous as that motive is, is but a secondary consideration: there are certain stations of wealth to which the warriors of the East aspire.[150]

Here Mackenzie makes direct reference to the concept of India as a place where Scotsmen (particularly the gentry and upper-middling sorts) believed that they could (and where they sometimes did) gain massive wealth, enabling the purchase of land on

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[148] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, p 125.
[149] Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 2003, pp 50-51.
[150] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, p 118.

return to Scotland.[151] Indian princes, and the Indian people are represented by Mackenzie as the 'vanquished', and the link between the pursuit of wealth at the expense of Indian liberty is depicted as a threat to British liberty. As Mackenzie continued in the voice of Harley:

> Could you tell me of some conqueror giving peace and happiness to the conquered? … did he endear the British name by examples of generosity, which the most barbarous of most depraved are rarely able to resist? did he return with the consciousness of duty discharged to his country, and humanity to his fellow-creatures? did he return with no lace on his coat, no slaves in his retinue, no chariot at his door, and no Burgundy at his table?[152]

The depiction within Scottish Enlightenment discourse of Imperial wealth as a source of moral corruption, combined with the depiction of luxury and foreign politeness as a source of artificial refinement, enabled refined manhood (such as that embodied by Mackenzie's Harley) to be cast as a patriotic masculine identity because it defended liberty and it included sentiments such as generosity.

Refinement and North British Political Agency

The desire to avoid Foppish effeminacy and instead embody refined manhood, and therefore assert a 'civilised' patriotic masculine identity, would have been important for the aristocrats, gentry, professionals and wealthy merchants who comprised the urban Scottish elite. Firstly there was a desire to assert Scotland's place within the Union and distance their culture from Jacobitism. The 1745 Jacobite rebellion, which had seen Jacobite (mainly Highland) soldiers march as far as Derby in England, had fed Scottophobia in England. In anti-Scottish discourse ideas of Highland barbarity and tendency to despotism were applied to Scots as a whole and Scottish patriotic action in favour of the Hanoverian establishment during the 1745 rebellion (such as the forming of volunteer forces in Glasgow and Edinburgh) was ignored. Scottophobic attitudes in England were further increased during the short and unpopular prime-ministership of

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[151] For a detailed discussion of Scottish 'engagement' in India during the eighteenth-century, particularly through the East India Company, see Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, London, Penguin, 2003, Ch. 11.
[152] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, p 119.

James Stuart, earl of Bute (1744-1814), a favourite of George III, following the end of the Seven Years War.[153]

Secondly, as discussed above, British victory in, and imperial expansion following, the Seven Years War led to a critique of Empire and its effects on virtue. Scots were heavily involved in Empire, often gaining Imperial posts through patronage networks fostered and controlled by influential Scots in London such as the Earl of Bute, the 3rd Duke of Argyll (1682-1761) and later Henry Dundas (1742-1811). The association between Scotland and Imperial rule enabled the development of a discourse in which Scotland was represented not as a partner in Union but as a threat to English liberties.[154] To assert their equal place within Britain, and combat anti-Scottish sentiment the Scottish elite asserted their place within the Union, something demonstrated by their urban 'enlightened' culture and commercial and agricultural 'improvements'. Combating anti-Scottish sentiment in London also involved an assertion that Scotland's 'civilised' British culture was free from (or at least less tainted by) the moral corruption of wealth seemingly evident in London polite society.[155]

The assertion of Scotland's place as a partner in the British Union through the representation of Scottish society as free from the corruption of London is apparent in the pamphlet, *A North Briton Extraordinary*, written by 'A citizen of Edinburgh' and published in 1765.[156] In this text the author expresses his dismay that 'our southern brethren rail at us for the lead we take in war and in commerce, in the arts and in the sciences'.[157] The author acknowledges that the English are superior in wealth, but claims, 'their superiority in this, is the true cause of their inferiority in everything else.'[158] The English are represented as generally possessing 'debauched' principles and having private lives of 'tasteless riot and indelicate gluttony mistaken for luxury.'[159] For the author luxury is not a problem, but wealth without refinement is, and it is this that

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[153] Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2002, pp 159-190.
[154] Colley, *Britons*, pp 105-117.
[155] Dwyer, Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics: Manners, Morals and the Rise of Henry Dundas', in Dywer, Mason, Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives*, pp 216-218.
[156] Anon, *A North Briton Extraordinary. Published at Edinburgh*, London, W. Nicoll, 1765.
[157] *Ibid*, p 6.
[158] *Ibid*, p 7.
[159] *Ibid*, p 6, 9.

the English are deemed to possess. To highlight this lack of refinement the author cites the 'filth, danger and inconveniency in every street' in London.[160] London as a place of corruption is also apparent in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*. It is in London that Harley is faced with artificial politeness, is exposed to gambling and prostitution, and is made acutely aware of men's selfishness.[161]

In addition to being critical of London, the author of *North Briton Extraordinary* criticises some aspects of Union, primarily an economic structure whereby Scotland had become England's 'most valuable colony'. However, the author does not seek to reject the Union but to assert Scotland's place within it.[162] In what can be read as an early expression of what by the mid-nineteenth century is referred to as Unionist-Nationalism, the author asserts Scotland's contribution to British liberty.[163] Departing from dominant Enlightenment representations of Scotland's past as a narrative of barbarism and feudalism accelerated into political liberty through Union with England, in *North Briton*, the author writes that the English 'owe their liberty also in great measure to a people whose principles they have falsely and ignorantly represented as inclined to despotism and slavery'.[164] To demonstrate this both the 1320 'Declaration of Abroath' and the Reformation are cited.[165] On the Reformation the author writes, 'What was brought about in Scotland, and forced on the crown, by a free and enquiring people, was in England imposed on the abject people by the arbitrary will of a lustful and capricious tyrant'.[166] On contemporary politics the author implores, 'Let my Lord Bute by judged by his actions, and not by the place of his nativity', and 'Let then my lord Bute be regarded as a Briton'.[167] This text is important in understanding the gendering of the Enlightenment in Scotland. The idea that Scotland was more truly British than England, that the urban culture of cities such as Edinburgh embodied civility and refinement, whilst London was a site of debauchery and corruption, suggests that the desire to avoid

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[160] *Ibid*, p 9

[161] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, pp 62-98.

[162] *North Briton Extraordinary*, p 14.

[163] For an introductory discussion of Unionist-Nationalism, see J.F. McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, Basingstoke, McMillan, 1988, Ch. 3 'North Britain, 1850-86'.

[164] *North Briton Extraordinary*, p 14.

[165] *Ibid*, pp 15-17.

[166] *Ibid*, p 18.

[167] *Ibid*, pp 20-21.

effeminacy and assert refined manhood was more acutely felt in Scotland. In the next chapter I will expand upon this argument through an examination of the homosociality (male exclusivity) of the Scottish Enlightenment intellectual and political sphere.

Conclusion

The national identity of North Britishness which rejected Scotland's martial past and adopted a narrative of history based upon English (from 1707, British) commercial progress and political liberty, reflected and informed Scottish Enlightenment discourses of progress, civility, and gender. The patriotic ideal of the refined gentleman was central to discourses of North Britishness in eighteenth-century Scotland. During a period defined by a rapid increase in wealth and British Imperial power, the ideal of the refined gentleman represented a means to resist the corrupting influence of wealth that was deemed to undermine the patriotic national project. The casting of the ideal of the refined gentleman as a North British patriotic identity was enabled through his oppositional position to the effeminate Frenchified Fop who embodied artificial politeness. To combat artificial politeness men were required to develop inner sensibility, a notion that was founded upon Scottish Enlightenment discourses that emphasised emotion-based virtue over reason and which claimed their commercial society as indicative of the last stage of progress towards 'civilisation'. The influence of feminine women was deemed as essential for men's development of refinement, however, as the following two chapters will demonstrate, this did not necessarily equate to some form of advancement for women. Male homosocial interaction was as central to male refinement and Scottish Enlightenment culture as heterosocial interaction.

Chapter 5:
Men, Masculinity and the Scottish Enlightenment Public Sphere

The Union of 1707 dramatically altered the political landscape in Scotland. The Parliament, and associated parliamentary power, was transferred to London. Scottish politics was intimately linked to those of the British state, and political stability was in large part achieved through a system of political management founded upon patronage. In addition to this, in Scotland a political culture linked to but distinct from London politics developed. This political culture was centred upon those institutions which had 'survived' Union: the legal system, the Kirk and the universities. To these were added Enlightenment public spaces such as coffeehouses, improvement institutions, clubs and societies, assemblies, concerts and the theatre. Informing this culture were Scottish Enlightenment ideologies of moral and commercial progress and the related development of a national identity of North Britishness expressing a patriotic loyalty to the British state. The previous chapter explained the centrality of the patriotic manhood of the refined gentleman to these discourses. In this chapter I expand upon this analysis and examine the performance of this model of patriotic masculinity within the urban culture of the male elite in Scotland c.1750-c.1790. Specifically I will investigate the performance of refined manhood (and its simultaneous construction) within the Scottish Enlightenment culture of clubs and societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

During the eighteenth century urbanisation and increased commercial wealth in Scotland and Britain as a whole, and the emerging discourses of the Scottish (and broader European) Enlightenment, combined to inform the creation of urban public spaces in which men (and women to a limited extent) could perform extra-parliamentary citizenship. The public spaces that emerged in eighteenth-century Scotland included mixed-sex spaces such as theatres, music concerts and assemblies. Many spaces were, however, predominantly masculine spaces to which women were usually denied access. These spaces included previously existing institutional public spaces such as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. These were joined in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by new spaces such as societies, clubs and coffeehouses. In this chapter I will demonstrate that these homosocial spaces were integral to the performance of patriotic masculinity by the

self-styled refined British gentleman. This chapter will argue that although certainly co-existing and interrelated with the mixed-sex public sphere, the homosocial public sphere was the prime location for intellectual and political participation, and therefore enabled men of upper and middling social rank to claim an active role in the British nation. It was in this sphere that the refined gentleman in Scotland enacted his North Britishness.

This chapter begins with an outline of the homosocial intellectual-political sphere in Scotland and its function as a space for the performance of political agency. This is followed by a discussion of the role of this sphere as a manifestation of North Britishness, and the centrality of male sociability to North Britishness. The next section examines the impact of societies and clubs as a space for the construction and performance of male refinement. This analysis focuses on four bodies: the elitist and primarily intellectual Select Society of Edinburgh and Literary Society of Glasgow, and the more social Hodge Podge Club in Glasgow and Poker Club in Edinburgh. I then examine the role of the Select Society and Literary Society in the development of a gendered discourse of North British national identity. The central argument is that homosociality in the intellectual-political sphere was integral to the performance of North Britishness.

North Britishness, the Public Sphere and Political Agency

The homosocial intellectual-political public sphere of institutions, clubs and societies provided a space for the performance of citizenship. This performance was enabled by two main factors. The first and primary means was the role of this public sphere as a manifestation of Scottish Enlightenment culture; as I will discuss below clubs and societies were important spaces in which the literati and the broader male elite discussed and disseminated 'enlightened' ideas. In post-Union Scotland, where parliamentary sovereignty had been lost but a place in the British Empire had been gained and the institutions of Kirk and law had been retained, it was not parliamentary party politics but theories of government and society, and issues of commerce and refinement, that

dominated political thinking.[1] Scottish Enlightenment ideas were never espoused as mere rhetorical issues; the Scottish literati sought to transform their world and they desired to enact the social, economic and moral improvement which they theorised about. The literati perceived of themselves as the cultural elite and saw it as their task to instil and maintain this moral virtue within commercial society.[2] Clubs and societies were a key forum for the literati's performance of cultural leadership.[3] The second factor enabling this performance was the role of the Scottish public sphere in terms of material politics. The public sphere helped to facilitate political 'management', such as that controlled by the Archibald Campbell, earl of Islay, (1682-1761, 3rd duke of Argyll from 1743) from 1725 to 1761. The public sphere also played a related lobbying role in terms of the Westminster parliament, for example through the Convention of Royal Burghs, and was central in activating economic improvement through economic institutions such as the Board of Annexed Estates and intellectual institutions such as the Select Society.[4]

The interaction between the public sphere and systems of political management can be interpreted as key to the development of the Scottish Enlightenment. Emerson places Argyll as the 'father of the Scottish Enlightenment'. Very much a North Briton, Argyll sought to keep Scotsmen in Scottish governmental offices and to increase Scottish benefit from the British Imperial state. His contribution to the Enlightenment was in the form of appointing members of the literati to relevant offices. For example he helped Henry Home (later Lord Kames) to become a law lord, supported the academic career of Adam Smith, and saw to it that Moderate Presbyterian literati such as William Robertson and Adam Ferguson gained offices within the Church of Scotland.[5]

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[1] F. Oz-Salzberger, 'The Political Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment', in A. Broadie, *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2003, pp 157-160.

[2] J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason, A. Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Dwyer, Mason, Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982, p 6.

[3] R.L. Emerson, 'The Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland: the Select Society of Edinburgh, 1754-1764', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 114 (1973), pp 291-329; M. Kingwell, 'Politics and Polite Society in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Historical Reflections*, 1:3 (1993), pp 365-375.

[4] B. Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster Parliament and the British State in the Eighteenth Century', in J. Hoppit (ed), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2003, pp 132-136; N. Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: the case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', in L. Stone (ed), *The University in Society*, Vol. 2, London, Oxford U.P., pp 411-448.

[5] Emerson, 'The Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment', in Broadie, *Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp 14-16.

Argyll was mainly based in London and not a member of societies such as the Select Society, but all of the literati who benefitted from his influence were active in organised urban sociability. Clubs and societies, like other institutions of the public sphere, were spaces in which the literati was able to network and through which men could gain access to systems of patronage. The urban Enlightenment public sphere was a primary space for the political participation of the Scottish urban and landed elite. In a country without a parliament and with an increasingly economically and culturally powerful professional elite, and the integration (and least in the urban context) of the landed elite with the culture of the professional elite, the aristocratic house was increasingly overshadowed by urban clubs and societies as the principal sites for political networking and influence.

The previous chapter demonstrated the centrality of the refined gentleman to discourses of North Britishness. In this chapter I seek to interrogate the relationship between the masculine ideal of the refined British gentleman and the concurrent development of the public sphere in eighteenth-century urban Scotland. It will be argued that rather than representing a move towards a general democratisation of public intellectual and political life, the particular nature of the development of the public sphere in urban Scotland was a primary factor in the predominant exclusion of women from the spatial intellectual-political manifestations of Scottish Enlightenment culture. The masculinity of the refined British gentleman, whilst partly forged by female influence in the social and domestic spheres, required a homosocial world in which to perform refinement. This defended against effeminacy by limiting the influence of women. As William Alexander contended in *The History of Women* (1779), whilst men required women's influence to 'give an elegance to our manners … to sooth our affections … If perpetually confined to their company, they infallibly stamp upon us effeminacy.'[6] This risk highlighted the need for a demarcation of gender roles within polite society, both in theory and practice. As Alexander concluded, men needed to socialise in both heterosocial and exclusively male (homosocial) company; only then

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[6] W. Alexander, *The History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*, London, C. Dilly and R. Christopher, 2 vols, 3rd Ed. 1782, Vol. 1, p 495.

would men 'imbibe the proper share of the softness of the female, and at the same time retain the firmness of the male.'[7]

My examination of the homosocial intellectual-political public sphere in eighteenth century urban Scotland will focus upon an analysis of the gendered nature of Enlightenment societies and clubs in Edinburgh and Glasgow. There were a huge variety of clubs and societies in urban Scotland; from mercantile organisations such as Cochrane's Political Economy Club, to university intellectual societies including the Belle Lettres Society at the University of Edinburgh and scientific bodies such as the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. And from essentially social groups such as Glasgow's Friday Club founded by Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics at the University, to the convivial but also secretive and ritualised Cape Club, frequented by artists such as Henry Raeburn, and musicians, antiquarians, and printers amongst others. Many men of the elite were simultaneously members of different and various clubs and societies, but this chapter does not offer a survey of these clubs.[8] Instead, in order to provide an in-depth analysis of the relationship between participation in clubs and societies, the performance of male refinement and related political agency, I focus on two societies and two clubs. These are the Select Society and Poker Club in Edinburgh and the Literary Society and Hodge Podge Club in Glasgow. The Select Society and Literary Society were similar institutions. They both included prominent members of the literati in their membership and were both sites for elite intellectual debate. The Literary Society was formed in 1752 and the Select Society in 1754, and between 1754 and 1762, when the Select Society appears to have dissolved, they operated concurrently (although records for the Literary Society do not appear to exist for the period prior to 1764). The Hodge Podge Club was founded in 1752 and was a patriotic convivial club comprised mainly of Glasgow merchants. The Poker Club was an Edinburgh club established in 1762. Also a convivial patriotic club, the Poker Club had an explicit political purpose, the campaign for a Scottish militia.

I refer to these spaces as inhabiting the intellectual-political sphere so as to differentiate them from other aspects of the public sphere, primarily the mixed-sex social

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[7] *Ibid*, Vol. 1, pp 475-476.
[8] For a survey see D. D. McElroy, *Scotland's Age of Improvement: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literary Clubs and Societies*, Washington, Washington State U.P., 1969.

sphere. The latter consisted of urban spaces such as theatres and assembly rooms, whilst the intellectual-political sphere consisted of clubs and societies, alongside previously existing all-male institutions, such as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Societies, as they are referred to here, can be broadly defined as organisations formed for the development and expression of intellectual and political thought and action. The clubs examined here also fall under this definition, but they were also more explicitly social than the societies. I differentiate between the intellectual-political and the social spheres, and place the clubs studied here in the former, because they were differently gendered, and because they fulfilled different functions within the British nation in urban Scotland. Clubs and societies had a more pronounced political function than the social public sphere.

In this chapter the term 'public sphere' refers to that realm of social, intellectual, and political interaction which developed in Europe from the late seventeenth century. The development of this sphere occurred as a result of urbanisation, the subsequent growth of urban culture, and increases in literacy and print and book production. Jürgen Habermas, the most influential social theorist in respect to understandings of the development of the public sphere, considered this sphere to be a bourgeois sphere, arguing that the emergence of the public corresponded with the emergence of a middle class identity. Habermas considered the development of the public sphere to consist of two closely integrated but distinct manifestations: the literary public sphere and the political public sphere, with the latter developing out of the former. The literary public sphere or 'world of letters', according to Habermas, emerged out of noble-courtly culture and preserved a level of continuity with it. He cites institutions such as coffeehouses in England, salons in France and Tischgesellshaften (table societies) in Germany as key components of the early literary public sphere. In these spaces the authority of rational argument overrode social hierarchies of rank and economic dependence, at least in theory. These spaces enabled the development of rational-critical debate amongst the propertied and educated non-nobility. This debate was extended beyond the institutions through the emergence of print and a reading public. Also key to

the extension of the bourgeois public sphere were other public spaces, such as theatres, museums, and concert halls.[9]

The engagement of the bourgeoisie in rational-critical debate led, Habermas argues, to the articulation and demand by the bourgeois public for authority to be based on general and abstract laws. That is, law as based not upon the authority of absolute sovereignty of the monarch, but upon, 'rational rules of a certain universality and permanence'.[10] The formulation of this demand resulted in the notion that the public sphere was the only legitimate source of this law, or sovereignty. This change evidences, for Habermas, the development of the literary public sphere into a political public sphere, whose purpose was the regulation of civil society.[11]

Habermas' separation of the literary from the political public sphere is problematic. Firstly, historians such as James Van Horn Melton have contested Habermas' idea of the public sphere as bourgeois, highlighting the fact that nobles were often active participants in it. In this regard rather than asserting a separate and oppositional middle class identity, the public sphere enabled social interaction between the nobility, gentry, and the growing middle class, thereby assisting social integration.[12] It is this sort of public sphere that developed in urban Scotland. Secondly, as Jane Rendall and Sue Innes assert, Habermas' definition of political is too narrow, and does not take into account the political nature of participation in the literary sphere, for example the political aspect of authorship of novels.[13] In the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere there was no clear distinction between literary and political and it was inclusive of people of both middling and upper status. In the societies and clubs that will be discussed below, merchants and professors rubbed shoulders with gentlemen and dukes.

Most importantly in regard to gender, although in nations such as France there does seem to have been a progression from a (in theory) non-political literary public

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[9] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 1989, pp 29-43.

[10] *Ibid*, p 53.

[11] *Ibid*, pp 52-54.

[12] J.V.H. Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2001, pp 11-12.

[13] J. Rendall, S. Innes, 'Women, Gender, Politics', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, E.J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, p 43.

sphere, to a more expressly political public sphere, this does not appear to have been the case in Scotland. Dena Goodman argues that in France in the 1780s there was a clear shift in the organisation and aims of the public sphere inhabited by Enlightenment philosophes. Previously, she argues, a primary manifestation of this public sphere had been the salons. The Republic of Letters, of which the philosophes saw themselves as citizens, represented a political culture separate from the royal court. However, despite a certain level of egalitarianism within this 'republic', the cultural practice of this sphere (i.e. enlightened sociability) was not overtly radical, in that it did not directly challenge the absolutist rule of the French monarch or the social hierarchy of orders. The Republic of Letters was not a democratic space; the salons, the key institutions of the 'republic' were led by aristocratic women and accessible by invitation only. During the 1780s the philosophes and other male members of the Republic of Letters abandoned the salons and organised themselves into institutions such as musées, which were deemed more democratic because unlike salons entry did not require a letter of introduction and they were less controlled by norms of polite aristocratic culture. In creating this space, the philosophes made material the claims to intellectual autonomy that informed and were expressed by the *Encylopédie* (1751-1772). This change was gendered. The salons were led by aristocratic women, a role which for some symbolised the governance of the aristocratic elite over French Enlightenment culture. For the influential philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1788), the salon was a corrupt space. In contrast to the salons, the institutions formed in the 1780s were homosocial and governed by the male participants themselves, and so considered more democratic. Homosociality equalled liberty. Within these institutions the discourse became more overtly political, leading eventually to demands for popular sovereignty, enacted in the French Revolution of 1789.[14] In Scotland the literati organised from the outset in the sorts of institutions that the French philosophes began to embrace from the 1780s. The difference in the intellectual public spheres of Scotland and France both reflects the greater level of liberty, particularly in regards to rights of association and press freedom, enjoyed by

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[14] D. Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1994, pp 233-280.

intellectuals in Scotland, and evidences their desire to perform this liberty and in doing so enact their North Britishness.

The institutional public sphere in Scotland was both literary and political and was integral to the expression and development of Scottish Enlightenment discourse.[15] The engagement of the literati in what can be defined as literary activity within this sphere, i.e. the reading of novels, and plays, discussions of theatre, ancient and modern, and debates on abstract philosophical issues, etc., was never separated from their political goals. The concept of improvement was central to Scottish Enlightenment discourse and the men who engaged in the public sphere normally sought improvement of themselves, society and the nation.[16] The literati saw themselves as enabling Scotland's progress to British 'civilisation'. There was no separation between literary and political. For this reason I find the term intellectual-political sphere more useful than Habermas' literary sphere.

The performance of male refinement within the homosocial intellectual-political Enlightenment public sphere enabled a claiming of political agency within the nation. In this sense refined manhood in mid-to-late eighteenth-century Scotland adheres to R.W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity - that masculinity is established as hegemonic through its association with cultural and institutional power and that its performance both claims and reflects this power.[17] In his examination of hegemonic masculinity, John Tosh argues that the association of a particular model of masculinity with the dominant expression of patriotic national identity enables the establishment of this model as hegemonic.[18] The refined gentleman epitomised elite representations of North Britishness in eighteenth-century Scotland. However he did not have a monopoly on patriotic manhood.

Connell argues that the hegemonic masculinity's position as hegemonic is achieved through its definition against not only its dichotomous opposite – femininity – but also against other subordinated and marginalised masculinities. Subordinate

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[15] Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001, pp 25-28.

[16] *Ibid*, pp 38-39;

[17] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity, 2005, pp 75-77.

[18] J. Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, Tosh (eds), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2004, p 49.

masculinities are defined as those masculinities which form the basis of systems of oppression between men (e.g. homosexuals within the hetero-normative culture of the twentieth century). By marginalised masculinities Connell refers to the formation and performance of masculinities which cannot be understood without considering their relationship with the hegemonic model. The masculinities Connell refers to are those performed by groups of men who belong to 'subordinated classes or ethnic groups', such as working class masculinities.[19] Whilst the image of the Fop (see above, Ch. 4) fits Connell's model in terms of subordinate masculinities because its existence appears premised upon its inferior relationship to refined manhood, other masculinities should not necessarily be viewed in terms of their relationship to refined manhood. Martial patriotic manhood, which will be discussed in Chapter 7, was not necessarily equal to refined manhood but neither was it subordinate or marginalised. In this way male refinement does not adhere to theories of hegemonic masculinity.

As Matthew McCormack asserts, a major problem with Connell's model is that it is 'difficult to characterise masculinity at any point in British history as a single dominant norm.'[20] Rather than an assertion of one model of masculinity as hegemonic at various stages of history, which is what Connell claims occurs, McCormack contends that historically masculinity was not 'monolithic or stable', and we need to understand alternative masculinities to the dominant model on their own terms.[21] In terms of eighteenth-century Scotland masculine identity was a matter of social status and location. Refined manhood was one elite, urban model of manhood; where it adheres to Connell's theory is through its association with the practice of cultural and political power. To perform male refinement was to perform North Britishness.

Scottish Enlightenment discourses of North Britishness, national improvement and gender were articulated and expressed within the eighteenth-century public sphere. Alongside the social, intellectual and political spaces such as those listed above, the public sphere included print. In the previous chapter I examined the construction of the refined gentleman in published Scottish Enlightenment discourse. This chapter is less

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[19] Connell, *Masculinities*, pp 77-81.
[20] M. McCormack, 'Men, 'the Public' and Political History', in McCormack (ed), *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p 16.
[21] Connell, 'The History of Masculinity', in R. Adams, D. Savran (eds), *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2002, pp 245-261; McCormack, 'Men, 'the Public' and Political History', p 16.

concerned with the products of the literati, i.e. their publications, and more with the ways in which Scottish Enlightenment discourses of gender and the nation were constructed and enacted in the homosocial intellectual-political public sphere of societies and clubs. Although this thesis does not focus upon publishing or reading, I recognise the integration of the sphere of print with other manifestations of the public sphere and touch upon this in the final section of this chapter where I discuss the impact of the debates in the Literary Society and Select Society on the printed output of the literati.

Although I contend that the gendered construction of the public sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland gave men a level of political agency denied to women, I do not suggest that women were fully excluded from the public sphere. Women were most visible in the social public sphere but were also not entirely absent from the intellectual-political manifestations of the public sphere. In the next chapter I will analyse women's engagement in the social public sphere and argue that this engagement allowed women to claim a space in the nation, but that this space and women's political agency were limited by the emphasis on women's femininity as a requirement of their participation. Unlike France and Spain where women were prominent figures in Enlightenment salons, the Scottish Enlightenment equivalent, societies and clubs, were male spaces.[22] The refined gentleman as a symbol of North British patriotism was protected from the perceived corruption of the aristocratic court and effeminacy of French politeness through his participation in the homosocial sphere. The refinement gained through social intercourse with feminine women in the mixed-sex social sphere was primarily performed in its intellectual and political expressions within the homosocial sphere, particularly societies and clubs. These institutions were not only sites for the performance of refined manhood but were also a key element in the construction of patriotic gender ideals. Just as the development of the ideal of refined manhood in Scotland cannot be separated from the development of North Britishness, so the role of societies and clubs in the construction and performance of gender cannot be separated

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[22] For a discussion of women in French salons see Goodman, *Republic of Letters*; for Spain see T.A. Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*, Berkley, University of California Press, 2006.

from their role in the articulation and propagation of Scottish Enlightenment thought and North British patriotism.

The interrelationship between literary and political in the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere is evident in the relationship between this sphere and conceptions of national identity. Scottish Enlightenment discourse was central to the development of North Britishness in eighteenth-century Scotland and so this intellectual-political public sphere needs to be recognised as fundamental to the articulation and performance of North British national identity. Within clubs and societies men asserted their North Britishness, attempted (and in some respects may have achieved) personal and social improvement, and so claimed a place in the political nation. It is for this reason that it is referred to here as the intellectual-political rather than just intellectual sphere. Participation in this sphere claimed and conferred political agency for the male elite. Women, from all social levels, were largely excluded from participation in the intellectual-political public sphere in Scotland. This exclusion denied them an equal place in the British nation; they were absent from the primary spaces in which men asserted their North Britishness and political legitimacy.

McCormack, in his analysis of gender and citizenship during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, argues that during this period the idea of the 'independent man' represented the 'epitome of manliness, citizenship and national character.' 'Independence' in this sense symbolised political virtue and stood as the criteria for electoral citizenship.[23] Although the focus of McCormack's study is England many of his conclusions can be applied to Scotland. A fundamental feature of the Anglicisation of Scotland was a desire amongst the Scottish elite to distance their political culture from what they perceived to be Scotland's corrupt feudal past. This involved the adoption of a discourse of constitutional liberty and a belief in the progressive and democratic character of English institutions.[24] Discourses of constitutional liberty informed gendered notions of independence and citizenship.[25]

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[23] McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2005, pp 1-2.
[24] C. Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *Historical Journal* 39:2 (1996), p 374.
[25] McCormack, *Independent Man*.

As discussed in the previous chapter, effeminacy was presented within Scottish Enlightenment discourse as the antithesis of the civilised manly refinement that was symbolised by the ideal of the refined British gentleman. The effeminate Fop, associated with artificial politeness and foreign (usually French) influence, defined the borders of North Britishness. This enabled male refinement and membership of the nation to be presented as interconnected categories. The Fop's Frenchified effeminacy was associated both with a culture of politeness that existed without a politics of liberty, and a love of luxury which led to the pursuit of self-interest over the public good. As McCormack argues, notions of femininity and effeminacy were associated with dependence, which in turn was associated with clientage, with aristocratic corruption.[26]

Eighteenth-century notions of independence in British politics were informed by interpretations of Classical Republican conceptions of liberty and virtue, which emphasised the need for independence from influence and obligation in the practice of citizenship.[27] The independent man who within this discourse embodied the citizen was primarily embodied by the country gentleman. However, manly independence could also be performed within urban society. In Scotland it was the urban rather than rural setting in which the ideas and practice of liberty and civility were primarily situated. This was due to the emphasis on improvement within Scottish Enlightenment ideology and a desire amongst much of Scotland's elite to distance their culture from Scotland's feudal past and aristocratic corruption, and from the Jacobitism of the Highlands. It was the urban elite who asserted their position as the public within a 'civilised' British nation. Unlike the country gentleman, in the urban context 'independence' was performed within a culture of politeness. The independence of this culture was asserted through its practice within the urban public sphere. In this context, divorced from the court, the culture of politeness came to be associated with the practice of citizenship. This association was enabled by the creation of spaces, such as coffeehouses and clubs, where men could assert their manly independence as members of a 'politicised public'.[28]

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[26] *Ibid*, pp 12-13.
[27] *Ibid*, pp 4-6; A. Clark, 'The Chevalier D'Eon and Wilkes: Masculinity and Politics in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 32:1 (1998), p 20.
[28] McCormack, *Independent Man*, p 6, 57, 65.

The homosocial arenas of the public sphere were not simply masculine by virtue of women's exclusion, but were themselves discursively constructed within broader discourses of gender, progress, society and the nation, in which their role in the construction and performance of refined manhood was central.

North Britishness and the Intellectual-Political Sphere

The emergence of clubs and societies as key sites of public social interaction occurred primarily within an urban context, with the greatest number situated in London. These spaces (along with related spaces such as coffeehouses, where men could access print media and engage in cultural and political discussion) provided an alternative arena to the spaces such as the court, aristocratic house, parliament, church and guild for public social interaction and their growth cannot be separated from the development, during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century, of a discourse of sociability, civility and improvement. [29] Within this discourse public spaces such as clubs and societies were represented as prime sites for the development and expression of polite urban sociability.[30] The relationship between this discourse and these spaces was cyclical. In Scotland, through providing a space in which sociability could be practised, these spaces allowed for the construction and propagation of the Scottish Enlightenment discourse of moral and social improvement.

The public sphere of societies, clubs and coffeehouses was a significant feature of British urban centres during the eighteenth century, including Edinburgh and Glasgow. Edinburgh in particular was a significant arena for the development of a public sociability centred upon participation in societies, clubs and coffeehouses.[31] With regard to the whole of Britain, London can be defined as the metropole and Edinburgh, and the rest of the nation, as a periphery. However, in regard to Scotland, Edinburgh occupied a more central position and so can be defined as a metropole and other areas of Scotland, particularly the Highlands, existing, in relation to Edinburgh, as the periphery. As

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[29] P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2000, p 2-3, 20-25, 39; M. Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004, pp 185-186.
[30] Ellis, *Coffee House*, p 185.
[31] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 2, 162.

Andrew Hook and Richard Sher discuss, the Scottish Enlightenment was concentrated in the three largest cities of Scotland: Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. The urbanity of the Scottish Enlightenment was fundamental to its growth. Urban centres were where the world of sociable and intellectual exchange, manifested in clubs, societies, coffeehouse, taverns, newspapers and other print, was primarily located.[32] Within David Hume's philosophy, cities were both a product of, and contributed to, progress and refinement. As he wrote in his essay 'Of Refinement in the Arts' (1760), as men become more sociable due to refinement in the arts:

> They flock into cities; love to receive and communicate knowledge; to show their wit or their breeding; their taste in conversation or living, in clothes or furniture. Curiosity allures the wise; vanity the foolish; and pleasure both. Particular clubs and societies are everywhere formed: Both sexes meet in an easy and sociable manner; and the tempers of men, as well as their behaviour, refine apace. So that, beside the improvements which they receive from knowledge and the liberal arts, it is impossible but they must feel an encrease of humanity, from the very habit of conversing together, and contributing to each others pleasure and entertainment. Thus *industry*, *knowledge*, and *humanity*, are linked together by an indissoluble chain, and are found, from experience as well as reason, to be peculiar to the more polished, and, what are commonly denominated, the more luxurious ages.[33]

Sociable and intellectual exchange was a critical factor in not just the development of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, but its broader propagation.[34] This discourse was not simply forged on paper, but formed through active engagement in urban culture, which in a cyclical manner was itself forged by this discourse. As Hook and Sher state, the leading members of the literati were, 'engaged metropolitan townsmen.'[35] The importance of urban space to the Scottish Enlightenment means that urban Scotland must be considered as an important site for the development of elite masculine identity and the interconnectivity between this identity and British patriotism in Scotland.

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[32] R. Sher, A. Hook, 'Introduction: Glasgow and the Enlightenment', in Sher, Hook (eds), *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1995, p 1.

[33] D. Hume, 'Of Refinement in the Arts', in Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (1777)*, ed. E.F. Millar, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1987, p 271.

[34] Broadie, 'Introduction: What was the Scottish Enlightenment?', in Broadie (ed), *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, Edinburgh, Cannongate Classics, 1997, p 15.

[35] Sher, Hook, 'Glasgow and the Enlightenment', p 1.

For reasons of space the focus in this chapter will be on the urban centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow. As R.A. Houston contends, Edinburgh was the place to learn to be a gentleman. As well as the clubs and societies that will be discussed below, Edinburgh, a city with high levels of literacy amongst its inhabitants, was the centre of book and pamphlet printing and the publishing of magazines and newspapers in Scotland. The number of printing houses in Edinburgh and its outskirts increased from four in 1740 to approximately twenty-seven in 1778.[36] This culture of print and reading was interconnected with the verbal intellectual-political culture of clubs and societies, with ideas discussed and lectures given in clubs and societies often forming the basis for published material (see below).

With regard to gender, discourses of manhood and womanhood were at least partly forged through verbal sociable intellectual exchange, not only within clubs and societies and coffeehouses, but also official bodies in Edinburgh, including the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Faculty of Advocates, the Royal College of Surgeons, and the University of Edinburgh. There were also explicitly political institutions such as the Board of Trustees for Arts Fisheries and Manufactures (est. 1728) and the Annexed Estates Commission, the latter formed in 1752 to encourage agricultural improvement on estates forfeited as a result of 1745 Jacobite rebellion.[37] These spaces formed part of an integrated intellectual-political public sphere, which itself was integrated with a broader public sphere which encompassed the mixed-sex social sphere. Membership of these bodies, and of clubs and societies, often overlapped, and as Bob Harris argues, this integrated public sphere provided the Scottish elite with an 'institutional form and support' to achieve their political ambitions, namely the economic prosperity of Scotland within the British state and through this the promotion of loyalty to this state.[38]

Sites of homosociality and mixed-sex sociability developed concurrently during the eighteenth century. In 1710 the Assembly, a space for public dancing, was opened in Edinburgh; six years later in 1716, the Rankenian Club, the first male intellectual society

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[36] R.A. Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Scotland', *History*, 78:254 (1993), pp 373-383.

[37] A similar body, The Commission on Forfeited Estates, was formed in 1716, after the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.

[38] Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster Parliament and the British State', pp 128-134.

was formed. Although public dancing was attacked by some Presbyterian ministers causing the Assembly to close down, this opposition was eventually overcome and it re-opened in 1723. Sixty-four years later it gained permanent premises on George Street in the New Town, and the building is still known today as the Assembly Rooms. [39] Edinburgh's New Town was built in the 1750s and 1760s and incorporated neo-Classical architecture with orderly streets and promenades deemed suitable for the public walking of men and women of upper and middling status. The New Town not only provided the spaces for the emerging urban culture, but was also forged by the discourses emanating from this culture. As Houston explains, 'The New Town was a monument to prosperity and to changing ideas about architecture, environment and social values.'[40]

The New Town was the physical manifestation of the Scottish Enlightenment. As Gilbert Elliot, lord Minto, wrote at the beginning of his proposal for the building of a New Town in 1753, 'Among the several causes to which the prosperity of a nation may be ascribed, the situation, conveniency, and beauty of its capital are surely not the least considerable.'[41] Elliot cites London as the example to which they should aspire, and, arguing his point regarding the necessity of building work to improve Edinburgh, later writes:

> The meanness of EDINBURGH has been too long an obstruction to our improvement, and a reproach to SCOTLAND. The increase of our people, the extension of our commerce, and the honour of the nation, are all concerned in this project.[42]

Elliot's text reflects the continuation of a Scottish identity within Britishness (what T.C. Smout refers to as 'concentric loyalties'), with his plans for the New Town demonstrating a desire for Edinburgh to be equal to London.[43] It also shows the connections between Scottish Enlightenment discourse and concrete political and social

[39] J. Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World*, London, John Murray, 2003, p 251; A. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History*, London, Croom Helm, 1976, p 198.
[40] Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment, Edinburgh, 1660-1760*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, p 8.
[41] G. Elliot, lord Minto, *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1752, p 5.
[42] *Ibid*, p 24.
[43] *Ibid*; T.C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland', in T.M. Devine (ed), *Improvement and Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989, pp 1-21.

aims; moral and material improvement was inseparable. The public sphere in Scotland was always political.

Glasgow during the eighteenth century was also a growing urban centre, however the city differed from Edinburgh in a number of respects. Whereas the aristocracy, gentry and professionals dominated Edinburgh's urban elite culture, Glasgow had a more mercantile edge. This was due to the importance of the Imperial merchant trade to the city's prosperity and growth, particularly the trade in slave-grown tobacco. Between 1741 and 1771 imports of tobacco to Glasgow grew from 8 million pounds to 47 million pounds. The economic prosperity from this trade was reflected in the grand mansions of tobacco merchants, the city's paved streets, and commercial 'improvements' such as the building of the Forth and Clyde canal and investment in textile manufacturing.[44]

Although fewer than Edinburgh, Glasgow had a number of societies and clubs, including the Literary Society and Hodge Podge Club that will be a focus of this chapter, and others, including the overtly commercially orientated Political Economy Club founded in 1743.[45] Hook and Sher argue that Glasgow's commercial wealth 'provided opportunities for the development of notions of enlightened progress and improvement, in all aspects of the polite civic culture of an increasingly civilised modern world'.[46] However, Hook and Sher fail to mention the role of slavery in spurring Glasgow's economic growth; a reality that puts into question their notion of 'an increasingly civilised modern world'. Economic growth was a factor in the development of Scottish Enlightenment discourse and commercialism was perceived by the literati as integral to the development of what they considered to be 'civilised' society. The improvement which occurred in Scotland, particularly its urban centres, during the eighteenth century should not be used to ignore the reality of slavery, but instead to remind us of the limitations of Enlightenment notions of civility and liberty. Eighteenth-century Glasgow, where mercantile wealth and the development of the public sphere were inseparable, provides clear evidence of the dependence of Scottish Enlightenment

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[44] Sher, Hook, 'Glasgow and the Enlightenment', pp 3-4; I. Maver, *Glasgow*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2000, pp 26-28; Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1660-1815*, London, Penguin, 2003, pp 332-334.
[45] Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p 198.
[46] Sher, Hook, 'Glasgow and the Enlightenment', pp 4-5.

culture on the slave trade, even if some members of the literati such as John Millar wrote against it, stating 'it is to be regretted that any species of slavery should still remain in the dominions of Great Britain, in which liberty is generally so well understood, and so highly valued.'[47]

Alongside an increasingly wealthy merchant class, the professors of the University of Glasgow were central to the development of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, and the University played an important role in the articulation and spread of this discourse. Whereas Edinburgh's intellectual culture was integrated but dispersed amongst Edinburgh University, and clerical, professional, and other associational bodies, Glasgow's was largely centred upon the University.[48] Although eclipsed by Edinburgh, Glasgow was also a centre for printing and bookselling, especially from 1740, largely due to the influence of Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers to the University and members of the Literary Society.[49]

The growth of public sphere sociability in urban Scotland occurred in the context of a post-Union desire amongst the Scottish elite to assert their equality within the newly formed British nation.[50] Societies and clubs were an important site for the expression of public sociability and the development of, and participation in, these cultural institutions reflects the process of outside adoption (Anglicisation) and internal construction in the formation of a North British identity in eighteenth-century Scotland. McElroy, in his examination of the relationship between societies, clubs and the dominant eighteenth century national discourse of economic, social and moral improvement, argues that there were three essential elements to what he refers to as Scotland's 'Age of Improvement'. These were: Scots' desire for moral, economic and social improvement; the method of organising societies to achieve this improvement; and a reliance on English examples as a guide.[51] McElroy's emphasis on the integral connection between discourses of improvement and the development and growth of societies and clubs as key cultural

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[47] J. Millar, *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (4th ed. 1806), ed. J.V. Price, Bristol, Thoemmes Antiquarian Books, 1990, p 289.
[48] Sher, Hook, 'Glasgow and the Enlightenment', pp 10-11.
[49] Sher, 'Commerce, religion and enlightenment in eighteenth-century Glasgow', in Devine, G. Jackson (eds), *Glasgow, Vol. 1: Beginnings to 1830*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1995, pp 326-328.
[50] Kidd, 'North Britishness', pp 361-375.
[51] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, p 9.

institutions has been accepted by later historians of the social context of the Scottish Enlightenment.[52]

Societies and clubs were perceived to demonstrate Scotland's place within British 'civilisation' and enable further social and moral progress. As Kidd discusses, within the ideology of North Britishness English institutions were classified as the 'vanguard of progress'; within a stadialist historiographical viewpoint English institutions represented the development of a civilisation based upon commerce and civil liberty.[53] As evidence of the development of 'civilised' society, based upon metropolitan English norms, societies and clubs were a fundamental aspect of the urban elite's rejection of Scotland's feudal past and the (perceived) formation of a society founded upon commerce and civil liberty; they provided evidence of the country's membership in and loyalty to the British nation and a space in which to articulate and perform the emergent national identity of North Britishness.

In analysing the gendered nature of Scottish societies and clubs, it is important to recognise that although they were predominantly spaces for the performance of the ideal of male refinement, they could also be spaces for the performance of alternative expressions of masculinity, such as libertinism. The Beggars Benison was a club established in the East Neuk of Fife in 1732 by men who believed that male sexuality was intended, by nature, for pleasure as well as procreation. As a libertine 'sex club' the rituals of the Beggars Benison reflect its aim of the celebration of male sexuality. According to David Stevenson, the members of the Beggars Benison engaged in sociable masturbation and may have hired women to be 'examined' by the members and then to dance naked for them. However, Stevenson states that the records were altered in the nineteenth century, and so some of the practices described may be the products of fantasy. But despite the questionable nature of some records, Stevenson asserts that the members of the Beggars Benison did engage in a sexual initiation ritual. New members

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[52] P. Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 453; Kingwell, 'Politics and Polite Society', p 371; Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', pp 295-299; Emerson, 'Contexts', pp 19-23.
[53] Kidd, 'North Britishness', p 374.

to the club were required to prove that they were not impotent by either displaying their erect penis to the other members or masturbating in front of them.[54]

The practices conducted by members of the Beggars Benison suggest that it provided a space for a particular expression of male sexuality that was likely to have been suppressed outwith the specific environment of club meetings. Sexual practice was central to libertinism as a masculine identity, and through the adoption of this identity men asserted their departure from dominant ideas of sexual morality. The full adoption of a libertine identity would have been more possible in cities such as London or Edinburgh, than in Fife. The Beggars Benison was comprised of a range of men from the middle and upper ranks of East Neuk society, and included among others merchants, gentry, Church of Scotland elders, customs officers and commissioners to the Convention of Royal Burghs. As Stevenson discusses, the geographical and social position of these men would have meant that actual libertinism or any heterosexual promiscuity would have been almost impossible. The Beggars Benison provided what was possibly the only space in which these men could perform a libertine masculinity.[55]

In a 1996 study, Marie Mulvey Roberts asserted that homosociality in societies such as the Masons and spaces like Molly Houses enabled men to perform feminine characteristics of their identity, which they were precluded from doing outwith the context of these homosocial institutions and spaces.[56] Although Roberts' argument has some strength in regard to Molly Houses, it is weak when applied to other societies, including the Freemasons. To assume that male practices which diverted from 'normal' masculinity (i.e. that performed on the street, in the home and in the workplace) were feminine is to assume a rigid dichotomy between femininity and masculinity that allows for no room for a fluidity of masculinity. Certainly the Masons and libertine sex clubs did engage in ritualistic practices which allowed for their members' divergence from masculine social norms, but these were not necessarily feminine practices.

The particular, or multiple, expressions of masculinity within societies and clubs was largely dependent upon the purpose of the society or club itself. The Select Society,

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[54] D. Stevenson, *The Beggars Benison: Sex Clubs of Enlightenment Scotland and their Rituals*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2001, pp 1-39.
[55] Stevenson, *Beggars Benison*, pp 81-83, 132-133.
[56] M.M. Roberts, 'Pleasures Engendered by Gender: Homosociality and the Club', in R. Porter, Roberts (eds), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996, pp 48-76.

an elitist intellectual institution, was primarily a space for the performance of male refinement, whilst the Hodge Podge Club, a club with a strong emphasis on socialising and drinking, combined refinement with expressions of male conviviality centred upon drinking in taverns.[57] In his study of seventeenth and eighteenth century British clubs and societies, Clark states that they 'remained almost wholly a masculine preserve.'[58] Clark charts the growth of clubs and societies as one of the most distinctive social and cultural institutions of Georgian Britain. His discussion within this of the gendered nature of the membership of voluntary organisations is useful, particularly in highlighting the few organisations, such as benefit clubs and musical societies to which women did belong. In regards to masculinity, Clark suggests the possibility that clubs and societies were predominantly all male as a response to an increasingly female dominated social world.[59] He also argues that in this context, the heavy drinking, swearing, and obscene songs that defined the conviviality of many clubs, was a means of preserving what was perceived as traditional male sociability against the imposition of new ideals of male refinement.[60] I agree with Clark's argument that clubs could be spaces where the performance of masculinity was antithetical to emerging ideals of politeness and refinement, something Stevenson demonstrates with the Beggars Benison. However, I contend that clubs and societies were also primary sites for the performance of male refinement. Which model was adopted depended upon the specific institution.

Clubs and Homosociality

In the following section I will examine the homosociality of four eighteenth-century Scottish institutions, the Edinburgh based Select Society and Poker Club, and the Glasgow based Literary Society and Hodge Podge Club. I have chosen these four institutions over other possibilities because I believe that they provide a good cross-

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[57] NLS MS Adv.23.1.1, *Minutes of the Select Society*; Hodge Podge Club, *The Hodge Podge Club 1752-1900: Compiled from the Records of the Club by T.F. Donald*, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1900.
[58] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 202.
[59] *Ibid*, p 191.
[60] *Ibid*, p 203.

section of elite intellectual-political homosocial associations in Scotland during the mid-to-late eighteenth century.

As Alexander Broadie discusses, clubs and societies as a cultural feature of the Scottish Enlightenment were a primary means by which the 'republic of letters' was integrated into wider elite society, providing a context for philosophical engagement and debate between philosophers, theologians and members of the emerging professions such as lawyers and scientists.[61] If clubs and societies represent the cultural manifestation of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, then their homosocial composition must be recognised as a key factor in the gendering of this discourse and vice versa.

In France, the equivalent to the clubs and societies of Scotland were the salons of the philosophes and other members of the (primarily aristocratic) urban elite. Although the majority of participants in French salon culture were men, the salons were hosted by women who played an active role in moulding a culture of polite intellectual discourse.[62] England, particularly London, had a fairly similar intellectual-political sphere to Scotland, in that clubs, societies and coffeehouses were prominent. However, whilst women's participation in England was limited, they were not entirely absent from the intellectual-political public sphere, to the same extent that they were in Scotland.[63] The London gatherings (or salons) of the female Bluestocking circle (1750-1780s) centred upon women such as Elizabeth Montagu, Elizabeth Vesey and Frances Boscawen and were attended by men such as the writer Samuel Johnson, the actor David Garrick and the painter Henry Reynolds. Elizabeth Eger cites these gatherings as an enactment of literary sociability through polite conversation.[64] In Scotland, the literary gatherings held by Alison Cockburn (1713-1794) could be claimed to be similar to that of the Bluestocking circle. However, as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, Cockburn's gatherings can be considered more firmly located in the social sphere than the Bluestockings, who sat on the borderline between the intellectual-political and social public spheres.

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[61] Broadie, 'What was the Scottish Enlightenment?', pp 16-17.
[62] Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, pp 74-84.
[63] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, pp 197-215.
[64] E. Eger, ' 'The Noblest Commerce of Mankind': Conversation and Community in the Bluestocking Circle', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp 288-301.

In his examination of women's participation in the eighteenth-century public sphere Melton refers to Scottish Enlightenment philosophers such as Adam Smith and John Millar, writing that in their defence of commercial society they presented women as crucial to the development of 'civilisation'. I do not dispute this, but Melton only considers women's involvement in the public spheres of England, France, Vienna and Berlin.[65] If he were to consider Scotland, he might find that a philosophical emphasis on women's role in the civilising process could lead to the growth of a mixed-sex social sphere that did not necessarily equate to, and in fact militated against, women's inclusion in the intellectual-political sphere. As the next chapter will show, the importance of femininity to women's role in the civilising process can be interpreted as leading to their predominant exclusion from the intellectual-political sphere. However, women's relative absence was not only due to ideas about femininity, but must be considered to result also from conceptions and practices of masculinity within the male urban elite culture that formed the intellectual-political sphere in Scotland. In the following examination of the Select Society, Poker Club, Literary Society and Hodge Podge Club I will consider the homosocial composition of these institutions and the performance of masculinities within them.

The Select Society met between 1754 and 1764 and is the most well known of eighteenth-century Scotland's societies. Meeting weekly in Edinburgh on Wednesday evenings, the Select Society was primarily a debating society. Questions proposed by members for debate would be entered into a book from which the questions for the specific debate of each meeting would be chosen. These questions could be proposed by any member and could cover 'any subject of debate, except such as regard Revealed religion, or which may give occasion to vent any principles of Jacobitism'.[66] As this rule suggests, the Select Society was not a radical club and (typical of societies in Scotland) it existed as an organisation loyal to the British monarchy and British state, and aimed to contribute to the progress of the British nation, and of Scotland within this nation.

The desire for progress or improvement is evidenced by the formation by the Select Society in 1755 of the largely autonomous sub-organisation, the Edinburgh

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[65] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, pp 197-224.
[66] 'Rules and Orders of the Select Society instituted on Wednesday the twenty second day of May 1754', in *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 2

Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in Scotland.[67] This society is a clear example of the links between the philosophical debates and material intervention in society by the members of the Select Society. In the resolutions passed by the Select Society to set up the 'improvement society', they state, 'THAT Arts and Manufactures may, by the proper distribution of premiums, be promoted, is a certain truth, founded in reason, and confirmed by experience.'[68] In 1761 the Select Society established the Society for Promoting the Reading and Writing of the English Language. The formation of this society reflected a desire amongst the literati to avoid the use of Scotticisms in their writing, and in doing so affirm their intellectual and cultural equality with the English.[69] Individual and social improvement in the context of North Britishness was a motivating principle behind the activities of the Select Society.

The role of the Select Society in attempting to further Scotland's improvement is reflected in the questions debated at the meetings. These questions broadly cover issues of politics, economy, society, and the arts. Central to this discourse were questions of nationhood, British power and gender. For example, on 18 December 1759 five questions were proposed and entered into the question book. These were, 'Whether the Union of all our Colonies on the Continent of America would be of advantage to Britain, & these Colonies?', 'Whether a Nation may subsist without a Public Spirit?', 'Whether the true Interest of Britain requires that we should always remain in amity with Holland?', 'Whether it would be of advantage to Society that the Women held Places of Trust and Profit in the State?', and 'Whether the Institution of Convents and Nunneries is prejudicial to the population of a Country?'[70] The centrality of issues of gender and the nation in Select Society debates will be examined later. Firstly, however, it is necessary to consider the society's composition.

During its ten years as an active body 164 men became members.[71] This membership included key Enlightenment figures such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, Hugh Blair and Lord Kames and as such it provides the clearest

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[67] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, pp 48-60
[68] *Resolutions of the Select Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture (March 13, 1755)*, Edinburgh, 1755.
[69] Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', p 299.
[70] *Minutes of the Select Society*, pp 148-149.
[71] Appendix in Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', pp 323-328.

example of the links between intellectual societies and the development of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy.[72] As demonstrated in the previous chapter, this philosophy was an integral aspect of the construction of new ideals of gender during the eighteenth century, and so the gendered environment in which these ideas were raised and discussed is crucial to understanding the construction and propagation of these ideals. Importantly in this context, the Select Society was a male only society. The manuscript minutes of the club contain no reference to women being admitted as members or as visitors. They also contain no record of women being explicitly excluded.[73] This lack of a specific reference to female exclusion indicates that women's access to the intellectual-political public sphere in eighteenth century Scotland was culturally restricted. That an intellectual club, such as the Select Society, would be exclusively male appears to have been assumed. The Select Society's homosocial composition reflects a general exclusion of women from intellectual clubs in eighteenth-century Scotland.

For the Select Society gender was not the only criteria for exclusion. It was an elite, yet very popular, club in which membership was hard to obtain even for some men at the upper levels of the social hierarchy. As Roger Emerson shows, of the sixty-two rejected candidates between 1754-61 there were two Edinburgh professors, a number of advocates (which included men of rank such as the Earl of Fife), soldiers (most of whom were probably officers), merchants, ministers and gentlemen.[74] Although not a guarantee, social status was however an important determinant of entry. As Emerson states, the membership of the Select Society was composed of men from the upper levels of the social hierarchy. This class position enabled the Society to have an impact within the broader political sphere, for example through patronage networks within which the members of the Select Society were integrated.[75]

The links between participation in the Select Society and political influence are apparent in the Society's membership lists. Alongside Enlightenment philosophers there are scientists including Alexander Monro and William Cullen; nobles such as the Duke

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[72] Kingwell, 'Politics and Polite Society', p 373; Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', pp 291-296.
[73] *Minutes of the Select Society*.
[74] Appendix in Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', pp 328-329.
[75] Emerson, 'Social Composition of Enlightened Scotland', pp 301-303

of Hamilton, and the Earl of Lauderdale; military officers including Major Archibald Montgomery and Captain James Stewart; and political figures such as George Drummond Esquire, Lord Provost of Edinburgh and Mr Robert Dundas, Lord Advocate.[76] The Select Society not only provided a space in which to share and develop ideas, argue and develop oratory skills, but also to meet and interact with men whose influence might be of benefit in the furthering of a career, or for those men with and/or aspiring to political power to bring more men under their influence. In this regard, elitist institutions such as the Select Society played a similar role to early modern political spaces such as the court and noble household.

The Select Society, like other elite institutions, was a space for the development of influence and connection. For example, William Robertson, a Church of Scotland minister and an active member of the Select Society, went on to become the Principal of the University of Edinburgh in 1762. Robertson believed in the literati's role as the cultural leaders of society and, from 1757, with Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson and Alexander Carlyle established the control of the Moderates in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Robertson's ascendancy to political power in eighteenth-century Edinburgh occurred in the context of his active engagement in the homosocial Scottish Enlightenment public sphere. In turn his ascendancy enabled an increase in influence of the literati.[77]

Elite intellectual societies were integrated with the pre-existing institutional public sphere. Their position as a space for networking and political influence places them as similar to older forms of elite political influence and organisation such as the noble household. However, by their occupation of public space, the Select Society's integration of men from the upper middling ranks presented a more democratic, if highly limited, form of political interaction than the pre-Union Scottish parliamentary politics that was dominated by the nobility. One of the primary differences between elite

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[76] 'Lists of Members of the Select Society', in *Minutes of the Select Society*, pp 7-10; NLS MS.25435.fol.34-35 *Roll of Members of the Select Society, 20th October 1754*; NLS FB.1.177 *Roll of Members of the Select Society, 18th October 1758*.

[77] J. R. Smitten, 'Robertson, William (1721–1793)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford U.P., Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23817, accessed 26 May 2008]. For a detailed analysis of the institutionalisation of Scottish Enlightenment Moderate philosophy and the ascendency of the Moderate literati see Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1985, esp. Ch's 2 & 3.

societies such as the Select Society and the noble household is that in the latter women of wealth and high social status could exert a certain level of political influence, particularly in regards to systems of patronage.[78] As demonstrated in Chapter 3, during the early eighteenth century women such as Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton could influence the institutional political sphere from which they were excluded, i.e. parliament, through their influence in the informal political sphere of the household. In the absence of a Scottish parliament, political practice in eighteenth-century Scotland was to a great extent located in the urban intellectual-political public sphere. Certainly many Scots, especially of the nobility were active in British politics and moved easily between England and Scotland. However, political agency as practised in Scotland, in Scottish institutions, primarily occurred within the homosocial intellectual-political sphere. That women were excluded appears a key component of their democratic nature.

Ideology and institutions fulfilled a complementary function in the construction of elite society in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Nicholas Phillipson argues that this society constituted political society in Scotland from the 1750s as the institutions of the literati came to replace the pre-Union Parliament as sites for interaction amongst the elite and political discourse and action. The landed classes, who to a great extent still dominated Edinburgh society, were assimilated into the institutions of the literati, providing them with a collective identity which had been lost with the removal of the Parliament to London.[79] The societies and clubs examined here were intellectual and political public spaces.

Glasgow's societies appear to have fulfilled a similar intellectual and political function to those in Edinburgh, although they were more closely tied to the University and existed in a society defined more by mercantile activity than by the professions. Like Edinburgh societies they provided a space for intellectual and political expression in post-Union Scotland. The key institution in Glasgow in regards to the forging and expression of Scottish Enlightenment discourse was the Literary Society. Although its records are patchy and only exist from 1764, and even these are an 1830 transcription of the original documents, reasonable information exists relating to membership of the

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[78] K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2000, pp 139-141.
[79] Phillipson, 'Culture and Society', pp 411-448.

Society. Of the twelve constituent members in 1752, nine were professors at the University of Glasgow, including Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy. The remaining three were composed of two men for whom no profession is listed and the Reverend William Craig, Minster of Glasgow.[80]

According to Richard Sher, of the one hundred known members of the Literary Society, thirty-two were members of the clergy, including fifteen of whom were also Professors at the University of Glasgow. In total university professors and principals constituted the largest proportion of members with fifty-two represented. Far more than Edinburgh's Select Society, the Literary Society in Glasgow was dominated by the city's University. This is most likely due to the overwhelming centrality of the University to the Enlightenment in Glasgow.[81] The dominance of professors in terms of Literary Society membership highlights the strong links between clubs and societies and the formal institutional public sphere, such as universities and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The dominance of clergymen and professors within the Literary Society was matched by their dominance of the University itself. The political 'managers' of Scotland, such as Archibald Campbell, 3rd duke of Argyll, who used patronage (enabled by his political influence in London) to dominate and control Scottish politics during the mid-eighteenth century, were hugely influential in the appointment of Chairs at Scottish universities during the eighteenth century. In addition, as Emerson discusses, at the University of Edinburgh, professional bodies such as the Faculty of Advocates and Royal College of Surgeons were influential in the appointment of Chairs in their respective fields. At the University of Glasgow, however, there was far less influence from professional bodies. Second to political 'managers', the Presbytery of Glasgow exercised power over appointments. After 'managers' and the Presbytery, the professors of the University more than the Crown, professional bodies, or private patrons, had the greatest influence on the appointment of Chairs at Glasgow.[82] The power of the Glasgow

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[80] W.J. Duncan (ed), *Notices and Documents illustrative of the literary history of Glasgow, during the later part of the last century*, Glasgow, Maitland Club, 1831, p 132.
[81] Sher, 'Commerce, religion and enlightenment', pp 335-348.
[82] Emerson, 'Politics and the Glasgow Professors, 1690-1800', in Sher, Hook (eds), *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, pp 24-34.

professors evidences the clear links between the intellectual-political public sphere and the exercise of political power.

Like Edinburgh, the homosociality of the intellectual-political sphere in Glasgow was assumed. In regards to participation in the Literary Society, in addition to members attending meetings, the President (a position held on a rotating basis) had the 'power of bringing three Visitors to the Society', provided he obtained the consent of the member giving the lecture at that meeting. The person giving the lecture was also able to bring three visitors. The only stated restriction regarding visitors was that it extended, 'only to Members of this College, and to the Inhabitants of Glasgow.'[83] Like the Select Society, women were not present as members or visitors, but were not officially excluded.

Brian Cowan, in his analysis of the gendered nature of English coffeehouse culture during the post-Restoration period, argues that the lack of formal exclusion of women was due to an assumption that the activities that took place in coffeehouses, such as political and intellectual debate or business transactions, were masculine activities.[84] This argument can easily be applied to the context of mid-eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment culture. As discussed in the previous chapter, Scottish Enlightenment thought, and the culture it existed in, placed great emphasis on the civilising effects of female influence, particularly through conversation. However, this emphasis was dependent upon a specific notion of women's femininity, and by extension intellectual inferiority. The activity of intellectual debate that occurred in the Select Society and Literary Society was assumed to be a masculine activity, thereby leading to an assumption and expectation of homosociality.

The influential philosopher David Hume was a founding member of the Select Society. Hume offers a good example of Scottish Enlightenment ideas regarding women's feminine role in the creation of a refined civilised culture in his 1742 essay 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences'. This essay was one of a number of collections of essays published by Hume during the mid-eighteenth century. These essays were more popular amongst contemporary readers, than the now better known,

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[83] 'Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College', in Duncan, *Records of the Literary Society*, p 3.
[84] B. Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), p 134.

Treatise of Human Nature (1739-1740).[85] In 'Of the Rise and Progress' Hume argues that male gallantry is the basis of politeness, and that this is based upon the mutual affection between the sexes, and so is a natural sentiment which is refined and polished in modern society, to give it 'a proper grace and expression.'[86] Gallantry for Hume provided the basis of men's generosity towards others, therefore providing the basis for good manners and a defence against personal vice. In this regard gallantry allowed men to raise women's position in society to that of the companions of men rather than their slaves. On this Hume states:

> As nature has given *man* superiority over *woman*, by endowing him with greater strength of mind and body; it is his part to alleviate that superiority, as much as possible by the generosity of his behaviour, and by a studied deference and complaisance for all her inclinations and opinions.[87]

Men for Hume were physically and intellectually superior to women, but due to the development of civility men were able to respect women as companions. This respect is important for the further development of civility. As he asserts:

> What better school for manners than the company of virtuous women; where the mutual endeavour to please must insensibly polish the mind, where the example of female softness and modesty must communicate itself to their admirers, and where the delicacy of that sex puts every one on his guard, lest he give offence by any breach of decency?[88]

Within Hume's philosophy male politeness and gallantry towards women in mixed-sex interaction whilst perceived to elevate women's position in society, was also considered as a demonstration of male superiority, as integral to male refinement. Adam Smith, also a founding member of the Select Society and an active participant in the Literary Society, also considered women as lacking certain mental characteristics that were possessed by men. As Jane Rendall argues, within Smith's philosophy women were deemed to lack the courage and capacity for the self-command necessary for full participation in public life. Instead women were perceived as possessing female virtues

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[85] E. F. Miller, 'Forward', in D. Hume, *Essays Moral Political and Literary* (1777), ed. Miller, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1985, pp xi-xvi.
[86] Hume, 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences', in *Essays*, p 131.
[87] *Ibid*, p 133.
[88] *Ibid*, p 134.

of sensibility, kindness and friendship, virtues that were seen as being suited for the social and domestic spheres.[89] Considering the ideas about women's weaker intellectual and moral characters expressed by Hume and Smith it is unsurprising that the societies that they formed to discuss these and other ideas did not include women.

Within Scottish Enlightenment discourse women were considered as inherently unsuited for rigorous public debate. As John Dwyer discusses, within this ideology women's intellectual and other forms of public participation were perceived as a risk to her feminine delicacy. It was believed that women should certainly be educated, but that this should focus upon the development of feminine sensibility and the acquirement of domestic virtues.[90] Women's access to education certainly increased during the eighteenth century, but this does not necessarily reflect the emergence of a conception of intellectual gender equality. During the eighteenth century the term 'learned lady' was a form of abuse directed at women with public intellectual ambitions.[91] Women needed to be educated so as to fully develop the feminine qualities necessary for the development of male refinement, not so they could participate as equals in the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment. The importance placed upon women's complementary gender identity is a primary reason for women's absence as members and/or visitors from the Select Society and Literary Society without their exclusion ever being explicitly asserted.

With the exception of two debating societies in the 1770s and the possible existence of a female only intellectual society operating c.1720, both of which will be discussed in the next chapter, women in Scotland were largely absent from eighteenth-century club and society life. Their absence from the more explicitly social clubs such as the Hodge Podge Club, and the both social and political Poker Club, is in many ways even more expected than their absence from the Select Society and Literary Society. The

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[89] Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce in the Making of Adam Smith's Political Economy', in E. Kennedy, S. Mendus (eds), *Women in Western Political Thought: Kant to Nietzsche*, Sussex, Wheatsheaf Books, 1987, pp 59-60.
[90] J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, pp 122-123.
[91] R.K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, William Collins and Sons, London, 1983, p 207, 220.

Hodge Podge Club and Poker Club were convivial clubs, in that they, to use McElroy's definition, 'met in taverns to enjoy food and drink as well as conversation.'[92]

The Hodge Podge Club was first and foremost a drinking society. Of the sixteen rules of the club compiled in 1783 a quarter were at least partly related to drinking. These included Rule 1 concerning the power of the President, a position to which a member would be elected at each meeting. The President's power was to, 'be considered as absolute, with this single exception – that he shall compel no member to drink more liquor than that member may chuse, but the Preses [President] may order any member to abstain from drinking.'[93] And Rule 4 which asserted that, 'No wine except port wine shall be allowed to be used at the ordinary meeting of the Club. Madeira may be used on the Anniversary, but no French wines shall ever be called for on any pretence whatever.'[94]

The banning of French wine from the meetings of the Hodge Podge Club demonstrates a link between club life and expressions of British patriotism. This ban stated in 1783, but appearing to exist from slightly earlier (the listed rules being a compilation of those already existing) can be interpreted not only as an expression of general eighteenth-century anti-French discourse in Britain, but directly related to French involvement in the American War of Independence (1775-1783). In 1778 the French recognised the United States as a legitimate nation and joined the war as active participants against the British. The Hodge Podge Club was a Glasgow club and its membership, consisting mainly of merchants, reflects the commercial nature of the city during the eighteenth century. Due to the importance of Atlantic trade, particularly in slave-grown tobacco, to Scotland's and particularly Glasgow's mercantile wealth, many Scottish merchants had a vested interest in the outcome of the American War, and were opposed to American independence.[95] The Hodge Podge Club's banning of French wine needs to be interpreted in this context. The ban appears to have provided a means for the members to actively support the British war effort by boycotting French products and to assert their opposition to the American Revolution. There have been a number of studies

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[92] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, p 144.
[93] *Hodge Podge Club*, pp 14-15.
[94] *Ibid*, p 15.
[95] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 185.

that consider the links between consumption and national identity, or patriotic expression, in regards to women's purchasing habits, particularly in regards to anti-slavery boycotts.[96] However the role of men as possible patriotic consumers is often overlooked. The Hodge Podge Club's choice of wine demonstrates that patriotic consumption was not restricted to women and the domestic sphere.

It cannot be said with certainty that the members of the Hodge Podge Club adopted North Britishness as their primary national identity, but they were clearly supporters of the Protestant constitutional monarchy created by the Revolution Settlement of 1689-90. This is evidenced by a minute from 1788, where it states that 5 November being the one-hundredth anniversary of the landing of King William of Orange, 'it is ordered on that day, and on the same day in each revolving century, the Club (not withstanding the present rule against French wine) may call for such wines as they choose.'[97] Composed of merchants, and other members of the urban professional elite such as surgeons, the Hodge Podge Club's members are an example of the links between commerce and refinement in the assertion of a model of public North British masculinity by the mercantile elite that was positioned as an alternative to the aristocratic courtier or libertine.[98] They may not have fully embraced the culture of male refinement, but in many respects the Hodge Podge Club's membership symbolised the concepts of liberty and improvement that were central to discourses of North Britishness in Scotland.

The Hodge Podge Club may have been a drinking club, but it was not a libertine club, and it seems to have existed within the boundaries of polite society. In this regard the club exerted a certain amount of control over the behaviour of members during meetings. For example fines were levied against members for speaking indecent or disrespectful words and/or behaving despicably.[99] However, despite a level of adherence to the social norms of politeness, the Hodge Podge Club operated within a culture of masculinity centred upon sociable drinking. This demonstrates a level of continuity from

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[96] For an introductory discussion of female anti-slavery boycott of West Indian sugar see L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1992, p 278.
[97] *Hodge Podge Club*, p 29.
[98] For a discussion of mercantile patriotic masculinity see G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992, pp 84-88.
[99] *Hodge Podge Club*, pp 24-25.

the early modern period in regards to masculine social performance.[100] The recognition of drink as a basis for male sociability is evidenced in the records in an entry from 1762, where it is was recorded that a visitor, Mr Charles Selkrig, was present at the meeting. His presence was deemed acceptable because he 'has drunk with the fathers and grandfathers of most present'.[101]

The practices of the Hodge Podge Club demonstrate the connections between patriotism and 'traditional' male sociability centred around drinking. More obviously than the Hodge Podge Club, the Edinburgh-based Poker Club was an organisation in which male sociability and the practice of politics and patriotism were intertwined. This is due to the fact that it was a convivial club but one which existed in order to campaign for a Scottish militia. According to the introduction in the manuscript minute book, its membership included, 'about all the literati of Edinburgh … together with many country gentlemen, who were indignant at the invidious line drawn between Scotland and England.'[102] The division the author is referring to is that created by the Westminster Parliament's Militia Acts of 1757 and 1775 that called for the raising of a militia in England but not in Scotland. The Poker Club was an important actor in the agitations for the provisions of this Act to be extended to Scotland. This was deemed necessary for domestic defence and to assert Scotland's equal place in the Union. It was also conceived of as a means of defending civic virtue within a commercial society through the maintenance of martial values of courage and self-sacrifice.[103]

The campaign for a Scottish militia was linked to the expression of a ideal patriotic masculinity that was grounded in the maintenance of martial values. This alternative elite patriotic masculinity will be discussed in Chapter 7. Here it is worthwhile emphasising that the campaign for a Scottish militia, and the philosophy underpinning it, presented an alternative masculine model to that of gentlemanly sensibility. Rejecting politeness, its primary proponent, Adam Ferguson, argued for the necessity of a continuance of a martial manhood based upon self-sacrifice and courage

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[100] E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, pp 40-41.
[101] *Hodge Podge Club*, p 24
[102] EUL Sp. Col. Ms.Dc.5.126, *Minutes of the Poker Club.*
[103] J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985, p 11, 164.

within commercial society as necessary to avoid moral corruption and defend liberty. This can be interpreted as an argument for the maintenance of a more traditional expression of masculinity within commercial society; the same argument can be applied to the practices of convivial clubs. This supports Clark's contention that clubs provided a space for the continuation of traditional male sociability in opposition to the discourse of sensibility.[104] However, societies and clubs must be recognised as providing spaces for the performance of a range of alternative masculine identities, and for the merging of older and emerging norms of masculine behaviour.

The membership of the Poker Club was composed mainly of professors, professionals and gentry. Included amongst the first list of forty-three members are Alexander Carlyle, David Hume, William Robertson, Hugh Blair and Adam Ferguson.[105] Also included in the club's membership were prominent political figures such as Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate, the more powerful younger brother of Robert Dundas mentioned above in regards to the Select Society. As discussed above, clubs and societies provided men with important networking opportunities which might facilitate career advancement and/or enable a level of political influence unavailable to those outwith this culture. For the Poker Club this issue of political influence was extended to direct political participation as they functioned as a sort of lobby group on the militia issue. For example on 26 July 1782, ten members were appointed, 'to be a committee to form a bill for a Scotch militia.'[106]

The conviviality of the Poker Club was inseparable from its political purpose. This is displayed in a letter from Lord Mountstuart to William Mure of Caldwell. Writing in 1775 about the raising of an English militia and arguing that Scotland should campaign for a Scottish militia, because, 'Cannot the Scotch defend themselves?', Mountstuart writes, 'I hope to hear from you soon, and that the Poker Club is revived, and that I am very popular amongst the members.'[107] In Mountstuart's representation of the Poker Club, there is an intimate connection between male sociability and political purpose.

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[104] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p 203.
[105] *Minutes of the Poker Club*.
[106] *Ibid*.
[107] Lord Mountstuart to Baron Mure, 1 November 1775, in *Selections From the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, Part II Vol. II, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854, pp 264-265.

That this political participation occurred within a homosocial environment reflected the club's belief in the need for the maintenance of martial masculine virtues within a commercial society. Although they did not, as far as the records suggest, engage in any militia-type activity as a club, their practice of male sociability was 'traditional' in that it centred upon meeting in taverns and drinking. In the first section of the manuscript minute book, there is a handwritten history of the club which appears to have been written by Adam Ferguson, the son of Professor Adam Ferguson, and who presented the manuscript to Edinburgh University in 1854. In the introductory section it is stated that although the club met in taverns, 'According to the members who attended most regularly no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed.'[108] This statement is not necessarily supported by the minutes which appear to be original (having been bound into the current manuscript), and possibly reflects Victorian attitudes towards drunkenness more than it does the reality of meetings of the Poker Club. Although the minutes are scant and so do not provide much insight into the actual conduct of the meetings, it is unlikely that, as the Poker Club always met in taverns, drinking was not part of the club's sociable activities. The only direct reference to drinking in the minutes is positive. For the meeting of 30 July 1779, it was recorded that, 'Mr Nairne and Mr Adam Ferguson Drank the Scotch Militia the King & all the other Friends of the Militia but not the absent members.'[109] The male sociability practised in the Poker Club centred upon drinking in taverns. This convivial function of the club was not separate from its political function; the political practice of the Poker Club was homosocial.

Homosocial Spaces

The spaces in which convivial clubs generally met, i.e. taverns, is a primary reason for their homosocial composition. Taverns were traditionally male spaces. Although women were sometimes proprietors of drinking establishments, the clientele of these establishments was primarily male. [110] Although working-class women accompanied by men, and prostitutes, were often present, middling and upper status women were far less

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[108] *Minutes of the Poker Club*.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, pp 152-4.

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likely to be.[111] Many women of the middling and upper ranks understood their presence in these spaces to equal a loss of respectability. It appears that by meeting in taverns, club members were able to engage in an expression of male sociability which included behaviour that would have been considered as indecent in the mixed-sex social sphere governed by a discourse of politeness and sensibility.

There are currently no studies on the relationship between masculinity and drinking in Scotland.[112] Studies of masculinity in early modern England highlight the alehouse as an important space for the performance of an alternative masculinity to that which centred upon man's position as the head of the household.[113] The position of the tavern, or alehouse, as an alternative site for male sociability during the eighteenth century reflects a continuation from the early modern period and it is likely that the relationship between drinking and the performance of manliness within them also continued.[114] This appears to have been adapted to contemporary culture in that men began to frequent taverns within the institutional framework of a club meeting. According to Clark, publicans and innkeepers themselves sought to benefit from, and so adapted to, the culture of sociability by accommodating clubs, establishing and/or financing them, and by supporting other sociable activities such as sporting events and plays.[115] As Melton discusses in relation to England, prior to the eighteenth century taverns were primarily a space for plebeian social interaction, but during this century they began to also attract men of middling and gentry status. However these were often socially segregated spaces with separate rooms for this new clientele.[116]

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[111] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, p 213. For a discussion of the impact of status on female incursions into male spaces see S. Mendelson, P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003, pp 205-212.

[112] For a discussion of drinking in the context of economic change and social order in Scotland see I. Donnachie, 'Drink and Society 1750-1850: Some Apsects of the Scottish Experience', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 13:1 (1979), pp 5-22.

[113] A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003, pp 103-111; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp 40-41.

[114] At least amongst plebeian and artisan men, drinking remained an activity often associated with male bonding during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (and was often connected to other forms of male solidarity, such as those formed between men engaged in the same craft, e.g. cotton spinners), see A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995, pp 30-34.

[115] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 164.

[116] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, pp 230-231.

Although adapted to the socio-political and economic context of the eighteenth century, it is likely that many aspects of tavern or alehouse-based male sociability continued in the social practices of Scottish convivial clubs, particularly those aspects related to the consumption of alcohol. Excessive drunkenness was often perceived as representing a man's loss of self-control and so a loss of a key feature of his manhood. This argument is clearly apparent in the critique of male drinking by the Englishman Richard Allestree in his widely read advice manual for gentlemen, in which he writes on the issue of immoderate drinking, 'it works madness and phrenzy, turns the man into a beast, by drowning that reason which should difference him from one.'[117] Although within a broader social context, alehouse culture, particularly male drunkenness, represented disorder, the ability to drink heavily without a loss of self-control was also a means of asserting manliness. This relationship between drinking and masculinity was, according to Shepard, particularly important during a man's youth. Alongside drinking, taverns also provided a space in which men could express other aspects of their masculinity. For example in the male company of an alehouse men could boast about sexual experiences, or 'conquests'. This behaviour, Elizabeth Foyster argues, could threaten a man's reputation outwith the alehouse, but within this space it provided a means to claim manhood.[118]

In many respects eighteenth-century convivial clubs represent a merging of these older forms of male sociability and the newer organised associational world of clubs and societies. Clubs such as the Poker Club and Hodge Podge Club provided a space in which to express an alternative masculinity to gentlemanly politeness, but within the context of modern elite urban sociability. This was certainly apparent to James Boswell (1740-1795), remembered mainly for his literary biography of Samuel Johnson, with whom he undertook a tour of the Highlands in 1773. As Philip Carter argues, the cultivation of a manly politeness was central to Boswell's identity.[119] After visiting the Poker Club, Boswell wrote:

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[117] R. Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all*, London, R. Norton, 1715 (originally published 1660), p 170.
[118] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp 103-111; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp 40-41.
[119] P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001, pp 183-197.

> I must find one fault with all the *Poker Club*, as they are called; that is to say, with all that set who associate with David Hume and Robertson. They are doing all they can to destroy politeness. They would abolish all respect due to rank and external circumstances, and they would live like a kind of literary barbarians. For my own share, I own I would rather want their instructive conversation than be hurt by their rudeness. However, they don't always show this. Therefore I like their company best when it is qualified with the presence of a stranger.[120]

Boswell's comments highlight the fact that the Poker Club was a space for the practice of male sociability outwith the norms of polite society.

Where ideas of gentlemanly politeness and participation in clubs and societies truly converged was in elite intellectual societies, such as the Select Society and the Literary Society. Although these societies did not meet in taverns, they did meet in spaces appropriate to their exclusively male composition. As discussed above, the Literary Society was closely associated with the University of Glasgow. Although the records that I have accessed do not explicitly state the meeting place, the Society is often referred to as the Literary Society in Glasgow College, suggesting that they met on University grounds. As discussed, the close association between the Society and the University reflects the centrality of the University to the Scottish Enlightenment in Glasgow. This was due mainly to Glasgow's commercial and Presbyterian culture, which meant that it differed from Edinburgh where the professions and the gentry were a prominent part of the city's culture. Although Glasgow's mercantile elite were, to an extent, integrated into Scottish Enlightenment culture, Glasgow's evangelical Presbyterians were generally oppositional to it. In this somewhat hostile environment the University of Glasgow provided the primary space for the articulation and propagation of Enlightenment ideas.[121]

Universities in eighteenth century Scotland were predominantly male spaces. The 'democratic tradition' of the youth without wealth who, with the assistance of the parish schoolmaster, obtains university entry and who represented the social mobility made possible by Scotland's education system, did not extend to women. However, most

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[120] *Boswell's London Journal* (1762-63), quoted in McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, p 167.
[121] Sher, Hook, 'Glasgow and the Enlightenment', pp 5-14.

students at eighteenth century universities did not graduate, making universities reasonably fluid spaces. For example, women would attend midwifery and popular lecture courses.[122] Though not entirely excluded, women's access to and participation in universities was limited (for example women could not become academics), highlighting the fact that although they were not exclusively male, universities were masculine spaces, in that the activities conducted within them were considered to be masculine pursuits.

The predominantly masculine nature of the universities meant that the centrality of the University of Glasgow to the Scottish Enlightenment in that city can be considered as a key factor in the homosocial nature of the city's intellectual public sphere. In particular, the homosocial composition of the Literary Society was both informed and supported by the Society's location within the University. This is not to say that Edinburgh's public intellectual sphere that was closely integrated to the professions and professional bodies such as the Faculty of Advocates was necessarily any more open to women. In fact like the universities these other institutional sites of Scottish Enlightenment culture were also male spaces. The size and relative diversity of Edinburgh's public sphere in many respects supported women's exclusion, rather than enabling space for their inclusion. This was mainly due to the integrated nature of this sphere. Groups such as the Select Society did not exist in isolation from the broader world of public sociability. As well as being just one expression of the cultural change during the eighteenth century that resulted in the growth of a new public sphere, which included promenades and newspapers, alongside clubs and assemblies, the Select Society had specific links to other homosocial institutions.

The integrated nature of the homosocial public sphere is evidenced by the meeting places of the Select Society. When the Select Society first formed in 1754 it met at the Advocates' Library. Formed by Faculty of Advocates in the 1680s, and officially inaugurated in 1689, the collections of the Advocates' Library increased from 3,000 books in 1692 to around 30,000 books by the 1770s. The expanding Library was an important aspect of the Scottish Enlightenment, providing members of the literati with a

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[122] L. Moore, 'Education and Learning', in Abrams, et al, *Gender in Scottish History*, p 111, 130. See also, S.J. Smith, 'Retaking the Register: Women's Higher Education in Glasgow and Beyond, c.1796-1845', *Gender & History*, 12:2 (2007), pp 310-335.

means to access a wide range of books. Although only advocates could borrow from the library, the collections were accessed by non-advocates, and through a system of indirect borrowing were widely circulated outwith the library.[123]

When the Select Society was formed Hume was the keeper of the Advocates' Library, which must have been one of the main practical motivations for meeting there. However, the choice of the Advocates' Library, a centre for intellectual pursuit in Edinburgh, also demonstrates the Select Society's position at the epicentre of the Scottish Enlightenment. The professions, such as law, and the universities, were considered male occupations/spaces in eighteenth century Scotland, and were largely exclusive of women. The Advocates' Library was firmly integrated in these masculine realms. That the Select Society met in the Advocates' Library highlights the interconnectivity of the homosocial world of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The popularity of the Society and the resulting increase in membership during its first year quickly created a need for a new venue. Although they maintained their connection with the Advocates' Library, with sub-committees of the Select Society occasionally meeting there, it was not large enough to accommodate the regular meetings. On 13 November 1754, at a regular meeting, it was agreed that they would move their meetings to a room above the Laigh Council House. Prior to requesting permission from the magistrates to meet there, a number of members 'as a committee are to wait upon Mr Charles-Gordon Master of a Lodge of Masons, who meet in a room above the Laigh Council-House.'[124] This room, St Giles Hall which belonged to the Masons, was to be the one in which all subsequent regular meetings of the Select Society were held.

Freemasonry developed in Scotland during the late sixteenth century, but there was no Scottish Grand Lodge until the 1730s. During the eighteenth century, particularly the 1760s and 1770s, there was an expansion of Freemasonry in Scotland, and by 1779 there were 326 Lodges affiliated to the Scottish Grand Lodge.[125] As Clark discusses, the Freemasons were never a secret society; they had secret rites and ceremonies, but they

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[123] J. St Clair, R. Craik, *The Advocates' Library: 300 Years of a National Institution 1689-1989*, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1989, pp 25, 39-42.
[124] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 30.
[125] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 310.

operated openly. The aim of the Freemasons was to foster social harmony by uniting different social, political and religious groups. This was largely achieved through a Lodge culture of male conviviality, primarily expressed through heavy drinking. However, philanthropy towards members and outsiders, a desire for public and personal improvement, and the personal advancement of members through social mixing within the Lodges, were all also important aspects of eighteenth century Freemasonry.[126] In this regard the Freemasons appear to cross over many aspects of eighteenth century club life, fulfilling the role of both the drinking club and the more serious institutional society.

In her discussion of Freemasonry, Margaret Jacob emphasises the role of Masonic lodges in the development of republican government during the late eighteenth century. Discussing the (limited) inclusion of women in continental lodges, Jacob argues that this inclusion equalled the granting of citizenship to women in Enlightenment culture.[127] This is a contentious argument, and Goodman has rejected it, stating that women's inclusion was so limited and feminized that it reinforced women's unequal position within Enlightenment culture.[128] Despite the problems with Jacob's argument, her discussion of women's inclusion is interesting in the Scottish and British context. As Jacob states, Britain was the only European nation in which the Masonic system of governance closely resembled the national constitutional structure; unlike European nations, Masons in Britain did not present a democratic alternative because limited democracy already existed. This is important because Britain was the only nation in which women were explicitly excluded from Masonic membership.[129] This was most likely linked to the fact that women were excluded from the political institutions, namely the House of Commons, that Masonic society mirrored in terms of its theoretical emphasis on meritocracy as the foundation of the political order.

There appear to be no official links between the Select Society and the Freemasons, but the fact that they shared a meeting place suggests a connection. It also demonstrates, like the Select Society's use of the Advocates' Library and other clubs' use of taverns, that eighteenth-century clubs and societies existed within a broader

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[126] *Ibid*, pp 310-337.
[127] M. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, New York, Oxford U.P., 1991, pp 5-12, 124-127.
[128] Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, pp 254-258.
[129] Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, p 11, 124.

homosocial culture. In practical terms, alongside the fact that it is highly likely that some men were members of both the Freemasons and the Select Society, the connection between the two is demonstrated by the interactions necessitated by their sharing of a meeting space. On 25 December 1754 it was raised by some members, 'that the Masons to whom the Room which the Society now usually meet doth belong had taken umbrage on account of the Society's meeting there'.[130] At a meeting a month later, on 22 January 1755, the Duke of Hamilton moved, 'That as it had hitherto neglected to return Thanks in a proper manner to the Free Masons and Master of the Lodge in which the Society do now meet, that this should be done without further delay'.[131] Members Colonel Oughton and Mr Charles Hamilton agreed to do this which might suggest that they were members of the Freemasons, although this cannot be confirmed. As well as existing within the same emerging homosocial public sphere, there were practical financial links between Select Society and the Freemasons. These links suggest a reasonably close connection between the two societies. On 10 January 1757 the Select Society agreed to pay 'reparation that might be requisite for the said Room', as they were using it more than the Masons.[132] On 14 February 1758 they agreed to pay the committee of St Giles Lodge five Guineas at Candelmas yearly, 'towards keeping the Room in proper repair and order'.[133]

As well as links to specific organisations the Select Society was integrated with other aspects of the intellectual-political public sphere, namely through its use of coffeehouses, which were a primary component of this sphere. Coffeehouses were public spaces theoretically open to anyone who could pay for a drink. They typically provided access to periodicals and other print media (either through reading, or listening to others read) and a forum for intellectual and social exchange. Like societies and clubs British coffeehouses were typically male spaces.[134] They provided, in Melton's words, 'politicised spaces of public discussion'.[135] They were also, especially in Britain, sites that reflected and aided the increasing commercialisation of society; in coffeehouses

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[130] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 39.
[131] *Ibid*, p 44.
[132] *Ibid*, p 110.
[133] *Ibid*, p 114.
[134] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, pp 241-248.
[135] *Ibid*, p 243.

men could share and gather commercial information. With regard to the practice of polite intellectual sociability deemed fit for a commercial age, coffeehouses were considered by some as providing a civilised alternative to the sometimes violent atmosphere of the tavern. As discussed above, coffeehouses in England and Scotland, as opposed to continental equivalents such as Parisian cafes, were predominantly male spaces, possibly due to their role as sites for political and commercial discussion, topics that were often considered appropriate for masculine conversation. [136]

It is highly probable that the men who participated in clubs and societies such as the Select Society also frequented coffeehouses. This assertion is not only based upon an assumed likelihood that men who engaged in one aspect of the eighteenth-century urban public sphere were unlikely to shun its other manifestations, but the fact that sub-committees of the Select Society often used coffeehouses as meeting spaces. For example, in the minutes for 3 July 1754 it was stated that the committee 'appointed to receive and consider proposals relating to the Lawes and Regulations of this Society doe meet at the Exchange Coffee house on Fryday next at seven o the clock.'[137] When in July 1755 the Select Society decided to consider the means by which they could actively promote the encouragement of improvement, resulting in the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in Scotland, they set up a sub-committee to choose the committees for different subjects, such as History and Politics, Belles Lettres and Criticism and Natural History and Chemistry. This sub-committee was 'appointed to meet tomorrow in John's Coffee-house, for choosing the said Committees'.[138] John's coffeehouse was used a number of times by sub-committees of the Select Society, suggesting that it may have been a popular venue amongst its members. For example, on 11 January 1757, a committee formed to consider the laws of the Society and submit a report as to 'the proper methods for reviving the spirit of the Society', decided 'to meet to morrow at one of the Clock at Johns Coffee house'.[139]

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[136] *Ibid*, pp 226, 243-248; Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere?', p 134.
[137] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 19.
[138] *Ibid*, p 63.
[139] *Ibid*, p 93.

Within periodical literature, particularly the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, the coffeehouse was presented as a key site for the performance of civilised sociability, which itself was seen as the basis of liberty and improvement.[140] As Carter discusses, perceptions of the coffeehouse changed during the long eighteenth century, from being depicted as a threat to civic virtue to the embodiment of it.[141] During the late seventeenth century coffeehouses were considered by many, especially the social elite, as a threat to society due to their 'substitution of natural distinctions for an apparent republic of tongues.'[142] Coffeehouses within this discourse were represented as promoting artificial politeness, fashion over virtue. As Cowan asserts, the coffeehouse during the Restoration period was regarded as the habitat of the Fop due to the emphasis within coffeehouse culture on fashion and polite etiquette. However, many moralists did not reject the coffeehouse due to its potential for corruption, but sought to defend it as a space for the performance of masculinity centred upon learned civil social intercourse. The coffeehouse could, when misused, promote effeminacy and corruption, but could alternatively provide a space for political, commercial and cultural discourse. In this regard the coffeehouse became a key site for the policing of the boundaries of male politeness.[143]

By the mid-eighteenth century the coffeehouse was increasingly perceived of as a bedrock of urban sociability, and by extension national liberty and improvement. As discussed in the previous chapter, Smith's concept of sociability was based upon men's sympathetic exchange with other men and the resulting cultivation of a moral sense through this social negotiation.[144] The records of the Select Society, in which Smith was an active member, suggest that it was this form of sociability, rather than Foppish fashion and politeness, which was performed by the members in their engagement with coffeehouse culture.

It is upon the notion of an urban public and societies and clubs as a space for the performance of refinement and citizenship that gender and national identity converged in eighteenth-century Scotland. Men's participation in clubs and societies such as the

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[140] Ellis, *Coffee House*, pp 185-187.
[141] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 37-38.
[142] *Ibid*, p 37.
[143] Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere?', pp 138-142.
[144] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 54-55.

Hodge Podge Club, Poker Club, Select Society and Literary Society, and their likely concurrent involvement in coffeehouse culture, provided a means of performing citizenship. Clark argues that one of the major impacts of the emergence of clubs and societies as a cultural institution was the means by which they offered low level regular political experience to their membership, which included middle-class men who had not previously had access to public political participation.[145] This had implications for women's position in the nation. Women were generally excluded from those spaces in which extra-parliamentary citizenship could be practised and therefore could not as easily claim a position as active members of the nation. This exclusion was not an unintended consequence of the emergence of this public sphere, but an integral part of it. The homosociality of this sphere was a primary factor in its role as a space for the performance of citizenship.

Clubs and Societies and the Performance of the Refined British Gentleman

It is tempting to argue that the development of the public sphere of societies and clubs in place of noble houses and the Parliament resulted in a clear change from political participation being determined largely by wealth and status to one in which gender was the primary determinant of political agency. However, societies such as the Select Society demonstrate that it was more complicated than this. Although gender became a primary determinant, in that women were excluded from participation, male participation remained dependent upon status. Certainly more men were able to participate in a public political sphere, such as professionals and wealthy merchants (highlighting their increasing power in an increasingly commercialised society) but the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere was not open to all men. The Scottish public sphere was similar in composition to the public sphere elsewhere in Europe which, Melton states, was 'inhabited by men and women with sufficient property and education to enjoy regular access to newspapers, novels and other products of eighteenth century

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[145] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 465. For a discussion of the extension of this to plebeian men in the context of 1790s radical politics, see Clark, *Breeches*, pp 141-145.

print culture'.[146] In order to participate in the intellectual-political public sphere in Scotland men needed to be of a certain socio-economic position which enabled them to perform a certain masculinity – that of the refined British gentleman.

The performance of male refinement was central to men's participation in the Literary Society and Select Society. First it is worthwhile to consider the connections between refinement and the behavioural norms enforced by the societies. In the previous chapter I considered the key attributes of male refinement and the connections between this masculine ideal and ideas of North Britishness and British 'civilisation'. A central feature of this new British masculinity was men's ability to display refinement through social, uncompetitive conversation. Men's ability to speak without causing offence, and to listen as well as talk, evidenced their 'civilised' self-control. These refined masculine attributes were both forged by and demonstrated through participation in polite society. [147]

The centrality of polite conversation to improvement in a homosocial context is evidenced by the rules and regulations of both the Select Society and Literary Society. Rule XII of the Literary Society concerned the procedure that must be adhered to during a debate. After the discourse had been delivered, or a question explained and illustrated, each member would then be invited to 'give his observations'.[148] These rules existed to ensure that intellectual debate adhered to the norms of social propriety as defined by polite society. The necessity of clearly stated rules regarding meeting procedure suggests that the literati were aware that the behavioural norms of polite society needed to be enforced. This recognition is demonstrated by the statement in Rule XII that the President's business '…. Shall be to keep order, to excite the laws to the attention of Strangers, and to prevent every thing which may be hurtful to the good humour and decorum of the Society.'[149] At the heart of the individual and social moral and intellectual improvement enabled through, and propagated by, the Literary Society was men's performance of male refinement through intellectual debate conducted within the terms of polite conversation.

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[146] Melton, *Rise of the Public*, p 3.
[147] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 6, 63-64.
[148] 'Laws of the Literary Society', p 4.
[149] *Ibid*, p 4.

Men's ability to engage in rigorous debate but within the bounds of politeness presented a means to perform male refinement in a way that was counter to the Foppish politeness of luxury, subservience and effeminacy. Participation in intellectual societies can be interpreted as a means for the men involved to display the self-command necessary to protect against effeminacy in polite society. Smith's discussion of self-command in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) can be said to both reflect and inform these notions of male refinement and self-control. Self-command features prominently in this text as a virtue enabled by men's consideration of the 'impartial spectator', or their self-judgement based upon their perceptions of the opinions of others. This self-command was deemed necessary in order to place the interests of others above self-interest, a principle deemed within Scottish Enlightenment thought to be a basis of 'civilised' society. On this Smith wrote:

> that to feel much for others and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety.[150]

Sensibility and self-command were interlinked categories, with the feelings established by the former encouraging the self-sacrifice demanded by the latter. For Smith, men's control over their passions, their awareness of the 'impartial spectator', often required 'the presence of the real spectator'.[151] Smith posited that solitude brought self-pity and self-adulation. In order to avoid this, and the risks it posed to manly sensibility and self-command, social interaction with others was encouraged. As Smith asserts, 'The conversation of a friend brings us to a better, that of a stranger to a still better temper.'[152] Smith's ideas concerning self-command, sensibility, and the 'impartial spectator' and the usefulness of sociability in the acquirement and maintenance of virtue, can be said to have both informed, and been informed by, the practices of societies such as the Literary Society and the Select Society (in both of which he was an active

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[150] A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (6th ed. 1790), ed. K. Haakonssen, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 2002, p 30.
[151] *Ibid*, p 178.
[152] *Ibid*, p 178.

member). It was in these societies that men could engage in the necessary social interaction to attain, perform and maintain virtue.

In many respects the Literary Society and the Select Society were very similar institutions. Their membership, as discussed above, was of a very similar composition. There are also stark similarities regarding the norms of behaviour expected of members. Like the Literary Society, the Select Society had clear rules regarding the functioning of the Society. For example, on participation in debates Rule X stated, 'That every person may speak three times in a debate, and no oftener; the first time fifteen minutes and ten minutes each of the other times'.[153]

Unlike the relatively free conversation of the convivial clubs and the coffeehouses, the sociability of the Select Society and the Literary Society occurred within stated rules of engagement. The minutes suggest that the Select Society placed a great emphasis on the regulations governing the functioning of the Society, the procedure for debates and the requirements of membership.[154] These regulations reflect an awareness of the performativity of male sociability and refinement. In order to become a refined gentleman one had to act like one. The performativity of male refinement in clubs and societies was more self-conscious than the contemporary gender performativity that Judith Butler discusses.[155] Whilst reiterative, in terms of being self-referential (i.e. through performing male refinement, it became the norm, thus encouraging its performance and making that performance appear natural), there appears to have been a level of awareness amongst men of the eighteenth-century Scottish elite that the refined masculinity they performed was constructed, or in other words, they were at least partly aware that they were performing gender.

The Select Society provided the space for the articulation, adoption and performance of gentlemanly refinement by the urban male elite. This was achieved not only through interaction and peer pressure but by clearly stated and enforced rules of behaviour. One example of the conscious awareness of the need to enforce behavioural norms is the minute from 25 January 1757, when the President's role in the Society was

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[153] 'Rules and Orders of the Select Society instituted on Wednesday the twenty second day of May 1754', in *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 2.

[154] *Minutes of the Select Society*.

[155] J. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*, London, Routledge, 1993; Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, London, Routledge, 2nd Ed. 1999.

re-stated. At this meeting it was emphasised that the President was required to keep the debate close to the question being discussed, 'and in general to conduct the whole debate in the best manner he can.'[156] Like the Literary Society the role of the President of the Select Society was to ensure that the appropriate behavioural norms of polite intellectual debate were not flouted. On these behavioural norms it was stated at the same meeting, 'That the Members shall observe a strict Silence during the debate and, no member shall leave the Room during the time that another is speaking'.[157] This was in addition to an earlier rule stated in the 'Additional Rules and Amendments of the Society's Laws' passed on 17 July 1754, which asserted, 'That during the Time of the Debates, no gentleman shall stand before the Fire.'[158] Men could learn sociability and refinement through their adherence to these behavioural norms.

That the literati considered the ability for polite respectful intellectual interaction as something that had to be acquired and, to an extent enforced, is not surprising. One of the basic tenets of Scottish Enlightenment discourse was that man was a social being, and that his social interactions, informed by his society's mode of subsistence, formed his moral character. Men had the capacity for politeness and sensibility but needed the right society, i.e. commercialism and liberty, in order to develop this capacity.[159] Within commercial society, these moral characteristics did not simply appear in men but had to be forged within this society. The Select Society and Literary Society reflect this principle and were agents in its application.

Members were expected to be active participants in the societies to which they belonged. The Select Society asserted this at the meeting of 17 July 1754, where the minutes state:

> That every member shall at least at three different meetings of the Society in the year, either argue in Debates on the Question before them, or shall give in writing his opinions, …, to be read to the Society, otherwise his place shall be vacated, and another shall be chosen[160]

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[156] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 97.
[157] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 97.
[158] Select Society, *Rules and Orders of the Select Society, Instituted on Wednesday the 23rd Day of May, 1754*, 1754, p 12.
[159] C.J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1997, pp 94-113.
[160] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 23.

In the Literary Society every member who lived 'within a mile of the College' was expected to 'give a Discourse in the order of his Seniority', and members were expected to regularly attend meetings. [161] Local members would receive a written warning from the Secretary after an absence of three meetings, and if they were absent for a fourth meeting and a written apology was not received, 'he shall thereby cease to be a member of the Society'. However, if he was 'sick, out of town, or giving public Lectures' then his absence would be excused.[162] The men of the urban elite who performed male refinement in the Select Society and Literary Society were expected to be active participants in their own, and by extension society's, improvement.

Discourses of Gender and North Britishness in the Intellectual-Political Public Sphere

If engagement in polite and sociable intellectual debate was a means to individual improvement, the questions debated and discourses given defined how social, and by extension national, improvement was to occur and the forms that it would take. Although the records of the Select Society do not contain any details of what was said during the debates, if the questions are considered within the overall context of Scottish Enlightenment discourse they provide a useful insight into the means by which this discourse was articulated and propagated. The men who sat in the Select Society represented Scotland's social and intellectual male elite and so the questions they discussed cannot be viewed in isolation from their broader cultural context, particularly the desire of the elite to mould Scottish society towards improvement and 'civilisation'.[163]

Not surprisingly the questions debated in the meetings of the Select Society reflect the dominant concerns of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, including, but certainly not limited to, issues regarding progress and happiness, the social and political impacts of trade and manufacturing and agricultural improvement, the issue of a militia versus a standing army, the impact of the colonies on the British nation, and the

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[161] 'Laws of the Literary Society', p 3.
[162] *Ibid*, pp 1-3.
[163] Dwyer, Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics: Manners, Morals and the Rise of Henry Dundas', in Dwyer, et al, *New Perspectives*, p 122; Broadie, *Historical Age*, pp 38-39.

relationship between literature and fine art and morality.[164] Overall the questions debated highlight the centrality and interconnectivity of issues of gender, progress and the nation to Scottish Enlightenment discourse.

In regards to discourses of gender within Scottish Enlightenment thought, it is important to recognise both those questions specifically about women and/or men and obviously related to issues of gender, such as 'Whether the Succession of females be of Advantage to the Publick' (debated 24 December 1755, 31 January, 14 and 21 February 1758), and those questions which are about gender but less obviously so. It is in the latter category which questions concerning masculinity generally fall. This category includes questions such as 'Whether the practice of duelling be advantageous?' (debated 26 February 1760). In regards to the nation there is a similar difference between those questions specifically referring to the British nation such as 'Whether a Union with Ireland would be advantageous to Great Britain?' (debated 18 June 1755 and 15 February 1763). And those that relate to the nation as a general concept such as 'Whether the Practice of the imitative arts be advantageous to a Nation?' (debated 19 February 1755).[165]

Those questions that explicitly refer to women and those that are implicitly concerned with gender are interrelated. They all imply a concern with gender identity, relations between men and women and the interactions between gender and broader social discourses. Similarly, questions concerning Britain are interrelated to those concerning the nation as a broader concept. The latter whilst probably encouraging more generalised discussions, cannot be separated from the British patriotism evidenced by the former category. Nor can questions about Britain and the nation and questions concerning women and gender be separated from each other. That these questions were discussed in the same elite intellectual society means that they must be read as key to the formation of the broader Scottish Enlightenment discourse of progress and civility. The interconnections between concerns of progress, gender, society and the nation are sometimes also evident within a single question. For example on 25 February 1756 the

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[164] *Minutes of the Select Society*.
[165] *Ibid*, pp 47, 56-58, 73, 111, 113-114, 155, 173.

Select Society debated the question, 'Whether a nation once sunk in luxury and pleasure can be retrieved and brought back to any degree of worth or excellence?'[166]

The above question, which was debated again on 25 December 1759,[167] is representative of that aspect of Scottish Enlightenment discourse that sought to defend and extend the moral and political gains enabled by parliamentary union and the development of a commercial economy against the corrupting selfishness encouraged by increased wealth. Luxury was considered to be a chief cause of moral corruption, as it encouraged the placement of self above public interest. As discussed in the previous chapter, eighteenth-century concerns about luxury centred upon conceptions of masculinity. The refined gentleman was placed in opposition to the Fop. The former represented the 'polish' of commercialism integrated with patriotic virtue and the latter, with his Frenchified fashions and effeminacy, as the embodiment of social degradation caused by luxury.[168]

Lord Kames who joined the Select Society in 1755, and could easily have been present at the aforementioned debate on luxury, wrote on the destructive effects of luxury in his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1778). Defining luxury as habitual excess, Kames rails against it as the 'ruin of every state where it prevailed.'[169] As discussed in the previous chapter, Kames' writings on luxury express the fear of moral, social and national decline dominant within Scottish Enlightenment discourse. The debates, such as the one above, in societies such as the Select Society provided opportunities to express, share and refine ideas, and so must have had an impact on Kames' ideas on luxury. As the *Sketches* were written over twenty years later the impact on this specific work was probably not direct, but the debates should be considered as influential in the long-term formation of Kames' ideas on luxury, society and the nation. This argument can be applied to Scottish Enlightenment discourse generally. The Select Society, when considered in terms of its membership and questions discussed, must be considered as a primary space for the articulation and propagation of ideas of morality, society, the

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[166] *Ibid*, p 84.
[167] *Ibid*, p 149.
[168] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, pp 125-137.
[169] H. Home, lord Kames, 'Progress and Effects of Luxury', in *Sketches of the History of Man*, W. Creech, Edinburgh (1778), ed. J.V. Price, London, Thoemmes Press, 4 vols, 1993, Vol. 2, p 149.

nation and gender. The refined British gentleman was not simply present in the Select Society, but was partly constructed there.

More so than the Select Society there is evidence of a direct correlation between discourses on luxury and masculinity within the Literary Society and subsequent publications, namely William Richardson's 1778 publication *Ambition and Luxury, A Political Epistle*.[170] In this poetic text Richardson, a professor of Humanity at the University of Glasgow, presented the idea that man's ambition leads to the acquirement of luxury. Luxury is depicted as a disease that destroys all that ambition has acquired, it is a force of destruction to the self, society and the nation. On men's desire for pleasure Richardson writes, 'But Pleasure rules with unremitting sway. She reigns immortal, if she ever reign; And binds her slaves in a despotic chain.'[171] In *Ambition and Luxury* Richardson calls on men to uphold their virtue and reject luxury and the addictions of pleasure, in order to defend themselves and society. This text is a typical example of ideas of luxury and masculinity, of the importance of the maintenance of male virtue against the corrupting effects of wealth. This text was not just forged within the broad context of Scottish Enlightenment culture, but the specific context of the Literary Society. On 2 March 1777, Richardson presented his lecture on the topic 'Has luxury been more pernicious to Mankind than Ambition?'. In relation to this the abridged minutes state 'Note: this question was illustrated by reading a poem entitled 'Luxury and ambition compared'.[172] Here is clear evidence of the interrelationship between the homosocial intellectual-political sphere and propagation of Scottish Enlightenment notions of gender.

The spaces in which male refinement was performed were the same as those in which that masculine ideal was forged. Many of the ideas regarding the masculine ideal of the refined gentleman were expressed in the publications of members of the literati. Sometimes this link is inferred, such as that concerning the Select Society debates and Kames' ideas on luxury. Sometimes however the link is more direct, such as in the case of Richardson and the Literary Society. Direct links are easier to ascertain for the Literary Society than for the Select Society, because although like the Select Society the

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[170] W. Richardson, *Ambition and Luxury, A Political Epistle*, Edinburgh, William Creech, 1778.
[171] *Ibid*, p 22.
[172] Duncan, *Records of the Literary Society*, p 30.

minutes of the Literary Society do not give details of the actual debates or conclusions reached, the organisation of the meetings in which members took it in turns to give lectures to the group, means that we are able to find direct correlations between the lectures of members of the literati and their respective publications. For example Katherine Holcomb has demonstrated that Thomas Reid's lectures to the Literary Society evidence his use of the Society to test his ideas prior to publication.[173] This connection between lectures given to the Literary Society and published work illustrates the integrated nature of the eighteenth-century public sphere not only in relation to its social and institutional manifestations but also in regard to its other manifestations, namely print.

The printing and reading of books, pamphlets, periodicals and other material was essential to the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas both amongst the elite and amongst broader society. Murdoch claims that it was partly through the culture of print that the non-elite were included within the emerging culture of Britishness.[174] Houston cites the high levels of literacy and the growth in printing houses, libraries, and the establishment of Scottish periodicals such as the *Scots Magazine* in 1739, as essential features of the particular cultural and intellectual environment that made Edinburgh the core location for the Scottish Enlightenment.[175] With regard to Glasgow, historians' claim that it was a site for the Enlightenment alongside Edinburgh are based not just upon the role of the University of Glasgow and institutions such as the Literary Society, but also upon the development of printing in the city, especially the printing business of the Foulis brothers who were printers to the University and members of the Literary Society. According to Sher, they were integral in making the philosophical and classical scholarship of Glasgow professors, including the moral philosophy of Francis Hutcheson, accessible to those outwith the University.[176] Discourses of gender within Scottish Enlightenment ideology were forged in a similar manner to other discourses, i.e. through a combination of verbal and printed communication.

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[173] K. Holcomb, 'Thomas Reid in the Glasgow Literary Society', in Sher, Hook (eds), *Glasgow Enlightenment*, p 97.

[174] Murdoch, 'Scotland and the Idea of Britain in the Eighteenth Century', in Devine, J.R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1999, p 114.

[175] Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print', pp 373-383.

[176] Sher, 'Commerce, religion and enlightenment', pp 326-329.

For the Select Society it is impossible to evidence direct links between members' publications and debates within the group. This is due to the fact that members debated a question rather than individual members giving discourses, and there are no records of the actual content of the debates, i.e. what each member said. However, as shown above in relation to Kames' work, a connection between the Society's debates and the construction of ideas of gender can easily be inferred. In addition to specific questions on luxury, which included 'Whether is a nation in a state of Barbarity, or a nation of luxury and refined manners the happiest?' (debated 30 June 1756), other issues relating to masculinity and commercial society were discussed within the Select Society, including the question debated on 26 February 1760 and mentioned above, 'Whether the practice of duelling be advantageous'.[177] This question reflects the ongoing debate during the eighteenth century regarding what constituted true male honour. As Anthony Fletcher contends, the development of ideas of male civility and the notion of honour as based upon man's overall character and life, rather than single acts, led to an increased critique of duelling as an honourable male practice.[178]

As Robert Shoemaker discusses in relation to England, the increased rejection of duelling as an honourable activity occurred within the context of a shift in attitudes towards male violence between 1660 and 1740. Alongside duelling, criticisms were levelled at the brutality of hunting and against wife beating (although as Shoemaker highlights the latter did not necessarily result in an actual decrease in domestic violence). Shoemaker argues that new standards of male behaviour of restraint, civility and conversation to an extent replaced those aspects of masculinity that were based upon displays of violence.[179] The Select Society's debate on the question of duelling demonstrates that the issue of male violence was a concern for the Scottish literati. That the question specifically considered whether duelling was advantageous suggests a conscious awareness of perceived relationship between standards of masculine behaviour and social and national improvement.

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[177] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 155.
[178] A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1995, pp 323-324. See also Ch. 4, above.
[179] R. B. Shoemaker, 'Reforming Male Manners: public insult and the decline of violence in London, 1660-1740', in T. Hitchcock, M. Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, pp 133-137.

The literati's ideas and concerns regarding the links between men's character and behaviour and society, and the nation, are evidenced in a number of other questions. These included 'Whether is a landed Interest or a Commercial Interest most favourable to publick Liberty?'(debated 10 February 1760), 'Whether a Commercial & military Spirit can subsist together in the same nation?' (debated 6 February 1759 and 15 July 1760) and 'Whether the World has received most advantage from those who have been engaged in an active, or those who have lived a retired life?' (debated 10 December 1755).[180] These three questions evidence the literati's active philosophical engagement in the construction of a model of manliness deemed suitable for Scotland's place in a modern, commercial, 'civilised' Britain, and to encourage human progress on a global scale. These questions posed for Select Society debates provide an insight into the process by which the man of commerce rather than the landed gentleman, aristocrat, or soldier came to be depicted as the ideal expression of masculinity amongst the urban elite.

The idea that masculine identity was constructed on an individual level, as well as a broader social level is shown by debates on questions which concern men's acquirement of manhood. For example on 12 February 1755 the Select Society debated the question 'Whether a University in a metropolis, or in a remote town be most proper for the education of youth?'[181] This question needs to be interpreted in the context of a broader social discourse in which education was considered to have a lasting impact on men and women's future identity and moral selves, within which conceptions of youth's performance of gender identity was integral.[182] Education was considered as a means to prevent individual moral corruption, but if carried out incorrectly could encourage it. As Michèle Cohen argues in relation to the Grand Tour, the issue of the education of youth was a focus for anxieties over gender. During the eighteenth century the Grand Tour was perceived by many at the upper levels of society as a means for boys to be released from the feminine influence of their mothers, and so develop manly independence. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the increasingly dominant perception, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, was that the Grand Tour by exposing men to

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[180] *Minutes of the Select Society*, pp 70, 133, 156, 161.
[181] *Ibid*, p 45.
[182] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and* Subordination, pp 297-321.

fashionable Europeans society, particularly in France, risked encouraging effeminacy in young Englishmen.[183] In a similar manner the city, with its metropolitan polite society such as balls and coffeehouses, could be interpreted as a means to expose a youth to civility and turn him into a refined British gentleman, or he could be corrupted by the influence of fashion and libertinism that were features of metropolitan society. The countryside could be considered as a bastion of virtue and plain manners on the one hand, or a site of religious superstition and aristocratic corruption on the other. The above question suggests that the Scottish literati shared similar anxieties over the education of young men to those held in England, as seen in attitudes towards the Grand Tour.

The above questions do not specifically mention men but due to the centrality of men within Scottish Enlightenment discourse, and in eighteenth-century Scotland generally, the un-gendered subject can always be assumed to be male. Women, however, were almost always specifically gendered. This is certainly the case with the Select Society. 10.4% of questions debated in the Select Society related directly to women and gender relations, demonstrating that although women were absent in person they were present as a significant intellectual concern.[184] On 13 November the question debated was 'Whether the Provisions in the late marriage Act are advantageous to a nation?', referring to the 1753 Marriage Act, or Lord Hardwicke's Act, this debate continued for two consecutive meetings.[185]

The Marriage Act drastically changed English marriage law, making any marriage invalid if it did not take place within the physical and liturgical confines of the Church of England (with exemptions for Jews and Quakers only). This Act was passed in response to concerns among some politicians and others regarding people's freedom to freely exchange vows and claim their marriage as valid (known as irregular marriages). Once an irregular marriage had taken place it had the same legal and social status as a regular marriage, i.e. one that took place in an official church. However, the

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[183] M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth-Century*, London, Routledge, 1996, pp 56-60.

[184] Based upon a calculation of questions debated listed in McElroy, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth-Century Scotland', (Unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1952), Appendix D, pp 594-601.

[185] *Minutes of the Select Society*, pp 29-31.

practice of irregular marriage led to a number of secret marriages and a number of contestations of marriage on the death of one spouse (e.g. an influential Scottish case which went from the Edinburgh Commissary Court to the House of Lords at Westminster involved two women, Jean Campbell and Magdalen Cochran, claiming marriage to, and the pension of, Captain John Campbell, who died at the battle of Fontenoy in 1746.)[186] In addition to ending clandestine marriages, the Act also made it obligatory for women under twenty-one years of age to gain parental consent prior to marriage. In this regard the Act could be interpreted as a means of social control, and control over women in particular. It could also be construed as a means of protecting women.[187] Scottish law and English law had remained separate entities under the Act of Union so Hardwicke's Act did not apply to Scotland. As Leah Leneman discusses, there was an expectation that a law against irregular marriages would be passed in Scotland, and a Parliamentary bill to that effect was read in 1755. However, this attempt to change Scottish law was resisted by Scots.[188] The Select Society debate needs to be read in this context, and highlights their engagement with contemporary politics and the placement of this engagement in the context of a broader discourse regarding national strength, broadly defined.

The debate on the Marriage Act indicates the Select Society's role in influencing Scottish society both in terms of the propagation of an overall moral discourse and in regards to their practical, material influence. The social position of the members and their political power and/or access to it, as discussed above means that debates such as this were unlikely to have been considered as purely theoretical. The Select Society discussed these questions with a mind towards 'improving' Scottish society and a confidence that they were in a position to enact their beliefs. The debate over the Marriage Act also demonstrates that considerations of male and female relationships were central to the philosophical and practical project of improvement.

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[186] J. Boulton, 'Marriage Act', J. Cannon (ed), *The Oxford Companion of British History*, Oxford University Press, 1997, *Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford U.P., <http://www.oxfordreferenceonline.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview+Main&Entry+t110.e2800> [accessed 9 May 2007]; L. Leneman, 'The Scottish Case that Led to Hardwicke's Marriage Act', *Law and History Review*, 17:1 (1999), pp 161-169.
[187] B. Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth Century England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p 185.
[188] Leneman, 'Hardwicke's Marriage Act', p 168.

At the meeting immediately following that at which the Marriage Act was debated the question discussed was 'Whether we ought to prefer ancient or modern manners with regard to [the] Condition and treatment of Women?'[189] This debate was repeated on 10 and 17 August 1757, and on 21 November 1758, suggesting that it was a topic which aroused a certain level of interest amongst members of the Society. The question concerns a key element of Scottish Enlightenment discourse; that the position of women in society signified that society's place within the 'Four Stages' model of progress.[190] The above question shows that this discourse was, to an extent, formulated within a collective context. Prior to his use of women as indicators of the social progress enabled by changes in the mode of subsistence, in his lectures on jurisprudence at the University of Glasgow, Smith would have discussed these issues with his contemporaries in the formal intellectual settings of the Select Society and Literary Society. It is the same for Kames who also uses women within a stadialist history in his *Sketches*. John Millar, a key proponent of this view of history, was not a member of the Select Society but was influenced by Smith at the University of Glasgow, attending his lectures on moral philosophy.

Like Smith, Millar also used intellectual societies, primarily the Literary Society, as a forum in which to develop and test his ideas. For certain discourses there appears to be a direct correlation between his most famous work, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, and the lectures he gave to the Literary Society. For example on 6 January 1769, Millar delivered a lecture 'On the origin of useful Arts and Manufactures in Society'.[191] The relationship between the development of arts and manufactures and the refinement of people's manners and the development of virtue is a key theme in *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*. However, like many members of the Society, Millar's lectures also evidence his wide-ranging intellectual interests, and include economic issues such as the importation of grain and the maintenance of the poor, and religious issues such as Catholic toleration.[192]

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[189] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 32.
[190] J. Rendall, 'Clio, Mars, and Minerva: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of Women's History', in Devine, Young (eds.), *New Perspectives*, pp 135-141.
[191] Duncan, *Records of the Literary Society*, p 20.
[192] *Ibid,* p 32.

That discourses of progress were partly formulated, or at least honed, within the collective setting of intellectual societies also is evidenced by questions debated in the Select Society specifically concerning ideas of progress. These included 'Whether do we excell the ancients, or the ancients us, in knowledge and the arts?' (debated 5 February 1755), 'Whether in the ancient times of every nation the People were not stronger of body, healthier and lived longer lives?' (debated 5 March 1760), and 'Whether is a nation in a state of Barbarity, or a nation of luxury and refined manners the happiest?' (debated 23 June 1756, 22 June 1757). The debate on this last question on 22 June 1757 was continued for the following two meetings. It was again chosen as the subject of debate for the meeting of 3 August 1757. For this meeting it was specified that the debate would be 'confined to the comparison of the ancient pastoral state with the state of modern nations.'[193] This statement is a good indication that the debates conformed to dominant discourse of progress as occurring within a stadialist model. That these issues were debated also reminds us that there was no consensus on conceptions of progress amongst the literati and the broader urban elite.

The Select Society considered a number of questions regarding the British nation, including a number informed by issues of Empire and the Seven Years War, including 'Whether the union of all our Colonies on the Continent of America would be of advantage to Britain and to these Colonies?' (debated 29 July and 5 August 1760).[194] However, they also considered questions specific to Scotland, such as 'Whether a foundling hospital erected at Edinburgh and supported chiefly by old Batchelors would tend to the prosperity of Scotland' (debated 16 July 1755).[195] The inclusion of questions specific to Scotland not only reflects the continuing importance and power of Scottish institutions such as the Church and legal system, but also demonstrates the continuance of a Scottish identity within a broader British national identity.[196] In regard to North Britishness, although the Select Society does not appear to have been particularly anti-French, the question 'Whether the police [policy] of France is consistent with the

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[193] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 104.
[194] *Ibid*, pp 157-158.
[195] *Ibid*, p 59.
[196] For an examination of the co-existence of Scottish and British identities in Scotland during the eighteenth century see C. Kidd, 'North Britishness', pp 361-378; Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism', pp 2-16.

liberties of Britain' (debated 19 March 1755) evidences the use of France as a nation against which to define Britishness.

Conclusion

In the previous chapter I argued that perceptions of French polite society enabled the construction of a patriotic masculine identity of gentlemanly refinement in opposition to perceived French effeminacy. A major component of this discourse was a perception of undue female influence, not simply over individual Frenchmen but in French intellectual and political culture, such as the salons and Royal Court. This female influence not only led to charges of effeminacy against Frenchmen but also informed a more general notion of French aristocratic corruption. The French were not corrupt because they were French, but because their polite society existed within a political system of absolute monarchy in which men were denied full liberty. This male subservience was symbolised by the role of aristocratic women in the salons of the French philosophes. This link between female influence and corruption informed the creation of a homosocial, rather than mixed-sex, intellectual-political sphere in eighteenth-century urban Scotland.

Scottish Enlightenment discourses of gender, society, progress and the nation were largely forged within the homosocial institutions of the intellectual-political public sphere. The exclusion of women from this sphere not only reflected these discourses, but informed them. Women's influence in the political sphere was associated with corruption whereas homosocial institutions symbolised masculine empowerment and liberty. In France this discourse of male self-governance led to the philosophes retreat from the salons and into homosocial institutions in the 1780's.[197] In Scotland the eighteenth-century literati had organised in homosocial institutions from the start. The relationship between the urban elite's creation of and engagement in a homosocial intellectual-political sphere and their conceptions of British liberty must be recognised as being informed by a desire to separate their culture from aristocratic corruption personified by French polite society and to perform liberty.

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[197] Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, pp 233-241.

In the context of the implications of the intellectual-political public sphere of eighteenth-century Scotland on ideas of gender and the gendering of intellectual-political participation it is useful to consider the impact of the homosocial context in which ideas of society and progress were formulated. This spatial location of philosophical discourse had an impact on the ideas of gender within this discourse. Women are present as subjects of discourse but not as active participants in it. This position corresponds with their place in ideas of progress and the nation. Within the dominant discourse of eighteenth-century Scotland, women were deemed to be recipients of a 'civilising' society that allowed them to develop what was considered to be their natural femininity. Women thus 'civilised' then extended male refinement through the influence of their feminine conversation. However, this influence did not necessarily equate to increased female public participation or a rise in women's status as some historians claim.[198] Instead the importance placed on feminine conversation should be recognised as being based upon the perceived need to encourage the male refinement necessary for the 'civilised' British state. The nature of female influence, and the importance of femininity, stressed within Scottish Enlightenment, and general British urban elite, discourse necessitated women's subordinate position. The very femininity that women were required to perform in elite society was premised upon notions of women's inherent intellectual inferiority.

Despite dominant conceptions of women's intellectual inferiority the gender hierarchy was not necessarily considered to be innate. The question debated by the Select Society on 28 January 1756, 'Whether can a Marriage be happy when the Wife is of an Understanding superior to that of the husband?', demonstrates a certain acceptance that some women could possess intelligence at a higher level than some men.[199] However, the focus of this question on whether a happy marriage was possible in this situation suggests an assumption of a fairly rigid gender hierarchy, which a wife with a superior intelligence to her husband would likely invert.

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[198] Historians who make this claim include: J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, pp 117-119; C. Hesse, 'Introduction', 'Section 5: Women in the Enlightened Republic of Letters', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp 259-263; L. Klein, 'Gender, conversation and the public sphere in early eighteenth-century England', in J. Still, M. Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading theories and practices*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1993, pp 100-115.
[199] *Minutes of the Select Society*, p 79.

The dominant conception within the discourse of the male elite that women were intellectually inferior, their femininity making them unsuitable for public debate, is evidenced by their general exclusion from societies like the Select Society. Also, the inclusion of the subject of women within the debates of the Select Society suggests that the physical exclusion of women from most aspects of the intellectual-political public sphere was due to an assumption of women existing in society only in relation to men. Their vital role in refining men in the domestic and social spheres existed in order to construct a masculine identity amongst men deemed necessary for men's participation in the public intellectual-political sphere.

In his discussion of the different roles of men and women in society, Kames argued:

> Another distinction is equally visible: The master of a family is immediately connected with his country: his wife, his servants, are immediately connected with him; and with their country though him only. Women accordingly have less patriotism than men; and less bitterness against the enemies of their country.[200]

Ideas of women's femininity propagated within Scottish Enlightenment discourse and the reality of women's predominant exclusion from the intellectual-political sphere demonstrates that women were denied equal participation in the political culture of the British nation in Scotland. As Kames' statement above demonstrates, women's overall inferiority resulting in their dependence upon men enabled a conception of women's subordinate position in the nation. Women were Britons through their primary relationships with men, i.e. their fathers or husbands. This conception of women's place in the nation corresponds with the dominant Scottish Enlightenment discourse regarding women's necessary feminine influence in the construction of a virtuous 'civilised' society. As James Fordyce wrote to his male audience in his conclusion to *Character and Conduct of the Female Sex*:

> Represent to yourselves a youth of good sense, and good dispositions, dedicating a considerable share of his social hours to the conversation of a few females, who were chaste but not severe, frank but not indelicate, good natured but with proper dignity, serious and lively by turns, polite and sincere at the same time, elegant without vanity,

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[200] Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man,* Vol. 2, pp 4-5.

knowing without pride, and pious wit hout ostentation: you, my brothers, can better imagine that I can describe, the improvements which he must necessarily receive from such communications.[201]

Extracts of *Character and Conduct* were reproduced in the *Scots Magazine*, and Fordyce was an influential Scottish Enlightenment moralist.[202] In *Character and Conduct* Fordyce did not deny women's intellect and was in favour of a liberal education for women, but he nevertheless emphasised the importance of submissive female virtue and attacked female pride and vanity. Fordyce's emphasis on women's influence and the need for men to respect women in this text may have helped to protect upper and middling urban women from the sexual violence of male libertines but it certainly did not lend itself to conceptions of women's intellectual or social equality with men.

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[201] J. Fordyce, *The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex and the Advantages to be Derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women: A Discourse in Three Parts, Delivered in Monkwell Street Chapel, January 1, 1776*, London, T. Caddell, 1776, pp 99-100.
[202] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 15-16.

Chapter 6:
Women, Femininity and the Scottish Enlightenment Public Sphere

Women were neither wholly absent nor wholly present in Scottish Enlightenment culture. It would be incorrect to suggest that women existed in a cloistered domestic sphere, but it would also be incorrect to assume that women's public presence equates to a liberation of women in eighteenth-century Scotland. This chapter will examine women's engagement in the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere. I will argue that whilst we must recognise women's presence, we must also recognise women's absence. It is not enough to prove that women were present; we must ask where they were present and how they were present. The homosociality of the intellectual-political sphere denied women equal political agency, but it did not deny them a place in the Scottish Enlightenment.

The importance placed on female influence in the acquirement of male refinement within Scottish Enlightenment discourse, as discussed in the previous chapter, highlights a central issue in analysing women's public participation in eighteenth-century urban Scotland; the question is, to what extent did ideas of female influence actually result in an increase in women's cultural, social and/or political power? I contend that the mixed-sex social sphere of assemblies and tea parties, that were an important part of eighteenth-century urban Enlightenment culture in Scotland, did not exert the same level of political influence as the homosocial institutions discussed in the previous chapter. However, this argument should not be read as an attempt to deny women's public participation, or as a claim that women did not participate in Scottish Enlightenment culture outwith the public sphere. In the following section I will briefly consider the development of the mixed-sex social sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland, with a focus on Edinburgh and then examine the ideas that informed women's roles and performance within these spaces. Next, my discussion will turn to women's limited participation in the intellectual-political sphere. The last section, on women and debating societies, will demonstrate that clear-cut assessments of women's position and power (even of women of the same rank) within the public sphere

of eighteenth-century urban Scotland are impossible. The position of women was one of both presence and absence, of influence and denial of power.

Women's position as both absent and present in Scottish Enlightenment culture is illustrated in the Hodge Podge Club's practice of toasting the female members. This club had a customary practice of electing female members through a process of toasting 'unmarried ladies'. The club's regular toast, 'May the Companions of our youth be the friends of our age', emphasised the convivial nature of the club.[1] In addition to this, at each anniversary a toast was made to 'unmarried ladies'. It is unclear from the compiled records exactly what the toasting involved. Rule 11 of the Club stated that, 'Prior to the meeting of every Anniversary there must be as many ladies elected as there are regularly attending members of the Club, and on that day the whole list of toasts must be purged, and at least five new ones elected at each meeting'.[2] According to T.F. Donald who compiled the records, apparently from the original documents, the term 'purging' referred to the drinking of the health of the women who had been elected at each meeting.[3] The election of women for the Anniversary toasts of the Hodge Podge Club, who were sometimes referred to as 'female members', appears to have consisted in the nomination of women by members and then a vote by the group on whether they were to be included. As Rule 10 of the club stated, 'whereas it has been customary to elect unmarried ladies to toasts, let it be understood that the Preses [President] has the privilege of two votes to keep any lady from being elected a toast, but only one vote to bring her in'.[4]

That the women elected to the anniversary toasts were referred to as 'female members' should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence of women's inclusion in the club, as a manifestation of mixed-sex sociability. The election of 'female members' appears more as a practice that affirmed the group's homosocial character. There is no evidence in the compiled minutes that women were ever present at the meetings, including the annual anniversary meetings, or even that they knew about their election and toasting. The use of the term 'female members' to refer to women seems to denote

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[1] Hodge Podge Club, *The Hodge Podge Club 1752-1900: Compiled from the Records of the Club by T.F. Donald*, T.F. Donald (ed), Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1900, p 17.
[2] *Ibid,* p 17.
[3] *Ibid,* p 43.
[4] *Ibid,* p 17.

women's inclusion in the list of toasts rather than any real status as members of the club. However, the practice of toasting women does evidence the club's position within a broader mixed-sex culture of sociability. Through the process of toasting, women were recognised as members of the broader urban society to which the men of the Hodge Podge Club belonged. In this regard it seems likely that the toasting of ladies was a manifestation of homosocial conviviality centred upon heterosexual male bonding.

The Hodge Podge Club's practice of toasting women highlights a key issue regarding the gendered nature of the public sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland - that it was never entirely homosocial nor was it entirely mixed-sex. Women were never invisible, but their participation was gendered; their inclusion was dependent upon the performance of a femininity that acted to limit the extent of their participation. In *Capital of the Mind*, a popular history of eighteenth-century Edinburgh, James Buchan argues that 'the eighteenth century was the women's century in Scotland', and cites the decline in religious superstition, improvements in public health, increased economic prosperity and the emergence of domesticity as key examples of this.[5] There is no denying that certain aspects of eighteenth-century 'improvement' and Enlightenment benefited women, but it is a big step to claim that it was a woman's century, that it represented progress for women.

To support his argument, Buchan cites William Alexander's *A History of Women* (1779). As discussed in the previous chapter, this text is essentially a popular expression of Scottish Enlightenment historiography that, like Millar's *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1777), represents the femininity performed within commercial polite society as a natural, and the most perfect, expression of womanhood. A key component of this femininity is women's companionate relationship with men. This relationship apparently liberates women from being men's slaves.[6] This text is not a feminist text; it existed as part of a discourse which constructed an ideal of femininity that denied women's intellectual and political equality. Alexander wrote in favour of women's education, but emphasised that this should be aimed at enabling female domesticity. As he states,

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[5] J. Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World*, London, John Murray, 2003, p 241.
[6] W. Alexander, *The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time; giving some account of almost every interesting particular concerning that sex among all nations, ancient and modern*, London, C. Dilly and R. Christopher, 2 vols, 3rd Ed. 1782.

'Nature seems not to have intended them for the more intense and severe studies.'[7] Women's true role, especially those of middling status, is the care and management of the family. Alexander's argument regarding women's natural domesticity suggests the 'separate spheres' ideology that came to dominate nineteenth-century conceptions of gender relations.

Alexander cites the influence in salons and domestic space of French women on French men, 'over whom she exercises the most absolute power', as the primary reason for what he considers to be inferiority of French culture.[8] However, Alexander also sees politeness as crucial to improvements in women's position in society, stating, that the 'culture of manners never yet existed, without extending its influence to the interest and convenience of the fair sex.'[9] This idea of women's status being improved within polite society should not be interpreted as necessarily positive in regards to women's status in society as a whole, as it is premised upon an essentialist conception of gender difference. According to Alexander, men and women have essentially different natures; while men have courage and sensibility, women have modesty and a soft and gentle temper, and are not as intellectually able as men. Because of this difference, women are to be excluded from the public intellectual and political world. Alexander claims that women are 'excused' from serving in public office 'on account of their weakness and the better to preserve the modesty of their sex.'[10] He argues that this gendered division between the domestic, social and political sphere enables the refined British gentleman to maintain masculine authority. By constructing a 'civilised' society where there is a gendered division of the public sphere, men are able to 'imbibe the proper share of the softness of the female, and at the same time retain the firmness of the male.'[11] A division between the homosocial intellectual-political sphere and the mixed-sex social sphere was required in order for women and men to properly fulfil their gendered roles in society.

That a text which emphasises women's intellectual difference to men and is essentially an argument for 'separate spheres' is used by Buchan to demonstrate the positive impact of the developments of the eighteenth century on women in Scotland

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[7] *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p 87.
[8] *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p 448.
[9] *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p 172.
[10] *Ibid,* Vol. 2, p 480.
[11] *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p 476.

highlights the problematic nature of arguments for women's progress during the Enlightenment period. To assert that the culture of politeness necessarily benefited women is to adopt Alexander's viewpoint; as he wrote, 'In proportion as real politeness and elegance of manners advance, the interests and advantages of the fair sex, not only advance also, but become more firmly and permanently established.'[12] Alexander's argument was based upon his stadialist conception of societal progress; for example he believed that in 'savage' societies women were enslaved to men and in sixteenth-century Europe women were considered only as objects of male lust, and so lost their 'delicacy and chastity'.[13] This narration would not be accepted as a realistic depiction of women's pasts by historians today, but many of the arguments that present the eighteenth century as a period of progress for women suggest an implicit adoption of the eighteenth-century progressivist viewpoint. If you step outside Enlightenment discourse the picture becomes far more complicated. The Enlightenment should be viewed as representing a period in history during which fundamental epistemological and material changes occurred. However, despite certain positive changes, negative outcomes such as the denial of political agency to women as a gendered group must be recognised not as uncomfortable footnotes, but as much a product of Enlightenment culture as the decline in religious superstition and a respect for rational thought as the basis for economic and political action. It is from this perspective that I seek to analyse women's place in the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere.

Women and the Public Sphere: Issues of Exclusion and Inclusion

The previous chapter demonstrated that women were largely excluded from the societies and clubs that were an integral part of the intellectual-political public sphere. This does not equate to a reality whereby women were wholly excluded from public political participation. The limited conception of what constitutes politics is a site of critical engagement by women's, gender and or/feminist historians over the meaning of the

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[12] *Ibid,* Vol. 2, p 473.
[13] *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p xvi, 257.

public sphere and issues of women's access to or exclusion from it.[14] One of the most influential feminist analyses of the eighteenth-century public sphere was Joan Landes' *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (1988). In this text Landes presented the argument that the period 1750 to 1850 was one during which, 'the constitutional denial of women's rights under bourgeois law' occurred.[15] Whilst accepting the patriarchal nature of the state prior to the French Revolution, Landes claimed that within the culture of absolutism elite women were able to play a public role through enacting political influence through their intimate relationships with powerful men. This avenue for women's public participation, she asserts, disappeared with the development of the eighteenth-century public sphere. Using Habermas' definition of the public sphere as a site of rational discourse between free individuals, Landes argued that women were excluded from this sphere. This exclusion, she asserted, 'was not incidental but central to its incarnation.'[16]

Landes contended that women's exclusion from the public sphere was not incidental, but due to the association of female speech with preciousity, or particularity, and masculine speech with universality. The manifestations of the 'enlightened' public sphere were gendered male due to the discursive practices of this sphere. Landes presented this conception of a masculine public sphere in eighteenth-century France as a means of problematising Habermas' conception of the public sphere as operating according to principles of liberal equality. In opposition to Habermas, Landes argued that the universalist nature of the public sphere did not equate to an equality of discourse, but instead acted to privilege the masculine voice. The universal masculine voice was associated with rational discourse whilst the public feminine voice was

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[14] J. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1988; Landes, 'The Public and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration', in J. Meehan (ed), *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of Discourse*, London, Routledge, 1995, pp 91-116; M.C. Jacob, 'The Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere: A European Perspective', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 28:1 (1994), pp 95-113; M.C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, New York, Oxford U.P., 1991, Ch. 5; L. Klein, 'Gender, conversation and the public sphere in early eighteenth-century England', in J. Still, M. Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1993, pp 100-115; J. Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History*, 11:3 (1999), pp 475-488; C. Hesse (ed), 'Section 5: Women in the Enlightened Republic of Letters', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp 259-347.
[15] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, p 1.
[16] *Ibid,* p 7.

associated with the non-universal speech of the absolutist regime and aristocratic society. This notion of precious female speech was due to women's prominent public role in Court society and the Parisian salons. Salons, whilst a feature of the eighteenth-century 'enlightened' public sphere, were not separated from the institutions and the culture of the Court.[17] This conception of salons is supported by Dena Goodman, who argues that when the philosophes and other members of French intellectual culture began to assert their democratic character they rejected salons in favour of their own societies founded upon, in Goodman's words, 'a fantasy of male self-governance'.[18] An early example of this male self-governance were the all-male dinners, or salons, hosted by the philopsher Paul-Henir Thiry (baron) d'Holbach (1723-1789). During the 1780s this homosociality was institutionalised through the organisation of musées, which were early academies and a forerunner to the societies which developed during the French Revolution.[19]

According to Landes, the links between the salons and absolutism enabled the position of women in the salons to be used as a symbol of corruption both by aristocrats opposed to the inclusion of members of the bourgeoisie in salon culture, and by others, such as Grub Street journalists opposed to aristocratic privilege and elitism.[20] Through this process public women became a 'convenient metonym for the worst sides of absolutist life.'[21] Landes asserts that this association of women with corrupt anti-democratic practices informed both Rousseau's influential separate spheres philosophy and the denial of citizenship to women during the liberal and radical stages of the French Revolution.[22]

In 1995 Landes expanded upon her criticism of Habermas, focussing upon his definition of the public sphere. She argued that his conception of the ideal public as acting according to a liberal principle of abstract equality necessarily gendered the public sphere as masculine. As she asserted, Habermas, 'never asks whether certain subjects in bourgeois society are better suited than others to perform this discursive role

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[17] *Ibid,* pp 40-54.
[18] D. Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1994, p 11.
[19] *Ibid,* pp 110-111, 233-234.
[20] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, pp 26-27, 56-57.
[21] *Ibid,* p 49.
[22] *Ibid*.

of participants in a theoretical public'.[23] In this work Landes depicts the eighteenth-century public sphere as inherently masculinist due to its emphasis on the practice of universal reason and the placement of this in opposition to the perceived non-universal discourse of the concurrent private sphere in which women were placed.[24] Reiterating the argument that was central to her 1988 monograph, Landes argues that women's exclusion from the Enlightenment public sphere of liberal and democratic discourse was, 'a constitutive not a marginal or accidental feature of the bourgeois public from the start'.[25]

Although Landes has been extensively criticised, many elements of her argument are relevant in the Scottish context. As argued in the previous two chapters, the links between liberty and male refinement, and between corruption, effeminacy, and luxury, informed the construction of a North British national agency that was gendered in the masculine. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there was a correlation within Scottish Enlightenment culture between the denial of female rationality and women's exclusion from the intellectual-political public sphere. However, a major problem with Landes' thesis regarding women and the public sphere is that she adopts a narrow definition of the public sphere. Her association between the public sphere, institutional political engagement and citizenship rights acts to diminish and obscure women's other forms of public engagement. This includes the women described and discussed by Landes herself in *Women and the Public Sphere*. Here Landes discusses the salons as providing the salonnières (female hosts) with 'performative and vocalising roles' which enabled them to enact a degree of cultural power 'unmatched in subsequent or prior eras.'[26] She also highlights the increased political opportunities made available to women during the French Revolution, discussing for example the women who, during 1791, participated in clubs, petitioned the government, and took part in the protests at the Champ de Mars, or the women who, in 1793, participated in the radical organisation the Society for Revolutionary Republican Women. However, these examples are not employed to demonstrate the means by women were able to access and participate in the

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[23] *Ibid*, p 97.
[24] Landes, 'The Public and the Private Sphere', p 99.
[25] *Ibid*, p 98.
[26] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, p 23.

public sphere despite certain exclusionary discourses and practices. Instead Landes uses them to highlight the threat posed to the masculine public sphere by female participation. For Landes their existence is primarily important in order to demonstrate the reasons why these forms of political agency were later denied to women.[27]

Landes' argument highlights the concrete denial of political power to women within Enlightenment discourse and during the construction of republican government in France. Although her analysis often ignores the complexities her own research highlights, Landes' final argument that the ideological and political processes that took place between 1750 and 1850 led to a constitutional denial of women's rights is factually true. In Britain this is evidenced by the 1832 Reform Act which explicitly denied the electoral franchise to women on the basis of their gender. In the Scottish context, I present a similar argument to Landes, that the links between rationality and masculinity enabled the construction of a conception of political agency that was gendered male. However, I also aim to demonstrate the ways in which (feminine) women were able to participate in Scottish Enlightenment culture, and the means by which they enacted limited political agency. It is for this reason that it is important to expand the conception of the public sphere to include the social public sphere. By social public sphere, I am referring to that sphere of urban elite public participation which was centred upon mixed-sex sociability, such as assemblies, the theatre and public promenades.

To understand women's participation in the public sphere, it is useful to expand our definition of the intellectual-political sphere. Female participation in the public sphere of Scotland was more restricted than that of France. There were no salons, and there was no revolution and subsequent rapid expansion of avenues for political participation. However, the limited female inclusion that there was, was important. As Rendall highlights, Landes' argument regarding the masculine nature of the public sphere has been questioned by a number of historians who argue that although inclusion was limited, women were not wholly excluded from the public sphere, and so their exclusion was not a constitutive aspect of it.[28] Although the institutional and print based

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[27] *Ibid,* Ch. 4.
[28] Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', p 479-480.

public sphere was in many respects a male sphere, and served to enable civic participation and claim political power for men, it also needs to be recognised that women were not entirely absent from it. Rendall argues that as well as recognising women's (limited) participation in the public sphere as defined by Habermas, such as their attendance at public lectures, we also need to extend the concept of the public sphere.[29] Highlighting the limitations of a conception of a single public sphere 'rooted in a rational politics' in understanding political practice and identity formation, Rendall, writes that this conception 'is insufficient to allow us to understand the complicated variety of ways in which women might identify with communities which stretched far beyond the borders – whatever those were – of home and family.'[30]

Although I will discuss women's participation in what I term the social sphere, e.g. assemblies and theatres, my aim here is to also consider why the intellectual-political public sphere was predominantly a homosocial sphere. In terms of this sphere, Landes' argument that dominant Enlightenment ideology constructed a notion of masculine rationality, and that this informed women's exclusion from intellectual-political public life, is applicable.[31] The dichotomous association of masculinity with the practice of reason and femininity with emotionality informed the construction of an intellectual-political public sphere from which women were predominantly excluded. However, women were able to negotiate discourse and its material manifestations.

The means by which women negotiated Enlightenment discourse and adopted Enlightenment notions of feminine morality, particularly the idea of women's moral power within the domestic sphere (especially in terms of motherhood), is discussed by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese in her 1987 survey of Enlightenment conceptions of female gender and their impact upon women. Many women adopted a discourse of feminine domestic morality as a means to include women in the 'advances' of Enlightenment, an idea which is most apparent in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).[32] Domesticity was an important component of Scottish Enlightenment ideas of society, virtue and progress. Its increasing importance during the eighteenth

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[29] *Ibid,* p 480.
[30] *Ibid,* p 482.
[31] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, pp 202-206.
[32] E. Fox-Genovese, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in R. Bridenthal, C. Koonz, S. Stuard, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, pp 251-272.

century was due to perceptions of the domestic sphere as the primary source of moral strength in a commercial society where older societal bonds, such as those held by tribes or clans, had disappeared. The home was a space where women were deemed to employ their feminine affection and inculcate children and husbands with the virtues of sensibility and sociability. For men, the domestic space was not only a space in which to develop refinement but also a space to display self-control through the participation in harmonious, loving family life.[33]

In a debate held by the Pantheon Society, a mixed-sex public debating society in Edinburgh, on 20 June 1776 on the question, 'Whether does the Happiness of the Marriage State depend most on the Husband or Wife?', the men and women present voted in favour of the wife.[34] This suggests a dominant conception of marriage and the domestic realm as a space of female influence. The debate itself reflects the position of marriage as a topic of public discourse and perceptions of it as an important societal institution. As John Gregory stated in *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774), 'The domestic oeconomy of a family is entirely a woman's province, and furnishes a variety of subjects for the exertion of both good sense and good taste.'[35] Gregory did not believe that all women must be married, but that they would be happier if they did so, as he stated, '… I am of the opinion, that a married state, if entered into from proper motives of esteem and affection, will be the happiest for yourselves, make you the most respectable in the eyes of the world, and the most useful members of society.' Of these Gregory valued his daughter's personal happiness the most, not being 'enough of a patriot to wish you to marry for the good of the public.'[36]

Mary Catherine Moran argues that the domestic sphere was considered to be a microcosm of civil society.[37] As James Fordyce asserted, virtuous motherhood involved

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[33] Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce in the Making of Adam Smith's Political Economy', in E. Kennedy, S. Mendus (eds), *Women in Western Political Thought: Kant to Nietzsche*, Sussex, Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1987, pp 56-71; J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, pp 95-110.

[34] GUL Sp Coll MS Gen 1283, *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 20/6/1776.

[35] J. Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, Dublin, John Colles, 3rd ed. 1774, p 24.

[36] *Ibid,* pp 48-49.

[37] M.C. Moran, 'From Rudeness to Refinement: Gender, Genre and Scottish Enlightenment Discourse' (Unpublished PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 1999), p 6.

'diffusing virtue and happiness through the human race.'[38] Within this model women possibly gained a certain level of socio-cultural power. However, the importance of domesticity relied upon strict notions of gender difference and women's adherence to a specifically female moral code, primarily chastity. Both Francis Hutcheson and David Hume emphasised the importance of female chastity to the maintenance of morality and society. The argument for what was accepted as a double standard was centred upon the need for male parental assurance regarding the family's children, for men to develop affection in the domestic sphere and to commit financially to their family's upkeep.[39] For Hume only female sexuality could have a negative social impact. On male sexual infidelity Hume wrote that he accepted that it may increase within polite society, but in defence of polite society he asserted that by comparison drunkenness 'is much less common. A vice more odious and more pernicious to both mind and body.'[40] The domestic sphere was a paradoxical space where women could practice social power but this practice relied upon women's adherence to a feminine model which stressed gender difference and therefore informed against equality.

During the Spanish Enlightenment there was a more prominent movement by women, as contrasted with Scotland, to claim a form of female citizenship founded upon ideas regarding female domesticity. Teresa A. Smith, in her examination of gender, Enlightenment and citizenship in Spain, discusses the means by which, during the eighteenth century, elite Spanish women formulated and enacted a female citizenship. They did this, she argues, through the simultaneous employment of the liberal discourse of universal rights and a conception of female difference. Focussing on the women of the junta de damas (women's council), a relatively autonomous sub-group of the Royal Madrid Economic Society, Smith asserts that the elite women involved in this organisation legitimated their public political role through an assertion of women's domestic and maternal characteristics and social roles, such as the educating of Spain's

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[38] J. Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women in Two Volumes*, London, A. Millar and T. Caldwell, 2 vols, 3rd ed. 1766, Vol. 1, p 37.

[39] Moran, 'Rudeness to Refinement', pp 6-14; S.A.M. Burns, 'The Humean Female', in L.M.G. Clark, L. Lange (eds), *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory: Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979, pp 55-57; L. Marcil-Lacoste, 'Hume's Method in Moral Reasoning', in Clark, Lange (eds), *Social and Political Theory*, p 67.

[40] Hume, 'Of Refinement in the Arts', in Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (1777), ed. E.F. Miller, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1987, p 272.

future male citizens. They were to be the nation's civic mothers and through the propagation and performance of this idea some Spanish women were able to claim a space in the Enlightenment project as political actors.[41]

The ability for women to negotiate Enlightenment ideas and claim power through this negotiation highlights the dangers in making black and white assumptions regarding the impact of the Enlightenment on women. Fox-Genovese argues that despite the ability of some women to achieve forms of power through the Enlightenment's celebration of women's domestic role, it is important to recognise that Enlightenment ideas regarding women did not extend notions of women's place in society to that of political rights. Only later, for example in the early feminist movements of the nineteenth century, did women begin to adopt the Enlightenment language of individualism (i.e. the autonomy and authority of the rational individual) to include themselves and demand rights as women.[42]

There is a developing tendency within the historiography of gender and the eighteenth century to reject Landes' association between Enlightenment discourse and practice and to look instead for the means by which Enlightenment discourse challenged female subordination, and to assert women's cultural, intellectual and political agency.[43] The increased recognition of women's participation in and impact on culture and society during the eighteenth century is to be welcomed. However, assertions of female agency risk confusing presence with power. This lends itself to an argument that defends the liberal principles of the Enlightenment and argues for its positive impact in respect to women. This argument is most clearly expressed in Margaret Jacob's analysis of the socio-cultural-political impact of the Enlightenment where she uses a number of examples of women's participation in Enlightenment culture (such as women's inclusion in French freemasonry and female involvement in French scientific Mesmerist societies during the 1770s and 1780s) to refute Goodman and Landes' arguments regarding the masculinization of the public sphere during the pre-revolutionary period. She also looks

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[41] T.A. Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*, Berkley, University of California Press, 2006.

[42] Fox-Genovese, 'Women and the Enlightenment', pp 251-272.

[43] See for example see Hesse (ed), 'Section 5: Women in the Enlightened Republic of Letters', in Knott, Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, pp 259-347; Jacob, 'Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere'; Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*; K. Offen, *European Feminisms 1700-1950: A Political History*, Stanford, Stanford U.P., 2000, pp 27-49.

to the Dutch Republic, England, Germany and Scotland to argue her point (although for Scotland she provides no evidence of women's inclusion in the public sphere, nor any references to work which does). Jacob's article, and her work on women and freemasonry discussed in the previous chapter, highlights the problematic nature of an assumption of women's total absence from the public intellectual culture of the Enlightenment. However, her conclusion that the Enlightenment public sphere was not masculinist, that 'neither in Edinburgh nor Paris should the burgeoning of the public sphere be construed as a defeat for women', goes too far in the other direction.[44]

Jacob's analysis is informed by a central argument that the liberal discourse of the Enlightenment 'put women's rights on the Western agenda'.[45] Jacob's evidence regarding women's involvement in Enlightenment culture is important to our understanding of the period, but it does not negate the ideological constructions of masculine rationality, or women's exclusion from the majority of manifestations of the intellectual-political public sphere. If Jacob were to examine the public sphere in eighteenth-century Edinburgh she would find that women were predominantly excluded from the intellectual-political manifestations of this sphere. In attempting to understand women's place within the Enlightenment public sphere it is necessary to embrace the problematic nature of the task - to recognise loss as well as gain, and to accept absence as well as presence.

Jacob's desire to rescue the Enlightenment for women is shared by Karen Offen who writes that 'we can – and must – reclaim the Enlightenment for feminism'[46] (by which I assume she means liberal feminism). Offen calls on historians to look beyond the ideas of Rousseau and recognise the level of Enlightenment discourse which 'openly critiqued the subordinate status of women.'[47] She also looks to the development of a notion of patriotic motherhood as an important means by which Enlightenment ideas regarding female domesticity were deployed to claim a female citizenship.[48] However, the place of domesticity within the Enlightenment and its impact on women was paradoxical – patriotic motherhood can be read as power through performance of

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[44] Jacob, 'Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere, pp 95-113.
[45] *Ibid*, p 106.
[46] Offen, *European Feminism*, p 29.
[47] *Ibid*, p 27.
[48] *Ibid*, pp 46-47.

inferiority. Also, though it is important to the history of feminism to recognise eighteenth-century discourses of gender equality, it is also important to feminism (especially feminism outwith the liberal paradigm) to recognise the impact of those aspects of Enlightenment thought which created an epistemology and material political culture which defined, and then privileged, male reason.

In regards to this discussion of the Scottish public sphere, it must be remembered that the Enlightenment public sphere to which I refer was an urban public sphere that was composed of people from the upper and middling ranks of society. Women's predominant exclusion from the elite intellectual-political sphere did not equate to their exclusion from the public sphere broadly defined. This was certainly the case if we consider the public spheres that existed beyond the urban culture of the Scottish elite. Women have always been active in some sort of public sphere, whether that was the Church, the royal court, the marketplace or elsewhere. The clearest example of an historical continuity of women's public participation in Scotland, at least from the sixteenth century, is women's economic participation. Women worked as shopkeepers, innkeepers or traders; in the textile industry, in agriculture and coal mining; as midwives, and as lodging-house keepers, washerwomen and brewers, amongst other things. Sometimes women's work was independent and sometimes it occurred within the family unit.[49] As Elizabeth Sanderson argues, in eighteenth-century Edinburgh many houses and shops were joined, and so there was not a clear demarcation between home and public life. In addition, many jobs brought women out of even this semi-public space; for example merchant women tended to trade at markets.[50] To assume that women entered the public sphere in the eighteenth century is to ignore the history of women's work.

The lack of demarcation between home and the public realm was often as true for aristocratic women as it was for artisan women. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, during the early eighteenth century women of wealth and high status engaged in politics

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[49] C.A., Whatley, 'Women and the Economic Transformation of Scotland c.1740-1830', *Scottish Economic and Social History* 14 (1994), pp 25-31; R.A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland 1500-1800', in Houston, I.D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1989, p 122; R.K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, London, William Collins and Sons, 1983, pp 148-154.
[50] E. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996, pp 14, 40, 101.

due to the centrality of the noble household to political practice and the importance of wealth and status over gender as determinants of power. Considering, for example, the political influence of Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton and her daughter Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl, the political correspondence of Katherine Skene, lady Murray, and women's participation in riots during the Union debates of 1706 and 1707, it is difficult to argue that women's access to the public sphere through the growth in mixed-sex sociability necessarily resulted in a real increase in women's public power. Instead it appears that the loss of the parliament, a key conduit of elite political influence, combined with a discourse of femininity which defined women's access to and participation in the mixed-sex social public sphere, actually resulted in a decrease of female political power in Scotland.

As discussed in Chapter 4, in 1993 Lawrence Klein argued that the development of the mixed-sex social sphere in early eighteenth-century England played a positive role in 'endorsing the female voice'.[51] Klein was making an important point regarding the need for historians to recognise the mixed-sex sphere, and not view eighteenth-century culture as one demarcated according to clearly defined public and private spheres. However, I believe that he places too much emphasis on the power of the mixed-sex social sphere. Klein accepts that clubs and coffeehouses generally excluded women (especially higher status women), but then draws attention to the existence of mainly female public spaces of assemblies and tea-parties, and states that within the world of refined sociability, 'women had an assured place.'[52]

In response to Klein's argument, I contend that participation in tea-parties and assemblies was not equal to participation in clubs, societies and coffeehouses in the claiming or performance of cultural or political power. Nor was it equal to elite women's familial political influence. Asserting this, it is important to differentiate between woman and feminine. By woman, I refer to the biological female body as we currently understand it; by feminine I mean the ideals of behaviour and character that are placed upon this body. Like masculinity, femininity is essentially a performance of gender norms. The feminine voice was imbued with cultural power within eighteenth-century

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[51] Klein, 'Gender, conversation and the public sphere', p 104.
[52] *Ibid*, p 111.

notions of refinement and civility, but this does not mean that women necessarily gained socio-political power through participation in the public sphere. In order to participate in the culture of mixed-sex sociability women had to perform a certain ideal of femininity, and this particular femininity stressed women's intellectual inferiority. This notion of inferiority in turn denied women an equal place within the emerging political-intellectual public sphere of eighteenth century Britain, and particularly Scotland. The influence given to women in the social sphere was dependent upon their performance of femininity and so informed their exclusion from the intellectual-political sphere.

Women and the Social Sphere

There was an expansion of scope for upper and middle status women's public activity within the eighteenth-century urban public sphere. In Scotland this activity occurred primarily in the social public sphere, and included public dancing (e.g. at Edinburgh's Assembly Rooms), theatre (of which the first in Edinburgh was established in 1747) and concert attendance, and tea-parties. The New Town itself with its wide streets provided a space for upper and middling status women to engage in public culture. These activities and spaces, except the normally all female tea-party, were spaces for male and female social interaction.[53] They constituted the mixed-sex social public sphere. The emergence of this sphere heralded a change in women's social practice and gave women a certain degree of cultural influence. This influence was dependent upon the performance of femininity.

As Moran discusses, Scottish Enlightenment conjectural historians such as Millar were critical of the restriction of women to a private domestic sphere, such as in (in their perception) ancient Greece. This built on ideas put forward by Smith in his lectures on jurisprudence, where he argued that the cloistering of women, such as in polygamous 'Oriental' societies (in his perception), led to jealousy between men and so meant that they were unable to form a truly sociable public sphere. Sociability between men and women was central to the construction of refinement and so to place women in a

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[53] Rendall, S. Innes, 'Women, Gender, Politics', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, E.J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, p 50; Buchan, *Capital of the Mind*, pp 242-249; Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, pp 170-178.

restricted domestic space would be 'uncivilised'. In addition within Scottish Enlightenment discourses of civil society the domestic sphere is also social, and a key space for the formation of social affections. However, as I argued in Chapter 4, and as Moran also contends, this does not mean that women were perceived as independent historical actors. Men developed from 'savages' to 'civilised' whilst women were placed in an unchanging category of natural sensibility, the expression of which was enabled through men's progression, which its enabling then increased. As Moran states, within Scottish Enlightenment historiography women were like commerce, they were 'the passive agents' of civilisation and (if exerting too much influence over men) its decline.[54]

The place of femininity and the social sphere was unstable; too much female influence was believed to encourage male effeminacy. It was also an unstable site for femininity, despite the centrality of this gender identity to this sphere. The notion of the possible threat posed by the social sphere to feminine virtue, is apparent in Gregory's *Legacy*.[55] Gregory emphasised women's maintenance, and display, of modesty and presented this modesty as a means for women to achieve happiness and as a necessary characteristic in governing women's behaviour in the public sphere. Although adhering to the dominant eighteenth-century belief in women's positive influence in terms of male refinement, Gregory believed that in regards to conversation women should be modest, and so generally silent.[56] As he stated, 'The great art of pleasing in conversation consists in making the company pleased with themselves. You will more readily hear than talk yourself into their good graces.'[57] It was also important for women to show 'delicacy and sentiment' in their dress, as Gregory asserted, 'A fine woman shews her charms to most advantage, when she seems most to conceal them.'[58] According to Gregory, when engaging in the public sphere it was important for women to avoid

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[54] Moran, ' "The Commerce of the Sexes": Gender and the Social Sphere in Scottish Enlightenment Accounts of Civil Society', in F. Trentman, *Paradoxes of Civil Society: New Perspectives on Modern German and British History*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2003, pp 61-81.
[55] Gregory, *A Father's Legacy*.
[56] *Ibid*, pp 3, 13-15.
[57] *Ibid*, pp 15-16.
[58] *Ibid*, p 26.

amusements which might be corrupting to feminine delicacy, such as viewing English comedies at the theatre or partaking in gambling.[59]

At least within prescriptive literature, the performance of feminine modesty and delicacy was central to women's virtuous public participation. It was also this that denied women a space within the intellectual-political public sphere. Gregory was a professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1763 until his death in 1773, and had previously been a member of the Royal Society in London and a professor of Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen. He can therefore be considered as existing within the homosocial intellectual world of the Scottish Enlightenment. Although Gregory believed that his daughters should be educated, and believed that their reading of books, 'which improve your understanding, enlarge your knowledge, and cultivate your taste', was a higher pursuit than amusements, he did not believe that they should express this knowledge in public. In addition to limiting their speech in sociable conversation, his daughters were warned that, 'if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding.'[60] Women could be educated but, in order to promote polite interaction in the mixed-sex social public sphere, they were expected to deny this, and perform a femininity founded upon intellectual inferiority. Women's participation in the social sphere, therefore, can be interpreted as informing their exclusion from the intellectual-political sphere.

Despite the restrictions of femininity, the mixed-sex social sphere in which women played a prominent role was an integral part of the 'improvement' project. The social sphere was a prime site for the practice of politeness and was presented as evidence of urban Scotland's achievement of 'civilised' society. In 1724 a man writing under the name Fergus Bruce wrote two letters to the London periodical *The Plain Dealer*. This periodical was produced by Aaron Hill and alongside his own writings included pieces by numerous correspondents.[61] Fashioning himself as the periodical's Edinburgh correspondent, Bruce aimed to provide readers with a picture of public life in

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[59] *Ibid*, p 27.
[60] *Ibid*, p 15.
[61] A. Hill, *The Plain Dealer, Being Select Essays on Several Curious Subjects, …*, *Published Originally in the Year 1724*, London, J. Osborn, 2 Vol.'s, 2nd Ed. 1724.

the Scottish capital. His discussion of men and women's engagement in club and coffeehouse culture in his first letter will be considered below. Here I wish to consider Bruce's portrayal of Edinburgh's mixed-sex Assembly in his second letter.

The Assembly was established in 1710 and quickly closed due to opposition from evangelical Presbyterians. However it re-opened in 1723 and in 1787 gained a permanent home, the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms.[62] In his letter, published 28 September 1724, Bruce wrote that 'The FAIR ASSEMBLY' 'consists of our best-bred Ladies, of different Qualities and Ages'.[63] He then went on to explain the threat previously faced by this institution from Presbyterian clergymen who 'rail'd against it, as they did, of Old, against *Perukes* [periwigs] and *Tobacco*.'[64] Presenting opposition to the Assembly as based upon outdated religious prejudice, Bruce raises what would become a dominant theme of Scottish Enlightenment discourse, the desire to establish a Church of Scotland which rejected superstition and embraced rational religion and moderatism.[65] Suggesting that moderatism was gaining ground, Bruce writes of the opposition to the Assembly, 'the holy Fire is now much spent, and we are at Liberty to meet in our great Hall, without Danger of the *Kirks Anathema*.' Bruce then goes on to claim that 'some of the Wives and Daughters of the *Sanctified*, begin of late to grace our Fellowship.'[66] In a slightly mocking fashion, Bruce continues 'I despair not to see the *Reverend* themselves, eating sweetmeats in our Company: And mixing innocently, in our Country Dances.'[67] Bruce's desire for clergymens' involvement in the Assembly appears to extend to the governance of the institution, writing, 'notwithstanding they are worthy Ladies, of undisputed Virtue and Honour, who preside over the *Fair Assembly*, I should be better pleased to see at our Head, a *Moderator* from the *General One*.'[68]

Bruce claims that the leadership of the Church would mean that 'Husbands would allow their Wives to go into Company, without Jealousy, and Parents send their daughters, without fear of their leaving behind them anything that they ought to bring

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[62] Buchan, *Capital of the Mind*, p 252.
[63] *Plain Dealer*, Vol. 1, p 466.
[64] *Ibid*, p 467.
[65] See, A. Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001, pp 113-150.
[66] *Palin Dealer*, Vol. 1, p 467.
[67] *Ibid*, p 467.
[68] *Ibid*, p 467.

back again.'[69] The sexual innuendo in this quote illustrates the lack of seriousness with which Bruce is suggesting the Church of Scotland establish itself as governor of the Assembly. That Bruce is adopting a mocking attitude towards the Church is also evidenced in his concluding sentence regarding the issue of clergymen's attendance and Church influence, writing that 'till that *Halcyon* Day arrives, we must be contented with the want of *Sanction* and dance and drink tea without them.'[70]

Written approximately a year after the Assembly was re-established, Bruce's description of the Assembly, his discussion of the attitudes of clergymen towards it and his mocking suggestion that they should take a leading role in its governance, can be read as an assertion of the independence of the Assembly from the Church. Implicit within this is the assertion of a level of independence of the new public culture from the Church. The power of the Church is certainly recognised, but its power to enforce cultural norms is questioned. Instead the Church is presented as itself needing to adjust to a new culture that is being forged outwith its confines in the emerging public sphere. Within Bruce's description of this new culture women are depicted as playing a prominent role, they are represented as the governing force of the Assembly.

Introducing Bruce's first letter to *The Plain Dealer*, Hill writes that it, 'is writ with the Politeness of a Gentleman, and in the Stile of a Man of Learning.'[71] Just as Bruce is depicted as a polite gentleman, so his two letters to the periodical aimed to demonstrate to the periodical's readership that Edinburgh was a centre of urban civility, and therefore culturally similar to London, part of Britain. Bruce's explicit North Britishness is evidenced in his use of the term North Britain. For example in his second letter, Bruce writes of the previous edition of *The Plain Dealer* having 'arrived in *North Britain*', of which he represents Edinburgh as the '*Metropolis*'.[72] Edinburgh is depicted as part of Britain and as an important cultural centre in its own right. This equality of Britishness is asserted not just through Bruce's depiction of Edinburgh society, but also by his self-proclaimed role as the periodical's Edinburgh correspondent, which can be read as an assertion of the Scottish capital's place in the public sphere of print. That the

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[69] *Ibid*, p 467.
[70] *Ibid*, p 467.
[71] *Ibid*, p 391.
[72] *Ibid*, pp 461-462.

mixed-sex social sphere was included in this correspondence as evidence of the city's civility shows that this sphere was a key component in the construction and assertion of North Britishness in eighteenth-century Scotland.

The social sphere allowed for limited female political engagement. As Buchan discusses, social activities enabled women to partake in civic activity. For example he cites the use of ticket sales from the Assembly in Edinburgh to raise money for charities such as the Royal Infirmary.[73] Like men's, women's social activities could have a political dimension, seen clearly in the practice of philanthropy. That there was a blending between the intellectual-political, social and domestic spheres is not in doubt. One clear link between the spheres concerned female consumption. For example, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences and Manufactures, established by the Select Society in 1755 (see above, Ch. 5), set out to encourage Scottish economic output and reduce the importation of goods into Scotland. Alongside products such as woollen blankets and ale, the group considered that:

> The annual importation of WORKED RUFFLES, and of BONE-LACE and EDGING, into this country is considerable. By proper encouragement, we might be supplied at home with these ornaments. It was therefore resolved, That a premium be assigned to all superior merit in such work: One, as may be a mark of respect to women of fashion, and may also be of some solid advantage, to those, whose laudable industry contributes to their own support.[74]

This resolution demonstrates an awareness of the broader economic impact of gentry and middling women's culture during a period of increased consumerism, something also apparent in women's consumption of tea, an important imperial import.[75] As Linda Colley argues, the 'cult of commerce' enabled women and men to partake in the British Empire as consumers and played an important role in the forging of British identity.[76] In this regard women's consumption of products made in Scotland, such as bone-lace and

[73] Buchan, *Capital of the Mind*, p 252.
[74] *Resolutions of the Select Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture (March 13, 1755)*, Edinburgh, 1755.
[75] G.J Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992, p 159.
[76] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1992, p 56, 69.

edging, can be said to have provided a means for women to engage in the project of 'improvement'.[77]

However women's economic engagement in mid eighteenth-century 'improvement' through social philanthropy and consumption appears as more gendered than, for example, the eighty-six women who subscribed to the Darien scheme in 1696 to establish a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama (see above Ch. 3). Women's economic patriotic participation in the Darien scheme occurred on the same basis as men. Everyone signed the same subscription book. Certainly far more men than women subscribed to the scheme, but when women did participate they did so as equals. By the mid-eighteenth century it appears that participation in national economic 'improvement' was gendered. There was feminine participation, such as that discussed above, and there was male participation, which could include philanthropy, and consumption, but also extended to debating and planning 'improvement' in a homosocial context.

The Public Sphere and Issues of Female Political Agency

The mixed-sex social sphere allowed women of the middle and upper ranks to participate both materially and ideologically in the project of North Britishness. However, that women's and/or mixed-sex social activities had an economic and/or political dimension does not negate the fact that women were largely excluded from the intellectual-political sphere as it was manifested in eighteenth-century Scotland. Women's participation in the social public sphere does not automatically translate into evidence of progress in regards to women's position in society, or an overall increase in their intellectual and/or political influence. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the absence of a parliament, masculine spaces such as societies and clubs came to dominate political life in urban Scotland. Although the parliament in Edinburgh was an all-male institution, the dominance of the nobility and gentry over parliamentary politics meant that women of wealth and status were able to exert a certain level of political influence. This continued in regards to the British Parliament and British politics, but these were

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[77] For a discussion of women's feminine involvement in patriotic activity, especially during the Napoleonic Wars, see Colley, *Britons*, pp 260-265.

now primarily located in England.[78] On this basis the impact of eighteenth-century political and social developments in Scotland, primarily the Union and the advent of the Scottish Enlightenment, could be used to construct a narrative of decline in female public influence rather than one of gain.

As Nicholas Phillipson discusses, the loss of the Scottish Parliament resulted in the movement of large numbers of aristocrats to London. Although Edinburgh social life was still dominated by minor nobility and substantial gentry, the dissolution of the Parliament resulted in the dominance of the professions and the institutions of the literati, such as clubs and societies, over the political life of the city. Rather than having to engage in noble political culture, the literati instead assimilated the nobility and gentry to their own institutions.[79] Elite female political influence centred upon the household and family connections. This influence was denied in the public homosocial institutions established by the literati. Phillipson cites the abandonment, in the decades following Union, of the grand townhouses on Edinburgh's Canongate as a material representation of the withdrawal of the aristocracy from Edinburgh following the Union.[80] This abandonment of aristocratic townhouses can also be read as a material manifestation of the withdrawal to London of elite female political influence.

Certainly some elite Scottish women continued to exert familial political influence, but this primarily occurred in London. For example, Lady Susanna [Susan] Keck (b.1706-1755), daughter of James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton and grand-daughter to Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton, grew up in the context of Scottish, English and British aristocratic familial politics. Keck spent most of her life in London. Susanna Keck was a committed Whig, with her politics reflecting none of her father's personal Jacobitism. In 1736 she married an influential Whig squire, Anthony Tracy Keck (1708-1767), whom she actively supported during the 1754 election campaign. Straddling the aristocratic world of her birth and the gentry world of her marriage, Keck was actively involved in the politics of patronage. Keck's influence as an aristocratic woman was

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[78] For a discussion of eighteenth-century elite women's political influence, see E. Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2005.

[79] N. Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: the case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', in L. Stone (ed), *The University in Society*, London, Oxford U.P., Vol. 2, pp 411-425.

[80] *Ibid*, p 421.

founded upon her membership of the Scottish nobility, but this influence was practiced in London.

In regards to the Highlands of Scotland, Katharine Gordon, duchess of Gordon (1718-1779), her daughter-in-law, Jane Gordon (nee Maxwell), duchess of Gordon (1748/9-1812) and Elizabeth Leveson-Gower (nee Sutherland), Countess of Sutherland (1765-1839), continued to exert familial political influence from within Scotland but they interacted with a Westminster government. As Elaine Chalus discusses, the Duchess of Gordon during the mid-eighteenth century, and the Countess of Sutherland, during the late eighteenth century, were recognised as controlling a family interest, and treated as such by political canvassers. Chalus also highlights the role of Katherine, duchess of Gordon in the raising of Highland regiments. The Countess of Sutherland also raised a regiment, the Sutherland Fencibles, in 1793. In addition she was active in Highland 'improvement', being known today primarily for her leadership role in the Sutherland Clearances of the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century.[81] Chapter 7 will show that integration into the British state by the elite and the perceived performance of patriotism by 'ordinary' Highland people, occurred in a different context to that within urban Scotland. In regard to the urban world, it appears that the practice of female familial influence in Scotland was significantly reduced during the eighteenth century because of the loss of the Parliament without a subsequent replacement of an alternative political space for women.

The political nation of the urban Enlightenment was primarily composed of male spaces such as societies and clubs. However in a limited and restricted manner, women were involved to some extent in the institutional manifestations of the intellectual-political sphere. Whilst women were not entirely excluded, their participation in all manifestations of the Enlightenment public sphere was dependent upon the performance of a femininity that was premised upon a conception of women's 'natural' inferiority. As

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[81] Chalus, *Elite Women*, pp 190-19, 221-222; E. Richards, 'Gower, Elizabeth Leveson, duchess of Sutherland and suo jure countess of Sutherland (1765–1839)', *ODNB*, Oxford U.P., 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/42000, accessed 7 June 2008]; Rendall, Innes, 'Women, Gender, Politics', p 47.

Fordyce wrote in 1776, 'the sons of Reason should converse only with the daughters of Virtue.'[82]

Women's possession of virtue was perceived as dependent upon their performance of femininity. However, as Katharine Glover argues, although this femininity stressed women's inferiority to men in regards to intellectual ability, women's education and reading was also integral to constructions of feminine identity in Scottish Enlightenment culture, at least for women of the social elite. Focussing on the female relatives of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1691/2-1766), a politically powerful sub-minister to Lord Islay (3rd duke of Argyll from 1743), Glover discusses the reading habits of these women and their interaction with the male literati of Edinburgh. Through the reading of newspapers and periodicals, novels, and intellectual texts such as philosophy and history, these women engaged in the intellectual culture of the Scottish Enlightenment. Glover argues that this reading practice enabled women to perceive of themselves as members of a world of letters and as members of the British nation. Through reading and correspondence, women were able to identify as part of a broader national community. Glover contends that this interaction through reading was one which can possibly be applied to most gentlewomen in mid-eighteenth century Scotland due to increased educational opportunities for women, encouraged partly by the importance of female influence in the mixed-sex social sphere, and to an expansion of print culture.[83] Glover's work reminds us that despite women's relative absence from the physical manifestations of intellectual culture in Scotland they were present as active readers.

Some women also engaged in elite intellectual, or literary, culture through the social sphere. For example, Alison Cockburn (1713-1794) is described as a 'literary hostess', as well as a songwriter.[84] After her husband, Patrick Cockburn, died in 1753, Alison Cockburn established her residence in Edinburgh as a site for literary interaction amongst members of Edinburgh's literati, including Henry Mackenzie, William

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[82] J. Fordyce, *The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex And the Advantages to be Derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women*, London, T. Caddell, 1776, p 19.

[83] K. Glover, 'The Female Mind: Scottish Enlightenment Femininity and the World of Letters. A Case Study of the Fletcher of Saltoun Family in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25:1 (2005), pp 1-20.

[84] D. McMillan, 'Cockburn, Alison', in E. Ewan, Innes, S. Reynolds (eds), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2006, p 78.

Robertston and David Hume. In regards to Hume, their interaction extended beyond Cockburn's drawing room to a close friendship and regular correspondence whereby Cockburn, according to John Dwyer, 'wrote to Hume as an intellectual equal'.[85] Certainly Cockburn's role in the intellectual culture of mid eighteenth century Edinburgh should not be denied, but it existed on the periphery of the mixed-sex social sphere and the intellectual-political sphere. Rendall and Innes highlight the participation of women such as Cockburn in the Scottish Enlightenment, but argue that this Enlightenment was very different to that in France or London because it was embedded in the universities and the Church of Scotland. The institutional homosocial foundations of the Scottish Enlightenment meant that its expressions were also predominantly homosocial and so in Scotland 'Intellectual debate and exchange were rooted in masculine societies.'[86] Although the role of women such as Alison Cockburn in Edinburgh's intellectual society demonstrates that women were actively engaged in intellectual culture, this participation occurred within spaces more easily associated with the social and domestic spheres than the intellectual-political sphere. The French salons took place in the drawing rooms of aristocratic houses which, like aristocratic houses in Britain, were never entirely private spaces, and their role as a key forum for the 'Republic of Letters' means that French salons are more easily cast as public spaces, than the middle-class home of Cockburn, which existed in the context of an established homosocial intellectual-political sphere of institutions, clubs and societies.[87]

The use of space - domestic and public - was gendered. For example, at the anniversary dinners of the Hodge Podge Club where 'female members' were toasted, it is possible that women were present, However, even if they were, the practice of drinking 'to the health of all female members' could still be considered as evidence of homosocial, rather than mixed-sex sociability.[88] Stana Nenadic, in her examination of domestic culture amongst people of middling status in Glasgow and Edinburgh from 1720 to 1840, discusses the development of mixed-sex dining in people's homes as

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[85] McMillan, 'Cockburn, Alison', *BDSW* p 78; Dwyer, 'Cockburn, Alison (1712-1794)', *ODNB*, Oxford U.P., 2004, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5766, accessed 4 Sept 2007].
[86] Rendall, Innes, 'Women, Gender, Politics', p 50.
[87] The difference between French salons and Scottish hostesses is emphasised in Reynolds, 'Gender, the Arts and Culture', in Abrams, et al, *Gender in Scottish History*, pp 177-178.
[88] *Hodge Podge Club*, p 43.

having a limited impact in regards to mixed-sex sociability. Although there is certainly evidence of mixed-sex cultural expression amongst the middle ranks, particularly in regards to domestic hospitality, the practice of all-male drinking, which had previously occurred mainly in taverns and other public spaces, continued within domestic social space. All-male drinking continued in a mixed-sex social context, through the practice of women withdrawing from the table after meal, whilst men would stay and engage heavy drinking and discuss what were considered masculine subjects such as business.[89] If women were present at the anniversary dinners of the Hodge Podge Club they would probably have withdrawn after the toast, it being highly unlikely that they would have remained present for the practice of sociable drinking that was an integral part of the dinner.

In England, which like Scotland had a well developed homosocial sphere of clubs and societies,[90] the house of Elizabeth Montagu where the Bluestocking circle (see above, Ch. 5) met could be cast as an alternative to the intellectual-political public sphere. The Bluestocking circle met in domestic space and the practice of polite conversation was central to the gatherings, however, these gatherings were not firmly located in the mixed-sex social sphere. As Elizabeth Eger asserts, the intellectual status, wealth and patronage of Montagu meant that these gatherings represented an assertion of women's intellectual equality and were a means of enabling greater female access to the literary sphere through Montagu's own patronage and through giving women the opportunity to network with powerful men.[91] Cockburn's gatherings may not have involved the same level of female self-assertion and intellectual networking as the London Bluestockings. However like them, Cockburn's participation in Scottish Enlightenment culture highlights the lack of clear demarcation between the intellectual-political sphere, and the social sphere; that between the assemblies and the homosocial societies, there were grey spaces, such as Cockburn's home.

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[89] S. Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), pp 147-151.

[90] P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2000.

[91] E. Eger, ' 'The Noblest Commerce of Mankind': Conversation and Community in the Bluestocking Circle', in Knott, Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, pp 288-301.

Despite women's involvement in Scottish Enlightenment culture through reading and correspondence and notwithstanding the example of Cockburn, there was no female or mixed-sex equivalent to the homosocial public sphere of clubs and societies. In terms of organised female intellectual-political activity during the eighteenth century, the first clear example of this in Scotland occurs in the 1790s. Rendall has shown that during this period women were involved in radical Whig political and intellectual activity. She argues that the radical discourses of moral, social and material progress allowed for the active participation of women, although to a limited extent. The women involved in this political culture included the daughters of the historian John Millar and the physician William Cullen, both of whom had been active in the homosocial world of the urban literati earlier in the century. The radical Whig women of the 1790s also included Eliza Fletcher (1770-1858), famous for her autobiographical description of Edinburgh's literary and political world during her lifetime, and Elizabeth Hamilton (1756?-1816), a novelist and theorist on education. Anne Grant of Laggan (1755-1838), author of *Letters from the Mountains* (1809) was also a member of the female Whig circle. These women need to be recognised as active contributors to the political and intellectual culture of the late Enlightenment period in Scotland both in regards to published work and intellectual sociability. According to Rendall, Eliza Fletcher's house was a centre for Enlightenment sociability and an important space for radical Whig political networking. Like the Bluestockings of mid-eighteenth century London, within this culture of intellectual sociability women were able to establish intellectual and political networks amongst themselves as well as with men. [92]

Carla Hesse recently wrote that the Bluestockings of England found cultural heiresses in the social and intellectual networks fashioned by the women of the late Scottish Enlightenment discussed above.[93] However the question remains as to where women were in regard to the intellectual-political sphere in Scotland between the Union and the 1790s. The following section of this chapter seeks to contribute to the answer to

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[92] Rendall, ' 'Women that would plague me with rational conversation': Aspiring Women and Scottish Whigs, c.1790-1830' ', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, pp 326-342; Rendall, 'Fletcher, Eliza', in *BDSW*, pp 122-123.
[93] Hesse, 'Introduction', in S. Knott, B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, p 262.

this question by considering what limited engagement women did have in the intellectual-political public sphere of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Female Intellectual Institutions?

In 1720 a pamphlet was published in Edinburgh entitled *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club In Edinburgh: In a Letter to a Honourable Member of the Athenian Society there. By a young Lady, the Secretary of the Club*.[94] According to the author this pamphlet had been published due to requests by men belonging to the Athenian Society to the members of the Fair Intellectual Club to give a public account of their club. In the resulting pamphlet the club is represented as similar to many male clubs - their membership is secret, they have an initiation ritual (the requirement that new members, 'shall entertain the CLUB with a written Harangue'), they charged a membership fee of 10 shillings, and had a limited membership of nine.[95] Men were excluded from the club and only unmarried women were welcome to join, and marriage is mentioned alongside death as something that could act to 'remove any member from our club.'[96]

The Fair Intellectual Club, as it is represented in the pamphlet, appears as an organisation that recognised a clear gender division in regards to intellectualism. The author herself (although it is anonymous I am assuming female authorship) is self-deprecating on the basis of her gender, writing, 'Without troubling you or my self with any other *Apology* for the Rudeness that must certainly appear in the Composure of a Woman, so little accustomed to write, I shall proceed directly to the purpose in hand'.[97] That women may not be as skilled at writing as men is here claimed to be a result of their lack of experience, suggesting that gender inequalities, whilst accepted, were considered by the author to be socially constructed.

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[94] Anon, *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club In Edinburgh: In a Letter to a Honourable Member of the Athenian Society there. By a young Lady, the Secretary of the Club*, Edinburgh, J. McEuen and Company, 1720.
[95] *Ibid*, p 8.
[96] *Ibid*, p 9.
[97] *Ibid*, p 2.

It was women's lack of knowledge and experience in intellectual matters that the Club hoped to address. The women's motivation in forming the group is summed up in the statement:

> We thought it a great Pity, that Women, who excel a great many others in *Birth* and *Fortune*, should not also be more eminent in Virtue and good Sense, which we might attain unto, if we were as industrious to cultivate our Minds, as we are to adorn our Bodies [98]

In this text, women's lack of intellectual engagement is not blamed on men's exclusion of women from the world of letters but upon women's focus on fashion and beauty instead of virtuous intellectual pursuits.[99]

The group is depicted in the pamphlet not only through the author's narration but also through the reproduction of what are claimed to be the initiation speeches of two members, Mrs M – H – and Mrs M – B –. Although they are listed as Mrs they would have actually been unmarried, as marriage would have barred them from membership. In the speech of Mrs M – H – the intellectual achievements of the members are celebrated, and linked to the practice of female virtue. The achievement of virtue through learning was obtained by the members of the Fair Intellectual Club through the study of religious literature, primarily the New Testament, and the reading of 'proper books' which included George Halifax's *Advice to a Daughter* (1688), Richard Lucas' *An Enquiry After Happiness* (1685-1696) and Bishop John Tillotson's Sermons (1682). They also read periodicals including the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*.[100] According to Mrs M – H – the members' sociable reading and other intellectual pursuits had resulted in them learning history, geography and arithmetic.[101]

The members of the Fair Intellectual Club aimed to increase women's knowledge and they did this through forming themselves into a society very similar to homosocial intellectual societies. However, they were not aiming to usurp men or to attain gender

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[98] *Ibid*, p 3.
[99] This argument is similar to that put by Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), in Wollstonecraft, *Political Writings*, ed. J. Todd, Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1994. Catherine Macaulay in *Letters on Education* (1790) also emphasised that women's vices were due to education and environment and argued for equal moral education for men and women, see Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1985, p 18.
[100] Anon, *Fair Intellectual Club*, pp 16-18.
[101] *Ibid*, p 19.

equality. As the author stated, 'we neither go out of our Sphere, nor have acted inconsistently in what we have done.'[102] By inconsistent she appears to be referring to actions that may have been considered as incompatible with the member's feminine gender. In Mrs M – H –'s speech when she refers to the members' practice of reading 'proper books' she qualifies this with the statement:

> Tho' the Circumstances of Life make these less our Study, than of the Male sex, yet the Propensity we find in our nature to read, and the Improvements some of our kind have made by Study, may satisfy us that it is an Injustice to deprive of those Means of Knowledge.[103]

This statement suggests an acceptance of the gendered division of social roles but also challenges the assumption that this division meant that women should not engage in rigorous intellectual activity. Instead this activity is represented as necessary to their role in life as 'Women and Christians'.[104] Intellectual engagement is represented as necessary for members to fulfil their feminine roles in society. In depicting womanhood in this way, Mrs M – H – negates the connection between femininity and irrationality. Although women's femininity is assumed, women are also referred to as possessing the 'Light of natural Reason.'[105] In this text femininity is inclusive of rationality.

Despite her argument for women's natural rational abilities and the necessity of female intellectual engagement, Mrs M – H – also employs the notion of a clear gender differentiation in regards to intellectual pursuits. As she states, 'A great many Things may be studied by the Male Sex, which tho' we may also be capable to pursue them, don't properly concern us.'[106] The gender differentiation accepted by Mrs M – H – is here depicted as one based upon socially constructed roles rather than an innate difference in the intellectual abilities of men and women. Women have the ability to study the same subjects as men, but their role in life means that there is no need for them to pursue these subjects, thus making the subjects masculine. Like the Fletcher women examined by Glover, the women of 'birth and fortune' discussed in the Fair Intellectual Club pamphlet are of elite status and would have existed within the culture of politeness.

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[102] *Ibid*, p 4.
[103] *Ibid*, p 17.
[104] *Ibid*, p 18.
[105] *Ibid*, p 13.
[106] *Ibid*, p 14.

[107] That the pamphlet was written at the request of members of the Athenian Society demonstrates that the women of the Fair Intellectual Club were involved in the same culture as the male urban intellectual elite. The domestic and social performance expected of these women within the culture of politeness required them to not only have a basic level of education and household management skills, but to also be able to converse at a certain intellectual level in a mixed-sex social setting.[108] Although the importance of femininity to men's development of refinement resulted in women's predominant exclusion from the intellectual-political sphere, it also allowed for women of the urban elite limited access to Scottish Enlightenment intellectual culture.

The intellectual engagement of the women of the Fair Intellectual Club is represented in the pamphlet as enabling them to assert their place in the British nation. Like the homosocial societies and clubs examined in the previous chapter, the members of the Fair Intellectual Club sought improvement through social intellectual interaction. According to the narrator the club was established in 1717 by 'three young ladies' who had proposed that 'we should enter into a Society, for Improvement of one another in the Study and Practice of such Things, as might contribute most effectively to our Accomplishment.'[109] This self-improvement appears to have been the means by which the members both claimed and asserted their place within the culture of politeness. Just as it did for men, inclusion within this culture provided a means to assert their North Britishness. As Mrs M – H – asserted at the beginning of her speech, '… I appear before a Club of the most polite Ladies in *North Britain*.'[110]

The Fair Intellectual Club demonstrates a desire for women to be included in the emerging intellectual culture of eighteenth century Scotland. That their inclusion in this culture as active participants also provided a means for the members to assert their North Britishness supports the argument that women's predominant exclusion from this culture denied them an equal place as members of the British nation in Scotland. Certainly women were involved in Enlightenment culture through reading, written correspondence and social engagement, but they were predominantly excluded from one of the chief

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[107] Glover, 'The Female Mind'; Anon, *Fair Intellectual Club*.
[108] For a discussion of the ideas of Scottish moralists concerning this issue, see Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 119-124.
[109] Anon, *Fair Intellectual Club*, p 3.
[110] *Ibid*, p 12.

physical manifestations of public intellectual culture, societies and clubs. I have found no evidence of any club or society similar to the Fair Intellectual Club operating during the mid-to-late-eighteenth century. There appears to be a chasm in regards to women's organised intellectual engagement between the 1720s and the 1790s. However, this idea of a gap between the 1720s and 1790s may not be wholly accurate; it may be that women were excluded from the intellectual-political public sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland from its early eighteenth-century emergence. It is quite possible that the Fair Intellectual Club is a literary invention.

It is unclear as to whether the pamphlet *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club* is an account of what was in fact a real club or is instead using the concept of a female club to present an argument for women's inclusion in the emerging intellectual culture of urban Scotland. McElroy includes the Fair Intellectual Club in his history of eighteenth-century Scottish clubs, and cites an essay written in 1724 by Aaron Hill and published in Hill's periodical *The Plain Dealer*.[111] The 28 August 1724 edition of *The Plain Dealer* includes the first letter sent to Hill from Fergus Bruce, discussed above in relation to the Edinburgh's mixed-sex Assembly. Like his second letter, Bruce's first letter aims to convey an image of Edinburgh's polite intellectual society to Hill's mainly English readers. In the letter, Bruce discusses Edinburgh's coffeehouse culture, writing that, 'Our Coffee-Houses take in your Papers, and I observe, with Pleasure, the Welcome which our politest People receive them with. Not the men alone of all Ranks, but the Ladies also, make them their Entertainment.'[112] Bruce then goes on to offer his services as an Edinburgh correspondent, because 'Something happens here every Day, not unworthy of Publick Notice.'[113] Bruce's letter presents an image of polite society in 1720s Edinburgh as one in which women of the elite were actively engaged in intellectual culture. That he is referring to elite women is suggested by the emphasis that men 'of all Ranks' are engaged in coffeehouse culture, whilst women are referred to only as 'Ladies'. Whether Bruce is suggesting that women were present in the coffeehouses, or only that they were reading the texts available in coffeehouses, is

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[111] D. D. McElroy, *Scotland's Age of Improvement: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literary Clubs and Societies*, Washington, Washington State U.P., 1969, p 21.
[112] *Plain Dealer*, Vol. 1, p 391.
[113] *Ibid*, p 392.

unclear. It does however suggest a climate in which a club such as the Fair Intellectual Club could exist. This is supported by Hill's response to Bruce.

In his response Hill writes of his affection since his youth, 'for the generous Bravery, and gallant Plainness, of our Brothers, beyond the *Tweed*.'[114] He then goes on to emphasis the changes that have occurred in Scottish society following the Union, stating that:

> since the *Muses* and the *Graces*, have very visibly, from the Beginning of the Present Century, fix'd and seated themselves, in their learned Seminaries, their rising Youth, of both sexes, seem to vie, with one another, in a warm, and generous, Emulation which shall most adorn their own, or soonest match the Elegance, of other, even the politest, Nations.[115]

Again, women are represented as participating in the development of learned polite culture in Scotland. Women here are depicted not in the context of the social sphere, but as active participants in the manifestations of polite intellectual culture. Hill continues his description of Edinburgh society, writing:

> Not the Gentlemen alone, but the very Ladies, of *Edinburgh*, form themselves into select, and voluntary, *Societies*, for the Improvement of their Knowledge, instead of the Entertainment of their Fancy: And go on, at the same Time, to refine their Conversation, inrich their Understanding, and polish and render amiable, their Personal Deportment.[116]

Hill's observations regarding women's participation in intellectual culture stems from Bruce's letter and information he has received about the Fair Intellectual Club. On this club he writes that they are, 'A Club of Ladies, at *Edinburgh*, who set a pattern to *Female Excellence*.' He then writes that he has the rules and constitution of the club, with the 'Address of *Mistress Speaker*, to the lovely *Sisterhood*; and the *admissory Speech*, of one of the Ladies.'[117] This is almost certainly the pamphlet published in Edinburgh in 1720 and discussed above and so unfortunately Hill's comments cannot be used to verify the club's existence.

Hill ends the 28 August edition of *The Plain Dealer* with the statement:

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[114] *Ibid*, p 393.
[115] *Ibid*, p 393.
[116] *Ibid*, p 393.
[117] *Ibid*, p 396.

I shall say more, on a future Occasion, of the Honour done to the whole Sex, by the dangerous Ambition of these Ladies: And of the Political Necessity, which, I conceive there will soon be, of putting a Stop to the Progress of such unlimited Improvement of a Power, already too exorbitant![118]

The exact position regarding women and intellectual engagement in this statement is slightly unclear, but in the context of the rest of Hill's comments regarding female intellectual engagement, it can be read as a positive statement and Hill's reference to a need to stop the women's ambitions read as jest.

It is tempting to accept that the Fair Intellectual Society did exist but the lack of archival evidence makes this difficult to substantiate. Despite this difficulty, sources such as the pamphlet and *The Plain Dealer* are important as they suggest the possibility of an intellectual culture in which women were included. The pamphlet demonstrates that at the very least women were attempting to claim a space within this culture. In his discussion of the Fair Intellectual Club, McElroy also references the publication of poems by unnamed members of the club in the *Edinburgh Miscellany* published by the Athenian Society in 1720.[119] It is likely that it was the submission of poems by women referring to themselves as members of the Fair Intellectual Club that sparked the Athenian Society's interest in the club. These poems could suggest that the club did in fact exist, and/or it may be that they were written by the same author/s who wrote *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club*. That the pamphlet and poem were authored by a woman or women is highly likely. However, in some respects the publication of the poems supports the notion that the club was invented. As well as providing a means to present an argument regarding women's intellectual activity the club may have also provided the author and/or other women with a useful pseudonym to publish under. Rather than giving her name or remaining completely anonymous, the author could state that she was a member of the Fair Intellectual Club.

In the *Edinburgh Miscellany* (1720), a 271 page publication of poetry, and literary and other essays, there are seven poetical compositions by women, none of

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[118] *Ibid*, p 396.
[119] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, p 20.

whom give their name.[120] Although a number of men publishing in the *Miscellany* also do so anonymously, the fact that none of the women use their names suggests that access to print culture in the emerging public sphere was gendered. Women were obviously recognised by some men as having intellectual ability and some of these men, such as the members of the Athenian Society, obviously believed that women's writings should be published, that women should make an active contribution to print culture. However, the practice of publishing anonymously suggests that these women existed within a culture that was hostile to women publishing.

As Dorothy McMillan discusses, many eighteenth-century Scottish women would write pieces such as biographical memoirs that were intended as public pieces but were not intended for publication. Instead manuscripts would often be passed between friends. The avoidance of printed publication of work by women extended to women such as Alison Cockburn, who was engaged in correspondence and social interaction with leading figures of the literati, and in addition had a close friendship with David Hume.[121] As Dwyer discusses, although Cockburn would form and express her opinions through correspondence, she only published a few of her songs and poems.[122]

Three of the seven works by women in the *Miscellany* were published by two women using the respective designations '*a young* Lady of the Fair Intellectual Club' and '*a Member* of the Fair Intellectual Club'.[123] If it does not indicate membership of an actual club, the use of this designation can be read as an attempt by these women to assert their intellectual credentials. Two of the poems were written by 'a young Lady' and are essentially romantic works, the first on the subject of a marriage between a Lord and a Lady.[124] The poem by 'a Member' is also a romantic piece, and is both a lament for the loss of innocence and freedom of love and an argument for people's natural inclination to assert their freedom in regard to love and desire.[125]

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[120] W.C., *The Edinburgh Miscellany: consisting of original poems, translations, &c., By various hands Vol 1*, Edinburgh, J. M'Euen and Company, 2nd ed. 1720.

[121] McMillan, 'Selves and Others: Non-fiction Writing in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in D. Gifford, McMillan (eds), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1997, pp 72, 78-81.

[122] Dwyer, 'Cockburn, Alison (1712-1794)', *ODNB*.

[123] *Edinburgh Miscellany*, p 158, 187.

[124] *Ibid*, pp 158-161.

[125] *Ibid*, pp 187-188.

Whether it existed in reality or only in text, the Fair Intellectual Club suggests that during the early decades of the eighteenth century women were claiming a space within the emerging intellectual public sphere in Scotland. By the mid-eighteenth century, when institutions such as the Select Society and the Literary Society were operating, women are almost entirely absent from the intellectual-political public sphere. There is no evidence of intellectual clubs or societies that accept women as members or participants between the 1720s and the 1770s in Scotland. The absence of women must be recognised as a key feature of the development of the intellectual-political public sphere in Scotland.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the development of the public sphere in Scotland was a result of, and means for, the urban Scottish elite to assert their North Britishness, to claim an equal space with England in the new British nation. This sphere was representative of Scotland's emergence as a commercial nation and was fed by the growing power of professionals and merchants within Scottish society. The mixed-sex social sphere was a key component of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere, but it was not equal to the intellectual-political sphere. The social sphere was certainly a demonstration of Scotland's cultural equality with England, of its achievement of refinement and civility. However, it was in the societies and clubs that the 'enlightened' discourse that informed the social sphere was largely forged, and it was in this sphere that men enacted their cultural and political power, and here that issues of 'improvement' and the nation were debated and defined.

Women and Public Debating Societies

The post-Union national identity of North Britishness was manifested in the public sphere which was cyclically informed by Scottish Enlightenment discourse. A chief component of this national identity was the idea of British liberty. This liberty, seemingly enabled in Scotland due to the parliamentary Union, was enacted in the clubs and societies where, once men had entered, everyone was (in theory) an equal. Through their homosociality the clubs and societies of the elite constructed an intellectual-political sphere separate from the institution of parliament, and so free from noble

familial, and by extension female, influence. They also separated their intellectual activity from the mixed-sex social sphere, and so separated themselves from the aristocratic corruption that supposedly marred the Parisian salons of the philosophes, governed as they were by aristocratic women.

The association within Scottish Enlightenment discourse between homosociality and liberty is supported by the fact that during the 1780s the French philosophes asserted their governance over their intellectual society through breaking off from the salons and forming their own homosocial institutions. According to Goodman, the philosophes asserted the democratic nature of their Republic of Letters and rejected the governance of aristocratic women. The interconnection of homosociality and liberty which informed the creation of an exclusively male intellectual sphere in France was concretised by the denial of citizenship to women in the Revolutionary French republic in 1792.[126] The desire amongst French philosophes in the 1780s to create a public sphere founded upon their liberty to self-govern had informed the creation of the intellectual-political sphere in Scotland from the outset. However, as this public sphere became even more democratic, in terms of access, the similarity to France ends. The increased democratisation of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere in the 1770s led to the increased, if limited participation of some women.

In Scotland the homosocial culture, informed by discourses of North Britishness and liberty, was in many ways too elitist to be considered democratic in the modern sense of the word. Once inside the literati's clubs and societies, the emphasis on merit over birth was certainly democratic, but entrance was not open to all. The increased democratisation of the intellectual-political sphere in Scotland can be argued to begin with the establishment of public debating societies in the 1770s and possibly end with the government crackdown (in response to fears engendered by the increasing radicalism of the French revolution) on public debating societies and radical political clubs such as the Friends of the People during the 1790s.[127] Unlike in France where the assertion of liberty in the 1780s led to the emergence of a masculine intellectual-political public sphere, the initial democratisation of this sphere in Scotland led to increased female

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[126] Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, pp 233-280.
[127] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, pp 87-89; Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, pp 119-120; T. Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721-1794*, London, Arnold, 2000, pp 72-73.

participation in the form of women's attendance and voting at public debating societies. This participation, whilst limited, needs to be recognised as a means by which women, alongside men, asserted their active role in public political and intellectual discourse and by doing so asserted their national belonging and agency.

In the last section of this chapter I will consider women's participation in public debating societies. First I will discuss a debate waged in 1774 in the periodical the *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement* regarding the Dundee Speculative Society, to which women were admitted. I will then examine the Pantheon Society, an Edinburgh debating society operating from c.1773-c.1800, where, from 1775, women could attend and vote upon the subjects of debate. Both of these societies demonstrate a level of female participation in the intellectual-political sphere that did not exist in the institutional manifestations of this sphere earlier in the century. However, presence does not equate to equal inclusion. Like the mixed-sex social sphere, such as assemblies, in which women were prominent actors, women's inclusion in debating societies was dependent upon their performance of a femininity that stressed their inequality to men. Although they listened and voted, women never spoke in the debates.

Popular in the later decades of the eighteenth century, public debating societies were open to anyone who could afford to purchase a ticket for entry and were a form of popular entertainment.[128] The first debating society in Scotland to admit women was the Dundee Speculative Society, a public debating society. This was a populist group and its lack of elite credentials was seemingly demonstrated by its admittance of women.[129] Evidence of the Dundee Speculative Society's admittance of women and attitudes towards the Society is contained in letters published in January and February 1774 editions of the Edinburgh periodical *The Weekly Magazine*.[130] These letters not only provide evidence of women's participation in the intellectual-political sphere, but also provide an insight into the gendering of roles within mixed-sex intellectual-political culture.

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[128] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, pp 87-89; Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 119.
[129] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, pp 90-91
[130] *The Weekly Magazine, Vol. 23 or Edinburgh Amusement. Containing the Essence of all the Magazines, Reviews &c. With a Variety of Original Pieces*, Edinburgh, Wal and Tho Ruddiman, Vol. 23, 1774.

The first letter, published in the 27 January 1774 edition of *The Weekly Magazine*, consists of a glowing account of the Society, stating, 'Amongst the various entertainments of this place, the *Speculative Society* claims pre-eminence.'[131] Casting the Society as a benefit to Dundee society, the author states that 'it hath become the resort of great numbers who feast on the knowledge and ingenuity of the speakers.'[132] Representing the Society in this way, the author specifies distinct roles and benefits for female and male participants. On women's attendance he writes, 'Tribes of females, deserting the card table, flock thither, and acknowledge the superiority of philosophy.'[133] Women are depicted here as being enabled to reject frivolous leisurely feminine pursuits such as card playing in favour of an education in philosophy, gained by listening to the male debaters. Certainly women's attendance should be recognised as a form of active engagement in intellectual culture, but the limitations of this also need to be acknowledged. Although the author clearly accepts women's rational capacities, women are depicted as learning from men but they themselves are never described as participants who will actively contribute to the debates. The positioning of women as simultaneously able to understand and benefit from exposure to philosophy and as incapable of full participation is achieved by the author through his emphasis on the inferior nature of female culture. Women who have been occupied with cards cannot hope to engage yet with men on the same intellectual level, but the fact that they are 'deserting the card table' holds open the possibility that they can improve their intellectual capabilities.

In the author's illustration of the Dundee Speculative Society male participation is figured very differently to women's. Men are depicted as taking a more active role, and this role is in turn represented as bringing these men a benefit directly related to their expected public role in society at large. As the author asserts, 'Here the young men are trained up in oratory and graceful deliverance, and afterwards become an ornament to the great council of the nation.'[134] Young men's participation in the debates of the Society is portrayed here as a means for them to learn the art of public speaking, a skill

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[131] *Ibid*, p 159.
[132] *Ibid*, p 159.
[133] *Ibid*, p 159.
[134] *Ibid*, p 159.

necessary for many of the professions in Scotland, such as law. A key aspect of men's development of public speaking skills is their adoption of manly refinement, or 'graceful deliverance'. This male development of refinement and oratory skill is not represented as simply a means to men's personal improvement, but also as a patriotic act. By developing these skills, the men of the Dundee Speculative Society could become useful members of the nation.

That women and men's participation in mixed-sex debating societies was highly gendered is verified by the specific social norms enforced within these societies. The meetings of the Dundee Speculative Society were self-consciously respectable events, and so considered suitable for female participation. As the author of the letter describes, '*Drinking* entereth not the walls of this society, and *Harmony* and *Good Order* keep the porch.'[135] Homosocial institutions such as the Select Society also enforced similar strict rules of behaviour, intended to encourage the performance of male refinement. However, the emphasis on decorum and rules regarding things such as alcohol consumption in mixed-sex societies needs to be read in the context of a general social discourse of politeness in which men's performance of refinement was considered as necessary to uphold female feminine virtue. Perceptions of female delicacy, and ideas regarding the homosocial nature of drinking and combative intellectual interaction, meant that mixed-sex intellectual institutions in urban Scotland were self-consciously spaces for polite interaction which in many ways more closely resembled the Assembly than homosocial institutions.

The letter discussed above presented a positive picture of the Dundee Speculative Society, and it elicited a condescending response from a man writing as B.C. In his letter, B.C. accused the members of the Society of authoring the previous letter (something which could easily have been true) and then attacked the intellectual abilities of the Society's members, writing:

> this speculative body consists of men without education, and even
> without that natural vigour of understanding that might make their
> want of education a subject of regret – whose reading has been

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[135] *Ibid*, p 159.

confined to the perusal of an invoice – and whose compositions have
not extended beyond the drawing out of an account.[136]

B.C.'s attack on the intellectual credentials of the members of the Dundee Speculative Society was grounded in the notion that they did not have the appropriate educational background to properly engage in intellectual debate. Implicit in this are issues of status and class; B.C. depicts the men of the Speculative Society as having knowledge of money only, suggesting that they may belong to the rising merchant classes, something probable in a port city such as Dundee. B.C. on the other hand, implies that he is a man of status, possibly of the gentry or the learned professions, and so has had access to a high level of education. This is made explicit at the end of the letter when B.C. addresses them in Latin, and then apologises for doing so as he assumes that they will not understand it.[137] B.C.'s letter demonstrates that in regards to elite intellectual society it was not simply that women were excluded, but that only certain types of men could participate. Status was still important, but status based exclusion was being challenged by popular societies such as the Dundee Speculative Society.

The link between the inclusion of women generally and of men not of the social and intellectual elite is made explicit by B.C., when he writes of the Society's debates that:

> The disputes of such untutored rhetoricians may afford entertainment
> to the *tribes of females* who have honoured them with their presence,
> but can scarcely be regarded as a model for those whose eloquence has
> a more important destination.[138]

The presence of women at the debates of the Dundee Speculative Society is cited by B.C. as evidence of the low intellectual standard of the Society and implies an assumption of women's intellectual inferiority. B.C.'s use of women's presence at the Society's debates reminds us that the presence of women within the intellectual-political sphere should not necessarily be interpreted as a move towards intellectual equality, but could instead serve to reinforce a gender hierarchy.

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[136] *Ibid*, p 223.
[137] *Ibid*, p 223.
[138] *Ibid*, p 223.

The debate in *The Weekly Magazine* did not end with B.C.'s letter. On 24 February 1774 a man calling himself D.M. issued a reply, in which he defended the popular nature of the Dundee Speculative Society, and claimed that B.C.'s letter was, 'An ungenteel, an malicious and virulent attack on a body of men in this place, equally destitute of *truth* or *wit*'.[139] This debate in *The Weekly Magazine* about the Speculative Society demonstrates that the democratisation of the public sphere was a contested development. The use of intellectual debate as public entertainment evidences not only a broadening of access to the intellectual-political sphere, but also a merging of this sphere with the social sphere.

The inclusion of women within the intellectual-political sphere through their participation in public debating societies was probably enabled through the role of debating societies as intellectual entertainment. Regarding public debating societies in England during the 1780s, Anna Clark argues that because debating societies were more accessible to the general public than clubs and societies, women were able to claim a participatory space.[140] Mary Thale contends that women's participation in public debating societies in 1780s London occurred as a result of social 'improvement' in regards to manners, an increasing acceptance of women's presence in public spaces, an increase in women's independent leisure, and a discourse of popular political participation.[141] Public debating societies crossed over the boundaries between the mixed-sex social sphere and the intellectual-political sphere. Convivial clubs demonstrate that there was never a clear division between the social and intellectual and/or political engagement. However, the combination of mixed-sex and homosocial activity apparent in popular debating societies was rarely an aspect of even the most sociable male clubs, existing as they did within the material and ideological context of homosocial conviviality.

It is important not to consider the populist nature of female intellectual engagement as evidence of its firm placement in the social sphere; public debating societies were not simply an as an extension of assemblies, card playing and tea-parties.

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[139] *Ibid*, p 278.

[140] A. Clark, 'Women in Eighteenth-Century British Politics', in Knott, Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, p 573.

[141] M. Thale, 'Women in London Debating Societies in the 1780s', *Gender & History*, 7 (1995), pp 7-9.

Participation in public debating societies should be recognised as evidence of a claim by women, and non-elite men, to be included in the Enlightenment intellectual-political sphere. That these societies were a form of popular entertainment and so linked to the mixed-sex social sphere should be considered as enabling easier female access to the institutional intellectual-political sphere, and not detract from the importance of this female participation. However, female participation in these societies should also not be considered as evidence of full female inclusion in the intellectual-political sphere, nor as evidence of a discourse of female intellectual equality. Firstly, women's participation in these societies was limited, since unlike men they did not speak. Secondly, this limited participation was dependent upon, and informed by, the performance of a femininity that stressed women's difference and inferiority. This admittance but not full inclusion is another example of women's simultaneous presence and absence in Enlightenment culture in Scotland, and is illustrated by women's participation in the Pantheon Society.

The Pantheon Society was a public debating society operating in Edinburgh during the last three decades of the eighteenth century. McElroy states that it was the first society in Scotland to hold debates as a form of public entertainment, and audiences at their debates often numbered between 100 and 300.[142] The first meeting was held on 23 December 1773, and the Society met fortnightly at St Giles Lodge (possibly the same venue in which the Select Society had met just under twenty years earlier).[143] In the 'Laws of the Pantheon' it was stated that each member 'may introduce to the Meeting of the Society for public Debate four Gentlemen'.[144] This law implied that women were excluded from attending the debates. Although more publicly accessible than elitist institutions such as the Select Society, the Pantheon Society's initial exclusion of women cast them in a similar model to the homosocial institutions discussed in Chapter 5. However, unlike those elite institutions, women demanded admittance to the Pantheon Society. Women's demand for this access was enabled both by the overall inclusiveness of debating societies relative to elite institutions, and women's access to another manifestation of the public sphere, print culture.

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[142] McElroy, *Age of Improvement*, pp 87-94.
[143] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*.
[144] *Ibid*, p 1.

Women's demand for admittance to the Pantheon Society occurred publicly in *The Weekly Magazine*. This was in the form of a poem by a woman calling herself Miss J.S., and entitled *On hearing the Members of the* PANTHEON *had resolved to admit no Ladies into their Society*:

> The eastern prophet did exclude
> All women from his heaven;
> And in our time a dread concord
> By *Pantheonites* is given,
> "That now no fair shall entrance find
> "Into the learned hall'
> As Sallique law precludes the sex
> From ruling over Gaul
> But, gods! beware, perhaps ere long
> You sorely will repent;
> We can debar you access too;
> 'Tis time then to relent. [145]

By referencing Salic law J.S. places the Pantheon Society's exclusion of women in the context of an historical denial of women's access to power. J.S. warns the Society's 'gods' (an obvious reference to the member's use of the word Pantheon, a classical Roman temple to the gods) that they should repent, i.e. allow women access, or women will cease to engage with them.[146] The idea of women denying the men access may suggest that women will cease to have sexual relations with men if they continue to exclude them from their intellectual culture (i.e. they are willing to deploy a form of power that they do have). In addition the poem's aim, to assert women's right to attend Pantheon Society debates, suggests that by gaining access to the intellectual-political sphere through participation in public debating societies, women could begin to assert their right to participate in the Scottish Enlightenment project. J.S's publication of her poem in *The Weekly Magazine* is itself evidence of a certain level of female access to the intellectual-political public sphere. That it is in the form of a poem does however suggest that women's access to print culture, like their access to institutional intellectual culture, was gendered and so limited (see above).

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[145] *Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 23, p 306.
[146] *Ibid*, p 306.

J.S's (and possibly other women's) demand to female access to the debates of the Pantheon Society was heeded by the Society's members, and at a General Meeting of the Society on 3 January 1775 it was 'Unanimously agreed to admit Ladies to hear the debates of the Society.'[147] At the following meeting two hundred people were present including an unspecified number of women. The question for debate was 'Whether is the Prodigal or the Miser the most pernicious to Society'. Women's presence was considered as an occasion of importance; prior to the start of the debate, 'Mr Tait rose up and delivered an address to the Ladies in Verse'.[148] The manuscript minutes show that from 1775 onwards women were always present at the fortnightly public meetings of the Society. Their numbers varied from less than a third to almost half the audience. At each of these meetings a question would be debated and then voted upon.[149]

Membership of the Pantheon Society gave a person the right to distribute tickets (although these appear to have been readily available in Edinburgh) and to attend the members' meetings following the debates and propose and vote on motions relating to the Society. Actual membership in the society was exclusively male. This was probably due in part to a belief that the administrative functions of the society were masculine activities, but was also a product of the necessity to speak publicly in the debates in order to gain and retain membership. In the 'Laws of the Pantheon' it is stated that to become a member a man needed to have, 'delivered his Sentiments publicly in the Society on three Questions which have been debated.' Once admitted to membership of the Society the member was required to, 'at least once a month deliver his Sentiments Publickly upon the Questions in Debate'.[150] Women did not speak publicly in the debates of the Pantheon. There was no rule against women speaking, but their silence demonstrates the power of gendered discourse over women's participation in public space; women did not speak because the performance of femininity precluded it.

The successful demand for female access to the intellectual-political public sphere in the context of female inclusion in the Pantheon Society supports the argument regarding the impact of Enlightenment discourse and culture on women's status in

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[147] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 3/1/1775.
[148] *Ibid*, 12/1/1775.
[149] *Ibid*.
[150] *Ibid*, 'Laws of the Pantheon'.

society, that the liberal ideology inherent in much Enlightenment discourse and culture created a language and space for women to assert equal intellectual and political rights.[151] Unlike in France in the 1780s and Revolutionary period, the further democratisation of the Scottish public sphere in the form of debating societies lent itself to greater female access to the intellectual-political sphere. On the other hand, the denial of citizenship to women in Britain on the basis of their gender in the 1832 Reform Act highlights the problematic nature of applying narratives of progress when interpreting the impact of the Enlightenment on women.[152]

As Clark reminds us, in order to understand women's position in the late eighteenth-century public sphere it is necessary to differentiate between women's presence and women's authority, and between images of femininity and women's actual activity. It is, she points out, also necessary to move away from a conception of 'women's participation and recognise the fundamental differences between the political participation of aristocratic, middle class and plebeian women'.[153] It is important to interpret women's limited participation in the intellectual-political culture of the Scottish Enlightenment in the context of a longer history of women's political participation. Women of wealth and status could participate in the debates over the Act of Union at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and some such as Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton, could directly influence the Scottish Parliament. Plebeian women could also participate in politics through civil disobedience along with men of the same rank (see above Ch. 3). The growth of the public sphere during the eighteenth century may have enabled a greater level of public participation by certain middle status women. However, these gains when considered in the context of women's previous political activity represent a change rather than a great leap forward.

Where women's inclusion in the democratic intellectual-political sphere of debating societies could be said to have had the greatest impact upon women's inclusion in the political nation is in the connections between participation in this sphere and the performance of citizenship. The questions debated at Pantheon Society meetings

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[151] Jacob, 'Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere', p 106.
[152] For a discussion of the relationship between gender ideology, women's political agency and the 1832 Reform Act see, C. Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Cambridge, Polity, 1992, pp 152-166.
[153] Clark, 'Women in Eighteenth-Century British Politics', p 570.

evidence a linked patriotic concern with the British nation and with gender identity. For example on 31 March 1774, the question debated was 'Does the present mode of Education for both sexes tend to the real interests of this Country?'[154] Peter Clark asserts that a major impact of the development of clubs and societies was the role of these institutions in allowing people access to regular political experience, either within organisations, e.g. administration, and/or through the organisation in the wider political sphere, e.g. lobbying.[155] Another important impact of clubs and societies, Clark argues, was their role in fostering national identity, as they 'served, along with war, religion, and much else, to create a new, if ambivalent, sense of Britishness.'[156] In the previous chapter I highlighted the importance of clubs and societies in Scotland as a space in which North Britishness, specifically the patriotic masculine identity of the refined British gentleman, could be performed. In the context of the Pantheon Society it is useful to consider the means by which in a political system of extremely limited franchise voting in mixed-sex public debating societies in Scotland allowed people to participate in politics and assert a North British national identity.

In the Dundee Speculative Society and the Pantheon Society women did not speak, and so the impact of their participation can be considered as lesser than that of the women who participated in London debating societies of the 1780s. In many of the London societies women publicly spoke alongside men. In addition a number of female only debating societies were formed, such as La Belle Assemblée.[157] However, although they did not speak, women at the Pantheon Society did vote upon each meeting's question of debate. This act of voting in a period of extremely limited franchise for both men and women can be read as an act that asserted participants' political agency. The records of the Pantheon Society record the question debated at each meeting and the results of the vote upon the question taken at the end of the debates. Sometimes the exact number of votes in favour or against is recorded and very occasionally women and men's votes are listed separately.[158]

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[154] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 31/3/1774.
[155] Clark, *Clubs and Societies*, p 465.
[156] *Ibid*, p 452.
[157] Thale, 'Women in London Debating Societies', pp 10-17.
[158] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*.

In a letter published in *The Weekly Magazine* on 10 August 1775, eight months after women's admission to the Pantheon Society, the author discusses the society and women's participation in it.[159] Ostensibly written to transmit information from Edinburgh about the Pantheon Society to the author's friends in a populous country town, as 'it was intended to institute one or more of the same kind [debating society] in our town', the letter provides a useful first hand account of the Society.[160] In this letter the author describes the functions of the society, and emphasises its democratic character, writing that 'visitors have an equal right with members to speak and vote upon every question that is proposed to the publicly debated in that society.'[161] Discussing access to the Society's debates the author writes that 'two hundred tickets are divided amongst the members to give to their acquaintances, as well ladies as gentlemen, for their admission as visitors.'[162] Attendance at the Pantheon often exceeded two hundred, particularly towards the end of the 1770s. The minutes state that in January 1775 the Society had determined that the popularity of the debates and the distribution of an indefinite number of tickets meant that 'the house was so crowded as to render it disagreeable to the Speakers & dangerous to the health; Therefore it was unanimously agreed to by the Society that the tickets (including Ladies tickets) should never exceed 200'.[163]

The reference to 'Ladies tickets' in the above excerpt from the Pantheon Society's minutes suggests that there were slight differences in the admittance of men and women. This is supported by the August 1775 letter to *The Weekly Magazine*, in which the author states that after paying sixpence to the waiter for a 'mutchkin of rum and a glass', a gentleman 'may take his seat in any place of the room he pleases, except the seats allotted for the ladies, who pay nothing and are also treated by the members with fruits in season.'[164] According to the minutes, in June 1779 the Society decided its funds were sufficient enough that it could supply fruit to all visitors, but this was quickly rescinded on 1 July 1779, when members agreed 'that to prevent the Society's Expenses

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[159] *Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 29, pp 203-205.
[160] *Ibid*, p 203.
[161] *Ibid*, pp 204.
[162] *Ibid*, pp 203-204.
[163] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 26/1/1775.
[164] *Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 29, p 204.

exceeding their Income the Oranges should in future be given to the Ladies only.'[165] The practice of giving women fruit when men were given rum is symbolic of an attitude that women were weaker than men, that they were delicate. It was these notions of weakness and delicacy that denied women's equal participation not just in the Pantheon Society but in the public sphere overall.

Despite the gendering of participation, the women attending Pantheon Society are depicted in the above letter as active participants. Describing the debate on the question, 'Whether lenient or coercive measures would be the most effective method of terminating the differences betwixt Great Britain and her colonies' (debated 20 January 1775), the author discusses the arguments that were put forward by speakers. These included the idea that '… Britain has been at an enormous expense of blood and treasure in supporting the colonies against their enemies', and so the colonies would be ungrateful 'to refuse subjection to the Parliament of Great Britain'. Opposing arguments are also discussed, such as 'that the dignity of the crown was indeed at stake by endeavouring to change the government of the colonies', and that coercive measures 'only served to embitter the minds of the people past all hopes of reconciliation.'[166] Discussing the result of the vote at the end of the debate, the author writes:

> it was carried by a majority of nine, that coercive measures were the most prudent means of terminating the differences between Great Britain and her colonies. It was remarkable that most of the ladies, a very genteel company of near forty of whom were present, voted for coercive measures: so fond are the fair sex of power.[167]

The author's comments regarding women's voting employs a notion of gender difference but does not deny or criticise women's active role in the Society. In fact the emphasis on women's voting patterns as suggesting a greater support, compared to men, for coercive measures highlights women's autonomous intellectual and political action when voting at Pantheon Society debates.

There is further evidence that women's voting patterns could differ from men's, for example on 26 January 1775, the second meeting to which women were admitted, the Society debated the question 'Whether is a nation in a state of Barbarity, or a nation

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[165] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 1/7/1779.
[166] *Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 29, p 204.
[167] *Ibid*, p 205.

in a state of Luxury and refined manners the happiest?'. Although the majority attending voted for 'Barbarity', it is recorded that 'Ten Ladies were present who appeared to listen with unusual attention to the debates & when their votes were called they voted unanimously for a state of Refinement.'[168] This suggests not only a willingness on the part of female participants to form their own opinions and go against majority opinion, but also hints at the adoption by women of Scottish Enlightenment discourse regarding gender and progress. As stated in Chapter 4, it was believed that only in a society governed by the social norms of refinement could women become the companions of men rather than their slaves or idols. These ideas may have encouraged the women attending the Pantheon Society debate to vote for 'refinement'. That the majority of men present voted for 'barbarity' reminds us that Scottish Enlightenment discourse was always contested.

Like the clubs and societies discussed in the previous chapter, the Pantheon Society offered a means to assert a North British national identity. That the participants in the Pantheon Society considered themselves North British, or British, is evidenced in a number of questions debated, but is most clearly asserted in the question of 26 December 1776, 'Does any nation enjoy more perfect Freedom than Great Britain?'. The votes on these were 'Carried in favour of the British Constitution.'[169] Meeting during a period in which the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) occurred, questions regarding the British nation are unsurprisingly dominated by issues of Britain's relationship to the British colonies. In addition to the question discussed above regarding the usefulness of lenient or coercive measures towards the colonies, these included the questions of 16 March 1774, 'Has the discovery of America been of advantage to Britain' and 11 August 1774, 'Has Britain a right to tax her colonies'.[170] These questions demonstrate an active engagement with British national politics.

The Pantheon Society was also concerned with philosophical questions regarding society and the nation. Other questions of this nature included 'Can the principle of virtue be long preserved in a Commercial State?' (debated 23 March 1775, majority yes) and 'Has real patriotism or Self Interest produced the Greatest number of public spirited

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[168] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 26/1/1775.
[169] *Ibid*, 26/12/1776.
[170] *Ibid*, 16/3/1774, 11/8/1774.

& heroic nations' (debated 13 December 1776, majority for 'real patriotism').[171] Similarly to the Select Society, ideas of gender were central to these discourses of progress, society, morality and the nation.

Alongside issues of nationhood, and social and moral progress, the Pantheon Society was also expressly concerned with issues of gender. For example the question, 'Whether is youth, manhood or old age the happiest period of life' (debated 21 June 1775), suggests an intellectual engagement with the gendered socio-cultural structures of a man's life. The acceptance of manhood, the full acquirement of masculine identity, as a stage of life rather than a lifelong bodily identity demonstrates a continuity with early modern ideas of manhood.[172]

What manhood consisted of, what defined and reflected men's possession of it, was also a matter for debate in the Pantheon Society. On 6 February 1777, the Society debated the question, 'Is courage natural to man or can it be acquired by Experience or length of time'. According to the Society's minutes, 'A greater number of speakers delivered their sentiments on this Question than on any former and it carried that Courage was natural to man'.[173] The popularity of this question suggests an active intellectual engagement with issues of the inherent, learnt and/or socially constructed nature of manhood. That the majority voted in favour of courage being natural to man suggests a dominant conception that certain aspects of masculinity, and by extension gender difference, were natural.

Male and female interaction was considered to be integral in the construction and maintenance of gender identities in eighteenth-century Scotland and was a subject of debate at the Pantheon Society. On 14 January 1779 the Society debated the question, 'Whether the company of learned men, or that of the Ladies tends most to the improvement of youth?'. The records state that although at least nine out of twelve speakers were in favour of the company of 'Ladies', a majority of thirty-three out of a total vote of two hundred and fifty-three were in favour of 'learned men'. This vote demonstrates that there was no consensus on the issue of the benefits of female

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[171] *Ibid*, 23/3/1775, 13/12/1776.
[172] *Ibid*, 21/6/1775; A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003, pp 22-23.
[173] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 6/2/1777.

influence, and that ideas regarding the importance of homosociality remained prominent in late eighteenth-century urban Scotland.

Unlike the discourses of gender forged by the literati in homosocial institutions such as the Select Society and Literary Society, women were not simply the subject of debate at the Pantheon Society, but were actually present as listeners and were able to express an opinion through voting. It was not only men who voted on issues of male courage and the impact of the company of 'Ladies' on youth, but women were also able to participate in debates about gender in this way. This participation was however limited. This limitation is implicit in the above question in its differentiation between 'Ladies' and 'learned men'. This implies an assumption of 'Ladies', i.e. feminine women, as possessing certain characteristics which differentiate them from 'learned men', such as delicacy and emotionality which were considered to be feminine characteristics. It was these characteristics that were perceived to have a positive influence in men's development of refinement, as they were what apparently made women more sympathetic and less self-interested than men.[174] The placement of the influence of 'Ladies' as opposed to the influence of 'learned men', who, the term implies, possess exclusively masculine rational abilities, highlights the limitations of women's inclusion within the public sphere. This limitation is symbolised in the fact that although they could listen and vote, social norms ensured that women did not speak in the debates about gender, or any other issues.

That women and men were considered as inherently different and that this conception of difference informed ideas regarding men and women's participation in the public sphere is reflected in the question debated on 15 February 1776, 'Is it consistent with good policy to have Ladies for Soveraigns'. According to the minutes for that meeting:

> it was carried by a great majority, that females ought not to be troubled with Sovereignty, and that their Eminence over the Men was Sufficiently powerful, without their deviating from that line of Conduct which was evidently destined them by Providence to act in, all the Ladies present, except two, were of the same opinion.[175]

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[174] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp 117-118.
[175] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 15/2/1776.

Discourses of women's important influence in the mixed-sex social sphere, of their eminence over men in some spheres, cannot be separated from the denial of women's power in other spheres, namely the political sphere. The above question, and the response of the audience to it, highlights the loss of female political agency in the construction of a femininity which gave women a certain level of socio-cultural power. There is a class aspect to this question too; implicit within it is a rejection of aristocratic female political involvement, in favour of women's feminine power in the social and domestic realms. This social and domestic power was accessible to middling and gentry women in a way that familial political influence never was. It may be for this reason that all of the women present, except two, agreed that women should not be sovereign leaders.

The Pantheon Society also debated marriage. One such debate on the question 'Whether should Love or Money, have the greatest influence in forming the Matrimonial connection?' was held over two meetings on 10 and 17 December 1778 and attracted 348 people the first night and 406 the second.[176] For the second night, for which male and female attendance is minuted separately, 180 women and 226 men attended. The relatively high proportion of women in the audience may have been due to discourses regarding the centrality of domesticity to women's role in society.[177]

Ideas regarding women's importance within the institution of marriage were reflected in the fact that at the Pantheon Society debate on 17 December 1778 on the issue of whether love or money should determine a marriage a woman presented an address, the only time it is recorded that a woman did so. According to the minutes the woman did not actually speak publicly but instead, 'The anonymous Sentiments of a Lady were read by Mr Anderson which had been sent to him the day before; they were received by the audience with every mark of respect and applause.'[178] That a woman was expressing her views in a public forum was accepted by the participants in the Pantheon Society. This was probably because of the topic she was addressing, and the fact that she herself did not publicly speak. On 17 December 1778 the anonymous

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[176] *Ibid*, 10/12/1778, 17/12/1778.
[177] Rendall, 'Virtue and Commerce', pp 53-71; Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse,* pp 95-113.
[178] *Pantheon Debating Society Minutes*, 17/12/1778.

woman was simultaneously present and absent from the intellectual-political sphere of eighteenth century Scotland.

The Necessity of Feminine Performativity

As with the mixed-sex social sphere of assemblies, promenades and concerts, women's participation in the mixed-sex intellectual culture of public debating in the Pantheon Society was dependent upon their performance of a femininity whose very construction denied female intellectual or political equality with men. Women's place within the Pantheon Society was always different and unequal to men's. That the performance of femininity was integral to women's participation in the Pantheon is evidenced by the exclusion of four women following the debate on 19 March 1778 on female education. After the debate a motion was made at the members' meeting, 'craving that Mrs Law, Mrs Caldwell, Mrs Johnstone and Mrs Short, Ladies, who have disgusted the female part of the audience by theer attendance at the Pantheon, be refused admission for the future and the member who shall give them tickets be subjected to censure.'[179] It may have been some particular behaviour on the part of these women that led to their exclusion, but the wording of the minutes, that they offended other women, 'by theer attendance', suggests that these women were probably prostitutes. As prostitutes they would have embodied the opposite of the ideal feminine woman, and remind us that a number of different female identities were being enacted in eighteenth-century Scotland. That they were excluded is clear evidence that it was not women, but feminine women, who were welcomed in at the Pantheon Society.

The inclusion and exclusion of women based upon perceptions of their virtue, was also demonstrated in the election of 'lady members' by the Hodge Podge Club. Women's inclusion as 'members' was dependent not only upon their marital status, but also upon their conforming to certain conceptions of femininity. Once elected to the anniversary toast of the Hodge Podge Club women could be expunged from the list if they no longer met the requirements. This usually occurred as a result of a woman's marriage; for example, Menie Buchanan was expunged from the 1763 list due to her

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[179] *Ibid*, 19/3/1778.

being, 'guilty of matrimony'.[180] However it appears that certain behaviour could also result in women being excluded. In the 1761 list next to Betty Donald's name it states, 'unworthy deleted'.[181]

In *Character and Conduct* Fordyce draws a sharp contrast between virtuous women and non-virtuous women. For Fordyce non-virtuous women are those whose vanity has turned them into 'Indelicate and despicable creatures!', or the woman 'who talks loud, contradicts bluntly, looks sullen, contests pertinaciously, and instead of yielding challenges submission.'[182] Contrasting this woman to the virtuous woman, Fordyce writes, 'How different a figure! How forbidding an object! Feminality is gone: Nature is transformed: whatever makes the male character most rough and turbulent, is taken up by a creature that was designed to tranquilize and smooth it.'[183] Fordyce's representation of non-virtuous women certainly suggests a rejection of the independent female intellectual and/or political actor as a positive image of womanhood. However, his argument whilst definitely not proto-feminist was intended to reject men's negative conceptions of all women as vain and licentious, as interested only in fashion and luxury. Fordyce states that while some women are certainly like this, and are partly to blame, they are encouraged in this behaviour by male libertinism and superficial polite society. As Fordyce writes:

> Can it excite surprise, if passions constitutionally ardent, unrestrained by authority, unenlightened by instruction, encouraged by habitual idleness and fashionable amusements, inflamed and instigated by flatterers, companions, books, occasions of the most dangerous kind, are frequently carried to an excess destructive of all sober thought and internal serenity, even when reputation and decorum are preserved?[184]

Women's weaker natures, their liability to passionate emotions, meant that men and society were largely responsible when women lost their virtue and acted with impropriety. This argument presented by Fordyce is an argument for female education. Education can turn women away from 'habitual idleness and fashionable amusements'. As Fordyce asserts in response to criticisms of women, 'we have found, in some ladies

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[180] *Hodge Podge Club*, p 68.
[181] *Ibid*, p 67.
[182] Fordyce, *Character and Conduct*, p 83.
[183] *Ibid*, p 83.
[184] *Ibid*, pp 47-48.

of fashion, not only much brilliancy of fancy, but equal solidity of judgement and acuteness of penetration.' This virtuous character, Fordyce argues, is primarily due to the liberal education obtained by these women.[185]

Fordyce's representation of women in *Character and Conduct* is emblematic of women's position within Scottish Enlightenment culture. Women were considered to have rational abilities, and rather than vain temptresses many saw women as having a positive moral influence in society, as having a refining influence on men, due to their, '... peculiar aptitude to please.'[186] But this position in society, despite its links with arguments in favour of women's education, denied women an autonomous political role in the nation. This denial of political agency was due to the importance of femininity to women's place within the nation. Women during the eighteenth century both gained and lost public power.

Conclusion: Absence and Presence

Women were both present and absent from the urban public sphere of the Scottish Enlightenment. The homosocial intellectual-political sphere of clubs and societies existed within a broader public sphere, which included a mixed-sex social sphere. The existence of this sphere, and the lack of clear demarcation between the homosocial and the mixed-sex public spheres, demonstrates that it is incorrect to argue that women were entirely absent from the eighteenth-century public sphere in Scotland. Women were active and influential participants in the social sphere of assemblies, concerts, tea-parties, and other pursuits. This role was both enabled by their femininity and comprised an integral part of their femininity. Within Scottish Enlightenment discourses of politeness and sociability, the conversation of feminine women was represented as fundamental to the acquirement of social civility and male refinement.

Although creating spaces for female participation in society, the development of Scottish Enlightenment discourse and the emergence of the public sphere also acted to limit women's public participation. The same ideal of femininity that emphasised

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[185] *Ibid*, p 80.
[186] *Ibid*, p 91.

women's important influence in mixed-sex interaction, also stressed women's natural inequality to men in regards to intellectual and political participation. This conception of female intellectual inferiority denied women full access to the intellectual-political sphere. In regard to the practice of political agency participation in the social sphere was not equal to the intellectual-political sphere. The pamphlet *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club* presents an argument for women's inclusion in the intellectual-political sphere and challenged notions of natural female intellectual inequality and instead asserted an equality in regard to rational ability between men and women.

That the practice of this equality was denied is evidenced by the absence of women from the intellectual-political sphere of clubs and societies during the mid-eighteenth century. However, during the 1770s the democratisation of the intellectual-political sphere demonstrated by the advent of popular debating societies enabled a certain level of female involvement in this sphere. Although this inclusion evidences women's active participation in the intellectual-political public sphere, it also highlights the limitations placed upon women due to the links between women's performance of femininity and their inclusion in the public sphere overall. In the Pantheon Society of Edinburgh women listened to debates and voted on the questions debated, but they did not speak. Women were simultaneously present and absent at the Pantheon Society debates, just as they were within the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere overall.

Chapter 7:
Issues of Martial Manhood

The preceding chapters on gender, national identity and political agency during the period c.1750-1790 have focussed upon the discourse and performance of the urban elite. Whilst reflective of the power of the urban elite the focus on the urban realm can lead to a skewed notion of the issues addressed. In particular it can lead to an assumption of hegemony (especially in terms of masculine identity) and an implicit, and somewhat false, separation of Lowland history from the history of the Highlands and the British Empire. This chapter will examine ideas of martial manhood in the context of Scottish Enlightenment discourse and the ideal of the martial Highland soldier in order to reject the notion of hegemonic masculinity and bring the Highlands and Empire into this analysis of gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland.

The refined British gentleman was an urban elite model of patriotic manhood. He embodied North Britishness, but he did not have a monopoly on patriotic manhood in eighteenth-century Scotland. Within Scottish Enlightenment discourse martial manhood did not disappear entirely, and the mass military recruitment of Highland men informed and reflected conceptualisations of a militaristic Highland masculine identity. The focus on refined manhood in representations of masculinity in eighteenth-century Scotland can privilege the performance of the elite.

The problematic nature of focussing on male refinement in representations of eighteenth-century British masculinity was recently raised by Karen Harvey. She argued for the cultural and geographical specificity of the culture of male politeness, asserting that it excluded certain groups of men (for example the labouring poor) and ignored the relationship between masculinity and war.[1] In the Scottish context, one means of overcoming the historiographical bias towards elite manhood (see above Ch. 4) is to examine the construction and possible performance of patriotic manhood which does not adhere to the elite model, specifically martial Highland manhood.

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[1] K. Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp 269-311.

In 1992 G.J. Barker-Benfield asserted that eighteenth-century masculinity was expressed more 'immediately in commerce rather than war'.[2] This assumption acts to obscure alternative masculinities that were being constructed, propagated and performed during this period. It also highlights the intimate connections between refined manhood and the urban elite public sphere. The 'economic, social and cultural awakening'[3] which is claimed to have occurred in Lowland Scotland as a result of the convergence of economic modernisation and Scottish Enlightenment philosophy should not be separated from other narratives of eighteenth-century Scotland. War and Empire were central features of eighteenth-century Scotland – they were integral to the wealth and power which enabled the development of an urban culture of civility. To explore the alternative patriotic masculine ideal of the martial Highland soldier is to make the story of war and Empire more central. In addition to Edinburgh coffeehouses, North Britishness in Scotland was performed on the battlefields of Empire.

This chapter will explore alternative conceptions of patriotic manhood. To demonstrate the instability of the refined gentleman within elite discourse and culture, the initial discussion will focus upon the philosophy of Adam Ferguson and the campaign for a Scottish militia. Demonstrating the lack of consensus within Scottish Enlightenment discourse regarding 'civilisation' and the martial character, as a contrast to Ferguson I will discuss John Millar's attitudes regarding martial manhood and civility. The rest of the chapter will focus on alternative representations of martial patriotic manhood, in the form of the ideal of the martial Highland soldier. I will first discuss the place of the Highlands and Empire in conceptions of national identity in eighteenth-century Scotland. This will be followed by an examination of representations of Highland masculinity by people associated with the Westminster government. The issue of patronage and the involvement of the Highland elite in Highland military recruitment will then be discussed, as will the use of ideas of Highland militarism to critique Highland 'improvement' and emigration from the region. The final section of the chapter will tackle the question as to the identities of eighteenth-century Highland soldiers and argue that that rather than being motivated by the ideal masculine image of

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[2] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992, p xxvii.
[3] A. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment:A Social History*, London, Croom Helm, 1976, p 5.

themselves as patriot warriors, soldiers were motivated by a desire to achieve 'independent' manhood.

I will demonstrate that despite its oppositional position to the seemingly hegemonic masculinity of the urban core, a martial or militaristic masculinity was propagated as a patriotic gendered identity. This was possible because of its place within the peripheries of eighteenth century Britain - the Scottish Highlands and sites of British overseas occupation. The wealth created by Empire and the wars that expanded and defended it were an integral part of eighteenth-century 'progress'. Scottish domestic wealth during the eighteenth century was fed by the profits of Empire. Colonial merchants who bought landed estates were often 'improvers' on these estates, using profits made in the colonies to finance projects such as land improvement and coal mining ventures. The impact of Empire on domestic Scotland was most apparent in Glasgow where the trade in tobacco produced by slave labour in the North American colonies produced massive growth in the city in the form of both grand merchant houses built by the 'tobacco lords' and an increased investment in the manufacturing industry to supply the colonial markets.[4] The importance of Empire to the domestic economy that allowed the literati to claim a position as representatives of an advanced commercial society shows that the manhood of commerce was dependent upon the manhood of Empire and war.

Prior to the final Jacobite defeat in 1746, Highland martial masculinity was portrayed as evidence of the region's Otherness to North Britain. However during the second half of the century and especially from the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the Highlands' disproportionate role in the British Imperial army led to the propagation of an idea of Highland militarism as evidence of loyalty to the British state. Although the ideals of male refinement and sensibility propagated by the Enlightenment literati were defined partly in opposition to this martial masculinity, just as they were to the Frenchified fop, this alternative masculinity, unlike the Fop, was not considered to be subversive. Instead it can be defined as a peripheral masculinity as it existed within the boundaries of Britishness, in the peripheries of the Highlands and 'outposts' of the British Empire as opposed to the urban core of Enlightenment Scotland. The concept of

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[4] T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, London, Penguin, 2003, pp 330-334.

peripheries is important in understanding the construction and expression of Britishness during the eighteenth century as it allows for the recognition of the impact of those areas of Britain outside of the urban metropole.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the ideal of the refined British gentleman could be considered as a hegemonic masculinity in terms of R.W. Connell's model on two counts. Firstly it reflected and claimed the cultural and political power of the urban elite. Secondly, the effeminate Frenchified Fop against which refined manhood was in part defined, fits Connell's model of subversive masculinities. However, the existence of an alternative patriotic masculinity to the refined gentleman which was neither subversive nor subordinate (the other of Connell's key categories), in the form of the Highland soldier, highlights the problematic nature of Connell's model of hegemonic masculinity as a blanket model for explaining the discourse and performance of masculinity in eighteenth-century Scotland.[5] Also disrupting the idea of refined manhood as a hegemonic masculinity is its unstable position within elite discourse, primarily the moral philosophy and political discourse of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) and martial manhood

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the construction of the ideal of the refined British gentleman reflected a Scottish Enlightenment ideology which linked the development of commercial wealth with society's supposed advancement to a 'civilised' state. Men's adoption of the characteristics of refinement and sensibility were gendered expressions of British 'civilisation'. The British gentleman who was refined but not effeminate embodied both commerce and liberty, and he existed within an urban culture of politeness and refinement that allowed Lowland Scots to perceive of themselves as defending their society from the possible moral and social corruption of wealth, claim a space within Britain equal to England and distance themselves from a history of Scottish feudalism and Jacobitism.

In discussing Scottish Enlightenment ideas regarding patriotic manhood it is important to recognise that there was no consensus on the issue. Adam Ferguson (1723-

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[5] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity, 2005.

1816), in *Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia* (1756) and *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), emphasised the importance of martial aspects of society, such as a citizens' militia, as the basis of patriotism and liberty and the defence of men's social natures against the selfishness encouraged by wealth and luxury. Presenting an alternative viewpoint, John Millar (1735-1801) in *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1779) argued that militaristic societies limited men's ability to develop true refinement. The attitudes of the two Enlightenment historians towards martial identity, and by extension masculinity, reflect a contemporary intellectual debate on the issue. This debate is important in understanding the construction of a peripheral but patriotic militaristic masculinity and the impact of this on perceptions of Highland militarism.

More than most other members of the literati, Adam Ferguson emphasised the importance of military valour as the foundation of civic virtue and defence against selfishness and effeminacy. This may have been due to his military experience serving as an army chaplain in the Black Watch between 1745 and 1754.[6] According to Fania Oz-Salzberger, Ferguson was proud of his military experience and it, 'touched a deep chord in his self-image as a man and a Scot.'[7] It was during his military career that Ferguson developed the idea of patriotism as 'the most manly virtue', which would underpin both his arguments for a Scottish militia and his major philosophical work *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767).[8] The interconnection between the love and defence of one's country and manliness were set out by Ferguson in a speech made (in Gaelic) to soldiers of the First Highland Regiment of Foot (or Black Watch) prior to them going into combat for the Hanoverian monarchy against Jacobite forces during the 1745 rebellion, and later published in English as *A Sermon Preached in the Ersh* [sic] *Language to his Majesty's First Highland Regiment of Foot* (1746)

In *Sermon Preached*, Ferguson expressed his idea of the importance of men's formation into societies as the foundation of 'the Advancement of Sciences, Arts,

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[6] F. Oz-Salzberger, 'Introduction', in A. Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), ed. Oz-Salzberger, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995, p x.

[7] Oz-Salzberger, 'Ferguson, Adam (1723-1816)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford U.P., 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/articles/9315, accessed 7 Sept 2006].

[8] A. Ferguson, *A Sermon Preached in the Ersh Language to his Majesty's First Highland Regiment of Foot*, London, A. Millar, 1746.

Improvements, and everything that is conducive to the Welfare of the reasonable Being'.[9] To act in the common interest of their society was an integral duty of all men. However, reflecting the specific purpose and audience of his sermon, Ferguson asserted that as soldiers it was their 'particular Duty, as Men who are in a more particular Manner set apart for the Defence of your Country; to whose hands the Sword is entrusted.'[10] The soldiers that Ferguson was addressing were not about to fight a foreign enemy but were likely to face other Scots in battle, some of whom could be friends or relatives. Because of this it was essential for Ferguson to construct a notion of national identity as oppositional to the Jacobite agenda; for example he represented Charles Edward Stuart as a 'Popish' king acting under French influence who would corrupt the 'pure and undefiled' established (Presbyterian) religion and subvert the liberty that the men 'enjoy as Subjects of *Britain*'.[11] Rather than a Scottish national identity, which motivated a number of Jacobite supporters and soldiers, Ferguson invoked a British national identity defined by liberty and the security of the Church of Scotland within the British parliamentary Union. On the issue of fighting other Scots, Ferguson states, 'If you oppose your Acquaintances, it is to prevent their Ruin: if you oppose your Relations, it is to secure them and Posterity from Slavery for ever!'[12]

The soldiers that Ferguson addressed were depicted as the primary defenders of British liberty in the face of the Jacobite threat. As he stated to them, 'the present Circumstances of your Country render it the indispensible Duty of every Man, and yours in particular, to exert your utmost in its Defence.'[13] The masculine status that the soldiers were able to claim through their martial defence of Britain is denied to the Jacobite 'rebels' who are depicted as acting in self-interest at the expense of a common national interest. Forging an integral link between masculinity and patriotism, Jacobitism is depicted by Ferguson as unmanly, writing that with the rebellion, 'Our personal Security, our Religion, Laws, and every thing that can be dear to a reasonable Man is called into question!'[14]

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[9] *Ibid*, pp 8-9.
[10] *Ibid*, p 5.
[11] *Ibid*, p 11.
[12] *Ibid*, pp 22-23.
[13] *Ibid*, p 10.
[14] *Ibid*, p 22.

A Sermon Preached represents an early expression of Ferguson's later philosophy. In it he presents a vision of society in which liberty, the military defence of the nation and manhood are inseparable. In this particular context the link is made in order to defend British liberties from a French supported and 'Popish' Jacobite rebellion.[15] In Ferguson's later work this model of militaristic patriotic manhood is invoked not to defend Britain from a direct military threat but, instead, against the internal threats of selfishness and corruption seemingly caused by increasing commercial wealth.

Ferguson was not the first to develop a philosophy that attempted to reclaim martial manhood within a commercial society. As John Robertson discusses, David Hume (1711-1776) in *Political Discourses* (1752) presented the argument that commercial societies improved men's martial spirit. Hume argued that the honour associated with militarism was enhanced by the knowledge and education available in 'advanced' societies and the courage necessary for martial honour was improved when combined with the discipline and increased skill that accompanied commercial 'progress'. Adam Smith (1723-1790) also dealt with the issue of martial manhood in his philosophy. In *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith presented commercial society as less able than other forms of society to protect itself. This was primarily due to the refinement caused by wealth. As discussed in chapter 4, Smith was not a critic of refinement and, especially in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), could be said to have been one of its greatest proponents. His answer was for the introduction of professional standing armies, though he believed that military exercises (like education) could help to combat what he perceived as the debilitating affects of the division of labour he himself proposed.[16]

Smith and Hume considered martial virtues as a means to maintain social morality within commercial society, but they also believed that commercial society provided the context for the enhancement of men's moral selves (see above Ch. 4). It is on this issue that Ferguson differed markedly from much Scottish Enlightenment discourse; Ferguson considered social virtues as 'natural', as having to be maintained

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985, p 63, 91, 212-223.

despite commercial progress. In his major philosophical work *An Essay On the History of Civil Society* (1767) Ferguson rejected Hume and Smith's representation of wealth as a primarily civilising force, arguing instead that it promoted selfish desires over men's natural propensity to act as members of society. This went against men's nature as moral creatures that encouraged affections to others, such as their children and friends, which then extended to their country as a whole. In regard to wealth, Ferguson warned his readers that in a commercial society 'It is here indeed, if ever, that man is sometimes found a detached and solitary being'.[17]

Ferguson argued that there were few examples of states that 'by arts or policy' have improved the original dispositions of human nature; instead the introduction of arts could act to corrupt men's minds through a promotion of self-interest over concern for one's 'fellow-creatures.'[18] For Ferguson, 'rude nations' possessed natural communal bonds that were strengthened through frequent conflict with other communities. This bond meant that for 'the human species in its rudest state; the love of society, friendship, and public affection, penetration, eloquence, and courage, appear to have been its original properties, not the subsequent effects of device or invention.'[19]

Ferguson's philosophy represented a departure from stadialist notions of history and society; he asserted that rather than increasing the strength of the nation, the impact of commercial wealth on the political community could threaten the foundations of civil society by undermining the communal bonds that were apparent in 'savage' societies. When writing about luxury Ferguson alerts his readers to the problematic nature of this term, highlighting its material relativity and arguing that 'luxury' could be employed to describe and celebrate opulence and national greatness, or conversely as 'the source of corruption, and the presage of national declension and ruin.'[20] Ferguson argues that it is the impact of luxury on men's moral characters by encouraging selfish rather than social interests, rather than luxury itself that causes the corruption of 'polished nations'. Luxury promoted the pursuit of personal gain over the public good and this pursuit

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[17] Ferguson, *History of Civil Society*, p 24.
[18] *Ibid*, p 195-196.
[19] *Ibid*, p 93.
[20] *Ibid*, p 227.

fostered habits of 'jealousy and envy, of fear and malice'.[21] Luxury caused national corruption by encouraging men to privilege wealth over personal virtue in determining social distinction. He warns of a situation where men have 'sold our freedom for titles, equipage, and distinctions, till we see no merit but prosperity and power, no disgrace but poverty and neglect.'[22]

Ferguson's theory of civil society rested upon the notion that men's characters determined the form (i.e. democracy, monarchy, or despotism) that any given society would take and that changes in that form were the result of the characters of its male members. Progress, the development of 'commercial arts' and resulting national wealth were not necessarily bad, but the effect they had on lessening the bonds of civil society and corrupting men's characters could, according to Ferguson, result in 'national declension and ruin.'[23] Ferguson's argument that 'Virtue is a necessary constituent of national strength,'[24], expressed a sentiment common to Enlightenment discourses on society and virtue, discourses that emphasised the threats posed to 'civilised' society and by extension the British nation. [25] However Ferguson differs from the main current of Enlightenment thought in his emphasis on a civic virtue based upon a martial masculinity as opposed to the new moral code of male sensibility. The primary defence against the move towards a selfish, rather than social, individual identity within commercial society was militaristic manhood. Conflict, for Ferguson, formed the basis of social unity, stating that the dispositions that enlist 'him on the side of one tribe or community, frequently engage him in war and contention with the rest of mankind'.[26]

Ferguson asserted that conflict between nations or tribes was the basis of patriotism, stating, 'The titles of *fellow-citizen* and *countryman* unopposed to those of *alien* and *foreigner*, to which they refer, would fall into disuse, and lose their meaning'.[27] Whilst Ferguson asserts that conflicts between individuals are often the

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[21] *Ibid*, p 54.
[22] *Ibid*, p 43.
[23] *Ibid*, p 225.
[24] *Ibid*, p 213.
[25] J. Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, p 1.
[26] Ferguson, *History of Civil Society*, p 16.
[27] *Ibid*, p 25.

result of those 'unhappy and detestable passions'[28] such as malice, hatred and rage; war between nations both fed upon and encouraged manly virtues such as courage, generosity and a 'zeal for the public'.[29] Ferguson asserted that these manly virtues could not be separated from the strength of the nation and the defence of liberty within the nation, arguing that, whatever its population and wealth, 'a nation consisting of degenerate and cowardly men is weak; a nation consisting of vigorous and public spirited, and resolute men, strong'.[30]

Writing about men's involvement in war, Ferguson argues, 'They are sentiments of generosity and self-denial that animate the warrior in defence of his country'.[31] For Ferguson the conflict of rival states created 'for the patriot and the warrior, in the practice of violence and stratagem, the most illustrious career of human virtue.'[32] Men's performance of the attributes of courage, physical exertion and self-sacrifice were, for Ferguson, fundamental aspects of individual happiness, the defence of the nation and of man's freedom within the nation. Men by nature are members of a community, and so 'they are the most happy men, whose hearts are engaged to a community, in which they find every object of generosity and zeal, and a scope for the exercise of every talent, and of every virtuous disposition.'[33] It is this attachment that relies upon conflict with other communities, or nations. As Ferguson stated, 'We love individuals on account of personal qualities, but we love our country as it is a party in the divisions of mankind; and our zeal for its interest is a predilection in behalf of the side we maintain.'[34] This attachment and the virtues it encouraged were necessary for the defence of nations because, as Ferguson asserted, a nation's strength 'is derived from the character, not from the wealth, nor from the multitude of its people … arms are of consequence only in the hands of the brave.'[35]

The main premise of *Essay on the History of Civil Society* was the importance of maintaining a martial masculinity in order to preserve the bonds of society, and by

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[28] *Ibid*, p 29
[29] *Ibid*, p 144.
[30] *Ibid*, p 213.
[31] *Ibid*, p 28.
[32] *Ibid*, p 29.
[33] *Ibid*, p 59.
[34] *Ibid*, pp 25-26.
[35] *Ibid*, p 62.

extension the virtue and strength of the nation. Ferguson asserted that, 'The wealth, the aggrandizement and power of nations, are commonly the effects of virtue; the loss of these advantages, is often a consequence of vice.'[36] This link between martial masculinity and the progress or decline of the nation reflects the intellectual basis of the campaign mounted by Ferguson and certain other members of literati for the establishment of a Scottish militia. Whilst apparent in his *History of Civil Society*, it is Ferguson's earlier work, *Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia*, published anonymously in 1756, which provides the ideological context of the militia agitations..

As Robertson discusses, the issue of a Scottish militia provided a bridge between the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment and the experiences of Scottish society.[37] Conducted during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), the agitations for a Scottish militia were led by a number of Scottish Enlightenment literati, including, alongside Adam Ferguson, William Robertson, Alexander Carlyle, and Hugh Blair. These men were prominent members of the Select Society, and Ferguson also established the Poker Club specifically to campaign on the militia issue. By campaigning for a militia these literati (who can be unified under the banner of Moderate literati) attempted to preserve what they saw as the positive values bequeathed by Scotland's martial past such as honour and courage in the defence of the nation within the context of the modern British state, itself defined by commerce and liberty. By invoking Scotland's martial past, the militia idea served as a means of ensuring the continuance of a Scottish identity whilst also asserting their loyalty to the Union; the militia agitations enabled the expression of concentric loyalties.[38]

The agitations failed to achieve the establishment of a Scottish militia. However, as Robertson argues, despite their material failure, the agitations achieved their ideological aim of a demonstration of Scottish national spirit.[39] In the context of masculinity and national identity, the militia agitations provided a context for the expression within Enlightenment thought of alternative visions of a patriotic British

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[36] *Ibid*, p 196.
[37] Robertson, *Militia Issue*, p 17.
[38] *Ibid*, p 164.
[39] *Ibid*, p 174.

masculinity in Scotland. This alternative vision is clearly apparent in Adam Ferguson's *Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia*, which, as one of the major texts to come out of the agitations, set out a treatise as to how Britain could 'mix the military Spirit with our civil and commercial Policy.'[40]

The year of publication of this text is important; 1756 marked the beginning of the Seven Years War between Britain and France that was fought both in Europe and in imperial arenas such as North America. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Seven Years War was a discursive site of anxiety regarding Britain's national strength, and this anxiety was expressed in gendered terms.[41] Ferguson's *Reflections* can be read as an expression of these anxieties. The point of difference between English and Scottish anxieties regarding national emasculation at the start of the Seven Years War may be the specific focus of those anxieties. In *The Island Race* (2003), Wilson argues that anxieties of national effeminacy were linked to the aristocracy and that middle-class manly virtue was presented as an antidote.[42] In *Reflections* it was the gentry in whom Ferguson invests the greatest degree of martial honour, writing, 'I cannot think it necessary to point at any Regulation, by which the military Spirit might be promoted amongst our Gentry. … They are possessed of hereditary Distinction; whatever therefore comes attended with farther Distinction and Honour must engage their minds.'[43]

The gentry are envisioned by Ferguson as the natural saviours of society's martial spirit. It is also the gentry who come under the most criticism for failing to fulfil their role in this regard. Ferguson argued that the reason for their loss of the 'military spirit' lies in their adoption of ideas that place wealth as the highest marker of social distinction. Writing about the dominance of 'Arts and Manufactures' and the subsequent denigration of the military profession due to its limited profitability, Ferguson stated, 'Even our Gentry have learned to estimate the Profession in the same Manner, and we may well be ashamed to own, how few are to be found in our Army … The Profession of Arms, so becoming the Birth and Station of a Gentleman, is not courted, because its

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[40] Ferguson, *Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia*, London, R. & J. Dodsley, 1756, p 3.
[41] See K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1995; Wilson, 'Empire, Gender and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century', in P. Levine (ed), *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2004, pp 14-44.
[42] Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 2003, p 50.
[43] Ferguson, *Establishment of a Militia*, p 19.

profits are trivial.'[44] This statement touches on the main elements of Ferguson's *Reflections*, that men's martial spirit was being destroyed by a society which emphasised profit over other marks of social distinction and that this corruption, leading to national weakness, was being compounded by the blurring of social distinction caused by increased wealth.

In addition a major difference between the militia envisioned in Scotland by Ferguson and that envisioned (and to an extent enacted) in England was the social composition of the militia. As his emphasis on the importance of the participation of the gentry illustrates, Ferguson's vision of a militia was not one of universal male participation and instead intentionally reflected contemporary social hierarchies. In contrast, in England, 'country' writers in the 1750s argued for a militia of ordinary people. As McCormack discusses, this militia was to be a material manifestation of English liberty and so made up of armed, public spirited citizens. These citizens were envisioned in opposition to the landed elite, who were deemed to represent foreign influenced corruption; whereas the ordinary people embodied manly liberty, the elite were effeminate.[45]

McCormack argues that 'country' conceptualisations of the militia enacted in the 1757 Militia Bill resulted in a discursive extension of citizenship by equating it with military service rather than rank.[46] Differing from English country ideas of a citizens' militia, social hierarchy was integral to Ferguson's vision of a militia. It was to be organised according to existing social ranks, with noblemen and 'Gentlemen possess'd of a certain Valuation' serving as colonels, those with slightly less property serving as field officers, and those with even less serving as captains. Freeholders whose land was worth at least one hundred a year were to 'be qualified for inferior Officers, and not obliged to serve as Soldiers.' The soldiers would be sourced from 'Freemen' who possess some land and 'are respectable amongst the inhabitants'.'[47] Whilst Ferguson's vision of military duty conferred rights, such as allowing those 'of an inferior Class', the '… Place of Honour in voting at all Elections', as well as authority within institutions

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[44] *Ibid*, p 9.
[45] M. McCormack, 'The New Militia: War, Politics and Gender in 1750s Britain', *Gender & History*, 19:3 (2007), pp 483-497.
[46] *Ibid*, p 497.
[47] Ferguson, *Establishment of a Militia*, pp 51-52.

such as grand or petty juries, these rights were dependent upon men's existent position in the social hierarchy. The 'inferior Class' Ferguson writes about are those who, 'possess a certain Extent of Ground'. Those who did not possess land such as 'Cottagers, Day-Labourers and Servants', alongside criminals, were to be excluded from the militia.[48] This exclusion reflects a continuation of early modern notions of gender that stressed the importance of control over a household and economic independence in achieving complete manhood.[49]

The emphasis placed by Ferguson on the issue of social distinction also separates his concept of martial masculinity from the citizen-soldier masculinity of the later eighteenth century revolutionary period. Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann argue that during the American Revolution Classical Republican ideas were used to create a model of the virtuous citizen-soldier and that this militaristic masculine ideal became inseparable from the new American national identity. This notion of the citizen-soldier was also apparent during the latter stages of the French Revolution, when men's claims to citizenship were made dependent upon military service. These two events demonstrate an increasing link between militarism, masculinity and citizenship between 1750 and 1850 as the masculine ideal was used to articulate notions of citizenship, the 'people' and the nation.[50]

Whilst Ferguson's *Reflections* were an intellectual response to fears caused by initial British losses during the Seven Years War and so focused on the need to improve the martial spirit of a people whose hearts were 'softened by a Disuse of Arms.'[51], his *History of Civil Society* (1767), published four years after the end of the Seven Years War reflected the anxieties caused by rapid Imperial expansion following this war. The Treaty of Paris (1763) resulted in Britain gaining French and Spanish imperial claims North America, Africa and Asia. The large increase in imperial 'possessions' resulted, as Elizabeth Mancke argues, in a need for a re-assessment of the kind of empire Britain

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[48] *Ibid*, pp 40-41, 51-52.
[49] A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2003, pp 70-75.
[50] S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, 'Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750-1850', in Dudink, Hagemann, J. Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 2004, pp 3-19.
[51] Ferguson, *Establishment of a Militia*, p 15.

governed.[52] The dramatic expansion of the British Empire, which involved the occupation of large parts of Asia and the America's, threatened the notion that this Empire, and by extension Britain itself, was defined by commerce, Protestantism and liberty.[53]

Rather than viewing expansion as increasing the strength of a nation, Ferguson argued that, by separating the citizen from the operations of the state, expansion actually weakened the nation. On the Roman Empire Ferguson wrote that its often admired greatness was actually 'ruinous to the virtue and the happiness of mankind.'[54] This ruination was the result of the diminished importance of each individual citizen within an enlarged state. The expansion of state territory through imperial acquisition resulted in increased distance between the people and the centre of administrative power, causing people to consider themselves as subjects of a sovereign and not as members of a political body. In this situation it becomes vital for the state to keep its distant provinces in subjection thus making the use of military force in order to rule more likely and so increasing the chances the state becoming despotic. For this reason, Ferguson argued, that 'from the history of mankind, to conquer, or to be conquered, has appeared, in effect, the same.'[55]

The growth of the wealth and power of the state was considered by Ferguson as a threat to men's natural social bonds. For example the development of commercialism and the emergence of a professional class, for Ferguson meant that 'society is made to consist of parts, of which none is associated with the spirit of society itself.'[56] Another major cause of the dissolving of men's social bonds was the peace that commercial wealth and resultant increased security through laws and professional armies could bring, as it distanced men from conflict in defence of their country and their liberty. This separation of men from the active military defence of their nation and their rights, 'by leaving too little to agitate the spirits of men', can bring on 'ages of languor if not

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[52] E. Mancke, 'Negotiating an Empire: Britain and its Overseas Peripheries c.1550-1780', in C. Daniels, M.V. Kennedy (eds), *Negotiated Empires: Centres and Peripheries in the Americas 1500-1820*, New York, Routledge, 2002, p 235.

[53] See Wilson, *Island Race*, p 19; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1992, pp 101-103.

[54] Ferguson, *History of Civil Society*, p 60

[55] *Ibid*, p 257.

[56] *Ibid*, p 207.

decay.'[57] As Ferguson asserted, 'Long intermissions of war, suffer, equally in every period of civil society, the military spirit to languish.'[58] Ferguson argued that the corruption of men's martial spirit could only be avoided if standing armies were avoided and men continued to be actively involved in the defence of their nation through institutions such as militias and engagement in politics. He believed that the progress of society was dependent upon men's freedom to 'act as a member of the public', and so those 'revolutions of state … that deprive the citizen of occasions to act as a member of the public; that crush his spirit; that debase his sentiments, and disqualify his mind for affairs', caused the corruption of nations.[59] For Ferguson the performance of a martial masculinity was inseparable from men's participation in the nation, and this participation was inseparable from the strength and defence of the nation and liberty within the nation.

Millar, 'Four Stages' and the inferiority of martial culture

Ferguson's emphasis on the virtues of 'rude nations' that could be corrupted by progress represents a departure from the main current of Scottish Enlightenment historiography; his argument that commercial society could destroy virtues such as honour and courage caused Hume to claim that Ferguson's *Essay* was a surrender to romantic primitivism.[60] For most members of the literati martial cultures represented an earlier stage of progress in which the development of 'civilised' moral characters was impossible. This idea was most clearly articulated by John Millar in *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1779).[61] As discussed in Chapter 4, Millar's stadialist conception of history allowed the eighteenth century Lowland elite to claim a status as members of an advanced civilised society and ideas regarding appropriate gender relations were the primary means by which Millar located past and present societies within the 'Four Stages' model.

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[57] *Ibid*, p 208.

[58] *Ibid*, p 202.

[59] *Ibid*, p 203.

[60] A. Hermann, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots Invention of the Modern World*, London, Fourth Estate, 2002, pp 187-190.

[61] J. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or an Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society* (1806 Ed.), ed. J.V. Price, Thoemmes Antiquarian Books Ltd., Bristol, 1990.

Women's status was used by Millar as a primary signifier of a society's stage of progression and in this historiography women's status is dependent upon expressions of masculinity. As Millar states, 'Their [women's] condition is naturally improved by every circumstance which tends to create more attention to the pleasures of sex, and to increase the value of those occupations that are suited to the female character; by the cultivation of the arts of life; by the advancement of opulence and by the gradual refinement of manners.'[62] With changes in the mode of subsistence and societal institutions (i.e. establishment of private property) and increased levels of affluence and corresponding leisure time, men's behaviour changes and so women's condition improves. It can therefore be argued that whilst Millar writes extensively about women, the effect of society's means of subsistence on expressions of masculinity is a central focus of his work.

On masculinity in 'savage' societies Millar wrote, 'Among those who are almost continually employed in war, or in hunting, and who by their manner of life, are exposed to numberless hardships and dangers, activity, strength, courage and military skill, are the chief accomplishments that are held in high esteem.'[63] The position of virtues such as strength and courage as the 'principal sources of rank and dignity' limit men's ability to develop refinement.[64] As Millar argues, 'A savage who earns his food by hunting and fishing or by gathering the spontaneous fruits of the earth, is incapable of attaining any refinement in his pleasures.'[65] Whilst this statement refers to the initial savage state of existence, the premise that man's lifestyle can act to prevent the development and expression of 'civilised' refinement is a key aspect of Millar's theory of progress. Applied to martial societies it results in his conclusion that refinement is impossible within a militaristic society because men do not have the necessary leisure time to cultivate the arts and so soften their tempers, a process which leads men to view women as neither slaves nor idols but as companions.[66] The influence of female virtue in turn serves to further increase men's refinement.

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[62] *Ibid*, p 57.
[63] *Ibid*, p 32.
[64] *Ibid*, p 32.
[65] *Ibid*, p 14.
[66] P. Bowles, 'John Millar, the Four Stages Theory, and Women's Position in Society', *History of Political Economy*, 16:4 (1984), p 632.

Millar's notion of the role of the military in earlier stages of society is similar to Ferguson's; he argues that in the 'rude state' war is agreeable to man as he is able to enrich himself through plunder and gain distinction in society through military valour. Millar also agreed with Ferguson that progress in arts and manufactures caused men to become averse to the military profession and place a lower value on a military reputation; where he differed from Ferguson was in his assessment of this change. Ferguson viewed men's aversion to military life and the introduction of standing armies as a threat to civil society, liberty and the nation. Millar on the other hand (following Smith) claimed that the development of a professional army led to improvements in military arts because within an army there was proper subordination, soldiers were fitter for action and they could be more easily controlled and guided.[67] However Millar did accept the risk that professional, or standing, armies could 'subvert and destroy the liberties of the people.'[68] It is on the effects of this demise of military spirit to civil society that Millar takes an oppositional position to Ferguson. Within Millar's conception of progress men must move beyond a martial identity just as they must develop modes of subsistence beyond that of hunting or shepherding in order to develop refinement and move towards a 'civilised' society. As Millar argued:

> When men begin to disuse their ancient barbarous practices, when their attention is not wholly engrossed by the pursuit of military reputation, when they have made some progress in the arts, and have attained to a proportional degree of refinement, they are necessarily led to set a value upon those female accomplishments and virtues which have so much influence upon every species of improvement, and which in so many different ways act to multiply the comforts of life.[69]

The Peripheral Other

It is upon the idea of the inferiority of non-commercial societies, which was an integral part of 'Four Stages' historiography, that the issue of Highland masculinity becomes important. Whilst Millar only briefly discusses the Highlands his ideas regarding civilised and uncivilised masculinity provided an ideological basis for the Lowland

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[67] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, pp 220-224.
[68] *Ibid*, p 225.
[69] *Ibid*, p 80.

Scottish elite to differentiate themselves from a Highland society that had come to symbolise an outdated form of Scottish identity. Highland society within Millar's historiography served as a living example of a previous stage of development. The relative economic poverty of the Highlands was interpreted in the context of ideas regarding the backwardness of Highland culture and defined against the commercial polite world of urbanised Britain.[70] For the Lowland elite the presumed cultural backwardness and martial character of the Highlands provided an essential Other against which to define themselves and assert their equal place within Britain as a commercial and refined society. The means by which this Otherness was understood and propagated was two-fold. Firstly the Highlands could be considered as a contemporary example of an earlier stage of progress within Four Stages historiography, a belief that informed eighteenth-century Lowland attempts to 'civilise' the region.[71] Secondly, the development of a Whig historical narrative, which claimed a Germanic ethnic identity for the Lowland elite, depicted Highland culture as inferior and argued that this backwardness was the product of their different and separate Celtic origins.[72]

'Four Stages' historiography allowed for different societies to exist at the same time at different stages of development and so 'savage' societies such as Native Americans were viewed as living examples of the first stage of development, as comparable to ancient European tribes.[73] As Roger Emerson discusses, the use of Native Americans within Enlightenment historiography was partly informed by early modern 'travel accounts' of the 'New World'. These accounts were mainly written by Spanish, French and English imperialists. One writer whose accounts influenced Scottish Enlightenment ideas was John Aubrey, who wrote in 1659 that early Britons were only, 'two or three degrees … less savage than the Americans.'[74]

During the eighteenth century, as Scottish involvement in Empire increased, the use of these accounts by the Lowland elite was supplemented with Scottish accounts.

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[70] M.G.H. Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, Hampshire, Palgrave, 2001, pp 73-74.

[71] R. L. Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 9 (1979), p 214.

[72] Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland 1685 1789*, Houndsmills, Macmillan, 1997, p 142.

[73] H.M. Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *The Journal of British Studies*, 17:2, (1978), pp 24-25.

[74] Quoted in Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', p 213.

Increases in information regarding Native Americans gained through Scottish involvement in Empire were interpreted within the new intellectual climate of empiricism and an emphasis on the mechanisms of social progress and so were more secular, and placed greater emphasis on political and economic issues, than previous Spanish, French and English representations of Native Americans.[75] According to Emerson, 'Changes in philosophical orientation had made accounts of rude and barbarous peoples of much greater interest.'[76] Emerson's 1978 study is problematic in that he sees eighteenth-century observers as providing 'factual information' and appears to use terms such as 'barbarous' as if they are objective descriptors rather than culturally and politically loaded terms which imply a false notion of Western European supremacy. However, he provides a useful analysis of the ways in which the changing intellectual climate of the eighteenth century was both reflected in and informed by 'observations' of the peoples of the 'New World'. Emerson argues that, 'The savages provided conjectural historians … with an opportunity to study the earlier condition of all men and societies.'[77] These observations were far from the objective studies that Emerson appears to imply they were, and instead would have been informed by the already existing perceptions which these eighteenth-century 'observers' held about their place in the world.

As well as providing an Other against which to invent Britishness, spaces such as the Scottish Highlands and Britain's overseas Empire acted to both extend and reinforce a British identity and allow for the continuation of other national and local identities. The relationship between periphery (i.e. Highlands or colonies) and metropole (i.e. London or Edinburgh) in the construction of national identity highlights the instability of the category of Britishness. The issue of internal identity within Britain cannot be understood without a consideration of Empire, and the constant re-definition of Britishness in encounters between Britons and Indigenous peoples (see above Ch. 4).[78] In regard to Scotland the interaction of periphery and metropole was an integral part of

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[75] Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', pp 215-220.
[76] *Ibid*, p 221.
[77] *Ibid*, p 220.
[78] See M. Daunton, R. Halpern, 'Introduction: British Identities, Indigenous Peoples and the Empire', in Daunton, Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples 1600-1850*, London, UCL Press, 1999, pp 1-6.

the construction of national identity, as the disproportionate role of Scots as colonial settlers, bureaucrats, professionals (e.g. doctors), soldiers, and slave plantation owners, amongst other things, allowed for a broader conception of Britishness.[79] Britain was not just England, Scotland and Wales, but a vast Empire in which Scots could play an equal part.

In the last decade publications such as Tom Devine's *Scotland's Empire* (2003) have brought attention to the centrality of Empire to eighteenth century Scotland. Devine argues that Empire strengthened the Anglo-Scottish Union and as a dual English and Scottish endeavour allowed for the continuation of a Scottish identity within Britishness.[80] Devine's argument differs from that of Linda Colley in *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992). Colley emphasises the role of war and Empire in creating a British identity that subsumed a Scottish identity and united the three Protestant nations of the British archipelago. She asserts that the strength of this British identity was partly founded upon the Empire's role in making England as much a component of Britain as Scotland. Empire by expanding Britain from the urban core of London and Westminster to colonial peripheries such as North America, the Caribbean and India allowed Scotland to claim a space as an equal partner within Britain. Although arguing that eighteenth-century British identity was formed in opposition to France and 'contact' with and 'conquest' over Indigenous peoples in the imperial periphery, Colley also acknowledges that Wales, England and Scotland remained distinctive entities during this process.[81] Some historians such as John Mackenzie have taken this notion of distinctiveness further, arguing that far from forging a British identity, Empire created a space for the continuation of these national identities within the state of the United Kingdom.[82]

Historians such as Jack P. Greene and Alexander Murdoch have also argued for the centrality of Empire in the invention of Britishness, emphasising Empire's role in the construction of the idea of Britain as a nation defined by commerce and liberty. As Greene discusses, after the 1707 Union, liberty became an 'emblem of Britishness' as

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[79] P. D. Morgan, 'Encounters between British and "indigenous" Peoples, c. 1500- c.1800, in Daunton, Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others*, pp 44-45.
[80] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 352
[81] Colley, *Britons*.
[82] J. Mackenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 8 (1998), pp 215-231.

well as a 'bulwark of Englishness' and this notion of liberty became the primary element in defining a British imperial identity. Although this was a Protestant empire, the Protestantism it represented was far from unitary and so a 'cult of commerce' acted to reinforce a common British identity founded upon a supposed liberty.[83] Presenting a similar argument, Alexander Murdoch asserts that British victory in the Seven Years War was perceived as a victory for finance and commerce, which themselves were the products of liberty, thus reinforcing the notion of commerce and liberty as the foundations of Britishness.[84]

Previous studies of eighteenth-century masculinity in Scotland such as those by John Dwyer and Philip Carter have focussed on the development of male refinement within the urban core of Scotland. Whilst both of these historians recognise the articulation and performance of alternative masculinities to the hegemonic ideal they do not include the Imperial periphery in their fields of study.[85] In regard to the effects of empire on eighteenth-century gender, Kathleen Wilson has produced an in-depth study in her recent book *The Island Race*, which builds upon her earlier work in *The Sense of the People* (1995).[86] Wilson's examination of the use of gender as a metaphor through which eighteenth-century Britons understood and expressed their relationship with Britishness and Empire is an important study that to an extent provides the springboard for this examination of martial masculinity as it was expressed within the peripheries of the eighteenth-century nation. However Wilson's focus is entirely upon England. Rather than view the Empire as a British project, Wilson appears convinced that the British Empire was a project carried out exclusively by the English nation during the eighteenth century and in her text she often uses the terms Britain and England interchangeably.

In *Sense of the People* the anti-Highland sentiment of English and Lowland Scots is examined, but the role of Highlanders as soldiers in the British army fighting in the

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[83] J.P. Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution;, in P.J. Marshall (ed), *Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. II The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1998, pp 210-217.

[84] A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture*, Basingstoke Macmillan, 1998, p 67.

[85] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*; P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1600-1800*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001.

[86] Wilson, *Island Race*; Wilson, *Sense of the People*; see also Wilson, 'Empire of Virtue: The Imperial Project and Hanoverian Culture c.1720-1785', in L. Stone (ed), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, London, Routledge, 1994, pp 128-164.

imperial arena is ignored. Also, although Lowland Scots are included in this text as part of Britain they are described as assimilating English culture and adopting an Englishness based upon being 'Protestant, virtuous, refined, wealthy and free.'[87] This argument ignores the active development of a North British identity in Lowland Scotland that, whilst including a certain degree of cultural Anglicisation, did not amount to the adoption of an English identity. This argument also ignores the important differences between the two Protestant faiths of Anglicanism and Presbyterianism. In *The Island Race* the Empire becomes an entirely English project and Scotland is at one point depicted as a colony in relation to England and at no point as a partner in the Imperial project.[88] It is important to examine English national identity during the eighteenth century and recognise that this identity continued within, and was at times opposed to, Britishness just as Scottish national identity could be (Jacobitism for example). However, in discussing the British Empire it is necessary to examine the idea of Britishness as a category that included England, Scotland and Wales and to a limited extent Ireland. Wilson does not do this. Despite the English-centricity, Wilson's examination of gender and Empire represents an important contribution to the study of eighteenth-century gender and her analysis, which looks at the impact of the imperial periphery on expressions of gender in the metropole, provides an important background to this chapter.

The periphery of empire played an integral role in the invention of Britishness during the eighteenth century, creating the space for an increased identification with the British nation and the continuation of other national identities such as Scottishness. This chapter by examining the impact of British Empire on eighteenth-century masculinity in Scotland attempts to bridge the gap between those historians such as Devine who emphasise Scotland's important contribution to Empire but have little time for gender, historians such as Dwyer and Carter who focus upon eighteenth-century gender but have little time for Empire, and the work of Wilson who focuses upon gender and empire but has little time for Scotland. Bridging this gap in the following sections of the chapter I will examine the construction and performance of an Imperial martial manhood as a

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[87] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p 170.
[88] Wilson, *Island Race*, p 43.

peripheral masculinity that was subordinate but not subversive to the urban metropole ideal of the refined gentleman. I will examine ideas concerning and expressions of martial manhood in reference to Scotland's role in the British Empire, with particular focus on the disproportionate recruitment of Highland males into the British imperial military and the extent to which this ideal of martial manhood was adopted by these soldiers.

Empire and Martial Highland Manhood

The links between the cultural and intellectual world of Enlightenment Scotland and the Imperial periphery were enabled by the large numbers of Scottish professionals and men from gentry backgrounds, who were faced with limited employment prospects in Scotland and were excluded from English patronage networks and who were able to gain positions as colonial officials, merchants, lawyers and doctors in areas of the imperial periphery such as the Caribbean, North America and India.[89] Many first hand 'observations' of Native Americans also came from Scots serving in the British military in America during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and many Scottish officers who served in the imperial arena also frequented the Edinburgh clubs of the Enlightenment literati.[90] Lowland elite perceptions of Indigenous Americans and their ideas regarding the backwardness of Highland society were interconnected. As Ronald Meek discusses, the Scottish Highlands provided Enlightenment historians and philosophers with a living example of an older economic model in the same way that perceptions of Native Americans could serve as an example of the first stage of economic development.[91]

Eighteenth-century Lowland and English perceptions of the Highlands as culturally, politically and economically inferior are evidenced in their campaigns to 'civilise' and 'improve' the region. Robert Clyde, in his study of the British political and cultural rehabilitation of the Highlands between 1745 and 1830, argues that eighteenth-century economic 'improvement' of the Highlands was centred upon a perceived need to

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[89] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, pp 164-165, 230-232, 252.
[90] Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', p 217.
[91] R.L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1976, p 128.

'civilise' the region. This was considered to be especially important in the decades following the 1745 Jacobite rebellion led by Charles Edward Stuart, who gained the majority of his armed support from the Highland clans. According to Clyde, Whig explanations of the causes of the rebellion focussed on the 'backwardness' of the Highlands and Islands, something seemingly apparent in their religious and cultural practices as well as the perceived lawlessness and violence in a region governed by vestiges of the clan system rather than the systems of institutionalised law and order that controlled British society in the south of Scotland and England and Wales. The economic 'improvement' of the region was seen as dependent on the political and cultural 'civilising' mission that aimed to bring the Highlands under the full control of the British state.[92]

According to Clyde, those who wished to 'improve' and 'civilise' the Highlands saw the Highland clan system and the maintenance of other aspects of Highland distinctiveness such as the Gaelic language as incompatible with their aims. This attitude also extended to the Roman Catholicism that was practised by some people of the West Highlands and the Hebridean Isles and which was considered by 'improvers' to be antithetical to the British constitution.[93] Protestantism was a key element in the invention of a common national identity in eighteenth century Britain (see above Ch. 4). An important aspect in bringing the Highlands into the spectre of North Britishness was the propagation of Presbyterianism. This dissemination of Presbyterianism was primarily conducted by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), a Lowland organisation that, as part of its religious mission, established schools and attempted to spread literacy in English amongst Highland communities.[94] Colin Kidd describes the SSPCK as an Anglicising force that acted to assimilate the peripheral Jacobite Highlands into the Hanoverian British state.[95] The links made between the perceived backwardness of the Gaelic Highlands and savagery of the Indigenous peoples

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[92] R. Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1830*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1995, pp 1-17.
[93] *Ibid*, pp 22-27, 57-59
[94] *Ibid*, pp 63-64 Note: after 1767 the SSPCK accepted the need to teach and preach in Gaelic in order to achieve their religious aims in the Highlands.
[95] C. Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1999, p 138.

of the 'New World' was demonstrated by the fact that the same organisation was involved in missionary activities in colonial North America.[96]

The perceived need amongst the Lowland elite to 'civilise' the Highlands and bring them within the orbit of Britishness corresponds with their desire to assert their separateness from this Gaelic region and their common heritage with Anglo-Saxon England. In this sense the Highlands can be viewed as occupying two different spaces within the historiography of the Enlightenment; it existed within 'Four Stages' historiography as a seemingly empirical example of a previous stage in the history of social progress whilst simultaneously being excluded from the Lowland elites conception of their own history as North Britons.

Kidd, in his analysis of expressions of national identities prior to the nineteenth century invention of coherent nationalisms, charts the beginnings of a non-Gaelic Lowland national history (and corresponding national identity) from the seventeenth century. This national history itself had origins in late Medieval Lowland antipathy towards Highland Gaelic difference.[97] The 1603 Union of the Crowns was an important moment in the development of a clear split between the Lowlands and Highlands. The post-1603 changes in the Lowland economy from feudal tenures to commercial holdings contrasted with the continuance of feudal structures and subsistence farming in the Highlands. This different economic structure encouraged seventeenth-century Lowland perceptions of the Highlands as an alien periphery. However as Kidd asserts, this peripheral status existed concurrently with the idea of Highland Gaeldom as Scotland's 'aboriginal heartland'.[98] Highland difference may have been perceived as alien to the Lowlands but the two regions were unified in their Scottishness.

The rejection of a Scottish Gaelic identity and development of a North British identity that stressed an historical commonality with England was not firmly established until the mid-eighteenth century. The threat posed by the 1745 Jacobite rebellion to the post 1707 Union British state and the 1689-90 Revolution Settlement not only led to a campaign to disarm and 'civilise' the Highlands but also to an increased emphasis

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[96] Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', p 218.
[97] Kidd, *British Identities*, pp 123-127; Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), p 1206.
[98] Kidd, *British Identities*, pp 123-127.

amongst Lowland Scots of their commonalities with their southern neighbour. Combined with a Scottish Enlightenment historiography that emphasised the apparent backwardness of the Highlands, the Lowland elite rejected previous notions of a common Scottish Gaelic past replacing it with an idea of a shared ethnic heritage with England.[99] As Murray Pittock argues, this idea of a shared heritage with Anglo-Saxon England cemented the idea of the Highlands as a region alien to Lowland Scotland. This allowed Lowlanders to distance themselves from the Jacobite uprisings, depicting them as 'affairs of the Celtic fringe.'[100] According to Kidd, the development of a North British identity was the result of Lowland Scots identification with English political and economic institutions that Scottish Enlightenment discourse designated as evidence of Britain's position as the epitome of the progress towards civilisation. As discussed in chapter 4, the importance of the perceived liberty and prosperity of England that the 1707 Union had given Scots access to was a key aspect of the development of North Britishness.[101]

North Britishness involved a rejection by the Lowland elite of their Gaelic heritage and the adoption of a notion of a shared Germanic Gothic heritage of liberty, laws and political institutions with England.[102] Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrated the importance of the development of a masculine identity of male refinement informed by inner sensibility as a gendered response to the Lowland elites' desire to assert their cultural and political links with England. Where the use of this masculine ideal in the Othering of the Highlands is most apparent is in concepts regarding the supposed martial nature of Highland men. Alongside Frenchified effeminacy, the supposedly martial masculinity of the Highlands was defined in opposition to refined manhood. However unlike effeminacy, Highland militarism was a masculine identity that could be included within the boundaries of Britishness as a subordinate masculinity performed within the periphery. As Clyde discusses, despite Highland militarism being defined as a sign of the region's inferiority, this supposed militarism played a key role in the cultural rehabilitation of the Highlands. This occurred during the latter half of the eighteenth

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[99] Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity', p 1206.
[100] Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain*, p 142.
[101] Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth -Century British Patriotisms', *The Historical Journal*, 39:2 (1996), p 374.
[102] Kidd, *British Identities*, p 250.

century as the Highlands supposed militarism became viewed not as a threat to Britain but as an essential component in the form of the Highland regiments of the British military.[103]

A piece reporting on the progress of the SSPCK in the Highlands published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (a popular eighteenth-century periodical) in 1739 and entitled 'A Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in the Country' provides an insight into attitudes held about supposed Highland backwardness and its connection to their perceived martial culture.[104] The anonymous author emphasised the poverty, lack of principles of religion, virtue, 'civilized arts', and liberty and 'want of Industry' amongst the Highland people, their continued use of the 'Irish tongue' and the tyrannical and arbitrary government of the chieftains. These factors, he claimed, have 'been the Source of all the Rebellions and Insurrections, in that Country, since the [1689] Revolution.'[105] Charting the SSPCK's success in combating the above problems, the letter allows that, for all their faults, Highlanders are also 'naturally of a quick Genius, of great bodily strength, inur'd to Hardship.' These factors, according to the writer, meant that Highlanders, 'if reformed in their Principles and Manners, and usefully employ'd, might be made a considerable Accession of Power and Wealth to Great Britian.'[106]

Whilst the above letter mentions economic factors such as the availability of 'improveable Land', it is in regards to the military that the writer emphasised a role for the Highlands within Britain which specifically drew on their supposed difference, stating, 'Some Clans of Highlanders, well instructed in the Arts of War, and well affected to the Government, would make as able and formidable a body for their Country's Defence, as Great Britain, or Switzerland, or any Part of Europe, are able to produce.'[107] This statement proposes that Highlanders, due to the traditional clan system, their strength and ability to withstand hardship would make perfect soldiers, but only when they are 'well affected to the government'. The importance of loyalty to the British

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[103] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p 150.
[104] Anon., 'A Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in the Country' (June, 1739), in E.A. Reitan (ed), *The Best of the Gentleman's Magazine 1731-1754*, New York, Edwin Mellen, 1987, pp 319-323.
[105] *Ibid*, p 320.
[106] *Ibid*, p 321.
[107] *Ibid*, p 321.

state in order for Highlanders to positively contribute to Britain, in this case as soldiers, highlights the connections between 'civilising' missions in the Highlands and the aims of British patriotism in general. As the writer argues, with the continued 'Reformation' of the Highlands, 'in a few Years, Ignorance, Popery, and the Irish Language will be utterly extirpated; and in their stead, Virtue, Loyalty and Industry will take Place'.[108]

Most writers on the martial characteristics of Highlanders did not specifically refer to them as men, but their non-gendered language is in fact highly gendered as the seemingly objective term of Highlander implicitly refers to Highland men. The representation of Highland militarism in texts such as the above letter constructed a Highland masculinity that was not only different but was oppositional to the manhood of sensibility invented, propagated and performed by the Lowland elite. However, unlike the Frenchified Fop, this masculinity did not exist outside of ideals of North Britishness but instead was fundamental in changing conceptions of the Highlands from a dangerous threat to British liberties in 1745 to an integral part of the British imperial military machine by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815.[109] Whilst it may have had little basis in reality, the idea of the Highlander as a natural warrior underpinned support in the Lowlands and England for the recruitment of men from the Highlands into the British military during the second half of the eighteenth century. This large-scale recruitment sought to harness the 'martial spirit', displayed in the last Jacobite rebellion, for the benefit of the British state.[110]

The large-scale recruitment of Highland men into the British military began with the Seven Years War during which 12,000 Highland men served as soldiers (more than twice the number who fought in the 1745 rebellion) from a total Highland population of approximately 250,000 and where in 1757 31.5% of the commissioned offices serving in North America were Scots.[111] Whilst based upon a myth of martial Highland culture, the actual recruitment of Highland men into the British military resulted in the performance of a form of martial masculinity largely within the peripheries of empire, especially

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[108] *Ibid*, p 322.
[109] A. Mackillop, 'For King, Country, and Regiment? Motive and Identity in Highland Soldiering 1745-1815', in S. Murdoch, Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1150-1900*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, p 186.
[110] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 312.
[111] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p 150; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 296, 307.

North America during the Seven Years War and the American War. This masculinity, acted out in the name of the British Empire, was not subversive of the Enlightenment ideal of the refined gentleman. It was however subordinate as, especially for those not of the officer class, the military was a low paid and highly dangerous occupation.[112] The Highlands had a place within Britain but it was not in the Edinburgh New Town, it was on the front lines of Empire.

'A Letter from a Gentleman', discussed above, was written in 1739 and provides evidence of a belief in the militaristic nature of the Highlands prior to the 1745 rebellion. This belief in the military usefulness of loyal Highlanders may have been influenced by the formation in 1725 of six independent companies of Highland soldiers by the British military in response to the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. It was these regiments that in 1739, the year the above letter was written, were amalgamated into the Earl of Crawford's Royal Regiment of Foot, better known as the Black Watch. This was the first Scottish regiment to wear the plaid as part of its uniform and so the first to claim distinctiveness as a Scottish regiment within a British Army.[113]

If there was a dominant conception prior to the '45 of the Highlands as a place populated by a people pre-disposed to the military, the rebellion of that year cemented those ideas and so reinforced the formulation and propagation of a gendered identity that claimed that Highland men were natural soldiers. According to Andrew Mackillop, the 1745 uprising had a decisive effect on the recruitment of Highlanders into the military because it demonstrated the region's military potential at a crucial moment in Britain's military and imperial expansion.[114] The Highlands' role in the British military does not represent a natural progression from a supposed warrior culture of clan society that preceded the region's re-alignment as part of Britain that began with the Jacobites' defeat at Culloden in 1746.[115] As Mackillop argues, this essentially Victorian idea of Highland Gaels as undisciplined warriors who were able to develop their natural fighting potential through the disciplined British army, risks racially stereotyping Gaels and

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[112] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 299.

[113] S. Wood, *The Scottish Soldier*, Manchester, Archive Publications, 1987, pp 29-30.

[114] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 2000, p 75.

[115] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p 176; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 312.

ignores the political and financial motives that drove Highland recruitment during an era when traditional clan structures were in rapid decline.[116]

The idea that Highland men's involvement in the British army represented a continuation of clan identity but in a modern British context was one that was largely adopted by those outside the region, mainly Lowlanders and the English. Between the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite uprisings, military patronage, in the form of the creation of six independent Highland companies, was employed partly to encourage loyalty towards the British state amongst the Highland elite. Accompanying this use of military patronage by the state were the 1715 and 1725 Disarming Acts that attempted to disarm Highland society through legislation. The 1715 Act enacted fines for the possession of arms, whilst the 1725 Act provided the government with the power to search for and seize weapons. This policy of disarmament outwith the institution of the British Army reached its height after the final Jacobite defeat in 1746. In 1747 the Act of Proscription acted to demolish clan based militarism, this legislation restated the Disarming Acts but with more severe penalty's for non-compliance and included the addition of a ban on the wearing of traditional Highland dress.

The Act of Proscription did not, however, result in a demilitarisation of the Highland region, but instead acted to place it within the institution of the British army. Prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years War there was already a policy of active recruitment of Highland men into the British military, including the raising in 1748 of six independent Highland companies for service in India.[117] These Highland regiments, and those formed later in the century, appropriated aspects of Highland culture, such as the wearing of tartan and the bearing of arms, that were denied to Highlanders outwith the British army. David Caldwell argues that this, along with poverty and landlord coercion, may have provided a strong motivation for Highland men to join the British army as it allowed them to reclaim their traditional manhood which had been denied them by the Disarming Act.[118] This is an interesting argument that may have some bearing in reality, but suffers from a dearth of evidence from common Highland soldiers

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[116] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, pp 1-7.
[117] *Ibid*, p 57.
[118] D.H. Caldwell, *Scotland's Wars and Warriors: Winning Against the Odds*, Edinburgh, Stationary Office, 1998, p 96.

during this period concerning their motivations and experiences. Heather Streets, in her study of the identity formation of soldiers in nineteenth-century Highland regiments, argues that at least from the latter half of the century (a period for which there is more archival evidence in the voice of the soldiers themselves) soldiers did adopt a heroic masculine ideal that fed on ideas of Highland regiments as 'brave, strong and gallant'. According to Streets, the adoption of this ideal may have helped to combat the negative impact of what was essentially a highly dangerous and generally unglamorous lifestyle. By this period the Highland regiments were largely recruiting from amongst the urban poor of cities such as Glasgow, and for these soldiers their role in the Highland regiments, which was immediately evident to others through their distinctive uniforms, allowed them to adopt a sense of importance within the community and the British nation, a status not readily available to most men of their socio-economic position.[119]

For the eighteenth century, especially prior to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815), Mackillop asserts that the little evidence in soldiers' own words suggests that rather than adopting the stereotype of the warrior Gael, most Highland soldiers were primarily motivated by necessity caused by poverty and landlord coercion and the possibilities of economic and social advancement that came with military service.[120] The issue of social and economic advancement, which I believe amounted to use of the military to gain 'independent' manhood, will be discussed below. Here it is useful to return to Caldwell's assertion regarding the reclaiming of traditional clan manhood in the face of post-Culloden legislation. Access to those aspects of Highland culture that were legally denied outwith the British army may have been contributing factors to high rates of enlistment amongst Highland men. However, the idea of the British army as a natural outlet for an apparent Gaelic Highland militarism appears to have been imposed by those outside of Highland society who, as discussed earlier, constructed a concept of the Highlands as a militaristic society existing contemporaneously with Lowland Scotland and England but at an earlier stage of development. Whilst many of the ideas about Highland society were constructed and

[119] H. Streets, 'Identity in the Highland Regiments in the Nineteenth Century: Soldier, Region, Nation', in Murdoch, Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity*, pp 224-235.
[120] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, p 185.

propagated by the Lowland literati, it was primarily the British government who acted upon and reinforced the stereotype of Highland militarism.

The ideas held by the government regarding Highland difference and the usefulness of Highland men as soldiers is demonstrated in a report written in 1750 and later titled, *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*. Obtained from a manuscript held by the Kings Library, British Museum, the editor of the published version claims that it was written by a Mr Bruce, a government official employed to conduct a survey of the Highlands for the British government.[121] Bruce was probably Scottish as the text contains lines such as that on the 1707 Union, where he writes about England as 'our Neighbours'. However it is unlikely that he himself was from the Highlands as his observations were formed around an assumption that majority of people in the region were in a state of 'Ignorance and Barbarity'.[122] As well as providing an account of his journey and a report on the 'Dispositions of the People of Scotland' in reference to the last rebellion (1745), Bruce's stated aim was to 'propose what appears to me the most likely means to Civilize the Barbarous Highlanders and improve their Country.'[123] In the text Bruce describes the different parts of the Highlands visited by stating the clan of the area and describing the people, from the nobility, the gentry and the 'common' people and their economic production (i.e. fishing, corn growing, cattle farming etc.) Whether they are defined as civilised or barbarous is dependent upon a number of factors such as their religion (i.e. adherence to the established church, or support for nonjuring clergy or Catholicism), the prevalence of thieving, and their language (i.e. Gaelic or English). Loyalty is largely judged on each clan's actions during the 1745 rebellion, primarily whether they, like McLeod of Ginnies, raised a militia for the government, or like the Earl of Cromartie, raised men for the rebellion.[124] Reflecting the importance of Scottish Episcopalian support to the Jacobite cause, the writer particularly equates the dominance of the established Presbyterian religion in an area with loyalty to the British constitution.

The aim of the text was not only to provide the government with an overview of the state of the Highlands and ideas as to how to 'civilise' them so as to avoid another

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[121] Anon., *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750: from manuscript 104 in the Kings Library, British Museum*, A. Lang (ed), Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1898.
[122] *Ibid*, p 142, 145.
[123] *Ibid*, p 3.
[124] *Ibid*, pp 20-21.

rebellion; the desire to propagate loyalty to Britain in the Highlands was directly linked to the perceived military potential of the Highland clans. The emphasis upon a clan's military potential constructed, and placed upon Highland men, a militaristic masculine identity. Whether a clan was perceived as loyal or Jacobite appears to have been less important than the number of men they could raise. For example the chief of the Chisholms of Straglass is depicted as loyal but his people's affections as suspect. However what appears important is that 'This Clan consists of about 300 Well bodied Men.'[125] On the Farquharsons Bruce wrote 'They can Raise above 400 Men able to Bear Arms who are a mixture of Papists and Protestants.'[126] The descriptions of most clans ends with an estimate of their military potential in terms of the number of men they could raise. However, sometimes this is expanded with a more detailed description of the martial capacities of the men. For example the McRaes of Kintail are described as 'by far the most Fierce, Warlike and Strongest Men under Seaforth', whilst of the other three thousand men under the rule of the Earl of Seaforth who could possibly be raised, 'by Reason of the great Poverty and Slavery of the Commons a third of them are but Dross.'[127] This statement also illustrates the equation, by Bruce, of the establishment of what he defines as British liberty with strength and other manly martial attributes. For example later in the text he writes 'The McPhersons and Farquharsons are Tall Well bodied Men, but the rest of the Chanchattan [Clanchattan] being subjected by their little Chieftains to much Slavery are but of a small Size.'[128]

Whilst clans already loyal to the British government receive more favourable descriptions, Bruce acknowledges that those clans who supported the Jacobite uprising may have more military potential than those that remained loyal to the government. For example his descriptions of the Camerons who have been, 'always deeply disaffected to the [1689] Revolution Interest' and are a '… Wicked and Rebellious People', and the McDonalds of Glengarry (portrayed as having been involved in almost every rebellion) emphasise their martial nature. The Camerons are 'mostly Tall Large Well Bodied

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[125] *Ibid*, p 31.
[126] *Ibid*, p 122.
[127] *Ibid*, pp 31, 40.
[128] *Ibid*, p 123.

Men', whilst the McDonalds 'could raise 500 strong Fierce fellows.' [129] In comparison, the people of the 'Country of Murray to the East of Nairn', who mainly speak English, 'are an Industrious Honest Well Affected People but having been for a long time disused to Arms they are not reckoned a good Militia tho' they are for the most part a strong well bodied People.' [130]

Of all the clans it is the Campbells under the duke of Argyll that are presented by Bruce as the richest, most loyal and potentially most militarily useful of all Highland clans. The gentry of the Campbell clan are portrayed as being '… Men of great Wisdom and Policy', and as having a '… Hearty Disposition to promote and Support the Cause of Religion and Liberty.' In regard to the 'common' people, they are, 'generally Honest and Religious, Love the Established Clergy … and are more Sensible of the Blessings of a British Subject than most of the other Clans in the Highlands.' The strength both numerically and economically of the Argyll's Campbell clan is demonstrated by Bruce's assessment that they 'can raise 3,000 men and leave enough at Home for Cultivating the Land and other necessary uses'. [131] Although the close relationship between the duke of Argyll and the Crown is not mentioned by Bruce, it is likely that the 3rd duke of Argyll's position as the political manager of Scotland on behalf of the British state influenced his assessment of the Campbell clan.

Bruce's manuscript demonstrates the placement of a martial identity upon Scotsmen. The assessment of the number of men each clan could raise takes precedent over the economic output of each area visited and Highland men are generally described in regards to their military capabilities, i.e. strong, well bodied or even fierce. Bruce even goes so far as to equate the 'civilising' and bringing of British liberty to the Highlands as a means to increase these capacities in those men, such as the people of Caithness, who due to 'Poverty and Slavery' are 'pitifull half-starved Creatures, of a Low Dwarfish Stature'. [132]

Bruce's portrayal of the Highlands as Other to the rest of Britain reflects stadialist representations of the Highland region. This is illustrated in his argument that

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[129] *Ibid*, pp 82, 83, 86, 102, 106.
[130] *Ibid*, p 125.
[131] *Ibid*, pp 134-135.
[132] *Ibid*, p 7.

although the inhabitants may currently be 'Savages', 'as the People of Britain who are now Civilized were once as Wild and Barbarous as the Highlanders, I think it is not to be Doubted but that proper Measures would Civilize them also.'[133] Bruce's aim to 'civilise' and promote loyalty to the British constitution amongst the people of the Highlands was inseparable from a desire to harness the perceived military potential of the region, an important aspect of which was the creation of the ideal conditions for Highland men to develop their martial manhood. Martial manhood represents an alternative to the manhood of politeness and sensibility of the urban elite and its placement upon the Highlands illustrates this region's Otherness to the rest of Britain during the eighteenth century, even as their contribution to the British military changed perceptions of them from barbarous rebels to loyal defenders of the state. The peripheral positioning of the Highlands in eighteenth-century Britain is evident throughout in Bruce's manuscript as he observes the region in a similar manner to someone reporting back for a newly conquered colony. The equation of the Highlands with overseas British colonies in terms of their supposed backwardness is however not simply implied but explicitly stated at the end of the manuscript when Bruce writes, 'Has not Britain laid out much Greater sums on Colonies abroad of not half the Importance of Civilizing and Improving this Part of Britain itself that has long been a Nuisance and Reproach to this Nation?'[134]

The supposed relationship between the Highlands and Britain's overseas colonies existed on at least two levels. On one level there were the representations of those who saw the Highlands as a contemporary example of an earlier stage of progress in the same way that Indigenous peoples in the colonies were perceived. On another level is the fact that most of the military activity that Highland soldiers took part in as members of the British army occurred within the imperial periphery. These two features of the Highlands' position in the eighteenth-century British nation were not unconnected. Firstly, the British state had a strategic interest in sending Highland regiments abroad as soon as possible, both to reduce the number of actual Jacobites in Scotland and to reduce the risk of disaffection turning into rebellion amongst those soldiers who might be

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[133] *Ibid*, p 145.
[134] *Ibid*, p 160.

partial to Jacobitism. Secondly, ideas about the Highlanders 'backwardness' and martial natures led to ideas regarding their usefulness in fighting France's Native American allies during the Seven Years War.[135]

The representation of a connection between Native Americans and Highlanders was premised upon the notion that they were both contemporary examples of a previous stage of development and that this was evidenced by the martial character of their societies. This representation was reflected in the anonymous pamphlet *The Present Conduct of the Chieftains and Proprietors of Lands in the Highlands of Scotland ... By a Highlander* (1773). This pamphlet critiqued Highland 'improvement' and the emigration of Highlanders on the basis of Highland men's usefulness to the British army – this critique will be examined below; here it is worthwhile considering the connections between Native American and Highland culture made by the author. Although the author is stated as a Highlander, Highland culture is discussed as distinct from his (or her) own. Presenting the argument that Highland men possess an innate militarism - a 'natural genius for arms' – the author represents Highland culture through the discourse of stadialist historiography.[136] On Highland emigration to North America the author writes:

> the genius of the Highlanders will fall in at once with the nature of the country, where all men are hunters, and bred to the use of arms. This then, and the continual attention which they must give to keep themselves in a posture of defence against the Indians behind them, will always keep alive and promote a warlike spirit.[137]

Highlanders are not represented here as assimilating Native American culture but as being in a state of conflict with it. However it is not a conflict between two alien cultures but between two similar ones. The placement of Highland culture at an earlier stage of 'civilisation' through the use of the stadialist model is reflected in the connection between Highland men all being hunters and fighters, with their mode of subsistence informing the character of their society - because they were hunters their society was warlike. Reflecting Ferguson's philosophical argument that conflict was necessary for

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[135] Wood, *Scottish Soldier*, p 36; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 311.
[136] Anon., *The Present Conduct of the Chieftains and Proprietors of Lands in the Highlands of Scotland ... by a Highlander*, Edinburgh(?), 1773, p 5.
[137] *Ibid*, p 7.

the maintenance of martial virtues, in the pamphlet the similarity with Native American culture is depicted as maintaining Highland militarism.

The connection between Native American and Highland culture in the context of the North American 'frontier' was unsurprisingly one that was not necessarily reflected in the observations of soldiers themselves. In one of the few published accounts from a Scottish rank-and-file soldier who served in America during the Seven Years War, the conception of Native Americans as inferior savages is prevalent, but this is not applied to Highland soldiers. Published in 1775, *The Memoirs and Adventures of Robert Kirk* is a biographical narrative written by Robert Kirkwood, a private in the 77th Highland Regiment and later the Black Watch, who served in North America during the Seven Years War. Although sections of the narrative are plagiarised from seventeenth-century French 'New World' travel narratives, the editors of the 2004 edition (published under the title *Through So Many Dangers*) assert that their research indicates that it is a true memoir and not a fictional account.[138]

In Kirkwood's text, which includes a long section regarding his capture by Indians (as he refers to them), his portrayal of Indians does evidence an adoption of the dominant discourse regarding Indian savagery. Writing about the deserted houses and burning fields he and his regiment come across, Kirkwood states that they are 'melancholy proofs of the barbarous enmity of the merciless Indians'.[139] Despite displaying a certain fondness for his captors in his account of his time in the captivity of a Native American tribe, Kirkwood's depiction of Native American savagery remains the dominant representation in the text. In depicting Native Americans, Kirkwood appears to assert his British identity. For example, writing about the French military's payment of rewards to Indians for enemies scalps, Kirkwood states that this is 'proof of the great part the French had, in stimulating these ignorant creatures, to the committal of those unheard of barbarities, exercised with such rage upon our fellow subjects in America'.[140] Kirkwood's depiction of Native Americans supports the argument that 'contact' with non-Europeans in the imperial periphery encouraged a common national

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[138] P.M. McCulloch, T.J. Todish, 'Editor's Introduction', in R. Kirk, *Through So Many Dangers: The Memoirs and Adventures of Robert Kirk, Late of the Royal Highland Regiment* (1775), eds. McCulloch, Todish, New York, Purple Mountain, 2003, p 24.
[139] Kirk, *Through So Many Dangers*, p 35.
[140] *Ibid*, p 74.

identification amongst white Britons. Although he adopts and employs dominant discourses regarding Native Americans, he does not do so in his portrayal of his fellow, predominantly Highland, soldiers. At no point does he emphasise their martial qualities, in fact he depicts his fellow soldiers like himself, as civilised beings fighting a savage foe.

Although he served in a Highland regiment, Kirkwood was himself from Ayr in the Scottish Lowlands. Writing about his regiment near the beginning of his memoirs, Kirkwood states that it was 'mostly composed of impress'd men from the Highlands'.[141] Kirkwood does not employ the discourse of Highland men as belonging to a martial race. Instead his description of the Highlanders as 'impress'd' demonstrates that he considered his fellow soldiers to have had little choice in their enlistment, suggesting coercion and economic poverty as the primary reasons for this rather than a natural propensity for war.

Although unsurprisingly not held by soldiers, representations of Highland militarism informed outsider perspectives regarding the usefulness of Highland soldiers in the North American colonial 'frontier'. This is illustrated in a 1751 letter by Colonel James Wolfe, to Captain Rickson in America. Writing specifically about the need to clear woods and defend the colony against French and Native American assaults, Wolfe describes Rickson's job as dirty and unpleasant, with no room for any real exertion of skill but one conducted in constant danger of attack. Wolfe writes that in order for Rickson to successfully complete this job, 'I should imagine that two or three independent Highland companies might be of use; they are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country, and no great mischief if they fall. How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good?'[142] The letter to Rickson is written from Banff in Scotland and so his ideas regarding Highland difference and inferiority can be read as a reflection of Wolfe's first hand observations of the Highlanders which he had been sent to police in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion. The hardiness of the Highlander as depicted by Wolfe stands in direct contrast to his own masculinity of a military courage informed by sentiments of affection and

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[141] *Ibid*, p 33 .

[142] J. Wolfe to Captain Rickson, June, 1751, reproduced in B. Wilson, *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, London, William Heinemann, 1909, p 141.

loving friendship. This difference between his refinement and Highland roughness serves to assert their inferiority. Unlike representations of Highland soldiers following the Seven Years War they are not depicted by Wolfe as loyal defenders of Britain, but instead as a 'secret enemy' but one that will serve any cause so long as it provides an outlet for their martial characteristics. The subordinate position of the Highland soldier within the British nation is emphasised in the statement that it is 'no great mischief if they fall'. Although they might be employed to fight for Britain, conceptions of their martial nature, and the emphasis on military service to display patriotism, meant that Highland men were not equal members of the British nation alongside refined gentleman.

The inequality of national belonging is highlighted by a comparison of ideas of Highland men as naturally martial and representations of Wolfe. Wolfe became famous as a Brigadier-General during the seven Years War, where he died 'heroically' at the Battle of Quebec (1759). Wilson argues that depictions of Wolfe's perceived sacrifice were central to the re-assertion of British manliness in the context of fears over national effeminacy caused by early defeats to France.[143] Wolfe did not represent martial manhood, but instead embodied male refinement. As Carter discusses, representations of Wolfe by writers such as James Fordyce depicted him as embodying 'the desired blend of courage and sentimental refinement.'[144] Carter also quotes from a 1760 biography of Wolfe by John Pringle, in which Wolfe was described as 'truly brave, noble, friendly candid, gentle and beneficent, great and glorious!'[145]

The difference between the ideals of General Wolfe's gentlemanly refinement and the martial characteristics of Highland soldiers demonstrate the multiplicity of masculinities that were constructed and performed during the eighteenth century, even within the boundaries of patriotic manhood. Wolfe's letter to Rickson in 1751 serves to illustrate this multiplicity of masculine identities. In the same letter in which he emphasised Highland men's usefulness as 'frontier' soldiers', Wolfe expressed a friendship and love towards Rickson which evidences an adoption of male sensibility. On the act of letter writing, Wolfe writes of the 'infinite satisfaction' on communicating

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[143] Wilson, 'Empire of Virtue', p 150.
[144] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, p 110.
[145] Quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, p 111.

his thoughts and expressing 'that truly unalterable serenity that is found among friends.'[146] On Rickson's desire to leave the army, Wolfe responds with the statement, 'If I did not love you personally, and wish your happiness very heartily, I should advise you to stay where you are.'[147] The masculine sensibility expressed by Wolfe in this letter is not depicted as a model of manhood to which all men can or should aspire, and certainly Highland masculinity is represented as inherently different.

It is useful here to make a clear distinction between officers and rank and file soldiers. The dominant masculine identity of Scottish military officers was more aligned with male refinement than with the martial manhood placed upon 'ordinary' Highland men. Army officers were considered gentlemen – a social status (if not previously held) that was gained by virtue of their office. As Stana Nenadic discusses, eighteenth-century officers tended to exist within the world of elite sociability and often engaged in high levels of material consumption in order to display their gentlemanly status. This display often continued whilst on active service, with servants and good such as furniture accompanying the officers on tour.[148] The position of officers within the urban elite culture, and masculine performance of male refinement, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, is also evidenced by their membership of the clubs and societies which were a key component of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere.[149] The discussion in this chapter regarding the peripheral patriotic masculine identity of martial Highland manhood is concerned primarily with rank-and-file soldiers.

It was during the Seven Years War which was largely fought in imperial arenas such as North America that the government's ideas regarding the military usefulness of Highland men came to fruition. In a war plan submitted to William Pitt, later earl of Chatham (1708-1778) in May 1756, William Augustus, duke of Cumberland (1721-1765) emphasised the importance of raising more infantry for the British army in order to defeat France. In arguing for an increase of the number of infantry soldiers Cumberland rejected the recruitment of more Englishmen due to a need to maintain the English workforce in light of improvements in agriculture and fisheries and growth in

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[146] Wolfe to Rickson, June 1751, p 136.
[147] *Ibid*, p 143.
[148] S. Nenadic, 'The Impact of the Military Profession on Highland Gentry Families, c.1730-1830', *Scottish Historical Review*, 85:1:219 (2006), pp 78-96.
[149] Emerson, 'American Indians, Frenchmen and Scots Philosophers', p 217.

manufacturing occurring in that country. Instead, Cumberland suggested recalling regiments from Germany and that, 'Two regiments, a thousand men in a corps, may be raised in the North of Scotland … No men on this island are better qualified for the American War, than the Scots Highlanders.'[150] This statement reflects the twin perceptions that encouraged Highland recruitment. Firstly that the Highland economy was less advanced than the rest of Britain and so their population was expendable, and secondly that some innate martial character of Highland men made them suitable for American service.

The combination of a need for a greater number of infantry soldiers and a growing discourse regarding Highland men's military suitability meant that the Seven Years War represented the first large-scale recruitment of Highland soldiers and its 'success' led to the even greater levels of recruitment during the American and French wars later in the century.[151] Along with two regiments raised for home defence (fencibles), during this war eleven Scottish Regiments were raised for overseas service; ten of these regiments were from the Highlands.[152] It was during the Seven Years War that the first stage of the militia agitations discussed earlier occurred, and the unwillingness of the government to allow for the establishment of a Scottish militia suggests a continued distrust amongst the English elite of a militarised Scotland outside the confines of the British army.[153] However within the confines of the British military the role of the Scottish regiments in the British victory in the Seven Years War both began a rehabilitation of the Highlands in particular and Scotland in general amongst the English, and reinforced perceptions regarding the martial abilities of Highland men.

The adoption of a discourse which defined the Highlands' role within the British nation as one dependent upon their military contribution, and in doing so placed upon Highland men a militarised masculine identity, is demonstrated in a speech by William Pitt to the House of Commons on January 14 1766. The main body of the speech concerns Pitt's argument against the American Stamp Act (introduced in February 1765

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[150] J. Almon, *Anecdotes of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of the Principal Events of Hi Time with His Speeches in Parliament from the year 1736 to the year 1778, Vol. 1*, S. Jordan, London, 1792, p 147.
[151] H. Streets, 'Identity in the Highland Regiments', p 218.
[152] Wood, *Scottish Soldier*, p 36.
[153] D. Horsbroch, 'Tae see ourselves as ithers see us': Scottish Military Identity from the Covenant to Victoria 1637-1837', in Murdoch, Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity*, p 117.

and repealed in February 1766), however at the beginning of the speech he explains his earlier departure from his position as a government minister as due to his opposition to the principles held by the current Prime Minister John Stuart, earl of Bute. He emphasised that this was due to his opposition to Bute's illiberal principles and that it should not be confused with popular anti-Bute opposition that rejected Britishness in favour of an English identity. This anti-Bute opposition focussed on Bute's Scottish identity as an example of the threats posed to English liberty through the inclusion of those from cultures perceived to be alien to the foundations of this liberty. To distance himself from this discourse and assert his British, as opposed to English, identity Pitt emphasises his role in raising Highland regiments for the Seven Years War:

> It is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this or that side of the Tweed. I sought merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy became a prey to the artifices of your enemies and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world; detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly.[154]

Pitt's argument in the above speech on the American Stamp Act centred upon the right of the American colonialists, on the basis of their possession of British liberties, to resist taxation levied by the British state. His assertion of a British patriotic identity that included both Scotland and England reflects competing patriotic discourses in the immediate aftermath of the Seven Years War. Pitt uses the military service performed by the Highland regiments for the British state during that war to define a British nation in which English and Scots are both considered as loyal members. In arguing for Scotland's place as defenders rather than enemies of British liberty Pitt employs the stereotype of Highland men as natural warriors emphasising their martial masculinity as a 'hardy, and intrepid race of men'. Pitt's depiction of Highland men as suitable warriors

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[154] W. Pitt, 1765, reproduced in *The Modern Orator: The Most Celebrated Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, The Rt. Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Right Hon. Lord Erskine, and the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, London, 1848, pp 70-71.

for Britain asserted Highland difference whilst allowing for their inclusion within the boundaries of Britishness. The statement, in direct reference to the 1745 rebellion, that Highlanders, 'when left by your jealousy became a prey to the artifices of your enemies', followed by an account of their 'fidelity' and 'valour' during the Seven Years war depicts the Highlands as an alien culture but one which if included within Britishness can be harnessed to the benefit of the British state. Pitt constructed this image of the Highlands through the representation of a specific martial Highland masculinity of strength, loyalty and courage.

This definition of Highland masculinity is represented by Pitt as an ideal British masculinity and placed in opposition to the 'unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly' arguments that reject Britishness in favour of a nation that excludes the Scots. The 'national reflections' that Pitt referred to appear to be those of the popular and elite opposition to Bute's rule led by John Wilkes (1725-1797), a Minister for Parliament between 1757 and 1764 (and elected but expelled from the Commons in 1768) and a leader of mass radical politics. Under the banner of 'Wilkes and Liberty', Wilkes and his supporters rejected Britishness in favour of an English patriotism that included a claim for universal male suffrage. As Colley discusses, this adoption of an English patriotic discourse allowed Wilkes and his supporters to represent Bute's Tory rule as unpatriotic, alien and one that posed a threat to English religious and political liberties. In linking Englishness and liberty the Wilkites focussed their opposition to Bute on his Scottishness. Bute's Scottish identity was depicted as evidence of the destruction of Englishness and a reversal of the nation's unique freedoms, achieved through a history that included the Civil War and the Revolution of 1689. Wilkite opposition to Bute extended to a general Scottophobia that portrayed all Scots within a Highland Jacobite stereotype and declared their inherent alienness to English liberty, demonstrated through Scots supposed tendency to either claim arbitrary power or cower under it, depending on their rank.[155]

Pitt's use of an idealised Highland martial masculinity to assert Scotland's contribution to and by extension, place within, Britain represents a rejection of the anti-Scottish discourse. Within Wilkite propaganda ideas of Scottish masculinity were used

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[155] Colley, *Britons*, pp 113-116.

to place Scotland outside the boundaries of a national identity of Englishness. For example, Wilkes propagated an idea of Scotsmen's excessive sexual potency in order to depict the Scots as a threat. This idea was expressed through the claim that Bute was having sex with George III's mother. As Colley argues, in the context of a general anti-Scottish discourse the idea that a Scottish minister was penetrating the King's mother was symbolic of anxieties of increased Scots influence, or penetration, into England. [156] Ideas of masculinity were used by Wilkes to critique Scotland's increased role in the British state, a role which was enabled largely by patronage, and so emblematic of corruption.

In opposition to Wilkite discourse, Pitt employed an alternative conception of Scottish masculinity in order to place Scotland within the boundaries of Britishness. Pitt's assertion that in the 'mountains of the North' he found men of credit whose martial attributes led them to serve with 'fidelity' and fight with 'valour' within the British Empire was a direct challenge to Wilkes' anti-Scottish discourse, and his assertion of the Highlanders place within Britain as the nation's warriors is indicative of what Richard Finlay argues was the dramatic assertion of the British parliamentary Union following the Jacobite defeat.[157] What had previously been defined as alien to Britishness, such as Highland militarism, could now be included within it.

Pitt's placement of an ideal Highland martial masculinity to construct an argument for Britishness was combined with a denial of manhood to those who opposed this construction of national identity, and illustrates the centrality of gender to the invention of Britishness during the eighteenth century. Pitt's rejection of anti-Scottish English patriotism connected political legitimacy with appropriate models of manhood. The idea that Scotophobia was 'illiberal' and 'unmanly' implicitly drew upon representations of Wilkes as a corrupt libertine (demonstrated, for example, by his alleged membership in the Hell Fire club and encapsulated in William Hogarth's 1763

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[156] *Ibid*, pp 121-122.
[157] R.J. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in D. Broun, Finlay, M. Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1998, p 146.

portrait of him). This representation of Wilkes was cast in opposition to his own self-fashioning as a reformed rake, as the personification of liberty.[158]

Militarism, 'Improvement' and Romanticisation

Highland emigration to North America and elsewhere was encouraged by land 'improvement' as well as military recruitment. As is well known, the agricultural modernisation enacted (or at least attempted) by the Highland elite involved the removal of many Highlanders from their land. Although the 'Clearances' did not reach their height until the end of the eighteenth and start of the nineteenth century (and involved emigration to the Scottish Central Belt, as well as to North America and other colonial sites) emigration from the Highlands was an eighteenth century reality.

In the pamphlet *The Present Conduct of the Chieftains and Proprietors of Lands in the Highlands of Scotland*, briefly discussed above, agricultural 'improvement' and related effects such as rent rises, and resulting internal and colonial emigration was criticised on the basis of Highland militarism. In this pamphlet Highland landowners are accused of 'avarice', of seeking wealth rather than caring for their dependants and so acting against the interests of 'God, justice and humanity'.[159] In addition to this they are accused of harming people who are loyal and useful to the British state; the patriotism of landlords is questioned through an emphasis on the patriotism of ordinary Highland men. Highlanders' place in the nation is defined through their military role. As the author stated, 'The Highlanders are a hardy, active, spirited people, and have a natural genius for arms', and 'no people in this kingdom are so fitted for the field as the Highlanders.'[160] The Highlanders' place in the nation is only through the performance of a militaristic identity, yet at the same time they are depicted as innocent and loyal subjects, whilst the patriotism of the Highland elite is questioned on the basis of their treatment of their dependants; Highland men thus serve as a means to critique elite corruption. As the author, 'a Highlander' stated:

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[158] Colley, *Britons*, pp 110-116; A. Clark, 'The Chevalier D'Eon and Wilkes: Masculinity and Politics in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 32:1 (1998), pp 28-29.
[159] Anon., *Present Conduct*, p 12.
[160] *Ibid*, pp 5-6.

> Has no consideration then weight enough with you all, who are proprietors of this country, to convince you that you are in the wrong, to your people, to your country, to yourselves, and to God Almighty? … Consider your luxury as in great measure the purchase of your innocence; your excess as in every respect as supported by those whom ye have left hungry and naked and cold.[161]

The author also asked 'are these gentlemen [landowners and chiefs], then, friends to our constitution, who are breaking the spirits of those who have showed themselves so fit for supporting its honour?'[162]

Policies of estate 'improvement' in the Highlands in which rental income became more important than a chief's obligation to care for his economic dependents was also critiqued in terms of the risk that Highland emigration posed to the British state due to the loss of men perceived to be inherently militaristic. As the author wrote:

> his Majesty has not more loyal, or more trusty subjects, than the gentleman and inhabitants of the Highlands. But notwithstanding, the measures presently followed by them are against the interest of the state. For if the spirit of emigration goes on, as it is likely to do, and spreads wider and wider, it will carry the ancient inhabitants out of the country, and leave no spirit with those who will be left behind, and by this means ruin one of the best nurseries which his Majesty has for recruiting his armies.
> The Highlanders are a hardy, active, spirited people, and have a natural genius for arms. Our officers in general are fond of them as soldiers. In the last war, the Highlanders themselves composed not an inconsiderable part of the British army.[163]

In a similar manner to Pitt's speech discussed above, Highland men are here depicted as inherently militaristic and the performance of this identity during the Seven Years War confers a membership of the British nation. Emigration from the Highland's is critiqued on the basis that it will weaken the British state: 'The more then of our clans that leave us, the more the government is deprived of those active hands who were so serviceable in the late war, and who are always ready to be called upon, whenever his Majesty has use for them.'[164] This acceptance of notions such as that expressed in the pamphlet is shown by the fact that in September 1775 (five months after the outbreak of hostilities

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[161] *Ibid*, p 16.
[162] *Ibid*, p 6.
[163] *Ibid*, p 5.
[164] *Ibid*, p 7.

between the British state and American colonists) the Westminster government prohibited emigration from the Highlands.

The desire to reduce emigration from the Highlands was based not only upon the idea that Highland men made good army recruits, but also on the fear that as colonists they posed a possible military threat to Britain. As the author of *Present Conduct* stated, 'they [chiefs and other landlords] not only deprive the nation of those who could be extremely serviceable when there was occasion for them, but send them to the continent of America, perhaps to be someday dangerous to the mother-country'.[165] This idea suggests a concept of unstable Highland military patriotism; it is Highlanders' militarism that is a constant but their British identity is not concrete. However within this text the patriotism of the Highland elite is also brought into question. As the author stated in regards to Britain and the American colonies, 'Those parents who give all their wealth to their children, without making the proper reserve for themselves, run a great risk of feeling poverty in their old age.'[166] The notion that Britain's loss was America's gain was premised upon a concept of an innate martial manhood possessed by Highland men.

In 1775 a correspondent writing in the *Weekly Magazine* discussed a debate held by the Pantheon Society, a public debating society in Edinburgh (see above Ch. 6), on the growing conflict between the British state and the American colonies. In a similar manner to the *Present Conduct* pamphlet, the correspondent's comments demonstrate the means by which ideas about militarism and masculinity were employed as a means to comprehend and discuss the American situation. As the correspondent wrote:

> Some hundred thousands of such men, inured to danger and fatigue, are there in North America, fired with the blood of their ancestors, whose gallant spirits sacrificed every thing to virtue, liberty and independence; men who ground their claims upon antient privileges, with arms in their hands, and the enthusiasm of liberty in their hearts, their lawyers and clergy sounding the trumpet.[167]

This text portrays the American settlers as having struggled to establish their society on the colonial 'frontier' and through this struggle to have gained independence. There is an implication that in America, where access to land and privilege was (in theory) not

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[165] *Ibid*, p 6.
[166] *Ibid*, p 6.
[167] *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, Vol. 29, 1775, p 205.

limited by birth, men could possess and enact true virtue and liberty. The author argues that the possession of this liberty will make these men unbeatable in a military contest. Within this is a critique of the standing army of the centralised state, which is depicted as inherently inferior to an army of men fighting for their liberty, a citizens militia. On this the correspondent asked if Britain was to counter people fighting with and for 'virtue, liberty and independence', 'with a handful of men with no other encouragement to fight than sixpence a day – sent 3000 miles across the Atlantic to meet their adversaries upon paternal ground.'[168] The military power of the American settlers comes from their claims to 'independent' manhood in a colonial context, it is they who are deemed to be defending 'antient privileges'.

Empire was an unstable space for the performance of Highland martial manhood. As discussed above, Highland men were often placed as similar to Native Americans and so deemed suitable for 'frontier' service. America also provided a space for the acquirement of 'independence' in the form of land through service and so, in the context of the American revolution, the potential to act against the British state (although in reality most Highlanders in North America remained loyal to the British Imperial state during and after the American War).[169]

Present Conduct presented a sympathetic representation of Highland difference that was informed by a romantic notion of Highland clanship and militarism, with the latter being undermined by the 'avarice' of Highland landlords.[170] During the 1770s a romantic representation of Highland difference developed due to the influence of the popular literary Ossian poems, written (initially claimed to be transcribed) by James MacPherson (1736-1796) and published as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), *Fingal* (1762) and *Temora*(1763). A stanza from the Fingal epic in the Ossian poems is quoted at the beginning of *Present Conduct*. Macpherson's Ossian provided a positive portrayal of martial Highland culture. The depiction of warrior heroes in Ossian, who displayed the classical virtues of courage and self-sacrifice and the sentimental virtues of love, benevolence and generosity, projected an idea of an ancient Scotland which embodied

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[168] *Ibid*, p 205.
[169] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, pp 184-186.
[170] Anon., *Present Conduct*, p 8.

what were seen by some as the best qualities of past and present societies.[171] As Dwyer argues the Ossian texts offered 'a hybrid of classical and modern virtues', blending courage with sentimentality.[172]

Despite Macpherson's combining of Enlightenment sensibility with Highland martial culture, this sentimental view of the Highlands was still premised on implicit ideas of their cultural inferiority. Romantic depictions of Highland society as embodying a glorious past allowed for the continued emphasis on the militarism of the Highlands. Even if romanticized, martial cultures were viewed by most of the Lowland elite as inferior to commercial society. As Millar stated, societies were naturally improved by 'the advancement of opulence and the gradual refinement of manners.'[173] It was the Agricultural stage that allowed the development of sentimental feelings that were primarily expressed through men's new passion and respect for women. Millar defines this new masculinity within the idea of Chivalry. It was at this stage of development, rather than the 'savage' state, that an increasingly romanticized, but certainly not equal, Highland culture could be perceived to exist in.

Chivalric masculinity was expressed not only in Knight's 'sincere and faithful passion' towards women.[174] But also in the art of war where men learn that it is their duty to 'restrain the oppressor, to protect the weak and defenceless; to behave with fairness and humanity even to an enemy, with modesty and politeness to all.'[175]

Within Millar's conception of civilisation men's dependence on a martial identity limited their ability to develop true refinement.[176] The romanticisation of Highland militarism reflected the discursive move away from the notion of Highland barbarism that occurred in the context of a change from the predominant material expression of Highland militarism from Jacobitism to British military service – a material change that was intimately connected with the discursive one. *Ossian* then can be read as an influential aspect of the eighteenth-century construction of the patriotic masculinity of Highland martial manhood.

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[171] Dwyer, 'The Melancholy Savage: Text and Context in the Poems of Ossian', in H. Gaskill, (ed), *Ossian Revisited*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1991, p 169.
[172] Dwyer, *The Age of the Passions*, East Linton, Tuckwell, 1998, p 154.
[173] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, p 57.
[174] *Ibid*, p 79.
[175] *Ibid*, p 75.
[176] *Ibid*, p 80.

For Britain? The Politics of Patronage

All of the texts discussed above employ stereotypical representations of Highlanders. None of them were written by Highlander soldiers themselves and the idea of militarism as an innate characteristic of Highland society should not be read as a reflection of reality. As Mackillop discusses, the perceived 'impressive military performance' of the Highland regiments between 1756 and 1815 resulted in a general public perception of them as some of Britain's most loyal subjects. This change in public perception was essentially a replacement of a negative stereotype with a positive stereotype.[177] Despite its possible disconnection from the reality of the Highland military experience this stereotype acted to include the Highlands within the British nation on condition of their acceptance of a militarised identity which itself was dependent upon a notion of Highland men as possessing natural martial prowess.

Devine argues that despite their disproportionate role in the British military there is no widespread evidence of an adoption of British patriotism in the Highlands during the eighteenth century and that economic reasons and local and family loyalties were more important factors in fuelling Highland recruitment. He also asserts that Scotland's role in Empire allowed Scots to define an idea of Britain in which they were equal contributors, and that it was in empire that a Scottish identity was able to co-exist with a broader British patriotism.[178] The Highland soldiers' distinctiveness that was immediately expressed by his different uniform can be cited as evidence of the continuation of a Scottish identity within the boundaries of Britishness. It was this regimental dress that, on the occasion of George's IV's visit to Scotland in 1822, Walter Scott declared the national dress of Scotland, an act that both recognised and propagated the nineteenth-century co-option of a stereotype of Highland culture and its application to Scotland as a whole.[179]

The high rates of military recruitment in the Highlands during the second half of the eighteenth century should not be read as evidence of a militaristic Highland culture.

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[177] Mackillop, 'For King Country and Regiment?', p 187.
[178] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 352.
[179] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p 112, 129

This idea of Highland militarism acts to disguise the economic motivations of recruits and the coercive actions (e.g. the demand that a family supply sons to the regiment in order to secure a renewal of a family's lease) of the Highland landlords who recruited soldiers on behalf of the British state.

The ideas discussed above were not only propagated by those outwith the Highlands, but were actively encouraged by the Highland elite in order to obtain economic benefit from the British state through military patronage. Mackillop refers to this as a 'patriotic-partnership' between the Highland landed elite and the British state. The obvious construction of an idea of innate Highland militarism by people in the Lowlands and England, as well as by Highland landlords, the economic and political motivations behind it, brings the notion of a martial, courageous and loyal Highland masculinity into question. Mackillop cites documents such as letters that show that the Highland gentry actively propagated the concept of the army as a natural outlet for traditional clan militarism in order to increase their access to state patronage. One of the factors that encouraged an increased identification amongst the Highland elite with the British political nation during the eighteenth century was the economic benefits of access to the British fiscal-military state. Unlike income from estate rents, cattle droving or kelping which were prone to fluctuation, military commissions gained through recruitment provided Highland landlords with a relatively secure income. According to Mackillop, these military commissions represented the Highland elites' main avenue of access to the economic benefits from Britain's imperial military expansion. Highland lairds viewed their economically unproductive male population, or 'disposable manpower', as a means of gaining patronage, and therefore benefiting, from the growth of the British fiscal-military state. This strategy of the Highland elite resulted in the decline in clanship in socio-political and economic terms being matched by its emergence as an effective lobbying mechanism. This use of the military by the Highland elite was facilitated by Lowland and English perceptions of clan society and a desire to partially replicate clan militarism within the confines of the British army. The government's perception of the Highlands as dominated by militaristic clanship meant that at the beginning of the Seven Years War they did not question the logic of the recruitment of Highland men into specific clan regiments. Therefore in order to maintain

and increase their access to military patronage it was expedient for Highland landlords to disguise the rapid decline of the socio-economic structures of clanship from the government in London. [180]

The politics of patronage practised in the Highlands co-existed with, but was different to the Scottish Enlightenment political culture operating in urban centres (see above Ch. 5). This culture offered access to patronage but was less tied to land ownership and more tied to homosociality – through formal institutions and clubs and societies men of the upper middling classes intermixed with men of the landed elite, thus enabling a redistribution of power, at least at a discursive level; the Scottish Enlightenment elite claimed a position as national leaders planning and enacting 'improvement'. In the Highlands land was still central, and as Mackillop argues, military recruitment was a peripheral reaction to the political and economic realities of the emergence of the British state; it was different in character to that which occurred in urban centres. [181]

The centrality of land ownership to Highland politics meant that the gendered practice of political power was different in this region. Within representations of Highland martial manhood, women and the feminine are absent, but some elite landed women did participate in military patronage. The overtly political role possible to women through the practice of military patronage is demonstrated by Katherine Gordon, duchess of Gordon (1718-1779). Gordon's familial political power was both inherited (she was the only daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen) and was enabled by her eldest son, Alexander Gordon's minority after his father died in 1752. [182] During her son's minority, which was also the period of the Seven Years War, Katherine Gordon sought to maintain the family's regional influence and power and assert loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy. The need to maintain the Gordon family interest informed Gordon's decision to raise a regiment and caused her to assert her local authority and challenge the duke of Newcastle's decision to send the regiment to India. [183] Reflecting a common desire amongst Highland soldiers to avoid military service in India (where death rates from

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[180] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, pp 42-49, 56-64, 105, 134-139.
[181] *Ibid*, pp 10, 131-139.
[182] E. H. Chalus, 'Gordon, Katharine, duchess of Gordon (1718–1779)', *ODNB*, Oxford U.P., Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68359, accessed 17 June 2008.
[183] E. Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2005, pp 190-191.

disease were high)[184], Gordon contested Newcastle's decision by emphasising its negative impact regarding her son's political influence in their local area, writing:

> your Grace must permit me to mention how greatly it must hurt them [the Gordon family] & affect the confidence of their Tenants to find themselves [the regiment] ordered to the East Indias so conterary to my hops and expectations as I always flattered myself they were to serve his Majesty in Germany or at home.[185]

Demonstrating the explicit link between military patronage and the assertion of government power in the Highlands (i.e. landed families matching the opportunity to raise a regiment with the use of their local influence to pursue the Westminster government interest), Gordon supported her request that Newcastle '… Change the intended destination of this regiment', asserting in regard to the sending of the regiment to India, that 'no measure could be more hurtfull to the Government in our part of the World'[186]. Gordon's participation in military patronage suggests that the political power of the nobility in the Highlands enabled a level of female political agency. Demonstrating the regional nature of political practice during the mid-to-late eighteenth century political agency on the basis of landed familial influence was not available to women within the urban Enlightenment public sphere. Gordon also demonstrates the deployment by Highland women of British patriotic sentiments as a means to claim political influence. Gordon failed in her request and the regiment served in India, but as Elaine Chalus discusses, the establishment of the regiment confirmed the family's interest.[187]

The 'patriotic partnership' between the landed elite and the Westminster government may have encouraged loyalty to the British state and increased the power of the state in the Highlands, but it also limited centralised state power through its reliance upon the mechanisms of informal political management to implement recruitment strategy (an informality demonstrated by women's involvement). This informality also increased the power and influence of Scotland's political managers, such as Archibald Campbell, 3rd duke of Argyll (1682-1761). Military patronage was a means of increasing

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[184] Wood, *Scottish Soldier*, pp 38-40; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 299.
[185] BL Add. MSS 32903 Folio 57-8, Katherine Gordon to Duke of Newcastle, 3 March 1760.
[186] *Ibid*.
[187] Chalus, *Elite Women*, pp 190-191.

the authority of the British state in the context of Highland politics. For example, Mackillop discusses the formation in 1725 of independent Highland companies by the British state as an example of a regionally specific form of patronage directed at Highland landlords supportive of the Hanoverian regime. The military was used as a resource to cement and increase loyalty amongst the Highland elite to the British state, and was part of a programme of Imperial patronage that also included the use of East India Company posts.[188]

For Independent Manhood? Issues of status and land

The contrast between the government's ideas of Highland clanship and the reality of Highland recruitment is clearly shown in the social composition of the Highland regiments. Whilst clan regiments would traditionally mobilise the entire male community from senior tenants to landless servants, the rank and file of eighteenth century Highland regiments tended to be mainly drawn from those men lowest in the social hierarchy who were unmarried and owned little or no land (men who were excluded from Ferguson's ideal militia which denied participation to 'Cottagers, Day-Labourers, and Servants.').[189] For Highland lairds the economic motivations behind this are clear. By recruiting those men least involved in the estate's tenure structure there was less loss in regard to rent payments and agricultural output. Even if established tenants were forced to provide sons for a landlord's regiment they were generally given the option of buying substitute recruits.[190]

In 1776 Jane Gordon, duchess of Gordon (1748/9-1812) organised enlistment for the 71st Regiment of Foot. The regiment was raised by Colonel Simon Fraser (1726-1782), the clan chief of the Frasers whose father had been executed for his involvement in the 1745 rebellion and whose lands had also been forfeited to the Crown as a result of the rising. Through his service in organising enlistment for and leading, as Lieutenant Colonel, the 2nd Battalion Highland Regiment of Foot (78th Frasers Highlanders) during

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[188] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, pp 14-40.
[189] Ferguson, *Establishment of a Militia*, p 52.
[190] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, p 109, 144.

the Seven Years War Simon Fraser had 'rehabilitated' himself and the Fraser interest.[191]
Gordon's organisation of a Highland company for Fraser's regiment was done in the
name of her husband Alexander Gordon, duke of Gordon's (1743-1827) and in the
Gordon family interest. Instigated and led by Captain Hamilton Maxwell who had
obtained a company in Frasers' Regiment, the organisation of enlistment for the
regiment was an extension of Jane Gordon's role in managing her husband's estates in
Badenoch and Strathspey. Jane Gordon had been a political hostess in London and had a
connection to Edinburgh Enlightenment society through her status as an 'improver' on
her estates; she demonstrates a level of continuance of elite women's political agency in
Scotland founded upon landed familial power.[192] This political agency was firmly
located in the Highlands as it was her position as a Highland landowner and her
connections with London politics which facilitated her political power; there was no
equivalent expression of female political agency within urban Scottish intellectual-
political sphere.

Highland political engagement was determined by status and gender. Just as both
Katharine and Jane Gordon's political agency was enabled by status, men's enlistment in
regiments was a reflection of the interconnection of status and gender in the performance
of North Britishness. The recruits to the regiment consisted predominantly of young and
economically poor men; 60 out of 89 were under 20 years old. A minority of recruits
were lower level merchants, such as tailors and tobacconists, with the majority of men
designated as labourers. These men appear to have enlisted for economic gain (and
possibly economic necessity).[193]

The system of military patronage was partly aimed at reducing disaffection
amongst Jacobites in the Highlands. However despite apparent desires to the contrary
amongst Highland recruits, most regiments were deployed for Imperial rather than
domestic service. This highlights security concerns held by the British state; the
formation of Highland regiments and the posting of them overseas could be interpreted
as a means of reducing the military potential of the Highlands, i.e. the Jacobite interest

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[191] Caldwell, *Scotland's Wars and Warriors*, pp 96-97.
[192] NAS GD44/47/1(57), 'Fraser Highlanders'; C. Lodge, 'Gordon , Jane, duchess of Gordon (1748/9–
1812)', *ODNB*, Oxford U.P., Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2007
[http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11059, accessed 17 June 2008].
[193] GD44/47/1(2)(4).

would have trouble organising a rebellion if Highland men of fighting age were overseas serving in the British army.[194]

Mackillop argues that the Highland regiments acted to encourage an identification with the British nation amongst 'ordinary' Highlanders but that much of this was due to the role of the regiments in enabling the celebration of Scottishness within an institution of the British state, and so in the context of loyalty to that state. This enabled an adoption of both a Scottish and a British national identity as an alternative to an Anglicised Britishness. However despite an increasing identification with the British nation, patterns of Highland recruitment remained primarily driven by issues of access to land in return for service and agricultural production, i.e. choosing not to enlist so as to maintain a labour source.[195]

The false construction of ideas of Highland loyalty to the British state is demonstrated by the issue of mutiny. In an address to Parliament in 1751, the Secretary at War, William Wildman, lord Barrington, expressed his desire for having 'as many Scottish soldiers as possible' in his army, especially Highland soldiers. He stated that this was not because they were braver than soldiers from other countries but that 'they are generally more hardy and less mutinous'.[196] That this is a false construction that both builds upon and reinforces notions of Highland martial manhood becomes apparent when compared to the reality of the relatively common mutinies by Highland regiments, such as that by the Black Watch in 1743 in response to orders that they were to be posted overseas to Flanders or the Caribbean. According to Stephen Wood, mutinies of Highland regiments continued through the eighteenth century; for example between 1778 and 1783 six regiments mutinied in reaction to being posted to India, where disease often proved a greater killer than military combat. In fact, Wood argues, it was the nature of Highland recruitment that often focussed on the raising of regiments for limited and specific service, e.g. the Seven Years War, which led to them being more likely to resist orders to serve overseas than other members of the British army.[197] The image of the loyal Highland soldier appears to have had little basis in reality. The

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[194] Wood, *Scottish Soldier*, p 36; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 311.
[195] Mackillop, 'For King Country and Regiment?', pp 187-191.
[196] Quoted in Colley, *Britons*, p 120.
[197] Wood, *The Scottish Soldier*, pp 31, 38-39.

question therefore remains as to the reasons behind the high levels of Highland military recruitment and its relation, if any, to masculine identities.

Mackillop, in his analysis of the motivations of soldiers that lay behind Highland military recruitment, argues that unlike the rest of Britain soldiering was not viewed as an alien lifestyle within Highland culture. This argument concerning the lack of cultural prejudices against soldiering in the Highlands is also made by Devine. On the basis of these arguments it is easy to agree with Caldwell's argument discussed earlier, that, in the face of punitive legislation following the repression of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, the Highland regiments provided Highland men with an arena in which to reclaim their traditional masculinity. However, as I have shown, this notion of a traditional martial masculinity was one largely propagated by those outwith the Highlands and by the Highland elite. Also, and most importantly in this context, both Mackillop and Devine clarify their arguments regarding the motivations behind recruitment and stress the importance of economic motivations over cultural norms.[198] Mackillop rejects the idea of Highland involvement in the British military as an extension of the militarism of clan society within the modern context of the British Empire as deterministic, and one which does not explain why Highland militarism continued despite the rapid decline of clanship. Instead he argues that Highland military recruitment represents a provincial reaction to broader economic and political changes, namely the 1707 Union and the expansion of the British Empire following the Seven Years War.[199]

Despite the positive attributes applied to Highland regiments, during the eighteenth century the army was generally viewed in a negative light. As discussed above, within Scottish Enlightenment discourse militarism was often depicted as a lifestyle suited to non-commercial, inferior, societies. In addition, as Mackillop discusses, soldiers were perceived as being divorced from moral society and a military career was seen as distinctly different from civilian occupations. The separateness of soldiering from 'normal' society is suggested in some soldiers' idea of a military career as marriage to 'King George's daughter'. Mackillop sees in this statement a notion of the army as a substitute for marriage and the heading of a household and cites it as evidence

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[198] Mackillop, 'For King Country and Regiment?', p 204; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p 204; Caldwell, *Scotland's Wars and Warriors*, pp 96-97.
[199] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, pp 7-10.

of the Highlands notion of military service as a contract.[200] I do not disagree with this, but there is probably another level to this statement. The idea of being married to 'King George's daughter' suggests an adoption by soldiers of the notion of marriage as essential to the acquirement of manhood. When considered in the context of land offered to soldiers in return for service, military service appears as a means to acquire 'independent' manhood. Ascendancy to manhood was judged by marriage and the heading of a household. Alexandra Shepard defines the household as the primary site of male authority. It was through his control of his household that a man demonstrated his self-control and rationality that assured his credit and access to masculine privilege (relative to his socio-economic position) in the wider community.[201] John Tosh argues that male household authority remained an important feature of claims to manhood during the eighteenth century, representing continuity from the early modern period.[202]

The recruits to the Highland regiments were not mere pawns (we should avoid denying agency to the poor) and may, in the face of limited economic opportunity and hierarchical estate structures, have viewed entering a regiment as a means of economic and social advancement especially in regards to the land generally offered in return for service and/or a means of free emigration to the North American colonies. Military recruitment through the use of land levies could challenge traditional socio-economic structures. Military service gave men a legitimate claim to land tenure who in other circumstances would have had no such claim. As Mackillop cites, at least one fifth of all requests for land in return for service between 1756 and 1815 were made by men with no land or those from the lowest tenurial groups, a figure that rose to 50% in North Uist.[203] The issue of land in return for service and the resulting relative socio-economic mobility is important when considering the impact of the militarization of the Highlands on masculinity. Whilst outsiders employed and propagated a notion of an inherently martial Highland masculinity, Mackillop's research suggests that the military provided men with access to a masculine identity of 'independent' manhood that depended upon

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[200] Mackilop, 'For King Country and Regiment?', p 203.
[201] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp 70-75.
[202] Tosh, 'The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities', in T. Hitchcock, M. Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities 1600-1800*, London, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, p 223.
[203] Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, pp 162-163, 185-187.

land ownership. As discussed throughout this thesis, 'independent' manhood conferred a discursive, if not institutional or legal, political agency.

In addition to tenures offered to soldiers by lairds in return for service in specific Highland regiments, a large amount of land in North America was offered to soldiers immediately following the Seven Years War. In 1763, in order to encourage the settlement of soldiers after demobilisation, it was declared that captains were to receive three thousand acres, subaltern officers two thousand acres and ordinary soldiers were granted fifty acres. This policy of allocating land in North America continued after the American War of Independence when the amount of land offered (in areas that remained under British control) to soldiers increased in proportion to their number of dependents. That these offers of land were taken up by soldiers is evidenced by the fact that less than one in five men from the three Highland regiments who served in America during the Seven Years War returned, a number that cannot be accounted for in fatality figures which are estimated at around eight hundred. As Mackillop discusses, the settlement of soldiers following conflicts in North America was an important factor in facilitating Highland emigration to the North American colonies and resulted in substantial landownership by Highlanders in North America.[204]

The government's motivations behind their land allocation strategy in North America were that the settlement of demobilised soldiers would provide a good source of security in the colonies against both the resistance of Indigenous people to the occupation of their land and, prior to 1775, the growing independence movement amongst the colonists.[205] This strategy was influenced by preconceptions regarding Highland militarism whilst the decision by Highland soldiers to settle appears to have been motivated by the economic and social benefits obtained through landownership. In a 1778 letter, a Highlander serving with Fraser of Lovat's 71st Highland Regiment in North America writes positively about his military service, stating that his pay is good and that, 'I hope my fortune within two years will be as good that I will have 200 acres of free ground of my own in this country'.[206]

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[204] *Ibid*, pp 185-187.
[205] Wood, *Scottish Soldier*, p 37.
[206] Quoted in Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil'*, p 185.

Land ownership was unlikely to have been the only motivating factor behind the enlistment of Highland soldiers and should not obscure the impact of economic necessity and threats of eviction for failure to supply recruits. However, it needs to be recognised as an important factor and one which cannot be separated from the gendered motivation of acquiring land as a means of establishing independent manhood. In his examination of the early American Empire, Greene argues that easier access to land ownership compared to Europe and relatively high labour wages led to an assertion by colonists for rights equal to those held by landowners in Britain. This assertion of rights in relation to ownership of colonial land led to the development within colonial peripheries of centres of local power negating the control of colonies by the British, or broader European, metropolitan core.[207] This interconnection between property ownership and the demand for participatory political rights amongst colonists highlights the role of Empire as a space in which men could claim an 'independent' manhood denied to them due to their socio-economic position in their countries of origin.

Conclusion: Martial Manhood as a Peripheral Patriotic Identity

The centrality of Empire to constructions and performances of Highland martial manhood highlight the peripheral nature of this patriotic masculine identity. Many of the Highland men fighting in the Imperial wars of the eighteenth century may not have seen themselves as natural warriors destined, due to an accident of geography, to risk their lives to defend and expand the British Empire, but their violence and the violence enacted upon them in war evidences a reality in direct contrast to the elite urban world of male sensibility. The eighteenth century should not be viewed as a century defined exclusively by public promenades and coffee houses, but also recognised as one during which Britain fought five major wars and trebled the size of its army and navy. That the Highland regiments played a key role in this state sponsored violence cannot be denied

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[207] Greene, 'Transatlantic Colonization and the Redefinition of Empire in the Early Modern Era: The British American Experience', in Daniels, Kennedy (eds), *Negotiated Empires*, p 217.

and it was this violence which, to use Clyde's terminology, rehabilitated the image of the Highlands in the eyes of other Britons.[208]

The ideals of male sensibility embodied in Scotland by the culture of the Enlightenment literati were defined in opposition to militaristic manhood. However, this alternative militaristic masculinity was able to exist within the boundaries of Britishness as long as it was performed within the peripheries of the Highlands and Empire. The different patriotic manhood of Highland men – martial as opposed to refined – was informed by, and acted to inform, their overall difference in a geographic, economic and discursive sense. Like the Highlands, Empire represented a space in which alternative masculine identities that were subordinate but not subversive to the ideal masculinity of the urban core could be performed.

Highland men's service in the British military during the Seven Years War and the American War resulted in a shift in perceptions of them from being 'a secret enemy' to Britain's 'most trusty subjects'. However, although Highlanders were, by the end of the eighteenth century, considered to be members of the British nation, this membership was premised upon their martial masculinity. This model of masculinity was one that was deemed to defend the British nation, but it was the refinement of the urban gentleman that embodied North Britishness. It was male refinement that reflected and claimed power. Although accepted within the boundaries of Britishness the masculinity placed upon rank and file Highland soldiers was a peripheral masculinity that remained subordinate to the refined manhood of the urban metropole.

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[208] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, pp 291-293; Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, p 150.

Chapter 8:
Conclusion

Gender, national identity and political agency studied in the context of the Union debates (c.1706-07) and the mid-to-late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment period (c.1750-1790) provide an insight into the discursive construction, performance and negotiation of political power. We have seen that during these two periods, in these two different contexts, national identity was gendered differently. Assessing the impact of this on political agency, we have also seen that gender was more crucial to the performance of political agency during the Scottish Enlightenment period than it was during the Union debates.

During the Union debates the Scottish nation was imagined within a masculinist model which emphasised men's martial characteristics in defence of the sovereign kingdom of Scotland. Within an anti-Treaty discourse which sought to encourage popular opposition to the parliamentary Union, this vision of Scottish manhood was propagated as a primary signifier of men's patriotic loyalty to the nation and informed conceptions of men's political agency. However, there was a tension as to which men held legitimate political agency. In its material manifestations political legitimacy was primarily located in a notion of masculine 'independence' founded upon land ownership and the practice of political power was dominated by the nobility. The centrality of status to political agency is demonstrated by the political participation, primarily through familial influence, of elite women.

During the eighteenth century the emergence of new models of manhood were intertwined with new models of national identity; specifically refined manhood and North Britishness. The performance of this masculinity enabled political agency – it acted to define the political legitimacy of the elite, which in the context of urban Scotland included, in addition to the landed elites, professionals and wealthy merchants. Occurring in a century which preceded the physiological turn (in which gender became firmly located in the biological body), discourses of national identity and discourses of gender converged in Scottish Enlightenment political culture and established an explicitly gendered notion of political agency. Whereas women only existed in a symbolic form within discourses of Scottishness during the Union debates, the active

feminine was vital to discourses of North Britishness; this informed against female political agency.

North Britishness, the national identity of the Scottish Enlightenment, was an important part of the assertion of political agency by the urban elite in the post-Union political context, in a nation without a parliament. Within discourses of North Britishness, gender and political agency were integrated components. This integration resulted in the gendered performance of political power, denying this power to women. To perform refined manhood was to avoid effeminacy, making homosociality performed in the intellectual-political sphere a necessary component of this patriotic masculine ideal. Like refined manhood, women's performance of Enlightenment-defined femininity signalled urban Scots' achievement of 'civilisation' and acted to assert Scotland's place within the new British nation. The centrality of the feminine meant that women were simultaneously included and excluded from the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere. By considering women's political agency during the latter half of the eighteenth century in contrast with women's political participation during the Union debates, I have highlighted the complexities of this issue and demonstrated the problematic nature of progressivist interpretations of the Enlightenment's impact upon women.

The study of masculinity and femininity together enables the deconstruction of the seemingly objective character of men's practice of political agency. Whilst not asserting a direct linear link to the 1832 Reform Act, we can view the gendering of the intellectual-political sphere in eighteenth-century Scotland as offering a certain antecedent for the gendering of the legal category of citizenship as male in the nineteenth century. The practice of political power by men should not be viewed as a result of masculine power but, in a cyclical fashion, as acting to construct and enable this power. However, this is not to say that women did not practice power or that all men had power.

It is important to always remember the issue of multiplicity. To assert that certain gender identities existed as patriotic identities and enabled the claiming, and often practice, of political agency is not to deny that other gender identities existed. The multiplicity of contemporaneous gender identities is made apparent by the ideal of the

patriotic Highland soldier. This masculinity disrupts the notion of hegemonic masculinity. Defined within a discourse in many ways opposed to that in which the refined gentleman belonged, the martial Highland soldier was neither subordinate nor subversive to the model of the refined gentleman. This masculine ideal also brings the Highlands and the Empire into the story of eighteenth-century Scotland. This story often sits uncomfortably with the story of the Scottish Enlightenment, a tension which is illustrated by the relationship between the two models – refined gentleman and martial soldier - of patriotic manhood. This tension in the Scottish historical narrative should be embraced.

Through a study of the interaction of discourses of gender, national identity and political agency in two contexts, this thesis has demonstrated that gender was an integral part of discourses of national identity and that these impacted upon the discourse and practice of political agency, rendering it gendered. This increases our understanding regarding national identity and politics in eighteenth-century Scotland. By using gender as a primary category of analysis I have highlighted the complexity of the seemingly objective maleness of two signal events in the history of Scotland, the Union of 1707 and the Scottish Enlightenment.

This has been a feminist work. In the context of feminism, this thesis could be read as arguing that women were better off within the political context of the Union debates where, because political agency was less grounded in gender and more in status, some elite women had some political power. However, this would be a misreading. This context should not be read as one which enabled female political power in the general sense; like most men most women had little political power (narrowly defined) in the early modern context. By the Enlightenment period the practice of political agency was more gendered; more men and fewer women had political agency (narrowly defined).

Certainly Enlightenment ideology and culture created a discourse and space in which women (especially from the nineteenth century) could claim rights and weaken patriarchal power. However, this does not negate the fact that in Scotland, Enlightenment discourse combined with discourses of nationhood gendered political agency as male during the eighteenth century. To an extent this gendering of political power still continues; today most people in positions which enable the wielding of

political power in society are men. However, it is, of course, more complex than this. Many women (including myself) have power on the basis of our nationality, class and race (though we do not necessarily have sexual equality). By studying gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland I have sought to contribute to our understanding of the means by which political power operates in society, in the past and today.

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