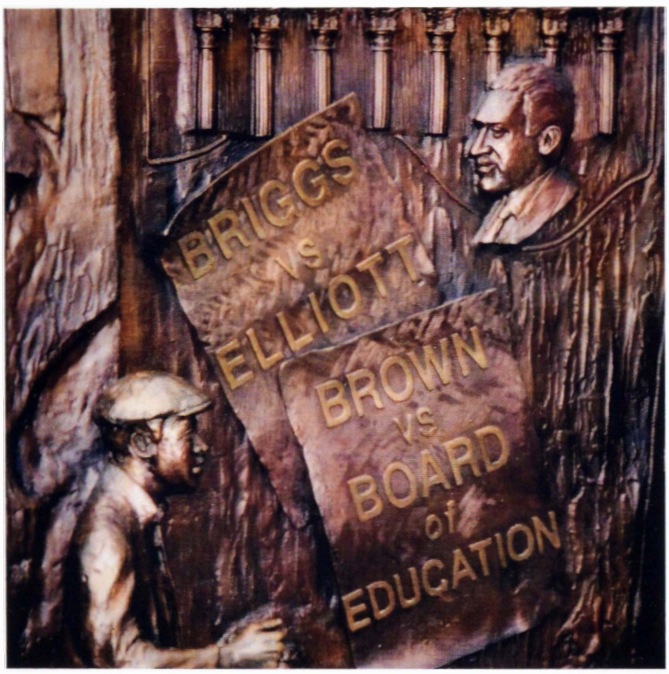
HISTORY TEACHING REVIEW

YEAR BOOK



VOLUME 25 2011

THE YEARBOOK OF THE SCOTTISH ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY

HISTORY TEACHING REVIEW

YEAR BOOK

EDITOR: ASHLEY McGUFFIE

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H.T.R. YEAR BOOK is the Journal of the Scottish Association of Teachers of History.

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Cover: A detail from the bronze relief on the South Carolina African American History Monument. With thanks to Susan-Mary Grant for permission for SATH to use this image.

Editorial

ASHLEY McGUFFIE

I take great pleasure in introducing this 25th edition of the HTR *Year Book* not only because it includes many fascinating and useful articles from our contributors, but also because it includes a comprehensive and wide-ranging statement about SATH and its future, from our new president, Neil McLennan.

A huge thank you to all of the contributors to this edition of the *Year Book,* and special thanks to those contributors who are writing for the *Year Book* again and in some cases in consecutive years! Again for this *Year Book* I thought it would be useful to focus on articles which complement the new Higher topics, however, they are hopefully of general interest too. I would like to invite you to place any requests for topics or specific academics you would be interested in reading about and I'll do my best to source them. Finally, thanks to Professor Susan-Mary Grant for providing this fantastic picture for the *Year Book's* cover illustration. With the following discussion about current educational changes from Neil, I couldn't resist including this image referred to in Susan-Mary's article.

Message from SATH President

NEIL D R McLENNAN

It has been a year of great change for SATH, indeed a year of great change for Scottish education. History educators know better than most the perils and opportunities that both change and continuity bring with them. SATH has existed for over 25 years now and this year has seen some significant changes to our engagements. The economic circumstances may have influenced some of our changes; however, the main focus of the committee has been how we can deliver more for our members and our aims of:

- **to further and develop the teaching of history in Scotland;**
- **to disseminate information to members of the association;**
- **to liaise with any individuals, official bodies, institutions, associations and organisations associated with the teaching of history in schools and institutions of further and higher education, at home and abroad.**

Working within the constitution the committee had some ambitious aims at the start of this year. To that end we have made good progress over the past year to becoming "*the* CPD provider for history educators." As well as our traditional annual conference and roadshow we have also piloted and will continue to provide regional CPD events where there is a need and capacity for these to

happen. Our events have had a far greater national coverage than ever before with events taking place, or being planned for West Lothian, North of Scotland, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. These events have been well attended and the feedback from members has been positive.

The last event marked a major shift where we tried to encourage academics, primary school teachers, colleges and history and heritage providers to attend the SATH Autumn Conference in November 2011. The theme of "Learning from each other" encouraged participants from each sector to find out more about best practice in their own and other sectors. Scottish education has been renowned for its work on pastoral transitions. However, despite major changes to education our curriculum transitions remain weak between the sectors. This event marked the beginning of refreshed dialogue in this area. A strong input from European presenters helped to remind us of the need to look beyond our borders in the search for excellence. Support from both the Heritage Education Forum and the University of Edinburgh epitomised the importance of partnership working for SATH as we move into the 21st Century.

Our partnership working has extended also to working closely with Historic Scotland. SATH Committee meetings are now held in some magnificent Historic Scotland venues around the country (helping to ensure it is very much a national organisation). The presence of Historic Scotland Learning Officers at these meetings has also proved invaluable. Together we will share best practice and expertise in our common ambitions to promote understanding and enjoyment of the past and safeguard history and heritage for the future.

The *Year Book* itself will also undergo some major changes next year. In the past the *Year Book* has contained largely academic inputs on topics which our students study at Higher and Advanced Higher level. This has proved a popular format and one which members find interesting and useful to refresh their subject expertise and also feed up-to-date historiography to students under their charge. Next year we decided to make some additions to the *Year Book*. Inspired by the model of delivery that the Historic Association in England opt for, we will also insert articles on emerging and effective teaching and learning practice. We hope to build upon this with articles in future years on pedagogy, planning, assessment and learning. Whilst not taking away from the core component of up-to-date historiography, we hope that this addition will be welcomed and add something new and exciting to this publication. As ever your feedback is welcome in this area.

The best way to offer feedback, engage with SATH and communicate with members across the country, and beyond, is via our website. Some of our newer committee members have brought with them fresh ideas, new talents and a drive

and determination that helps an organisation like SATH to flourish. I think all members would agree that the committee and the membership of SATH is now a neat blend of experience and enthusiasm, teacher and head of department, school based and an increasing number of university academic members. The changes to the website have seen not only updates to the web pages, but communications being made easier for members via the updated forum. If you have not logged on for some time then please do have a look.

As we enter into another period of major changes in the curriculum the website will be vital for members to share resources on planning, learning and teaching and assessment. History teachers have coped remarkably well with the steep change in Scottish education that is Curriculum for Excellence. However, major changes to the qualification structure in the forthcoming year will add extra pressures to departments overstretched for time, money and sometimes experience and leadership. SATH will aim to support where it can. The website and our events offer magnificent opportunities for collaboration which hopefully eases some of the burden. SATH Committee members have arranged meetings with SQA early into the New Year to offer suggestions for how the new qualifications might look. Please engage with us via the SATH forum and also please do engage with the SQA via the 'Have your say' part of their website. If we do not make our opinions known then they cannot be considered as the changes start to take place. Another area that remains of interest is the Scottish Government's proposals for 'Scottish Studies' to appear as part of the curriculum. SATH have been represented at all the Parliamentary Working Groups meetings to date. We will continue to represent members' views and encourage all members to keep up to date with progress in this area via the forum.

Two things remain to be said. The committee are not paid for their work and give up much time and effort to pull together CPD events, publications (paper and web based) and to represent your views on local, national and international forums. I would end this introduction with two pleas:- firstly, please take a moment to thank your local voluntary committee member for the work they do to support the subject, the profession and ultimately learners. Secondly, do consider joining the national committee if you can spare the time and feel you have something to offer history teachers up and down the country. Without the sterling work of the volunteer committee none of this would be possible. This particular publication was the mainstay of long serving committee member Andrew Hunt. I am delighted that Andrew has remained as a supporter to Ashley McGuffie, whose enthusiasm and industry will take this publication forward for years to come. The future changes to it will hopefully be well received.

The SATH committee look forward to hearing your feedback and engaging with you either online or at one of our future events.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR PAUL DUKES is Emeritus Professor at the University of Aberdeen, where he has been located since 1964. His most recent book is *Minutes to Midnight: History and the Anthropocene Era since 1763*, published by Anthem Press in 2011. He has a blog entitled 'Pandisciplinarity'.

DR KARIN BOWIE is a lecturer in early modern Scottish history at the University of Glasgow. She is the author of *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (2007). Her research interests include politics, society and the public sphere in early modern Scotland.

PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER A. WHATLEY is Professor of Scottish History at the University of Dundee where he is also Vice-Principal. He has long been interested in history education and chaired the Royal Society of Edinburgh's Working Group on The Teaching of History in Scottish Schools which reported in January 2011. His focus as an historian has been on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Recent publications include *The Scots and the Union* (EUP, 2007), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland 1600-1800* (EUP, 2010), and a new, revised and enlarged edition of *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities* (DUP, 2011). Currently he is looking at the social and cultural impact of Robert Burns in the nineteenth century, and writing a book that investigates what statues in Victorian Scotland can tell us about national and local identities.

PROFESSOR LYNN ABRAMS is Professor of Gender History at the University of Glasgow where she teaches European women's and gender history since 1750 and oral history. Her publications include *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789-1918* (London, 2002); *Myth and Materiality in a Woman's World: Shetland 1800-2000* (Manchester, 2005), and *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010). She is convenor of Women's History Scotland and the co-editor of *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2005). She is currently researching the history of women in Britain between 1945 and the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement.

DR WILLIAM KENEFICK is a Senior Lecturer in History in the School of Humanities, University of Dundee. He has published widely on Scottish maritime and labour history, the impact of the Great War and the Russian Revolution on the Scottish working class, and Irish and Jewish relations in modern Scotland, the Scottish Diaspora and radical Scots and Empire. His recent publications include *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left c.1872-1932* (EUP, 2007), "Confronting White Labourism: Socialism, Syndicalism and

the role of the Scottish radical left in South Africa before 1914", *International Review of Social History*, LV, No 1 (2010), and "Labour Politics and the Dundee Working Class, c1895-1936" (co-authored) in James Tomlinson and Christopher A. Whatley (eds) *Jute no More. Transforming Dundee* (DUP, 2011). He was also consulted by Teaching and Learning Scotland in preparation for the NQ Higher Scottish History and appears in their website videos with other Scottish historians - www.ltscotland.org.uk/higherscottishhistory.

PROFESSOR SUSAN-MARY GRANT is Professor of American History at Newcastle University. She is the author of *North Over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Kansas University Press, 2000), *The War for a Nation: The American Civil War* (New York: Routledge, 2006) and, most recently, *A Concise History of the United States of America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Her current research explores the lives of war veterans and war memorialisation between the American Civil War and World War I, and on this subject she has delivered talks to the Royal British Legion and in the United States, and has published 'The Lost Boys: Citizen-Soldiers, Disabled Veterans, and Confederate Nationalism in the Age of People's War,' *Journal of the Civil War Era* (2012); 'Constructing a Commemorative Culture: American Veterans from Valley Forge through Vietnam, *Journal of War and Cultural Studies* (2011); and 'Stigmata of Stone: Monuments and Markers in the Memorial Landscape of the United States of America,' in Maggie Andrews et.al. (eds.), *Lest We Forget* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011).

DR DAVID MCKINSTRY teaches History at Inverclyde Academy, Greenock. He is also, working on a research project with Glasgow University which focuses on using Moving Image to make History more relevant to learning experience of students. He is currently writing his second book on the Civil Rights policies of the Kennedy Administration. He can be contacted at:
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Patrick Gordon and his Diary

PROFESSOR PAUL DUKES

During the seventeenth century, problems at home in Scotland were among the motives for a large number of emigrants seeking their fortunes on the continent, especially as mercenaries. Aspects of their careers are instructive in several ways. First, while several hundreds of them reached Moscow, very few of them crossed the Volga, and virtually none penetrated Siberia. The great historian S.M. Solov'ev called them 'Cossacks of Western Europe', and their lives may be compared in an instructive manner with those of the actual Cossacks, illuminating the perimeters of the activities of the Russian army, and therefore of the grasp of the Russian state in an easterly direction. Second, an examination of some of their activities during years of crisis at home throws light on parallels in Muscovy, from the 1640s to the 1680s, then culminating in the years when Peter the Great consolidated his hold on the throne.

Of key importance in the latter regard is Patrick Gordon, who died in Moscow in 1699, after nearly forty years in Russian service, latterly under Peter the Great. As early as 1724, while Peter was still alive a translation of the Diary into Russian, which he bequeathed to posterity, was first contemplated. Certainly, in the eighteenth century, it was drawn on for a description of campaigns against the Crimean Tatars, and a translation was begun, but into German.

Plans for the publication of the original, or a work based on it, came to nothing in England in the early nineteenth century. Sending an excuse for his delay in the submission of the fourth canto of Childe Harold from Venice in the summer of 1818, another émigré from North-East Scotland, Lord Byron, wrote to his publisher about another projected inclusion in the John Murray list:

Then you've General Gordon
Who 'girded his sword on'
To serve with a Muscovite Master,
And help him to polish
A nation so owlish
They thought shaving their beards a disaster.

Back in Russia, both the poet Pushkin and the Emperor Nicholas I were interested in translation and publication, but, in spite of such patronage, the task was unfinished.

Part of the Diary was missing. Admiral A. S. Greig, himself of Scottish ancestry, suggested that a search be instituted abroad, but nothing was found – not surprising, perhaps, when we consider that even bare knowledge of Gordon appears to have been absent from his homeland. Indeed, it was not until Dr. M. C. Posselt had completed a three-volume translation into German in the middle of the nineteenth century that Scottish interest was stirred as favourable notices appeared. One of them talked of 'the most stormy vicissitudes of a life of military service, which in many particulars might have been suggested to Schiller the Dragoon of the Prologue to Wallenstein, or to Scott that equally felicitous and more finished creation of genius – the inimitable Dalgetty.' Another went so far as to suggest that 'Gordon's is the diary of a man of great talent and sound sense, Pepys's the diary of a puppy and a courtier', adding that the translation was 'from such English, no doubt, as was spoken in Aberdeenshire when Gordon was a boy.' In fact, the language of the diary has very little of dialect or brogue in it. Just as well, perhaps, since, confronted by a rare reversion by Gordon to his native language in the shape of the proverb 'Burnt bairns fire dread', the learned Dr. Posselt drew a blank.

At this time, to some extent encouraged by the historical reconstructions of Sir Walter Scott, there were many societies in Edinburgh and elsewhere devoted to the preservation of the past. The President of the Spalding Club in NE Scotland, the Earl of Aberdeen, then First Lord of the Treasury, was soon persuaded to make an application to the Court of St. Petersburg for a transcript of all the passages of the diary that related to Gordon's native country. These and more were duly sent, and published in 1859. However, helpful and painstaking though Posselt no doubt was, his transcripts were far from completely satisfactory. For example, recording Gordon's first impressions of Muscovy in 1661, the Spalding version contains the phrase 'the people being morose and niggard'. The original runs as follows: 'the people being morose, avaricious, deceitfull, false, insolent & tirrannous where they have command, and being under command, submissive & even slavish sloven & base niggard' – some difference. There is a reference to 'a courteous person', the original adding '(a rare thing here)', and another to 'the nature of the people', which should include the words 'base and suspicious'. The most likely explanation for these omissions would appear to be Dr. Posselt's concern for the sensitivities of his hosts in St. Petersburg.

Several writers drew on Passages during the following hundred years or so, but nobody from Gordon's homeland had yet seen the original Diary kept in the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow. An account of my own attempts to get access to it, and then to arrange for its publication, would be just another chapter in the long story beginning soon after Gordon's death in 1699. Suffice it to say that several enthusiastic students as well as myself suffered a considerable number of frustrations en route, although one of them, Graeme P. Herd,

succeeded in completing an excellent PhD making full use of the Diary. But the Russian authorities did not want the work to appear in the original until it came out in translation. And so, it was not until we made friends with a Russian enthusiast for the subject that the business was carried forward. To Dmitry Fedosov must go the credit for assuming the Herculean labour of translating and editing the Diary as well as preparing it for publication in the original.

It is high time to turn to what Patrick Gordon wrote. Here is his list of reasons for wanting to leave home at the age of sixteen in 1651:

Haveing thus, by the most loveing care of my dear parents, atteined to as much learning as the ordinary country schools affoord, and being unwilling, because of my dissenting in religion, to go to the University in Scotland, I resolved, partly to dissolve the bonds of a youthfull affection, wherein I was entangled, by banishing my self from the object; partly to obtaine my liberty, which I foundly conceited to be restrained, by the carefull inspection of my loveing parents; but, most of all, my patrimony being but small, as being the younger sone of a younger brother of a younger house; I resolved, I say, to go to some foreigne countrey, not careing much on what pretence, or to which country I should go, seing I had no knowne ffriend in any foreigne place.

Certainly, the importance of Gordon's service in the Polish, Swedish and Russian armies as recorded – along with much else – in his diary makes it a matter of significance to search for a fuller understanding of his early years in N.E. Scotland from 1635 to 1651. His allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, his interest in the estate near Aberdeen and other aspects of family affairs and home are persistent themes in his diary and his letters. This much is certain. We can also speculate about how his character traits, his courage, his parsimoniousness and his fidelity, were formed by the experiences of his youth, as well as his life-long interest in learning.

In 1651, Gordon landed up in Jesuit College in what is now Braniewo in Poland for two years before serving his apprenticeship as a junior officer in both the Polish and Swedish armies. After his arrival in Moscow in 1661, he managed to overcome his first negative impressions to prove his worth as a mercenary, and to rise up the commissioned ranks. The Diary records not only military matters, but also a wide range of other subjects.

A certain amount can be added to the Diary's account, notably from letters that he wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Earl of Lauderdale, amply demonstrating a mastery of the right kind of language for polite society in

London which he visited as an unofficial ambassador in 1667. One of these letters, dated 15 July 1668, and sent from Moscow, opens as follows:

Right Honorable,
Though from the almost Frozen Zone yet with a most Torrid Affection ushered by my humble duty, I send thes addresses to your Lo-p. All human actions, constitutions, complexions, and all terrestriall Creatures, yea, even vegetives being tyed, and owing a sort of duty to the Celestiall Creatures, by reason of their influence upon them; even so wee who crawle in the lower Orbs cannot be but sensible of the duty wee should carry for those persons and spirits that move in higher Spheares. The many undeserved favours yo-r L was pleased to confer upon me while I was in England, have put ane inviolable ty and engagement upon all my faculties. I am ignorant only of the meanes, and want sufficient ability, to give evident testimonies of my reall professions....

I send by this occasion to your L a piece of unsophisiticated cavear in its mothers skine, which will make a cup of good liquor tast the better, and hath besides an extraordinary strengthening quality. If ther be anything which this Countrey affords and may be usefull to your L let me know your will, and it shall be duelly fulfilled.

The Scottish Officer also informed the Scottish Secretary that he was soon to leave Moscow with his regiment on a campaign against the Cossacks and the Tatars to the south. He probably remained there for most of the next ten years, although we know that he made another visit to England and Scotland in the years 1669-1670. He wrote a letter dated 12 October 1669 from Edinburgh to London, to a Joseph Williamson, Secretary to Lord Arlington, who was a member of the entourage of Charles II, observing that:

...I go into the country to my parents wher wintring, I intend to return to Russia in the Spring and hoped to go by the way of Polland. If in this journey I find no grounds for a settlement anywher els, I intend to continue in Russia sometime longer, albeit God knoweth the pay ther yeelds us but a very bare subsistence as things go now. Even in Scotland souldiers of fortune can attaine no honourable employment for Nobles and persons of great quality. In England Aliens ar seldome employed, so that necessity (who was never yet a good pilot) constrained us to serve forraigne Princes when notwithstanding if with honour wee could be any wayes steddable to our Native countrey it would be some comfort....

Before Gordon's return to Moscow, from the city records of Aberdeen, we know that on 6 May 1670 he himself, 'sub Imperio Serenissimi et Illustrissimi Imperatoris Russiae Magni', and his servant Alexander Lumsden were made honorary burgesses.

Immediately on arrival back in Moscow, he discovered that his pay had been cut to a third of its former level, and petitioned for dismissal from the tsar's service. But this was not granted then or later, in spite of many efforts to achieve it. The Scottish exile made one more visit to his homeland, in 1686, when he renewed and developed contacts in London, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Again, the account given in the Diary may be supplemented by letters, including one by a kinswoman looking for matrimony in Muscovy as well as complaining of the machinations of her sister-in-law – 'a wicked malicious wyfie'.

Gordon maintained an energetic correspondence with a considerable number of individuals throughout the years of his Russian service in Moscow, the Ukraine and elsewhere. These also helped him to develop interests far transcending those of his basic profession of mercenary soldier. For example, in a letter of 12 December 1691 to Mr Samuel Morrell in London, he referred to the fact that he had been asked by friends to acquire the following books: the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, Don Quixote, Montelion's Knight of the Oracle, Parismus and Parismenus, Hudibras, J. Cheveland's Poems and the Romance of Romances. In these and later requests, Gordon demonstrated an interest in history, the law, medicine, chivalric writings, the classics, and leisure activities as well as military matters. One of the more frivolous requests was for Coffee House Jests. Here is no. 308: 'Two scholars in the University, the one a great Eater, and the other a small; says he that eat least, this small Diet will make us good Scholars. 'Tis true, says t'other, and this thin Dinner will make me Study indeed, that is to make me Study to get more Meat, when this is gone.'

Gordon and his circle were attempting, in faraway Muscovy, to keep alive the interests that would be shared by their contemporaries in Restoration England and Scotland as well as by others on the continent of Europe. In the Foreign Quarter, jests would be told and books would be read – discussed, no doubt, over dinner and at play, especially bowls. In his diary, Gordon duly recorded a whole series of births, baptisms, birthdays, marriages, deaths and funerals. He also took a great interest in illnesses of various kinds, and described his attempts to cure them. For example, on 13 April 1684:

…I getting a great paine in my head and eyes on the eleventh, I had on the 12th taken in a laxative and sett ventoses in my neck yet found a greater pain than ever in my eyes especially in my left. I applied diverse things, as hard boyled egges hott to my brow to stop the defluxion, and lay with vinegar to draw away the heat, and dropped water of broad woman's milk, and even child's urine in my eyes but had little ease by all….

The illness continued through the next few days, with Gordon taking 'head pills' and letting some of his own blood. Because of these measures, or perhaps in spite of them, Gordon recovered. But there were other threats to his health.

Life in the Foreign Quarter was so restricted that tempers could fray, and the mercenaries take recourse to the off-duty use of their weapons of war. Fairly soon after his arrival in Moscow, for example, Gordon invited 'his Sacred Maties. Subjects of the best quality' to celebrate the birthday of Charles II on 29 May 1666: '...we were all very merry till after dinner Maior Montgomery and I gott a quarrell, he being much in wrong and very injurious to me which not to disturb the company upon such a day I passed, and we promised to meet the next day and decide it by duell on horseback.' Fortunately, partly because of hangovers, partly because of the intercessions of English merchants, the matter was resolved with no blood spilt and honour satisfied.

A more recurrent theme in the diary than quarrels and fights reflects the Roman Catholicism of Gordon and of other foreigners living in the Foreign Quarter. On 31 January 1684, in conference with V. V. Golitsyn, the Regent Sophia's favourite, Gordon complained that Roman Catholics had no such free exercise of religion as others had. Golitsyn told him that they should petition their Majesties, the young joint Tsars Ivan and Peter, and it would be granted. From another source, we may read a translation of the petition received by the Russian government and ending: '... be good to us, your servants, and to us, merchants, and order, O Sovereigns, for the salvation of our souls, to call in priests and also to entertain a house of prayer, as have the Lutherans and Calvinists, and to deliver for this, your, Great Sovereigns'. On 11 August 1684, Gordon recorded that permission had been duly obtained from their Majesties at the intercession of the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to build a church and to maintain priests. Soon after this, a wooden church was built in Moscow, and in 1695, a stone replacement.

Of course, Patrick Gordon spent large stretches of his service away from Moscow, especially in the Ukraine. There, he made many interesting observations concerning the local flora and fauna. For example, while accompanying the future Peter the Great on his first expedition against the Turkish fortress of Azov, in the summer of 1695, he found 'a flower like to that called maiden gilliflowers, the roots whereof... are (as wee were assured by the Cosakes here) excellent for drawing out of bullets or arrowheads being bruised or powdered and drunk with brandy or any other liquor, and applied thereto.' Of the Cossacks themselves, he wrote:

The greatest rogues and evildoers are most acceptable when they come and best trusted, because they are assured that they will not returne for fear of

punishment, yet being once admitted and settled here, they must live under Strict Lawes as to the theft, robbery and other misbehaviour, and are according to their wisdome, courage and activity esteemed....

On the campaign against Azov, in Moscow both inside and outside the Foreign Quarter, wherever, Gordon acted as a link between Muscovy and the West as well as a soldier. He was by no means alone in this respect as a Scottish mercenary, but undoubtedly one of the most important. His native area, NE Scotland, had established connections with the Baltic and its hinterland several centuries previously, of a commercial as well as of a military kind. Even the cultural interchange was apparent before a university which came to be known as King's College was founded in 1495 in Old Aberdeen by Bishop Elphinstone, who summoned Hector Boece from Paris to be its first principal. Then, another university, Marischal College was founded in 1593 in the new town on a Protestant basis. These two institutions had their ups and downs, but both managed to remain open to the principal intellectual movements of the times. Hugh Trevor-Roper suggested that Aberdeen in the seventeenth century was 'less severed from the intellectual life of France than other, more orthodox parts of Scotland, and Aberdonian émigrés breathed the fresh air of Richelieu's Paris.' Ties were strong with the Low Countries, too, while, as an example of the Baltic's importance, an outstanding mathematician, Duncan Liddel, went off after graduation in Aberdeen to Danzig, pursuing his studies in Poland and Germany before returning to found a Chair of Mathematics at his alma mater. And so, on his visits back to his native area, wintering there from 1669 to 1670, or more briefly dropping by in the summer of 1686, when 'I went and see the Colledge in the Old Towne, and was very well received, and showed all the worth the seeing there', Gordon had the opportunity of taking refresher courses at the institutions from which his Roman Catholicism had kept him in 1651. Moreover, by keeping up contacts with the universities in Aberdeen, Gordon no doubt helped prepare the way for Henry Farquharson, Liddel Mathematical Tutor at Marischal College at the end of the century. In a manner still not completely explained, Peter the Great hired Farquharson as a teacher during his famous stay in London in 1698.

Gordon had also visited the English capital during his journeys back to Britain, making a wide range of acquaintances there from the monarch downwards. To take just one example of his experiences in London, Gordon made at least two visits to the theatre in the spring of 1686. On 4 May, he saw 'the tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, acted in Whitehall, in the presence of the King, Queen, and all the Court.' Possibly, he recalled that, soon after leaving home in 1651, he made his first stop in Elsinore. And then, in the evening, he saw the comedy, 'The Rehearsal' written by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in collaboration with

several other people. Unfortunately, we do not know what impression this play or the production of 'Hamlet' made on Gordon.

Nor can we be certain of the manner in which Gordon communicated his theatrical and other experiences in London and Aberdeen to other foreigners and to the local natives on his return to Moscow. Certainly, we know that Gordon was the bearer of Western culture to the future Peter the Great as well as to a wide range of his subjects. But probably, as reflected in the Diary, along with other Scottish mercenaries, Patrick Gordon made his greatest contribution through training and commanding crack units in the Russian army. Making full use of the experience he had gained fighting for Poland and Sweden, he helped prepare regiments of the new order to defeat external enemies and maintain internal equilibrium. His last great service was to crush a revolt of the main supporters of the old order, the streltsy or musketeers, during Peter's absence on his Great Embassy to the West in 1698. Although he died in 1699, Gordon could be given some credit for Russia's crushing defeat of Sweden in the Great Northern War culminating in the declaration of the Russian Empire in 1721.

With the publication of volume 1 of his Diary in Aberdeen in May 2009, Patrick Gordon may be said to have come home. The series continued with the publication of volume 2 in April 2011.

NOTES

Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, 1635-1699, volume I, 1635-1659, and volume II, 1659-1667, both edited by Dmitry Fedosov and published by The AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen, in May 2009, and April 2011 respectively.

Popular Politics and the Making of the Union of 1707

DR KARIN BOWIE

Until recently, historians agreed that popular politics had little to do with the making of the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. Though crowds rioted in Edinburgh against the treaty of union, popular protests have been seen as impotent in the face of a unionist majority in the Scottish parliament. During the heyday of the British Empire, historians took a positive view of the Union and its makers, crediting Scotland's noble leaders with intelligence and foresight in anticipating the benefits that Scotland would reap from the Union. In the 1960s and 70s, this focus on elite politicians was reinforced, but transposed to a more cynical key by the influential work of P.W.J Riley and William Ferguson. In 1978 Riley provided a detailed account of the events leading to the Union, focusing on the machinations of ministers, magnates and the monarch.[1] He side-lined popular politics (and economics as well), insisting that the Union was best understood as a product of the selfish jockeying of party leaders in Scotland and England.[2] Riley's Namierite account chimed with the work of William Ferguson, whose 1964 article stressed the role of bribery and corruption in the ratification of the Union treaty and saw popular protest as ineffective due to poor noble leadership.[3] In recent decades, however, historians have looked more closely at non-elite players in early modern politics. Studies of newspapers, pamphlets, petitions, mass oaths and crowd protests have enriched our understanding of the ways by which ordinary people made a difference in political affairs across Europe. Inspired by this work, new research has investigated the nature of Scottish popular politics before the Union and considered the impact of public debate and protest on the making of the Union. This paper offers a summary of this work, showing how popular politics influenced three key stages in the events leading to the 1707 Union: the monarch's turn towards a policy of incorporating union from 1700; oppositional demands for reform of the Union of Crowns made in 1703-5, culminating in an act for treaty negotiations in 1705; and the ratification of the treaty of union by the 1706-7 Scottish parliament.[4] It will argue that these three key moments cannot be understood without considering the impact of popular politics and public debate alongside the manoeuvres of elite politicians.

The monarch's pursuit of closer union

King William supported Scottish proposals for closer union made at the Revolution in 1689, but English indifference blocked his way. William returned to a policy of parliamentary union in 1700, when a decade of strenuous opposition in the Scottish parliament culminated in the Darien crisis of 1699-1701. William lost patience with the Scottish parliament and its increasingly disruptive Country party, which used

public appeals on a patriotic platform to generate widespread opposition to the crown and its ministry.

Recent scholarship has shown that a nascent Country opposition operated in the Restoration parliament.[5] After the Revolution, however, this opposition became more significant with the abolition of the Lords of the Articles, a committee by which the crown controlled the parliamentary agenda. By the late 1690s, the opposition had evolved into a more organised and assertive Country party under the leadership of James Hamilton, 4th duke of Hamilton. In 1700, William and his ministers lost control of parliament as the Country party mobilised widespread popular discontent through mass petitions, unauthorised pamphleteering and riotous crowds. These new tactics increased the leverage of the Country party, pushing William towards a policy of incorporating union in order to eliminate an unmanageable Scottish parliament.

The development of the Country party was enabled by improvements in communications and literacy. In the 1690s, the flow of political information between centre and locality increased. Representatives travelled regularly to meetings of Parliament, the General Assembly and the Convention of Royal Burghs. At the same time, rising literacy rates and a growing distribution network of Lowland post offices and book-sellers made it easier for printed political information to spread from Edinburgh and London. Scottish prints of parliamentary 'minuts', overtures (draft acts) and formal speeches began to appear in the 1690s. Manuscript newsletters from London circulated in Scotland, joined by English newspapers after 1695. Scotland's first domestic newspaper, the *Edinburgh Gazette*, was authorised by the Privy Council in 1699, followed by the *Edinburgh Courant* in 1705. Though the Privy Council still censored political works, their pre-publication controls slipped during crisis periods.[6]

William's turn towards union arose in reaction to the Darien crisis of 1699-1701. After its founding in 1695, the Company of Scotland had used pamphlets and word of mouth to create a patriotic stir when it raised capital in Scotland in 1696. Similar publicity attended the Company's 1698 establishment of a colony in Darien, on land claimed by Spain on the isthmus of Panama.[7] When it became clear that William would not support the colony against the Spanish, anger rose in Scotland. Discontent was exacerbated by the economic woes of the late 1690s. These included repeated crop failures caused by severe weather; and high taxation and trade disruption arising from the Nine Years War with France (1689-97).[8]

Towards the end of 1699, after proclamations forbade English colonies from providing aid to fleeing Darien colonists, the Country party began to mobilise popular anger to support calls for a meeting of the Scottish parliament. First, the party organised a national petition signed by a reported 21,000 hands. The

government tried to divert this with a proclamation against unauthorised petitioning in December 1699. This was seen as contrary to the 1689 Claim of Right and only succeeded in stimulating fresh support for the petition.[9] Eight shires and burghs sent petitions to the May 1700 parliament urging support for the Company of Scotland, while pamphlets appeared with titles like *The People of Scotland's Groans and Lamentable Complaints*. Feelings were running so high in May that the king's commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, was forced to adjourn parliament after just nine days. The opposition responded with another petition from members of parliament demanding that the session resume. Popular support for the Darien colony appeared in Edinburgh on 20 June when party leaders, without the agreement of magistrates, asked citizens to put candles in their windows to celebrate news of the defeat of the Spanish at a skirmish in Darien. Events quickly spiralled into riot as armed men sought to free two prisoners from the Tolbooth who had been arrested for printing pamphlets critical of the government. Over the summer, the Country party organised a third mass address demanding that parliament meet to address the nation's grievances. A further 18 addresses came to parliament from shires and burghs when parliament held heated discussions on the Darien situation in January 1701.

After losing control of the May 1700 parliament, the king's ministry devoted significant time and resources to winning back its followers, just managing to regain a weak majority by January 1701. Yet even with this retrenchment, the oppositional campaign promised continuing trouble for William by advancing a patriotic critique that blamed Scotland's problems on English influence in the Union of Crowns. Since 1603, Scotland and England had shared the same monarch and had struggled to find a form of union in which Scottish and English interests could be balanced.[10] The public opposition encouraged by the Country party in 1699-1701 made it clear that many in Scotland felt that the current form of regal union was not working. William's solution was to ask the English Parliament in 1700 and again in 1702 to consider a parliamentary union with Scotland. He and his successor queen Anne would pursue this policy to its completion in 1707, overcoming still more popular opposition in the process.

Popular pressure for union reform

Though William decided in 1700 to pursue a closer union, support for incorporating union in Scotland remained weak before 1706. Instead, there was strong public pressure for a renegotiation of the terms of the 1603 Union of Crowns. The situation was complicated by the death in 1700 of Queen Anne's last child. Lacking a direct heir, Anne had to get the English and Scottish parliaments to agree to accept Sophia of Hanover, a Protestant descendant of James VI, as her heir. The English passed an Act of Settlement in 1701 in favour

of the Hanoverian succession, but in Scotland the Country party used the open succession to demand reform to the union with the 1703 and 1704 Act of Security. Popular uproar over Anglo-Scottish relations, culminating in the Worcester crisis of 1705, made it impossible for Anne's ministers to secure an act of succession. When the English parliament delivered an ultimatum in the 1705 Alien Act, public resistance to the succession and interest in a treaty led the Scottish parliament to vote for treaty negotiations.

Anne first attempted to secure the succession through the desired incorporating union. Talks held in the winter of 1702-3 failed when the English Tories resisted concessions demanded by the Scots. Forced to pursue an act of the Scottish parliament to confirm the Hanoverian succession, Anne found that her ministers could not command a majority in favour of Hanover in either the 1703 or 1704 parliaments. Instead of accepting the succession, an oppositional majority in parliament passed the Act of Security.

At a factional level, P.W.J. Riley's analysis of party machinations in 1703 and 1704 shows that the Act of Security was the product of a superficial alliance of Jacobite Cavaliers who would resist the Hanoverian succession on any terms and Country Whigs who were not ready to accept Sophia on the court's terms.[11] To understand this act, however, a wider context of public debate and protest needs to be considered. In this light, the Act of Security is best seen as an expression of public discontent with the Union of Crowns, with the open Scottish succession being used as leverage to demand constitutional reforms to protect Scottish interests within the composite monarchy. The act indicates the strength of contemporary interest in a 'treaty' with England to maintain a form of union on improved terms.

Influenced by the Country party's patriotic critique of the Union of Crowns, many in the Scottish parliament supported demands for constitutional reform. Most members were Revolution Whigs, and thus natural supporters of the Hanoverian successor, but they recognised that the open succession gave them a rare opportunity to demand concessions from England. In parliament, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun argued for a radical set of 'limitations' on the prerogative powers of the crown. These included proposals that parliament, rather than the monarch, select all civil and military officers; that there be annual elections for parliament; and that the royal assent be given automatically to all acts of parliament.[12] Other speakers demanded a 'communication of trade' with England, which would lift all tariffs and prohibitions on Scottish exports to England and rescind the English Navigation Acts barring the Scots from trading with the English colonies.

The Act of Security captured both of these desires in its demand that the English successor not be accepted in Scotland unless acts for 'conditions of government'

be passed by the Scottish parliament to 'secure the honour and sovereignty of this Crown and Kingdom, the freedom, frequency and power of Parliaments, [and] the religion, liberty and trade of the nation from English, or any foreign, influence'.[13] The 1703 text, which was not given the royal assent, also included a clause requiring that 'a free communication of trade, the freedom of navigation and the liberty of plantations be fully agreed to and established by the parliament and kingdom of England to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland'.[14] Alongside the Act of Security, the 1703 parliament also passed the Act Anent Peace and War. This addressed grievances arising from the Nine Years War by requiring parliamentary approval for declarations of war or peace settlements.[15]

These measures reflected not just factional resistance to the Court party but loud public debates conducted in speeches and pamphlets. These included now-famous tracts such as James Hodges' 1703 *The rights and interest of the two British monarchies, inquir'd into,* which criticised the incorporating union proposals of 1702-3. A range of lesser-known tracts also appeared, indicating a widening group of political pamphleteers at work. For example, in 1703 the anonymous tract *Some very weighty and seasonable considerations* responded to Hodges' pamphlet by analysing the three options of incorporation, confederation and separation. It concluded in favour of a close alliance or confederation covering 'Trade, Taxes, Peace and War, Forraign Alliances [and] Coynage of Money'.[16] The level of public excitement over the union question in 1703/4 can be seen in a tract condemning the 'wrangling spirit' of the many pamphlets in circulation; and in the crowds that surrounded Parliament House during key sessions.[17] At the opening of the 1704 session, after the Act of Security had been refused the royal assent in 1703, levels of public discontent impelled the Chancellor to promise acts aimed at 'quieting the minds of all good subjects'.[18]

The minds of Queen Anne's Scottish subjects reached new levels of disquiet in the spring of 1705 as local newspapers reported simultaneously on the Alien Act, passed by the English parliament in response to the Scottish Act of Security, and the Scottish trial of the crew of an English East India trading ship, the Worcester, for the alleged pirating of a Company of Scotland ship and murder of its crew. Anti-English feeling reached such heights that vast crowds gathered in Edinburgh to see the execution of the Worcester's crew. Intimidated by the crowds and the expectation of opposition in the upcoming parliamentary session, the Privy Council resisted requests from London for a reprieve and allowed three of the crew members to be executed on the sands of Leith on 11 April. Though historians now agree that the crew were innocent, newspapers and broadsides in Edinburgh insisted on their guilt, reinforcing deep resentment of English imperialism in the Union of Crowns. Angry tracts expressed this resentment,

with *A Pill for Pork Eaters, or a Scots lancet for an English swelling* demanding a 'new Bannockburn' to vindicate Scottish honour.[19]

In such a heated public context, a majority of parliamentarians in 1705 continued to refuse to accept the Hanoverian successor without concessions from England. The English Alien Act had delivered an ultimatum to the parliament: they were to accept the succession or agree to union negotiations by Christmas, or have their leading exports to England (cattle, coal and linen) banned. Given that a treaty with England had been promoted by the opposition for the past several years, it is not surprising that the treaty option was chosen, especially as the Scottish act for treaty negotiations did not specify a closer union. Public uproar over Scottish grievances in the regal union thus created a face-off between Scotland and England in 1705, leading the Scottish parliament to vote for treaty negotiations to resolve the impasse.

Ratification of the treaty

The vote for treaty negotiations in 1705 represented the failure of the queen's succession policy rather than the triumph of her union policy. Though her hand-picked treaty negotiators agreed to an incorporating union, her ministers faced a huge challenge in getting the treaty through the Scottish parliament. Riley's analysis suggests that the ratification of the treaty can be understood in terms of party realignments, with the *squadrone volante* moving to support the union.[20] While this shift is significant, again public debate and pressure must be considered in order to explain the ratification of the treaty in its final form.

Having been active since 1699 in mobilising public protest and debate, the Country party aimed to defeat the treaty in parliament with negative public opinion. Because the English had made key economic concessions, including a communication of trade and reimbursement of all Company of Scotland shareholders, the party line stressed the dangers presented by the proposed parliamentary union, arguing that the Scottish economy and Presbyterian Church would be vulnerable to acts passed by an English majority in a British parliament. The party maintained its patriotic stance by portraying the loss of the ancient kingdom of Scotland as an unacceptable dishonour. These points were written in petition form and distributed to local supporters to encourage addressing to parliament from shires, burghs and parishes. At least 79 addresses came to parliament between November 1706 and January 1707 from 15 shires, 22 royal burghs, 9 towns, three presbyteries, 67 parishes and the Hebronites, a group of dissenting Covenanters in the southwest.[21] These addresses were signed by over 20,000 in total, with some individual petitions collecting over 1,000 hands. Though shire addressers tended to recruit heritable landowners,

many burgh and parish petitions reached down the social hierarchy to include illiterates who signed with initials or x marks or had their names listed by notaries or church elders. These local petitions followed addresses from national bodies, including the Commission of the General Assembly and the Convention of Royal Burghs. Alongside these, numerous pamphlets declared that the treaty could not be approved without the consent of the freeholders of Scotland. In a new tract on the Union, James Hodges made the most radical demands, arguing that 'the Whole Freeborn Subjects of Scotland' should meet to consider the treaty. [22] In parliament, party speakers used the petitions to support calls for fresh elections to create a parliament more in tune with the wishes of the people.

Thousands of politically aware Scots converged on Edinburgh during the parliamentary session, forming great crowds outside Parliament House as Parliament debated key articles of the treaty. Rioting broke out on 23 October with a violent attack on the house of Sir Patrick Johnston, a former provost, treaty negotiator and parliamentary commissioner for Edinburgh. Organised protests appeared in other large towns: early in November the tradesmen of Glasgow staged a march with anti-union slogans pinned to their hats; a large armed body of extremist Presbyterians burned a copy of the treaty at the market cross in Dumfries late in November; and a smaller group in Stirling burned the treaty at their market cross in early December. Rioting broke out on several occasions in Glasgow in November, sparked by the provost's refusal to authorise a petition against the union. During November, reports of these activities reached Edinburgh alongside rumours of preparations for an armed rising by Presbyterians from the southwest. These were fuelled by reports on musters of local parish militias called by anti-union nobles, particularly Anne, duchess of Hamilton and mother of the duke of Hamilton. Rumours of a landing of the Stuart claimant and a possible armed alliance of Jacobites and Presbyterians swirled round Edinburgh.

In these circumstances, the government took strong steps to quell popular insurrection. After the 23 October riot in Edinburgh, troops were brought into the city and stationed as a permanent guard around Parliament House. Late in November, ministers proposed measures in parliament leading to a 29 November proclamation against unauthorised meetings and a 30 November act against militia musters. When Country party leaders invited local petitioners to come to Edinburgh in December to support a mass address to the queen, another parliamentary proclamation against illegal meetings forced their supporters to disperse. The threat of armed resistance was met with the transfer of English troops to the border and the north of Ireland late in November, allowing the government to send Scottish dragoons from Edinburgh to quarter in riot-torn Glasgow in December. In addition, agents were employed to neutralise opposition at the grass roots. George Lockhart of Carnwath hoped that Presbyterians from

southwest Scotland would march on Edinburgh under the leadership of a former army officer, James Cunningham of Aiket; but Aiket served as a double agent for the state, ensuring that the Presbyterians remained at home. Separately, Daniel Defoe sent an English Whig, John Pierce, to Galloway to convince the separatist John Hepburn, leader of the Hebronites, not to rise in arms.

At the same time, ministers shored up their majority in parliament as it wavered in November under the pressure of popular resistance. Though the leaders of the Court party and *squadrone* may have agreed to support the union, they could not take the loyalty of their supporters for granted. Court party pamphleteers, including the hired hand of Daniel Defoe, published tracts in support of the treaty, countering arguments advanced by the opposition. In response to a petition from the Commission of the General Assembly requesting protection in a closer union, parliament passed an act securing the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.[23] Moreover, as parliament debated the treaty article by article between November and January, the government conceded a series of unilateral amendments known as the 'Explanations'.[24] Largely aimed at economic grievances, these acknowledged widespread fears that Scottish trading interests would not be protected by a British parliament. The amendments also included a provision to retain the regalia of Scotland in the country in response to oppositional complaints that these would be taken to England as a sign of conquest.

Internal divisions also contributed to the neutralisation of public opposition. Though Country Jacobites and Whigs had been able to support the Act of Security in 1703-4, they had more difficulty in agreeing on alternatives to incorporating union in 1706-7: the Whigs wanted to propose the Hanoverian succession, but the Jacobites preferred to call for new elections. The party's generic petition to localities avoided sensitivities by asking parliament to reject the treaty and no more. When the dukes of Hamilton and Atholl met to discuss the national petition to Queen Anne in December 1706, they disagreed over whether the text would mention the Hanoverian succession. The delay caused by this issue provided a window in which the government learned of their activities and passed its proclamation against their meetings. Similarly, in January, Hamilton and his followers planned to propose the Hanoverian succession and walk out of parliament if this were refused. The duke of Athol's followers agreed to join the exodus, but not the protest in favour of Hanover. As a result, when the duke of Hamilton refused to lead the protest, famously claiming toothache, the event collapsed.

The Scottish parliament voted to ratify the treaty of union on 16 January 1707. With the subsequent ratification of the treaty in the English parliament, Queen Anne achieved the goal of closer union pursued by the crown from 1700.[25] The disruptive power of Scottish public opinion and popular protest had pushed

William and Anne towards closer union, while a public stand-off over the terms of the regal union was resolved by an act for treaty negotiations in 1705. To secure an incorporating union rather than the confederal union envisioned by most Scots, Anne's ministers had to manage Scottish opinion, offering targeted concessions on the treaty while using state powers to contain popular resistance. The ratification of the treaty can be understood as the product not just of a swing in factional allegiances, but careful management of parliamentary opinion in an atmosphere of fierce public opposition. The success of the queen's incorporation project does not indicate the impotence and irrelevance of popular politics in the making of the Union. Rather, popular politics forced the queen and her ministers to pursue closer union with increasing determination because they found it impossible to secure the Hanoverian succession by any other means.

NOTES

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

[2] For example, Riley declared that 'the state of the Scottish economy and the views of the Scottish people were alike irrelevant' in creating union. (*Union*, 7)

[3] William Ferguson, 'The making of the treaty of union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review* 43 (Oct. 1964), 89-110. See also W. Ferguson, *Scotland's relations with England: a survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, John Donald 1977; Saltire Society 1994), chs 9-14.

[4] The following is based on Karin Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2007); Bowie, 'Popular resistance, religion and the Union of 1707' in T.M. Devine, ed., *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Bowie, 'Popular resistance and the ratification of the Anglo-Scottish treaty of union', *Scottish Archives* 14 (2008), 10-26; Bowie, 'Publicity, parties and patronage: parliamentary management and the ratification of the Anglo-Scottish union', *Scottish Historical Review* 87 (2008 supplement), 78-93. See also Christopher Whatley with Derek Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[5] Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: royalist politics, religion and ideas* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003).

[6] For more on the book trade and censorship, see Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

[7] For an outstanding new study of the Company of Scotland, see Douglas Watt, *The price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the wealth of nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007).

[8] Karen J. Cullen, Christopher A. Whatley and Mary Young, 'King William's Ill Years: new evidence on the impact of scarcity and harvest failure during the crisis of the 1690s on Tayside', *Scottish Historical Review* 85:2, no. 220 (October 2006), 250-276; Christopher Whatley, 'Taking stock: Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century', in T.C. Smout, ed., *Anglo-Scottish relations from 1603 to 1900*, (Oxford: British Academy, 2005).

[9] The 1689 Claim of Right secured the right of subjects to petition the monarch. 'The declaration of the estates containing the Claim of Right', Parliamentary Register, 11 April 1689, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland, www.rps.ac.uk (hereafter RPS). Or see Gordon Donaldson, ed., *Scottish historical documents* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson, 1999), 256-7.

[10] The Scots soon found that English interests predominated in the composite monarchy formed in 1603. The Covenanters tried to resolve this in 1640 by passing acts of parliament to shift powers from the crown to parliament in Edinburgh and establish more frequent parliaments. The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 represented an attempt by the Covenanter government to protect Scotland's distinctive Presbyterian church in the regal union by making the English and Irish churches more Presbyterian. For the 1640 acts and the Solemn League (17 August 1643), see RPS.

[11] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland,* chs 2-3.

[12] Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, 'Speeches by a member of the Parliament which began at Edinburgh the 6th of May, 1703', in *Political Works*, ed. John Robertson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[13] 'Act for the security of the kingdom', Parliamentary Register, 5 August 1704, RPS. Or see Donaldson, *Scottish historical documents*, 268.

[14] 'Clause of the act for security of the kingdom', Additional Sources, 13 August 1703, RPS.

[15] 'Act anent peace and war', Parliamentary Register, 16 Sept 1703, RPS. Or see Donaldson, *Scottish historical documents*, 266.

[16] [Andrew Brown?], *Some very weighty and seasonable considerations* ([Edinburgh], 1703).

[17] *A plea against pamphlets in a letter from a gentleman in the countrey to his correspondent in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1703).

[18] 'The queen's letter to the parliament', Parliamentary Register, 11 July 1704, RPS.

[19] [William Forbes of Disblair], *A pill for pork-eaters, or a Scots lancet for an English swelling* (Edinburgh, 1705).

[20] Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, 271-281.

[21] The submission of petitions to parliament is recorded in the Parliamentary Register for the 1706-7 session in RPS. The text of the opposition's generic address, plus several petitions from national bodies, can be found in *'Scotland's ruine': Lockhart of Carnwath's memoirs of the Union*, ed. Daniel Szechi (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1995), 149-157.

[22] [James Hodges], *The rights and interests of the two British monarchies* (London, 1706), 71.

[23] 'Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government', passed 12 November 1706; text at Parliamentary Record, 16 January 1707, RPS.

[24] The articles of union with the Explanations highlighted can be found in Christopher Whatley, *Bought and sold for English gold? Explaining the Union of 1707* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001), appendix 6.

[25] 'Act ratifying and approving the treaty of union', Parliamentary Record, 16 January 1707, RPS.

Jacobites Challenged: Whigs, Hanoverians and the Struggle for Scotland, *c.*1688-*c.*1746

PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER A. WHATLEY

For long a topic that appealed to the popular imagination as well as students in both schools and universities on the strength of its romantic associations – the Prince in the Heather and all that - our understanding of Jacobitism has been transformed by the results of four decades of serious research.[1] Jacobitism is seen now as having presented a substantial challenge to the post-Revolution British state, a movement rather than an 'episodic cause'.[2] Partly accounting for this is the fact that the Jacobites managed to play, to powerful effect, the Scottish card, with the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 having – at the very least – what Murray Pitttock has termed a 'national quality'.[3] Daniel Szechi has gone as far as to describe post-Union Jacobitism as proto-nationalist.[4] Efforts too have been made to comprehend and explain Jacobite ideology – the rationale that persuaded men and women to support, sometimes at the cost of their lives and property, the restoration of King James VII, his son James Francis, the 'Old Pretender', and finally, Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender'. Compelling accounts have been written of the strength of popular support for the Jacobites, as manifested by Jacobite-inspired riots, recruitment into the Jacobite armies, and in poetry and song. Another fruitful area of enquiry has been material culture.[5] But Jacobitism was not simply a British movement; it had adherents in many parts of Europe. Jacobitism played a major part in the power struggles for European domination between 1689 and the middle of the eighteenth century.[6]

Similar studies of Scotland's Whigs have been lacking. By Whigs I mean – mainly but not uniformly - supporters of the Revolution of 1688-89 and the heirs to that event, King William and Queen Mary who succeeded the deposed King James VII in 1689. After William's death in 1702 the Whigs backed – with some trepidation - Queen Anne, William's sister-in-law, who would be Britain's last Stuart monarch.[7] With Anne's demise in 1713 most Whigs transferred their allegiance to her successor King George, the first of the Hanoverians. That the heir-less Anne would be succeeded by a Protestant of the House of Hanover had been agreed by the English Parliament in 1701 in the Act of Settlement. The Scots took longer to accept this line of succession, and only agreed to it when the Scottish Parliament in the winter of 1706-7 voted in favour of the Articles of Union. 'Papists, and persons marrying Papists' were debarred from the imperial crown of Great Britain. In the period *c.*1688-89 – *c.*1746 this meant the male descendents of James VII, who despite rumours to the contrary, were not prepared to break with the Church of Rome. As will be seen, whilst not all 'Whigs' in Scotland supported the Revolution of 1688-89, or the Union or the

Hanoverian succession, what united them was their antipathy to the Roman Catholicism of the Stuarts.

In contrast to the Jacobites, the Whigs have had a bad press in recent years. In Scotland they have been associated with unprincipled support for King William and London-based government, both of which became increasingly unpopular in Revolution-era Scotland. They have been tarnished by the stain of political careerism and familial self-interest.[8] After the Union of 1707 and the accession to the throne of King George I, it has been argued that the Whig rulers in Scotland ('a beleaguered native oligarchy'), owed more to the military might of the Hanoverian state – that is English troops - than to popular support on the ground.[9] The premeditated savagery of the Duke of Cumberland's forces in the Highlands of Scotland in the aftermath of the Jacobites' defeat at Culloden adds fuel to the Whig critics' fire. What Allan Macinnes has legitimately depicted as acts of genocide contrasted with the Hanoverians' self-image as a peace-loving monarchy intent on nurturing, in Paul Langford's words, a 'polite and commercial' society.[10] Whilst there is some truth in each one of these allegations, and there is no denying Cumberland's brutality, is this negative depiction of the Whigs in Scotland wholly justified?

A very real problem is that few historians have been interested in studying the Whigs and Hanoverians in Scotland, other than cursorily.[11] Understanding better what the opponents of the Jacobites (anti-Jacobites) stood for is not only important for itself but also as a means of explaining why Scots of this inclination turned on James VII and a regime that had recently enjoyed broad popularity and yet within a few years became in the eyes of its enemies 'the avatars of everything negative, destructive and alien?'[12] The exercise will also help to explain better why the Whigs continued to resist Jacobite restoration attempts – in 1689, 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745-46.

The first task is to outline the ideological foundations of anti-Jacobitism in Scotland. Or, what was it that those Scots who campaigned and sometimes took up arms against the Jacobites from 1688 believed they were opposing, and in their stead promoting?

A helpful way of understanding this is by means of sermons. If Allan Macinnes is right and the Kirk in Scotland represented the Whig interest at prayer, by looking at what Kirk ministers were preaching, we can understand something of the Whig mindset.[13] One such sermon was delivered in the Angus parish of Menmuir in June 1746, weeks after the defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden. Menmuir parish bordered the eastern Highlands. It was just to the north of Brechin, one of a number of burghs in Angus where there had been strong

support for the Stuart cause.[14] The preacher was the Rev George Ogilvy, who had taken up his post the previous summer.

It was from Presbyterian pulpits generally after 1690 (when Presbyterianism had been restored as the form of church government in Scotland, replacing Episcopacy), that parishioners, usually in large numbers, heard from their ministers not only preaching of the word of God, but also considerations about and much advice on matters of state.[15] In this respect it is worth underlining Richard Finlay's assertion that the Kirk in the localities 'pervaded Scottish society in the eighteenth century in a way that was unmatched by any other institution.'[16]

Several themes were present in Ogilvy's sermon. The sense of relief felt by Ogilvy that peace had been restored was palpable. His message was one of thanksgiving for the recent victory at Culloden. For this, God, 'our deliverer' was to be thanked; that gratitude to be demonstrated by Ogilvy's listeners in a number of ways – obedience to the state and its officers, a willingness to pay taxes, a sin-free life, with, 'less disputatiousness and religious hates and controversies, which had divided our nation into so many sects…all mutual hating & speaking ill of one another'. The desire for toleration in religion and civil accord was a central theme amongst Scotland's more moderate churchmen. There was, however one exception to this recipe for social harmony: what Ogilvy called the 'Common Enemie' of all Protestants, 'Popery'.

Ogilvy was keen to outline the historical foundations of his joy. First was 'our happy reformation from Popery', a reference of course to 1560. Thereafter, there had been many setbacks, with the country being in a 'miserable Condition' prior to 'the late Glorious revolution under that brave Hero William the third the Happy Instrument of rescuing us from Popery & Arbitrary Government'. Under William and then the first Hanoverians, Ogilvy went on, the Scots had lived:

…under the happiest Constitution in the world a Constitution so wisely balanced as to lay proper restraints upon the power of the Prince as well as upon the Giddy & unstable people…that power…happily poised by the authority of Parliament.

Critical for Ogilvy was that:

…tho' we love our Kings & all in Authority over us & Chearfull Submitt to all their lawfull Commands…we still retain a Spirit of Libertie & firmly believe that Subjects were not made for Princes but Princes for Subjects. We cannot enter into the wild notions that prevail amongst the Slavish people in despotick governments who entertain a kind of Idolatrous veneration for their Monarch & the supposed sacred line of his family…[and] never will suffer them to Break in

upon our Constitution…or tamely submit to the violation of our Laws which are of equall influence upon the sceptred prince as upon the lowly swain.

All this would have been threatened by a Jacobite victory. What else, Ogilvy continued, could be expected of the Stuarts, who denied 'parliamentary right' and claimed that the 'property of their Pretended Prince' was 'Absolute Obedience' without redress?

But there were material benefits which Ogilvy associated with the present constitution. Prior to the rising, when the rule of law was absolute:

…the Industrious went Cheerfully to work & laboured hard & thought their Swet & toil well bestow'd to yearn subsistence for themselves & depending their family...[they] knew themselves to be in perfect Security from the Rapacious hand of violence & unrelenting oppression…what they purchased…they…were sure to possess & understand to Enjoy…

By contrast with this idealised portrayal of a bustling commercial nation, had the Jacobites succeeded, Ogilvy claimed: 'We must have become Slaves & vassals to France our natural & Constant Enemy Our trade to the West Indies these sources of riches & Affluence must have been stopt The Happy Union betwixt the tow nations that fruitfull spring of prosperity & peace to both must have been dissolved….'

I have deliberately quoted large sections of the sermon (although the full text is considerably longer). By so doing not only do we get a sense of the visceral hatred of Jacobites as expressed by Whigs such as Ogilvy, but we are able to read, 'first-hand', what the main foundations of Ogilvy's anti-Jacobitism were. What is also clear is that for moderate Whig Presbyterians within the Church of Scotland, the Reformation, the Revolution of 1688-89 and the Hanoverian succession were evidence of divine providence.

This notion of divine intervention in the service of a chosen people mirrored Jacobite certainty that God was on their side too. Nevertheless, the belief that God had delivered the Scots from tyranny was a recurring theme of anti-Jacobite preaching and pamphleteering. 'Shall we ever forget in how great danger our Religion was under King James the 7$^{th?}$', asked the author of a pamphlet celebrating the defeat of the Jacobites in 1716, before describing the difficult years for supporters of the Revolution that had lasted through to 1714. Yet it was at this point, the writer went on,

'When the Nation was all in Ferment, when *Papists* and their Friends ran high, and true Britains were distracted with Fears of a sudden Stroke to our

Establishment, Heaven took the Work into its own Hand, and sent us King GEORGE; and in a Minute our Joy was great...We saw the *Lawful Successors* in Possession, the *Protestant Religion* secured, our Liberties and Properties established, everything that was in Danger made safe, and nothing remained, but for every Man to *bless his GOD*, to *live in Peace*, and to *enjoy the Fruits of his Labours*.'

The duke of Argyll's victory at Sherriffmuir too was attributed to divine intervention, 'the LORD' making 'the few overcome the many'.

But as I hinted earlier, Presbyterianism in Scotland was far from being a homogenous confession.[17] There were Presbyterian sects outside the Church of Scotland who were far from enthusiastic about the Revolution settlement lauded by Ogilvy and the established Kirk. Amongst these were the United Societies or Cameronians – a sizeable but disparate body of Presbyterians drawn mainly from the south and west of Scotland – who held to the Covenants and rejected the Erastianism of Charles II (a situation where the church is subordinate to the state) as well as the Revolution compromises of 1688-90 which formed the basis upon which church and state were settled in Scotland.[18] Also outside the Church of Scotland were the marginally more forgiving Hebronites. After 1733 there were the Seceders (from the Kirk). But while for the Seceders the appearance of the Prince of Orange had represented salvation, they rejected the religious element of the Revolution settlement as this had failed to renew the Covenants – including the commitment made in the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 to introduce Presbyterianism in England. The Union too was condemned for the same inadequacy. Religion mattered in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Scotland to a degree we find hard to comprehend in today's more secular western world.

At the heart of Ogilvy's sermon was antipathy to 'tyranny', whether of king in state, bishops in church or husbands in relation to their wives or parents and their children. There is a large body of evidence which points to a deep level of personal piety amongst many Presbyterian adherents, including influential politicians, for whom such principles were paramount.[19] In fact attachment to the core values of Scottish Presbyterianism remained strong and arguably deepened and widened over the course of much of the eighteenth century.[20] Later in the century they were powerfully articulated in some of the poetry and songs of Robert Burns.

Few Scots had recent personal experience of Popish oppression and it is questionable if many had actually seen Roman Catholicism being openly practised in Scotland as it was by King James VII and some of his ministers in the second half of the 1680s. Yet, thundered Robert Baillie, Church of Scotland minister in Inverness in the early eighteenth century, his listeners had only to look to Europe and witness there the actions of the Hungarian Emperor and Louis XIV of France who

between them and in alliance with the Church of Rome had been responsible for torturing and banishing tens of thousands of their Protestant peoples.[21]

Episcopalianism – which had many more adherents in Scotland than Roman Catholics, who were few in number - had been condemned by Presbyterians as an enemy of the Reformation in 1560. Bishops were expressly attacked in the Covenant. Even at the Revolution and in its immediate aftermath there were, as Tristram Clarke has shown, Episcopalians who welcomed William.[22] But the Episcopalians' commitment to the doctrines of divine right (of monarchs) and indefeasible hereditary succession were anathema to many Presbyterians. So too was the liturgy of the Episcopalian church – altars, crosses, gowns, holy days, bowing and kneeling, the use and spread of the English Prayer Book.

Indeed, vituperated as 'popery in disguise' and detested above all for its dependence upon the bishops first re-introduced after the Reformation by James VI, by the time of the Revolution there was little in the eyes of Scotland's more extreme Presbyterians to distinguish Episcopalianism in practice from its Roman Catholic counterpart in Europe. From the time of the Erastian settlement of 1662 which had placed King Charles II at the head of the church instead of Christ, Episcopalianism in the eyes of its critics had degenerated into an agency of state terrorism.[23] 'It is no wonder that these Princes [Charles and James] were eager to establish Prelacy in Scotland', wrote one eighteenth century Presbyterian historian of the Revolution: 'The Bishops of Scotland have generally been friends of Popery, and instruments ready to promote arbitrary power.' The absence of any difference between Roman Catholicism and Episcopalianism in the perceptions of Presbyterians at the popular level is nicely illustrated by an account of the 'rabbling' (or attempted removal, backed by violence) of Walter Stirling the Episcopalian incumbent of the parish of Baldernock, north of Glasgow in December 1688 as the Revolution gained momentum, when the intruders warned Stirling's wife that 'they would cut off her Papish nose and rip up her Prelatical belly'. Polemicists showed little reserve about comparing the methods used by the Spanish Inquisition with those used by the Restoration state in Scotland against Presbyterians - 'Prelatical Inquisition'. But with its adherents' belief in and defence of the divine nature of monarchical authority, there could be no accommodation of Episcopalianism with Scotland's Presbyterians who, as illustrated by Ogilvy's sermon, had a diametrically opposed view about the legitimacy and accountability of kings. As a consequence they felt the wrath in all of its manifestations of the Revolution Whig, or anti-Jacobite, interest.

This is not the place to explore in any detail the tribulations of Presbyterians during the period of the Restoration. Undoubtedly there was much or at least

some exaggeration. Historians in recent decades have done much to qualify older associations of the reigns of Charles II and James VII with repression and state brutality. Yet what cannot be denied was the manner of Restoration rule, already alluded to, with both Charles and James being subject to widespread criticism for their inclination to govern for long periods without reference to Parliament, and when they did call parliaments to interfere with what was said by restricting free speech and otherwise abusing their royal authority. Men were tortured and even executed for their religious and political beliefs, while many more were packed into prisons in bleak outposts like the Bass Rock - 'Scotland's Alcatraz' - and the castles at Blackness and Dunnotar. Hundreds lost their estates and livelihoods, were subject to penal levels of taxation, and banished to the plantations. Other men, sometimes with their families, were forced into exile. Uniting what contemporaries called 'true blue' Revolutionaries (that is Whigs) were the experiences, real and imagined and frequently recounted by substantial numbers of them, during the Restoration period. It is what we can call Protestant or, more accurately, Presbyterian memory.

There is debate amongst historians about what William of Orange's motives were in intervening in England in 1688, and what interest, if any, he had in Scotland. Yet certainly amongst some of William's key advisers, commitment to the Protestant cause was central, as was their anxiety about the zeal for the Catholic religion on the part of the French and British kings.[24] From the Scottish perspective, there is no doubt that this is how William was perceived, venerated and celebrated.[25] That one of William's aims was understood to be the 'easing of that Kingdom of episcopacy' was why the dissident Presbyterian émigré Rev William Carstares was so enthusiastic in support of his royal patron and for the Revolution. Carstares' pedigree in the Whig cause was longer than most, his father having been a devout Presbyterian who had refused to comply with the Restoration state, and was forced to flee to the Netherlands after the Pentland Rising.[26] Carstares himself had been arrested and tortured. Not surprisingly then, without the removal of those men in government 'from whom I have suffered so much', Carstares wrote, he dared not return to Scotland.

It was from the bitter experiences of men like Carstares that the bedrock of support for the Revolution and its subsequent defence in the early 1690s, 1708, 1715, 1719 and 1745 was formed. It was men and women of Carstares' rank and below who can be considered the first foot soldiers of anti-Jacobitism in Scotland – cheered by William's landing and the departure of King James and his allies at the tail end of 1688. As we have just seen, they hastened the downfall of the collapsing regime by clearing out, by assaulting, beating and often humiliating by tearing off their curates gowns and stripping from them their other clothing, Episcopalian ministers, who in some cases were known to have prayed for what

the rabblers called the 'Tyrant York'. This was a large-scale popular movement involving hundreds of men and women which spread throughout most of Lowland Scotland. This included Glasgow and the surrounding towns and stretched eastwards into the Lothians and Tweeddale. Too much has been made of the allegedly narrow geographical locus of Scotland's more ardent Presbyterians. In Edinburgh in March 1689 the earl of Leven apparently had little difficulty in raising a regiment to guard the city in defence of the Revolution.

The depth of Presbyterian resentment about and hostility to the manner in which the Stuart monarchs had ruled in large part explains the contents of the first post-Revolution Scottish Convention's list of Grievances and the demands for reform made by the same body in the Claim of Right. It was the Presbyterian inheritance of privation, broadly understood, compounded by the fear felt, when news of the birth of a Catholic successor to James VII and his wife in June broke in 1688, that the regime would continue in power, which caused the Convention to conclude that by his actions and by breaking his contract with his Scottish subjects the king had 'forfaulted' his right to the throne.

Presbyterian supporters of the Revolution were not solely concerned to secure their confessional and political liberties at home, extraordinarily difficult as this proved to be. Their struggle in Scotland was but a part of an older global mission – dating back to the sixteenth century and the time of George Buchanan - to secure Protestantism and to resist the might and ambitions for universal monarchy of Louis XIV and Catholic France. The balance of power was as much a matter of concern to Presbyterian preachers as it was to government ministers in Edinburgh and London. From the outset there was recognition that the Revolution settlement of 1688-90 was vulnerable to attack from its enemies abroad, a factor which had persuaded a sizeable body of Convention members that a union that united Scotland with England was desirable in order to strengthen the Protestant cause in Europe. Indeed this was one of the reasons several Whigs in the Scottish Parliament supported the Union of 1707.

Just as émigré Scots like Carstares played leading roles in securing the Revolution in Scotland, it was former émigrés – at least some of them - who led the march to Union. Around a quarter of the members of the early eighteenth-century Scottish Parliament had been exiled in the Dutch Republic.[27] They played key roles in the Court party and were strongly represented in the New Party, or *Squadrone Volante*, which tipped the parliamentary votes in favour of Union. Along with other returnees from Ulster they were represented in virtually all of the main institutions of Scottish society, above all the Kirk and the dissenting churches, but also the courts. Not a few of those involved had family pedigrees which stretched back to the early Covenanting era and even prior to

that, and forward through Pentland, Bothwell Bridge, Drumclog and Argyll's failed invasion of 1685, to the battlefield of Sheriffmuir. Although necessarily mainly through their descendents, many of those who had been behind the Revolution in Scotland in 1688-89 were represented on the government side at the time of the '45, and in a few cases bore arms.

Amongst their number were the much-maligned Campbells, earls and dukes of Argyll - Presbyterians and Covenanters who had lost their heads in those causes in 1661 and 1685 respectively, the ninth earl in the last-named year reportedly announcing moments before his execution that he died 'not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, prelacy and all superstition whatever'.[28] It was with much justification therefore that in thanking the 'Gentlemen of the Shire of Argyll' in August 1715 for holding a meeting to keep the peace against the Jacobites that John Campbell, second duke of Argyll stressed the part he and his family '& consequently you', had played in supporting the 'Protestant Religion & the resisting of Tyranny.' But more important numerically on the Whig side were men of lesser rank, landowners and lairds, lawyers, ministers and those with an interest in trade as well as in advancing their families' status and fortunes. A neat example is provided by William Bennet of Grubbet, an émigré son of a minister and a soldier in the service of William of Orange, a supporter of the Union of 1707 and one of the first Scottish Westminster MPs. Grubbet wrote enthusiastically of his hunts on horseback in search of Catholics in Europe, while in 1715 he led attempts to arm the town of Kelso against the Jacobites.

None of this is to deny that the Whig Revolution regime in Scotland didn't have its share of opportunists, time servers and trimmers, charlatans, chameleons and careerists. It is to propose however that the Whig cause in Scotland had a solid ideological core, forged in many cases in the furnace of bitter personal experience. The Whig hatred of the Stuarts and their religion, and their manner of government, was sufficiently deep-seated that they determined not let go once more what had been restored in 1689 and 1690.

The study of Whig or anti-Jacobite material culture is a long way behind that of Jacobitism. Even so, it is clear that there was one, with medals being struck for significant Whig milestones such as William and Mary's accession and the Union. Whig supporters in Scotland like the duke of Roxburghe and his near neighbour the aforementioned William Bennet of Grubbet were active in the aftermath of the Jacobite defeat in 1716 by distributing prints of King George I and his family amongst the gentlemen and 'honest' Presbyterian ministers in and around the Borders town of Kelso. In recognition of the burgh of Glasgow's attachment to Revolution principles, an equestrian statue of King William was presented to the town in 1733 by James Macrae, who had made his fortune in

Madras and tellingly, called his estate in Ayrshire 'Orangefield'. The intention behind the erection of the statue – the first in the city and which may have been designed as a counter to the similar statue of Charles II in Edinburgh - hardly needs further explanation.[29]

Finally, in order to understand the basis of Whig and anti-Jacobite ideology we should look briefly at economic matters. As we have seen, the Rev Ogilvy had a fair bit to say about the economic consequences of the Revolution, or what Richard Saville has called the 'economic politics' of the Williamite era. [30] Religion was clearly central to the Revolution in Scotland, but albeit to a lesser extent, so was commerce. To many Presbyterians, money mattered.

Important therefore for contemporaries were the legal bases upon which Revolution economic policies were founded. Property rights were paramount. Following the Revolution the legal system was strengthened in ways that underpinned trading and industrial enterprises which included the formation of joint-stock companies. At the same time there was a reduction of the restraining power of custom over land use and more determined efforts than had been in evidence earlier were made to support agricultural improvement. The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695 – a bold experiment at the time, designed to ease and speed access to credit, the lack of which was one of a number of factors that was crippling the Scottish economy.[31] Prominent in this venture were leading Whigs, several of whom had been exiled in the Netherlands, and were able to observe Dutch financial institutions at first-hand.[32] In addition were the vision and ambition which lay behind the formation of the Company of Scotland, the original directorate of which was heavily weighted with Revolution Whigs, some of whom saw the project as a means of bolstering Protestant Scotland against her Roman Catholic rivals; Bibles and Presbyterian ministers were both shipped out to Darien.[33] And finally – although in common with many Whigs, Ogilvy made little of it – there was the realism that drove many pro-Revolution men in Scotland towards an incorporating union which offered free trade within a mercantilist framework and a legal way thereby around England's Navigation Acts.

Economic success was slow to arrive, a factor which Jacobites used as a recruiting tool in the immediate post-Union decades. This was a clever political card to play, certainly in 1715, but as a motivating force within Scottish society, even amongst most of those who were dissatisfied with the Union, anti-Unionism was trumped by anti-Jacobitism. What Cameronian critics of the Union explained – and they were especially vociferous in their dislike of the measure - was that while the Union was a *sinful* union because it disregarded the Covenants, even *more* sinful would be to have it dissolved by what they termed a Popish Prince, with all the sad consequences the Pretender's restoration would bring in its wake.

In short, what was of inestimable importance for the anti-Jacobite cause in Scotland was the copper-bottomed support it could depend upon from the nation's Presbyterians.

Rightly, Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi have emphasised the high level of popular support there was for Jacobitism in Scotland, including recruitment from the Lowlands (and not just the Highlands) into the Jacobite armies. Yet it is clear that on the Whig side there were many who would have been prepared to fight. In large part however they were prevented from doing so by a shortage of arms and munitions as well as the unwillingness of London ministers to supply them. Similarly, and much to their chagrin most offers on the part of loyal lairds and others to raise regiments in Scotland were turned down. Indeed in Edinburgh, Sergeant William Scott who in 1714 had been employed by the Hanoverian Society to train volunteers in the use of firelocks and muskets – and who may have taught as many as 80 recruits within a few weeks – was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle for his trouble.

In spite of these disincentives, however, the fact is that in 1714-15 as well as in 1745-46 armed associations of volunteers did come forward. During the '15, in and around Glasgow and Dumbarton and the south-west, across in Argyll, in the Borders and in the north and west leading Whig nobles, Scottish Whig MPs and other influencial individuals rallied what support they could to repel the Jacobites, with some success. Several of the same men played similar roles twenty years later. In 1745 Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth and Edinburgh all boasted volunteer forces.

In their defence of the Revolution secular Whigs were supported by the Church of Scotland in both word and deed. In support of mobilisation against the Jacobites in Lowland Scotland, the Kirk through its Assembly, synods, and presbyteries, and then down through the parish church pulpits and even in 'privat conversation', stirred its members into action. With the Mar-led rising under way in November 1715 a number of synods thundered their condemnation. The synod of Galloway insisted that ministers either give £3 sterling for the support a military force being raised in the region, or present for service an armed man and his support for forty days. In an unknown number of cases – in and around Dumfries in 1745 for instance - parishioners volunteered their services for free.

Even dissenting Presbyterians played their part. The Hebronites, who had marched into Dumfries in 1706 to express their hostility to the Union, again marched in arms in 1715 to defend the burgh against the Jacobites. In the '45 it was as adherents of the Secession church that the covenanters saw action. What Callum Brown has described as 'ramshackle battalions of Seceders' were active

in Stirling and Edinburgh as well on the battlefield at Prestonpans in defence of Protestantism, the Hanoverian succession and the British constitution.[34] Ramshackle maybe, but in Stirling the 'zealous leadership' shown by Ebeneezer Erskine in the town's defence in 1745 was remembered some decades later by the burgh's older inhabitants as Stirling's finest hour. But from other Lowland towns like Kilmarnock there is compelling evidence of powerful popular support for the Whig cause, including arming, in 1745-6 as well as in 1715, despite the defection of the fourth earl of Kilmarnock to Charles Edward Stuart.[35]

To conclude, the Whigs or anti-Jacobites in Scotland had a vision of government and society which was every bit as valid as that of the Jacobites. Above all they were Protestants. Most were patriots but not nationalists, although a number of secular Whigs were convinced that Scotland's best interests lay in a united Britain and would have been content to see Scotland's and England's separate identities disappear to become North and South Britain. For most Whig-inclined Scots though (especially those outside the Scottish Parliament), more important was the security of the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and without this it is doubtful if the Union of 1707 would have been accomplished. Presbyterianism was the foundation of their ideological armoury, which led them to seek a very different kind of monarchy and government than that represented by the Jacobites. For the Whigs, monarchs were made to serve the people, and not the other way round. They had no time for the concept of the divine right of kings and, as James VII found to his cost, were prepared to break with hereditary succession if a monarch was seriously in breach of his contract with the nation. They believed parliaments had the right to check the actions of the executive and that ultimately the people had the right to resist. On the ground, support for the Whigs *may* have been less strong than it was for the Jacobites. Yet what is clear is that just as there were regions and towns in which the Jacobites were dominant – the north-east and Aberdeen for example, there were significant Whig or anti-Jacobite strongholds – as in the south-west and Glasgow. Scotland was a nation divided. What was contested over the period from the Revolution of 1688-89 through to and even beyond the years after Culloden, was a bitter struggle for the nation's soul.

NOTES

[1] For a splendid survey of the course of Jacobite studies from the eighteenth century to the present, see J. D. Clark, 'The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688-2006', in P. Monod, M. Pittock and D. Szechi (eds), *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Basingstoke, 2010), 9-56.

[2] See A. I. Macinnes, 'Jacobitism in Scotland: Episodic Cause or National Movement?', *Scottish Historical Review*, LXXXVI, 2 (Oct. 2007).

[3] M. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

University Press, 2009 ed.), 1-29, 110-39.

[4] D. Szechi, 'Jacobite Scotland and European Great Power Strategy', *Northern Scotland*, I (2010), 43.

[5] See H. Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Jacobitism', in M. Lynch (ed.), *Jacobitism and the '45* (Historical Association, 1995), 32-48.

[6] See D. Szechi, *The Jacobites. Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994).

[7] For a short discussion of the multiple and changing meanings of the term Whig, see C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), 8-11.

[8] P. W. J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1977), 58-9,77.

[9] D. Szechi, 'The Hanoverians in Scotland', in M. Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest & Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991), 123

[10] P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989).

[11] A recent exception is A. J. Murdoch, 'The Legacy of the Revolution in Scotland', in A. Murdoch (ed.), *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History* (Edinburgh, 2007), 39-55; see too C. A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006, 2007).

[12] P. K. Monod, M. G. H. Pittock, and D. Szechi, 'Introduction: Loyalty and Identity', in Monod, Pittock and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 6-7.

[13] A. I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Jacobitism: in search of a movement', in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 76.

[14] Pittock, *Myth*, 118.

[15] Bob Harris, 'Communicating', in E. Foyster and C. A. Whatley (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 179.

[16] R. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity', in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (Esat Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 123.

[17] C. Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting Tradition and the Eighteenth-Century British State', *English Historical Review*, cxvii, 474 (November 2002), 1147-1176.

[18] For a useful summary see J. Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007), 1-13.

[19] D. G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 72.

[20] Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant', 124-8; Allan, 'Protestantism, presbyterianism and national identity', 197.

[21] University of Aberdeen Archives, MS 629, Robert Baillie, Sermons, 5 October 1704.

[22] T. Clarke, 'The Williamite Episcopalians and the Glorious Revolution in Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 24 (1990), 40-1.

[23] V. G. Kiernan, 'A banner with a Strange Device: the Later Covenanters', in T. Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter and Party: Traditions of revolt and protest in modern Scottish History* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), 30, 41.

[24] D. Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649-1709)*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 59-61.

[25] For the complex and even contradictory nature of Williamite ideology see T. Claydon, 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689-1697', in E. Mijers and D. Onnekink (eds), *Redefining William III: the Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Ashgate, 2007), 125-42.

[26] A. I. Dunlop, *William Carstares & the Kirk by Law Established* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 27-32.

[27] C. A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007 ed.)

[28] J. Willock, *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being Life and Times of Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll* (1629-1685), 420-1.
[29] R. Renwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1718-38* (Glasgow, 1909), 389-90.
[30] R. Saville, 'Scottish Modernisation Prior to the Industrial revolution, 1688-1783', in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 6-23. (See too Fry in same vol, pp 54-55)
[31] R. Saville, *Bank of Scotland: A History, 1695-1995* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), xxvii-xxv, 3-18; M. Fry, 'A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in the Eighteenth Century', in Devine and Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland*, 54-5.t
[32] Saville, *Bank*, 826-34.
[33] G. Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland 1560-1707* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 1992 ed.), 203-5.
[34] C. G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 78.
[35] A. M'Kay, *The History of Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock, 1909), 67-77.

Women in Scottish History: new directions and possibilities

PROFESSOR LYNN ABRAMS

In 1936 Hugh MacDiarmid remarked that 'Scottish women of any historical importance or interest are curiously rare.' With a few notable exceptions, namely Mary Queen of Scots, Flora Macdonald, Elsie Inglis and maybe Jennie Lee, History with a capital H traditionally allowed women only minor walk-on parts and then often as hysterics, madwomen and prostitutes - and a few queens. More than seven decades on the landscape has been transformed. Women's and gender history thrives in Scotland at all levels, from academic scholarship to independent and local research. And reflecting this upsurge in interest and expertise are the more than 800 Scottish women, chosen for their notability, their infamy, and in some cases for their very ordinariness, featured in the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, a compendium of the huge contribution made by the female sex to Scottish society, culture, economic and political life from early medieval times to the present day. From the first entry, Wilhelmine Hay Abbott (1884-1957), Dundee suffragist and feminist, to the last - Doris and Anna Zinkeisen, portrait painters and later war artists during World War Two - this compendium of Scottish women's place in history puts women firmly on the Scottish historical map, populating all periods, regions and realms of human experience.

The Dictionary effectively dispels once and for all the belief that the history of women is synonymous with the women's movement and the suffrage campaigns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although of course these were of central importance to women's progress towards greater participation in public life. For too long, students arriving at university remark that they have 'done' women's history because they have 'done' the suffrage movement as if the campaign for the vote before World War One was all there was to know about women's historical experience. Students often have little sense of the range and depth of women's experience, especially in the medieval and early modern periods, and may struggle to see how women fit in the dominant narratives of Scottish history or at least as more than witches, suffragettes or queens.

But, Scottish history was not 'man-made'. Scotland's major institutions, laws, its political development and social and cultural environment may have been largely shaped by men (and mostly educated elite men for that matter), but women – some famous, others virtually unknown - have always participated in the key events and the defining movements and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have more often driven the agenda. Women played a crucial role in capital

accumulation, informal political engagement, industrial production and colonial adventure to name just a few examples. Indeed, to take the last of these arenas, recent research has uncovered a significant number of women who signed up as investors in the ill-fated Darien scheme – the Scottish attempt to establish a colony on the Panama Isthmus in the 1690s – and we are now much more knowledgeable about the contribution of women at home and abroad to Scottish missionary activity to India and parts of Africa. Mary Slessor is merely the most well known amongst many of her compatriots, who included Inverness born Jane Waterston, who trained as a doctor and worked at Livingstonia in Central Africa, and Margaret Graham from Orkney, a missionary nurse in Nigeria. These, amongst many others, saw the empire as a place to pursue Christian evangelizing as well as working in the fields of education and health and, in many cases, furthering women's rights and education.

Turning to the political sphere, an area seemingly closed to women until they were granted voting rights, a reinterpretation of what we regard as politics, to include a wider remit of engagement in public life and citizenship, has revealed women playing a significant role in some of the major political events of the modern era. At the time of the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 formal politics as it was practised in the Scottish parliament was an all-male affair, but some women did find ways of participating in the political process, engaging in debate and making a difference. Katherine Hamilton, Duchess of Atholl, for example, was convinced of the folly of the Union with England and expressed her view privately and to her husband who was a member of the Scottish parliament. Women like Katherine Hamilton regarded the affairs of the country their concern as much as their husbands and her feeling that the union would result in the 'the ruin and destruction' of her native country would not have fallen on deaf ears.

In the early nineteenth century Quaker anti-slavery activists Jane Smeal and Eliza Wigham, key actors in the campaign against slavery in 1830s Glasgow and Edinburgh, were primarily motivated by religion. Both women put their religious and moral ideals into practice in a political sense by promoting a policy of abstention from slave-grown products and signing anti-slavery petitions – actions regarded as sufficiently respectable for women to undertake at a time when women had no voice in the political arena. In Edinburgh, an anti-slavery petition of May 1833 was signed by around 162,000 women attesting to the keen interest shown by women in affairs of political import. Eliza Wigham was a Quaker minister who also supported a wide variety of reforming organisations in addition to anti-slavery, including the peace movement, temperance, savings banks, and a home for destitute young girls.

Scotland is the home of the author of probably the first work in Britain or the United States to prioritise civil and political rights for women. Edinburgh born

Marion Kirkland Reid (1815-1902) may be regarded as inheritor of the intellectual tradition of the Enlightenment, a Scottish version of Mary Wollstonecraft whose *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* published in 1792 almost certainly influenced Reid's thinking. Her influential text, *A Plea for Woman*, was published in 1843 after she had been the only Scottish woman to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 and had witnessed the silencing of women who wished to speak. 'It is evident', she wrote, 'that if woman is a responsible being, there must be a limit to her submission and obedience to man.' Reid urged women to recognise the 'system of depression' which stunted their education and their claim to equal participation in civil society and argued that the possession of political and civil rights could 'enoble and elevate the mind.'

By the end of the nineteenth century Scottish women had experienced many decades of lively and intelligent participation in the political affairs of the nation, encompassing attendance at enlightenment debates, literary comment, engagement in radical and Chartist politics and labour protest. And first-wave feminism in Scotland had, since the 1860s, encompassed campaigning around temperance, education for girls and women, health and social care – particularly in respect of women and children – and political rights, culminating in demands for the franchise. So, in 1882 when the prominent American feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton visited Scotland to attend the great demonstration in Glasgow celebrating the extension of the municipal franchise to the women of Scotland, she witnessed a remarkable occasion and stated: 'St. Andrew's immense hall was packed with women; a few men were admitted to the gallery at half a crown apiece. Over five thousand people were present. When a Scotch audience is thoroughly roused, nothing can equal the enthusiasm.' Just over a century later, in May 1999, when the first Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh, 37 per cent of its members were women, the highest proportion of female political representatives in any UK parliament.

So, Scottish women have a long and distinguished history as political actors in their own right, not as mere appendages of men. Indeed, as more than a quarter of a century of research demonstrates, all aspects of Scottish history – from wars and politics to home life – may be better and more richly understood by the inclusion of women's experiences offering avenues for investigation in every corner of Scotland and its diaspora and every form of activity. With the greater focus on social and cultural history alongside political and economic history at all levels, and the application of a gendered approach to all aspects and periods of Scottish history from war to high politics to empire by researchers, there is now no excuse for their exclusion. To take just one example, that of Ishbel Hamilton Gordon, Lady Aberdeen (1857-1939), we can follow the trajectory of a

socially concerned and active woman who sought through all her activities at home and abroad to promote the economic and political welfare of women. She was President of the International Council of Women, she called for women to be ordained as ministers in the Church of Scotland and in 1919 she attended the Paris Peace Conference where she lobbied for all posts in the new League of Nations to be open to women. Moreover, women's history offers students and their teachers opportunities to look afresh at old historical narratives and to experiment with innovative investigative methods such as oral history and the study of personal narratives, such as letters and diaries, in addition to the traditional means of studying the past through official documents, where women are less likely to be found.

The focus of the rest of this article is the twentieth century, a period bookended by the suffrage campaign at its start and the women's liberation movement of the later decades. A case can plausibly be made for this century being the century of women, when women achieved significant advances in their economic, political and social position in comparison with the experience of men. It is in the twentieth century that women experienced marked change. They had progressively fewer children - in 1911 the average family size was almost six, in 1951, three and in 2001 it was 1.9. Women's work force participation increased as the number of children decreased. Until the 1950s around 30 per cent of those in paid work were women but this figure markedly increased in the final three decades so that by 2001 women's economic participation was almost equal with that of men (though they were more likely to be in part time work and women's wages still lagged behind those of men). Similarly women's participation in higher education in Scotland surged from the 1960s and by the end of the century female students exceeded male in Scottish higher education institutions. And women have exceeded men in life expectancy: in short, women in twentieth century Scotland can tell a story of increasing equality and progress in all sectors of Scottish life. This is a story that can be charted in official statistics but also gleaned from oral history testimony and told effectively by means of personal recollection within families across the generations of women. The sources at the end of this article offer some pointers to possible ways forward.

The story of women in twentieth century Scotland may be discovered in all sorts of places, from the family to the workplace, in intimate spaces as well as public ones. Focusing on women's experience and listening to women's voices may subvert the familiar story, may bolster what we already know or may provide an entirely unexpected dimension to well worn themes. At the very least, examining the contribution of the other half of the population to the narrative of Scotland ensures a more inclusive history with which both sexes may identify.

Private Life

Women are most often associated with the home, the domestic sphere and family life and even in the twentieth century, when a higher proportion of women participated in the paid labour force than ever before and the birth rate declined, this connection remained. But the contours of home life for many urban women in particular altered dramatically after World War Two as a result of improvements to Scotland's housing stock. For most women until relatively recently, domestic chores have dominated day to day life – keeping the home clean, feeding the family, managing the household. It is in the most banal and monotonous tasks undertaken by women that we can observe changes in women's daily lives. Indeed if we really want to observe women's history in the making it is to the home that we should turn our attention.

The post-war rebuilding of Scotland's cities, involving the demolition of overcrowded tenements and their replacement with high rise flats, new towns and peripheral housing schemes had a profound impact on women's experiences. Tenement life for many women was fraught, the benefits of shared childcare, co-operative clothes washing days and always someone to talk to, offset by the lack of space and basic facilities such as hot water. In 1948 more than 90 per cent of those who responded to a survey put a refrigerator at the top of their priorities and even in 1961 more than 13 per cent of households still had to share access to a toilet. So the new homes were often greeted with excitement by women who believed their job as housewives would be eased by the provision of integral heating, hot water and labour saving devices such as washing machines. For one woman who moved to Castlemilk near Glasgow the clothes washing facilities were ideal: 'For me I was going to have a kitchenette with a BOILER. I don't need to go to the Steamie or down the back court wash-house. I also had a bit at the back to hang out clothes. A dream come true.'(*Housing in Twentieth Century Scotland*)

Yet the promise of convenience was countered by new hardships, particularly in the high rises which Glasgow in particular favoured as a quick and cheap solution to the housing crisis. High rise living could be particularly hard on women, especially those with young children. In the post-war baby boom, raising a family in a tower block was far from ideal. The designers of the new homes had not considered the needs of mothers. The new flats may have been warm and spacious but manhandling prams and infants into lifts (or stairs when the lifts broke down) and drying nappies in communal drying rooms or on the roof tried the patience of many. Moreover, isolation was a major problem. Few women could drive and even fewer had access to a car so as one woman with two young children noted, 'I couldn't do any travelling with them as I couldn't manage the babies on and off buses.' For her the loneliness in Castlemilk was

unbearable. She wrote: 'Each house is rather like a warm, comfortable, isolated cell. When I wanted to do some shopping I would put both children in the pram, go out into the landing and press the lift button to descend... the lift seemed to be constantly out of order ... so as often as not I had to push the pram down three flights of stairs. I shudder to think how the poor mothers on the eighteenth floor managed. ...Having done my shopping I would return, pull the pram up all the stairs again and back into the flat. All of which would be accomplished without my having glimpsed a neighbour, far less having a word with one. I used to go out to the chute room, as we called it, to empty the rubbish in the hope of seeing some other living soul but invariably there was just no-one' (Jephcott). Another woman who had moved to the twelfth floor of a high rise in Clydebank from a prefab said she was very lonely: 'one woman lay dead on this landing and it was only when she was being buried that we knew'; 'I never go out … We know who the neighbours are but we never see them.' Women, as these words illustrate, are witnesses to aspects of Scotland's past not otherwise revealed.

The continued association of women with the home, family and childcare in the post war period, despite dramatic improvements in women's educational attainments and aspirations and their growing participation in the labour force, forced attention on to the inequalities and injustices that continued to limit the horizons of many Scottish women. No number of labour saving devices could free women from domestic drudgery. Even those women able to afford their own homes were troubled by the 'problem that has no name' as American feminist Betty Friedan described the question posed by many women – 'who do I want to be?' It is important to remind ourselves that many of the restrictions on women's lives had only recently been removed: the marriage bar – which forced a woman to give up her job upon marriage - in the teaching profession and the civil service had only been lifted in the 1940s; abortion was legalised in 1967; divorce law reform was not introduced until 1976, some years after equivalent legislation to ease the process of marital separation had been passed in England and Wales. More significant perhaps was the gradual introduction of reliable birth control in the form of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s -initially only available to married women – and women's gradual economic independence.

Public Life

While the early twentieth century Scottish suffrage campaign has now been well documented and forms a key part of our understanding of the movement for democratic reform, public engagement by women outwith this movement is much less understood. But in the period between the granting of suffrage to women (1918/1928) and the beginning of what is known as second wave feminism in the late 1960s, women found new opportunities to engage in public life as voters, as campaigners, as workers, as mothers and as women who

regarded themselves as equal participants in national life. Building upon the examples set by early feminist campaigners and by the women of Glasgow who came to national attention during the First World War on account of their spirited and principled opposition to rising rents, and inspired by their new found status as equal political citizens, a new generation of female activists sought a platform to push for change. The Women's Citizens' Associations that sprang up after 1919 are a good example. Founded to promote active and equal citizenship, these organisations worked on a range of campaigning issues from an end to the marriage bar to more women councillors and MPs.

The career in public life of one woman – Maudie Hart (1916-1997) - exemplifies the new political engagement of women in this period, eschewing party politics but very much at the centre of the new national and international networks. Maudie was educated at St Andrews University and after marriage threw herself into a number of organisations working for equality, development and peace. She was active in the playgroup movement, the Church of Scotland, the Women's Guild, eventually becoming its president. From there she became involved in the World Council of Churches, was elected onto the executive of the UK Women's National Commission, which advised the government on women's issues, and towards the end of her life was a member of the Scottish Constitutional Convention which worked towards Scottish devolution.

The women's liberation movement of the late 1960s and 70s - part of a much broader liberal reform movement seeking to achieve progress in the realm of civil rights – should therefore be regarded as part of this much longer history of women's engagement in politics and public life. In Scotland the women's liberation movement addressed seven key demands: equal pay, equal education and opportunity, twenty-four hour nurseries, free contraception and abortion on demand, financial and legal independence, an end to discrimination against lesbians and freedom from intimidation by threat or use of violence. We still know relatively little about this important social and political movement of the twentieth century which campaigned on so many issues we now take for granted (and some which have yet to be achieved). Unlike the feminists of the first-wave who organised themselves into committees and wrote minutes of meetings which historians can consult to reconstruct their membership and activities, the women of the second wave eschewed traditional, hierarchical organisation, preferring loose alliances and interest groups. Luckily organisations like Glasgow Women's Library have a policy of collecting women's liberation material so in addition to copies of the UK feminist magazine *Spare Rib*, they also have in their collection a good number of Scottish newsletters and magazines which tell the story of women's liberation north of the border. Historians are also busy conducting oral

history interviews with former activists in order to chronicle the movement for future generations.

Adding women to the story of the Scottish past offers a new dimension to our understanding of political and social change. It forces us to look around corners and beyond the traditional accounts; it averts our gaze to the private sphere with which women have traditionally been associated, and makes us think anew about what constitutes the political sphere.

FURTHER READING

Primary source materials

Glasgow Women's Library www.womenslibrary.org.uk/collection/collection.html collections include: copies of women's liberation magazines *Spare Rib, Everywoman, Harpies and Quines;* suffragette and anti-suffragette postcards; Lesbian Archive; Women's Aid Archive and much more. For further help contact the archivist Dr Hannah Little Hannah.little@womenslibrary.org.uk

Stirling Women's Oral History Project, CD ROM, Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum (collection of 80+ transcripts of oral history interviews with women about their lives before the Second World War)

Women's History Scotland www.womenshistoryscotlandorg.uk website includes link to resources and sources for women's history in Scotland and provides a hub for anyone interested in Scottish women's history

The Glasgow Story www.theglasgowstory.com/ contains information, images and sources on aspects of private and public life in the city

Perth Archives http://www.pkc.gov.uk/ has published a help guide to sources on women's history

Dundee University Archives http://www.dundee.ac.uk/archives/slwomentop.htm

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Population Growth and Population Movement in Scotland c.1851-1931[1]

DR WILLIAM KENEFICK

The period from the mid-eighteenth century saw Scotland experience a profound transformation in terms of its economy, industry and society in what was to prove the very essence of an industrial revolution. By the 1830s Scotland was fast becoming one of the most industrialised and urbanised countries in the world and was ranked second only to England and Wales. One of the main factors associated with this transformation was that it stimulated population growth and encouraged population movement.

Between 1820 and 1971 the Scottish population increased from just over 2 million to its highest ever level of over 5.2 million, but thereafter fell by 3.2% to reach just over 5 million by the time of the 2001 census. Clearly, the Scottish population is stagnating and one of the main reasons for this was that throughout this period there was a consistent and high level of migration outwith Scotland and the beginning of a trend that can be traced from the middle decades of the nineteenth century through to a decade of record migration after the First World War. According to Jeanette Brock, the Scots were 'proportionally more likely to migrate within Britain' and overseas emigration from Scotland 'vastly exceeded that of England and Wales' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Between the 1860s and the 1920s over 2.6 million Scots left their native shores and at such levels of out-migration they proved themselves in every sense 'an exceptionally mobile population'.[2]

For Marjory Harper there was nothing new in the fact that Scots had a habit of moving within and outwith their country of birth. She noted G.T. Bisset-Smith's description of the Scots as a 'notoriously migratory' people in 1907, and sometime later in the 1980s, Ivan Doig suggested that the Scots had always been restless for they were clearly 'wonderful at living anywhere but in Scotland'. Perhaps one explanation for this extensive emigration was suggested sometime earlier in a volume of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in October 1884 where it was noted that 'when colonisation came into vogue' the Scots would likely be 'foremost among colonisers'.

But as Harper argues the Scots were well-known for their wanderlust and their reputation as adventurers and exiles as far back as the eighteenth century. She estimates a Scottish transatlantic exodus numbering some 90,000 individuals between 1700 and 1800, comprising 65,000 Lowlanders and 25,000 Highlanders. Relative to the 80,000 emigrating from England and Wales - which had a

population base four to five times greater than Scotland - the Scots were already more likely to emigrate even in the eighteenth century: given their meagre domestic opportunities at that time, argues Harper, this was not entirely surprising.[3] Opportunities in the colonies were a 'pull' factor but poverty at home was clearly a 'push' factor influencing the decisions of Scots to venture aboard.

Table 1 Scottish Population c1820 to 2001 (000s)
Showing Increase/Decrease on Previous Census Year

Census Year	Scottish Population (000s)	Increase/ Decrease on Previous Census
1820*	2,091.5	
1830*	2,364.4	13.0
1841	2,620.2	10.8
1851	2,888.7	10.3
1861	3,062.2	6.0
1871	3,360.3	9.7
1881	3,735.6	11.2
1891	4,025.6	7.8
1901	4,472.1	11.1
1911	4,760.9	6.5
1921	4,882.5	2.6
1931	4,843.0	-0.8
1939*	5,006.7	3.4
1951**	5,096.4	5.2
1961	5,179.3.	1.6
1971	5,228.9	1.0
1981	5,130.7	-1.9
1991	5,120.2	-0.2
2001	5,062.2	-1.1

*Approximate figures for these years **Mid-year figures
Source: Scottish Census.[4]

During the eighteenth century Ireland accounted for the greatest emigration numbering some 115,000. However, 70,000 of that number came from Ulster and the biggest proportion of them were Scots-born or second generation from the wave of Scottish settlement to Ulster after 1690. Looking back to the seventeenth century the situation was little different and estimates for that period suggest an outflow of

between 85,000 and 115,000 Scots for the first half of the century, with between 78,000 and 127,000 leaving during the second half of the century. This represents an annual loss of 2,000 people from a population of around one million and as a result the Scots were to become permanently settled in Ireland, France, Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Poland before 1650. Indeed, and as early as 1620, Scots were to be found in 420 different locations throughout Poland alone.[5]

This would most certainly validate the claim made in a mediaeval French proverb, and noted by David Armitage in a recent essay on the 'The Scottish Diaspora', that declared 'rats, lice and Scotsmen: you find them the whole world over.' A less than flattering pronouncement, but a clear indication of the exceptional mobility of the Scots and that this was recognized across Europe. According to Armitage:

Scotland's history is a transnational history because the Scots have been such a prominently international people. In their far-flung wanderings, their diverse settlements, and their well-tended nostalgia, the Scots are a diasporic people. Scottish history is thus not just the history of a nation and its citizens; it is no less the history of Scottish migration, and of Scottish migrants, wherever they may be found. No history of Scotland could be complete without an account of the Scottish diaspora.[6]

The Scots therefore developed a culture of emigration well before the nineteenth century and as this French proverb suggests this was widely recognized as far back as the Middle Ages.

As Armitage points out there is a difference between 'mobility' and 'migration' if the former is considered to occur through choice and the latter through necessity. By the nineteenth century the extent to which choice was a factor is an issue of considerable debate, but it is clear that poverty – real or imagined as a sense of relative deprivation, or loss of status – was a powerful push factor influencing population movement. The main break with the past, however, was that from the mid-nineteenth century through to the 1920s Scots no longer moved in tens of thousands; they moved in their millions. The Scottish diaspora was by common agreement one of the highest migrations in Europe and, according to T.M. Devine, during four great surges in the 1850s and 1870s, but particularly in the early 1900s and the interwar period 'Scotland either headed this unenviable championship or came a close second' (as described below in Graph One and Graph Two).[7]
The main difference between Scotland and other countries in Europe with high migration levels was that Scotland was a modern industrial economy while countries such as Ireland and Norway, and for a time Italy in the early 1900s

(when some 4,500 Italians settled in Scotland[8]) or Spain in the 1920s was that these countries were largely agrarian-based and led Devine to assert that:

Therein lies the essential paradox of Scottish emigration: it was one the world's most highly successful industrialised and agricultural countries after c.1860 but was losing people in very large numbers rather than those countries traditionally associated with poverty, clearance, hunger and destitution.[9]

As a result, between 1861 and 1931 - as shown below - some 2,600,000 people left Scotland.

Table 2 Estimated Movements of Scots to other UK and Total Emigration of Scots Overseas, 1861-1931.

Intercensal Period	UK	Overseas Emigration	
1861-1870/1	96,274	148,082	
1871-1880/1	98,315	165,651	
1881-1890/1	90,711	275,095	
1891-1900/1	98,210	185,992	
1901-1910/1	68,177	457,419	
1911-1920/1	63,069	349,415	
1921-1930/1	77,769	446,212	
1861-1930/1	**592,525**	**2,027,866**	**Total 2,620,391**

Source: M. Flinn (et al.) Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s (Cambridge, 1977).

Clearly the forces of change were revolutionising the economy and society in Scotland and the main factors of change are perhaps best described in a report by the Royal Commission on Population which published its findings in 1949. This was an important report and it is helpful to our understanding of the main 'push' and 'pull' factors that stimulate population movement within or outwith a country. They defined some of the main features of change as follows:

I. the decay of small scale family handicrafts and the rise of large scale industry and factory organisation

II. the loss of security and the growth of competitive individualism

III. the relative decline of agriculture and the rise in importance of industry and commerce ... and the associated shift of population from rural to urban areas

IV. the growing prestige of science, which disturbed traditional religious beliefs

V. the development of popular education and higher standards of living

VI. the growth of humanitarianism (philanthropic and charitable enterprises), and the emancipation of women (changing legal status, attitudes to family formation, and birth control)

They concluded their retrospective by stressing that these factors of change were 'closely inter-related' and presenting a 'complex web, rather than a chain, of cause and effect'.[10]

Demographic change and urbanisation are without doubt major themes that are closely allied to industrial and economic development – and naturally linked with population movement from the countryside into the cites and towns of Scotland. This in turn contributed towards increased tension within the developing social structure of Lowland rural and urban Scotland – and in the Highlands a struggle over access to land. This is particularly true in terms of the impact on class relations, where, for example, the issue of housing dominated the political and social sphere and the issue of workplace democracy dogged class relations in the industrial and economic sphere. Likewise in the Scottish Highlands, as in rural Ireland, another case of class-based conflict between landlords and tenants emerged over the Land Issue.[11] The changing nature of Scottish society and the newly developing social and economic order offered opportunities to many, but much uncertainty for others. Many left Scotland's shores to seek opportunities elsewhere, and while some did return home, most settled abroad – permanently![12]

It is clear that in terms of urbanisation the negative impact of urban life and work life chances and mortality disproportionately affected the labouring classes who experienced first hand the social realities of industrial and urban living. The growing middle-class were not as adversely affected by the forces of urban change for they could and did escape from the worst consequences of it by moving into the burgeoning and spatially segregated suburbs of Bearsden in Glasgow, Edinburgh's New Town, or Broughty Ferry in Dundee in a process that was being replicated across urban Scotland as a whole. But there was little chance for the average industrial workers to escape increasing urban squalor and social degradation and poverty. Consider the following observation made by Freidrich Engels on Manchester in the 1840s:

The town is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working people's quarter or even with workers ... so long as [they] confine [themselves] to business or to pleasure walks. ... And the finest part of this arrangement is this, they could do so ...

without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left...

He went on to describe 'the filth and disgusting grime ... the most horrible dwellings [he had ever] beheld'.[13] The urban experience in Scotland can in most instances be shown to have been as bad and in many respects much worse, as demonstrated in the writings of the Rev. G. Lewis when he was promoting his 'Filth and Fever Bills of Dundee' in 1841:

I looked in vain for the evidences of a deeper physical degradation that I meet daily in Dundee. Even in Manchester and in Bolton, I was struck with the superiority in cleanliness and comfort of their most neglected districts. The shameful parts of Dundee and Glasgow seemed to me more shameful, and the neglected parts to be more utterly abandoned to the dominion of physical filth and misery... [14]

There is little dispute among Scottish historians that in terms of life chances, ill-health, or infant mortality rates, Scotland's experience was generally much worse than that of England in the nineteenth century. There were also striking regional difference with Dundee and Glasgow competing to top the league for the highest infant mortality for much of the period before 1914, and in the late 1920s Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow showed higher rates of infant mortality than major cities in England and Wales.[15] The general mortality rates did improve from the 1880s in Scotland's principal city regions, but by then 'the problem of high death rates was much worse in smaller towns such as Ayr, Dumfries and Stirling'.[16] As T.C. Smout indicated in A Century of the Scottish People the period between 1850 and 1950 was indeed an age 'when most Scots were working-class, and their experience of the period, at least to the modern eye, proved to be particularly bad'.[17]

With the advent of steam travel, cheaper fares, assisted passage arrangements, emigration societies, and chain migration schemes poorer Scots were afforded the opportunity to emigrate to Australasia, Canada, and the United States where, in many cases, they joined already well-established and settled communities of Scots.[18] Family connections were important and there is much evidence to demonstrate that the cost of travel was provided by family members already settled abroad, while others covered the cost of travel by contracting themselves as 'indentured servants', or increasingly were assisted (at different times and to different locations) through various emigration schemes. The Queensland Government, for example, after it succeeded to independent status in 1860, in order to attract people on the long journey to Australia – particularly during the 1880s – set up a network of agencies to recruit all manner of passengers. But this was a time of fierce competition for emigrant business and while much of the advertising was

aimed at full paying passengers, assisted schemes to cover the cost of travel were advertised widely in papers such as the Ayr Advertiser, The Glasgow Herald or the widely read and distributed Dundee-based People's Journal. Indeed, according to Elspeth Johnson by the late nineteenth century (and indeed for the early twentieth century) 'it was possible to pick up any general newspaper in Scotland, for any date, and find a range of shipping advertisements'.[19]

The role of the shipping agent and the many and numerous emigration societies (private and public) is a complex one, but whether it was aimed at full paying or partly paid remittance passengers, passengers travelling free or on indentured contracts, emigration was big business and it set up a support network which aimed to educate and enlighten potential emigrants to the attractions of settlement abroad. In order to help the potential emigrant the Emigrants Information Office was opened in 1886 'as a source of impartial advice and information of land grants, wages, living costs and passage rates'. Moreover, the Queensland government was not the only overseas body to tout for business for in 1892 the Canadian government appointed two full-time agents in Scotland to tour 'markets, hiring fares, agricultural shows and village halls', accompanied by illustrated lectures 'using the magic lantern', to aid awareness of emigration opportunities and to raise recruits to that end. Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, notes Devine, 'there was a veritable explosion in the quantity of information available for potential emigrants' and this only expanded further in the twentieth century.[20]

Out-migration - whether from one region of the country to another, or outwith the borders of a country - are clear indicators of a society in flux. For example, at the beginning of the 19th century the majority of the Scottish population lived and worked in the countryside. By the time of the 1861 Census, however – as noted in table 3 below – this trend was reversed and thereafter ever increasing numbers of the population gravitated to the expanding urban and industrial conurbations of lowland Scotland and the western lowlands in particular which by 1931 contained almost 48% of total Scottish population.[21]

Table 3 Percentage of the Population Living in Urban and Rural areas of Scotland for selected years between 1861 and 1951 (to nearest round number).

Census year	Total Population	% Urban	% Rural
1861	3,062,294	58%	42%
1891	4,025,647	71%	29%
1911	4,760,904	74%	26%
1931	4,842,554	80%	20%
1951	5,096,415	83%	17%

Source: Scottish Census 1951.

Despite the significant shift from rural to urban settlement historians have for many years argued that those leaving their native shores were largely drawn from the rural population who chose to emigrate abroad rather than migrate to the burgeoning industrial towns and cities of Scotland. But according to recent historical research, and in particularly the work of Jeanette Brock, this view is no longer tenable. Between 1846 and 1854, for example, when just over half of the Scottish population still lived and worked on the land, Brock suggests that almost 59% of Scottish male emigrants were drawn from industrial rather than rural counties and by the late 1880s this increased significantly to almost 80%. Indeed, in the period between 1875 and 1914, 50% of all males emigrating to the United States were skilled men and according to Brock, Scotland provided the 'highest concentration of professional and entrepreneurial' emigrants from the four United Kingdom countries.[22]

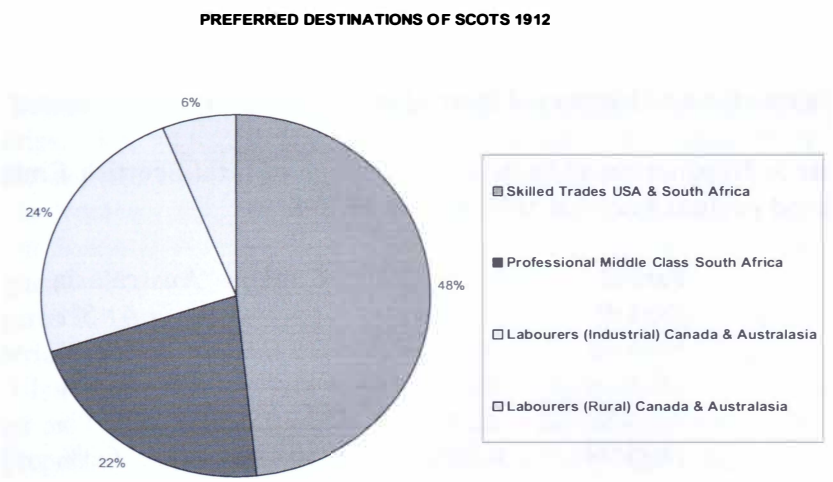
Table 4 Occupational group and Preferred Destination of that group, expressed as a Percentage of Total Scottish Emigration 1912-13

Group	% Total	Preferred Destination
Skilled Trades	47%	USA & South Africa
Professional Middle Class	21%	South Africa
Labourers (industrial)	23%	Canada & Australasia
Labourers (agricultural)	6%	Canada & Australasia

Source: Flinn, Scottish Population History.

Table 4 – and the pie chart below expressing this data in a descriptive form - provide a snap shot of 1912; a year in which numbers leaving Scotland exceeded the combined total in natural increase (births over deaths) and numbers immigrating to Scotland, and clearly demonstrates that those who were leaving were drawn from urban and industrial Scotland and not from rural Scotland.

Pie Chart 1: Preferred Destinations of Scots c.1912



Source: Derived from Flinn, *Scottish Population History*.[23]

It should also be recognised that up to the mid-nineteenth century it was possible to emigrate from many different Scottish ports, but after 1850 and with the advent of steam travel the emigrant trade was firmly concentrated on the Clyde and Glasgow (as was always the case for travel to the southern hemisphere). Liverpool was the main embarkation port for all UK emigrants including Scots, but it is also the case that there were many feeder ports for Liverpool which included Glasgow and Greenock as well as the Solway ports such as Annan. Other ports such as Aberdeen, Dundee and Leith were quickly squeezed out of the emigration trade with the coming of the steamship and particularly so in relation to transatlantic emigration to North America - although they too still functioned as feeder ports.[24]

The preferred destination of Scots varied over time. According to Devine up until the early 1840s it was Canada (then British North America – becoming the Dominion of Canada in 1867), mainly in the maritime provinces of Upper Canada (later Ontario). Canada was also the most favoured destination between 1905 and the 1930s, while Australasia (Australia and New Zealand were often counted together) proved the most popular in the 1850s and 1870s and once again during the interwar years. South Africa was a different case and only really gained a significant emigration of Scots in the 1890s and the later 1930s. America was the most popular overall. More than half of Scots emigrants – well over a million -

went to the USA in the years between the early 1850s and 1914, and only Canada attracted more Scots in the decade after the end of the Great War. As Devine suggests 'no country could match the USA and Canada for ease of access, familiarity, economic opportunity, family links and available lands' and no matter how poor or destitute they were 'Scots migrants generally made a deep impact on the development of their adopted homelands'.[25]

Table 5. Destination of Scots as percentage of total Scottish Emigration for selected periods between 1855-59 and 1935-8

Period	USA	Canada	Australasia	S.Africa
1855-59	33.3%	25.2%	41.5%	--
1865-69	66.0%	15.6%	18.4%	--
1875-79	45.5%	11.4%	43.4%	--
1885-89	71.9%	13.0%	13.1%	2.0%
1895-99	63.0%	10.1%	6.3%	20.0%
1905-09	3.5%	42.7%	7.0%	6.8%
1915-19	33.0%	46.7%	13.2%	7.1%
1925-29	33.3%	39.0%	24.7%	3.0%
1935-38	14.9%	24.4%	26.0%	34.7%

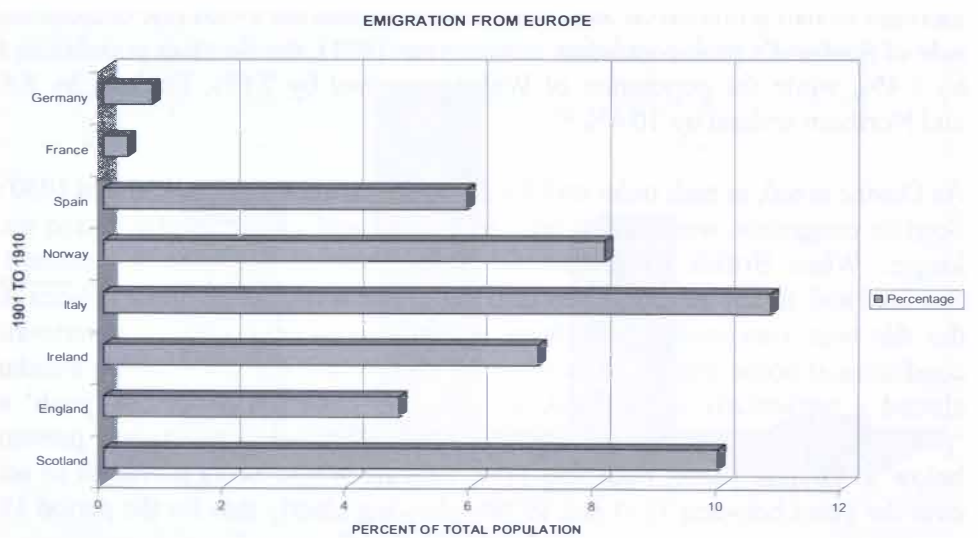
Source: Flinn, *Scottish Population History*.

But how does the Scottish migration compare with other countries in Europe and particularly England and Wales? By 1851 population movement within Scotland can be quantified reliably for the first time, and this shows that even by 1851 about a third of the Scottish population had crossed a county boundary or moved from a rural to an urban environment. In terms of internal movement within the boundaries of Scotland people were moving on a regular basis by 1850. All the available evidence therefore points to the Scots being an exceptionally mobile people. But were they any more mobile than the English or Welsh? In almost all the demographic studies for Britain (excluding Ireland), in terms of internal mobility the English and Welsh were generally more mobile than the Scots. Brock would argue that this shows that there were more opportunities in both these countries and this encouraged greater internal movement. The English and the Welsh were as mobile, if not more so, than the Scots within the boundaries of their own country before 1914. But as was the case in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries when it came to emigration the Scots – both men and women - led the English and Welsh.[26] Put simply, and as Devine argues, before 1911 Scottish emigration was running at almost twice that of England and by the 1920s the great Scottish exodus would continue.[27]

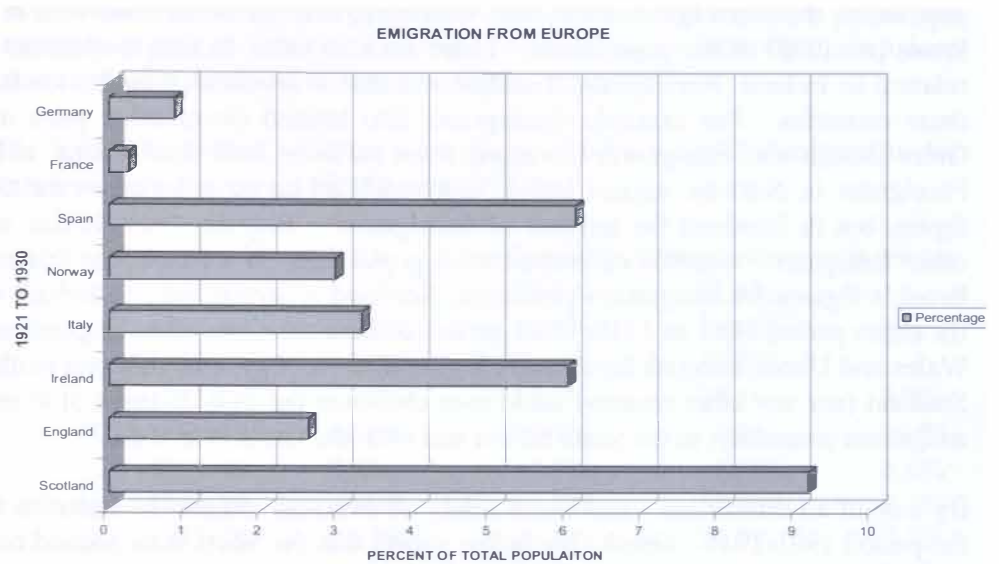
Building on the research of various demographic historians Jeanette Brock demonstrated that for the period 1861 to 1911 as a whole the Irish were the most emigration prone nation showing an average of 10.26 losses per 1,000 of the population, the Norwegians came next with 6.56, and the Scots third with 6.14 losses per 1,000 of the populations. There are also other factors to consider in relation to Ireland, Norway and Scotland and that is levels of immigration into these countries. For example, immigrants into Ireland (from other parts and Great Britain and foreigners) increased from 1.3% in 1861 to 3.6% by 1911. Foreigners in Norway, argues Brock, were unlikely to be anywhere near that figure, but in Scotland the number of immigrants – English, Irish, Italian and other foreigners – was 9% of total Scottish population. If we calculate this into Brock's figures for emigration proneness, Scotland is second only to Ireland for the entire period 1861 to 1930. If we included Scots who moved to England and Wales and Ulster, Scottish levels were higher than Norway, and although neither Scotland (nor any other country) could ever challenge the Irish in terms of overall emigration propensity, in the years before and after the Great War it did.[28]

By way of an illustration - and based solely on overseas emigration statistics for the period 1901-1910 - Graph One below shows that the Scots were second only to the Italians (who led Europe in terms of overseas migration from Europe in the 1900s), while Graph Two demonstrates that between 1921 and 1930 Scotland led the European emigration league some way ahead of its then closest rivals Ireland and Spain.

Graph One: 1901 to 1910



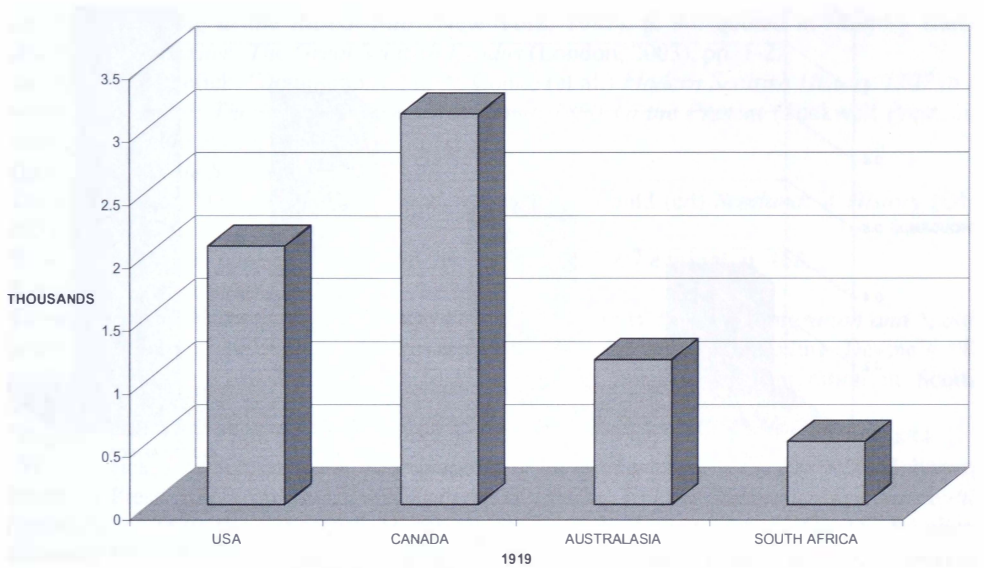
Graph Two: 1921 to 1930



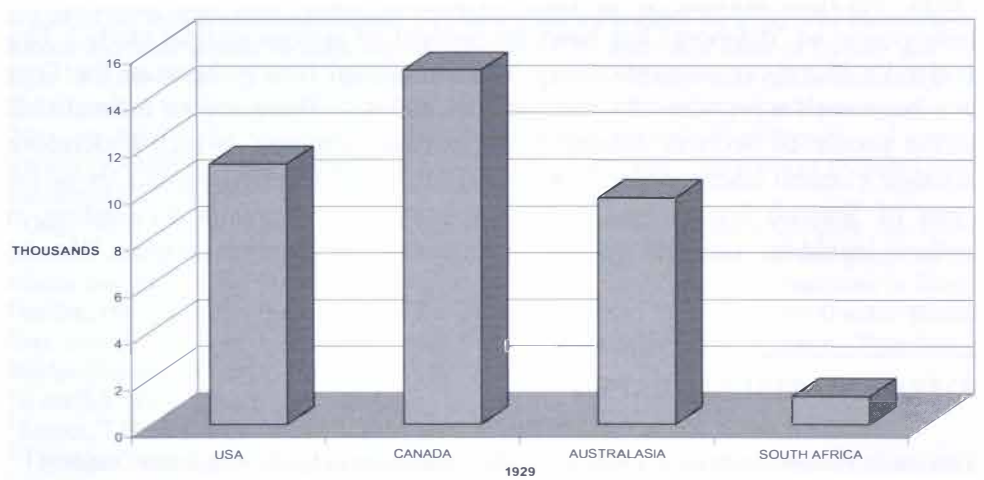
In relation to England and Wales it is clear that Scottish overseas emigration was much higher. Indeed, as Brock stresses, the emigration of Scots relative to total population 'vastly exceeded that of England and Wales' at any time since the mid-19th century, and this was as true after 1945 as it was for the earlier period. This had a serious impact on population growth and when in 1971 the Scottish population reached its historic peak of 5.23 million it merely constituted an increase of half a million on 1911. Between 1961 and the 1980s (the decades either side of Scotland's peak population census year 1971), the Scottish population fell by 1.4%, while the population of Wales increased by 7.6%, England by 8.8%, and Northern Ireland by 10.4%.[29]

As Devine noted, in rank order and for the entire period between 1830 and 1930 the Scottish emigration was second only to Ireland and overall it also lasted much longer. When British emigration fell back between the wars, it increased in Scotland and during the 1920s Scotland topped the league of emigrant nations. But the die was cast earlier and from the mid-nineteenth century deteriorating conditions at home and the inducement of high wages and better living standards abroad – particularly in the USA and Canada – saw the factors of 'push' and 'pull', as Devine asserts, 'acting in unison'. The descriptive data presented below in Graphs Three, Four and Five, indicate where Scots preferred to settle over the years between 1919 and 1938 – showing clearly that for the period 1919 to 1929 Canada was the most popular destination for most Scottish emigrants.

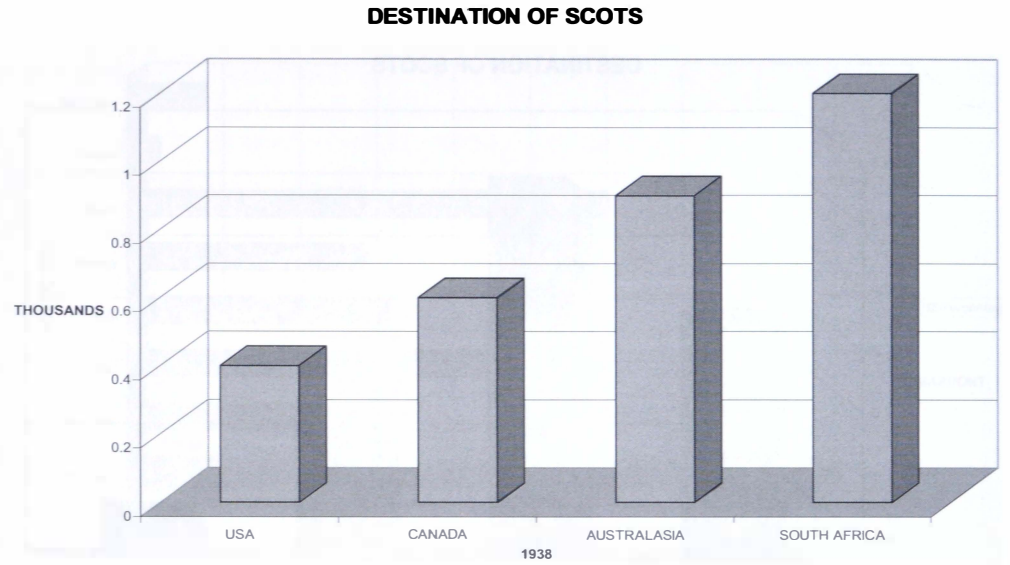
Graph Three: 1919



Graph Four: 1929



Graph Five: 1938



Source: Derived from Flinn, *Scottish Population History.*

After 1945 the exodus continued and between 1950 and 1960 alone Scotland lost over half a million people – 'roughly divided between those who emigrated overseas and those who settled in England'.[30] As David Armitage reminds us 'Notwithstanding the fact that Scots, surrounded by water on three sides, have always voyaged abroad, it is only in recent years that the socio-historic phenomenon of 'diaspora' has been the subject of serious critical study.' Thus Scotland's history is unquestionably 'a transnational history because the Scots have been such a prominently international people'. There are an estimated 25 million people of Scottish descent living outside Scotland', which underscores Armitage's central assertion that Scottish migration and Scottish migrants are no less a part of Scottish history and that no history, or cultural understanding, of Scotland 'could be complete without an account of the Scottish diaspora.'[31]

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[1] This article is based on an early article originally commissioned by the Annandale Distillery Company Ltd in 2008 through Interface - The knowledge connection for business - which

matches businesses with academics making available knowledge, expertise and research facilities in all of Scotland's Universities and Research Institutions.

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[3] G.T. Bisset-Smith, *Vital Registration: A Manual of the Law and practice Concerning the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Registration Acts in Scotland (1907)*, p. 168; and Ivan Doig, *Dancing at the Rascal Fair* (New York, 1987), p. 94: quoted in Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003), pp. 1-2.

[4] See also W. Kenefick, 'Demography', in A. Cooke (et al.) *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present. Volume 2: The Modernisation of Scotland, 1850 To the Present* (Tuckwell Press, East Linton, 2nd edition 2003), p 98.

[5] Brock, *The Mobile Scot,* pp. 15-18.

[6] David Armitage, 'The Scottish Diaspora', in Jenny Wormald (ed) *Scotland: A History* (OUP, 2005), pp. 272-73.

[7] T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (Penguin, 2007 edition), p. 468.

[8] Kenefick, 'Demography', p 115.

[9] Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p. 469: see also Devine, T. M. (ed), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh, 1991) where there are several useful articles including Devine's 'The Paradox of Scottish Emigration', and Brock's, 'The Importance of Emigration in Scottish Regional Population Movement, 1861-1911'.

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[11] W. Kenefick, *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c.1872 to 1932* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 15-18; and Andrew. G. Newby, *Ireland, Radicalism and the Scottish Highlands, c. 1870-1912* (Scottish Historical Monograph Review Series, No 15, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), passim.

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[16] Kenefick, 'Demography', pp. 108-10.

[17] Smout, T.C., *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (Collins, 1986), p 1.

[18] There are several publications that examine where Scots settled across the Globe of which the following are a short selection: Kelley, A. C., 'Migration and Economic Growth: Australia, 1865-1935, *Journal of Economic History, xxv, 1965*; Prentis, M. D., *The Scots in Australia: A Study of*

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[19] E. Johnson, 'Emigration from Scotland to Queensland, Australia 1885-1888 (Volume 1, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Dundee, 2004), chapter seven.

[20] Devine, *Scottish Nation*, pp 247-9.

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[22] Brock, *The Mobile Scot* p. 27.

[23] Percentages represent an inward and outward movement of Scots of nearly 53,000 for the six months ending September 12, 1912. These figures are derived from the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions: Minutes of Evidence, Part 1: Migration. *Parliamentary Papers 1912*, Cd 6516, 186-89. These are then transposed on Flinn's percentages for that year to give a crude estimate of the magnitude of Scottish migratory patterns

[24] Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles* p 203.

[25] Devine, *Scottish Nation* pp. 470-71. p. 571: see also Devine's recently published *To the Ends of the Earth. Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750-2010* (Penguin, 2011). This book provides a wide, detailed and comprehensive study of one of the world's greatest emigrant nations and carefully examines why Scots left in such great numbers but also the contribution they made to the British Empire and the development of the modern world.

[26] Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, pp 203-4.

[27] Devine, *The Scottish Nation* p. 479.

[28] Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, pp.202-3.

[29] Brock, *The Mobile Scot* pp.202-04.

[30] Devine, *The Scottish Nation* p. 479, p. 571.

[31] David Armitage, '*The Scottish Diaspora*'.

Conflict and Commemoration: Centennials, Sesquicentennials and the Ongoing Battle over America's History

PROFESSOR SUSAN-MARY GRANT

'If we ought to forget a war which has filled our land with widows and orphans,' leading African-American spokesman Frederick Douglass asked in 1871, 'which has made stumps of men of the very flower of our youth, and sent them on the journey of life, armless, legless, maimed and mutilated…I say that if this war is to be forgotten, I ask in the name of all things sacred, what shall men remember?'[1]

Douglass was speaking only six years after Robert E. Lee's surrender of his Confederate forces to Union general Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, terminating the American Civil War (1861-65). One hundred years later, in August, 1963, another African-American spokesman stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., and invoked that war, in particular Union president Abraham Lincoln's decision to issue, on 1st January, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the rebel states and paving the way for the 13th Amendment that would end, forever, a system of chattel servitude that had haunted the American nation and compromised the republican ideal since its inception in 1776. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s famous 'I Have a Dream' speech in 1963 was not the only evidence, however, that the war had not been forgotten; on the contrary, by the time King spoke in Washington, it was being remembered, by some at least, for all the wrong reasons.

Two years before King's speech, the Civil War centennial had begun with a series of commemorative events across the United States; but mainly in the South, in the states of the former Confederacy, those states that had, over the winter of 1860/61, seceded from the American Union and established a separate entity; the Confederate States of America (CSA), under the presidency of Jefferson Davis. Inaugurated on Sunday, January 8, 1961, with a public radio and television address by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Civil War centennial was supposed to emphasise sectional solidarity and reconciliation in a Cold War world. Yet the nation as a whole did not expend much effort, as might have been expected in such troubled times, in projecting American ideals of freedom and democracy through the lens of a conflict that had held that nation together and effected the eradication of chattel slavery. The Civil War may have been, as Robert Penn Warren, one of America's foremost authors and literary critics, mused at the start of the centennial celebrations, the nation's '*felt* history,' the 'great single event' of its development, but it was hardly recognised as such between 1961 and 1965. As leading African-American historian Charles H. Wesley noted at the time, 'from the opening of this first centennial year, 1961,

there has been a preoccupation with the glorification of the drama of the War as it opened in 1861, with Southern dominance and victories due to the initiative seized by those under arms in the South.'[2]

Wesley was sharply critical of what he perceived to be 'a halo to the Southern tradition of the Civil War,' one that represented the 'death and suffering' of the conflict as little more than a pageant reminiscent of 'an ancient Roman holiday in an amphitheatre.' This was, certainly, the 'Lost Cause' version of the Civil War, a romanticised gloss on a brutal four-year period of America's history. Initially through the efforts of the elites of the white South in the post-war era, this promulgated a version of the war as one fought for states' rights, not slavery, for a gracious, essentially agrarian antebellum lifestyle of a South both antithetical and superior to that of the acquisitive and urbanising North. It argued that antebellum race relations had provided stability, not threatened social upheaval. As such, it offered no challenge to the white hegemonic perspective that had underpinned the 'Old South' and that the 'New South' struggled to grasp had gone forever. It was hardly surprising that Wesley was appalled, and he was not the sole voice to express dismay. 'If the next five years of commemorating proceed along the lines of the first few months,' the *New York Post* commented acerbically, 'they'll be whistling "Dixie" at the Appomattox Courthouse enacted in 1965, and General Grant will hand his sword to General Lee.'[3]

'The Conquered Banner' (New Orleans: A.E. Blackmar, 1866)

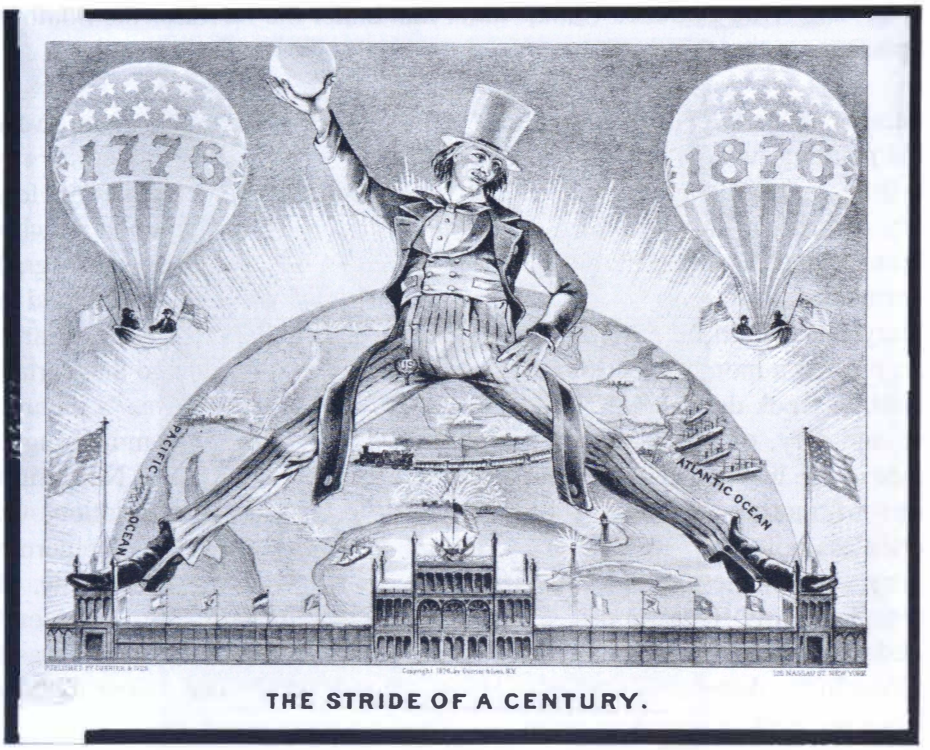
With 2011 marking the start of the Civil War sesquicentennial (150 year anniversary, 2011-2015), the question of what the Civil War means for America, and how best to commemorate it, has come to the fore once again. In 2009, the noted historian David Blight described the centennial as 'a political and historical debacle,' and expressed the hope that the nation will 'do better this time.' More recently, Robert Cook, author of a full-length study of the centennial, noted that nearly 'fifty years ago the Civil War centennial came close to being an unmitigated disaster. Why was this so,' he asked, 'and what lessons can be learned from that sobering experience?'[4]

So far, the short answer may be 'not much.' Simply typing in 'Civil War sesquicentennial' into Google provides some idea of the general slant and location of Civil War memory. The majority of sites that appear relate to the celebrations – if that is the right word – in the former Confederate states and to depressingly familiar reiterations of long-rehearsed arguments about the war's meaning. In November, 2010, the *New York Times* critiqued the process of what it termed 'Celebrating Secession without the Slaves,' and highlighted, among other things, the refurbishment of the Atlanta cyclorama, a circular painting depicting the Battle of Atlanta, with a view to attracting tourists to the city. Perhaps reinforcing the old adage that there is no such thing as bad publicity, the Atlanta Cyclorama and Civil War Museum website directs visitors to the *New York Times*'s article. It also notes in its 'Fun Facts' section that one of the dying soldiers portrayed in the accompanying diorama (a three-dimensional model, in this case moulded from Georgia clay) added in 1936 is a representation of the actor Clark Gable, of *Gone With the Wind* fame.[5]

Yet while history, heritage and entertainment are melded into a metaphorical whole absent any sense of irony whatsoever in Atlanta, the broader issues are, for many, far more contentious. In December, 2010 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held a rally in Charleston, South Carolina protesting against the staging of a 'Secession Ball' in the city to mark the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the CSA. Reporting on the event, *USA Today* noted the extent to which the Civil War 'still divides Americans, especially at a time when some in the Tea Party movement talk of states' rights and secession; when many states are rebelling against federal initiatives such as the health care overhaul; and when America's changing demographics make some nostalgic for a society in which white Christians were more dominant. The five-year sesquicentennial,' the paper soberly concluded, 'promises to be…a political, emotional and historical minefield.'[6] Is this a simple case of history repeating itself? Possibly, yet where history is concerned, things are rarely simple; even in the case of a nation, or perhaps especially in the case of a nation whose history is so contested.

These tensions inherent in America's history are hardly confined solely to the South or to racial inequalities, although often they cohere around both. In the context of a rather different centennial, that of the nation itself in 1876, the issue of inclusion and exclusion in that nation was a pertinent one. Neither African nor Native Americans were noticeably present; although the latter, at least, were represented in the form of manikins, already frozen as symbols of both demographic and environmental change and a disappearing way of life. And although the African/Native American artist Mary Edmonia Lewis's sculpture, *The Death of Cleopatra* (1876) garnered universal praise, overall the African American presence at the centennial was also less than one might have expected given the recent passage of the constitutional amendments abolishing slavery and establishing citizenship. Complicating the issue, however, was the ambivalent attitude on the part of many African Americans, both toward the commemoration of a nation that had for so long excluded them and toward their own commemorative tradition within that nation. As historian Mitch Kachun has argued, many African Americans 'thought that the slave past left too painful and enervating a legacy to provide a useful foundation for an African American identity.'[7]

In the broader context of the upsurge in interest in heritage and tradition that coincided with, and was stimulated by the centennial, Americans turned instead to the political origins of their nation, a process facilitated, and informed by the fact that the era of 'Reconstruction,' (1865-77) whereby the states of the former Confederacy were brought back into the nation, was drawing to a close in America by 1876. In that year the poet Bayard Taylor, the composer of the 'National Ode' for July 4th, 1876, mused on the implications of America's first hundred years. Rather than offering an opportunity for reappraisal of a legacy that included the Declaration of Independence and its insistence that 'all men are created equal,' Taylor invoked a vaguer and essentially value-free notion of patriotism as a unifying force. For Taylor, the centennial celebrations constituted an 'infallible test…an absolute gauge of the strength of our concrete enthusiasm…Our after ages can see no anniversary so solemn as this. Our struggle into life is near enough for us to remember it with emotion; living memories link us to it still: it is distant enough to have become traditional, venerable.' The Revolutionary War, of course, had itself raised many of the ethnic and racial issues that the nation, in 1876, was still struggling with. Yet by 1876 it was far enough in the past to have acquired the mystique necessary for national consolidation, and close enough to the present to mute the memories of the more recent, internecine conflict that the nation had endured.[8]



'The Stride of a Century' (New York: Currier and Ives, c.1876)

In practice, however, it was not so easy to muffle the echoes of a Civil War that had terminated just over a decade previously, had cost over 600,000 American lives, left almost as many disabled, and emancipated some 4 million slaves in the southern and border states. And whereas the Civil War was not the central focus of a celebration designed to highlight American achievements in the first hundred years of the nation's existence, it was palpably present; most notably in the form of an enormous (sixteen by thirty-two foot) painting by Peter Frederick Rothermel, *The Battle of Gettysburg: Pickett's Charge* (c.1868-70). Depicting what later became known as the 'high-water mark of the Confederacy,' the charge by Confederate forces against an entrenched Union position on Cemetery Ridge on the final day of the three-day Battle of Gettysburg, it offered an unsettling image of attack and repulse, of cannon and corpses, in short the full 'hostile aggression of battle.' Prominently displayed in the 'Hall of Honor' in Memorial Hall in Philadelphia, it was described at the time as the 'central showpiece at the Centennial.' Yet as Susanna Gold notes, it almost immediately 'garnered incessant and unrelenting criticism in the press, most notably for the

impropriety of its subject.' Do the centennial commissioners, wondered *New York Tribune* critic Clarence Cook, 'think that either the North or the South will take pleasure in the ghastly sight.'[9]

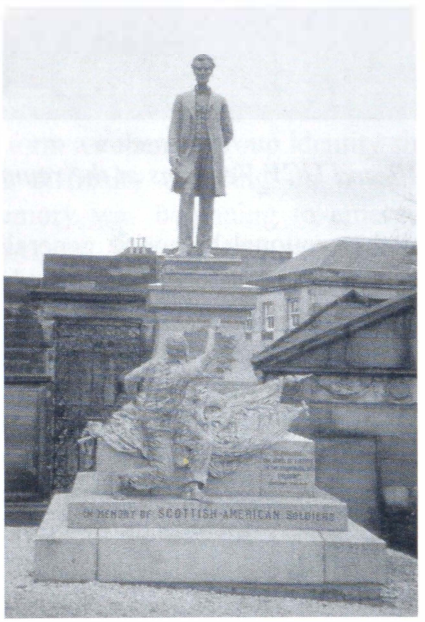
Contemporary cartoons represented the former foes fighting once again in front of this painting, which may have offered little pleasure to either side but, at the same time, in its graphic rendition of the literal landscape of a crucial – not to say bloody – battle of the Civil War, offered a figurative landscape upon which the antagonists could meet in the years that followed. Whilst some viewers regarded Rothermel's painting as a 'bloody monstrosity…an exhibition of blood and butchery that would be revolting even in a savage,' others, including Clarence Cook, offered a more mixed message in their analysis of an image that certainly was not, as Cook described it, 'a picture of heroism.' Rather it was 'a picture of blood and fury, of men – of brother-men, of fellow citizens – murdering one another in the lust of hate; of soldiers, brave men of the South and North, in the spasms of mortal agony.' Although she challenges the interpretation, Gold nevertheless notes that contemporary observers, whilst repulsed by Rothermel's imagery, nevertheless perceived it as one that favoured neither side, that presented both as 'brave men,' whether they had fought for the Union or the Confederacy. Rothermel himself may not have seen it that way, but it was the case that, in the decades that followed it was the idea of mutual valour that came to define the popular response to the Civil War.[10]

If Americans, at the time of the national centennial celebrations, remained, as Gold argues, unable 'to form a coherent group identity since the disruption of the war and therefore had difficulty agreeing on a collective memory of it,' nevertheless such a memory was beginning to emerge. Historians frequently identify the Spanish-American War of 1898 as crucial in this regard, although time itself may have played a part; not so much as in the sense of healing all wounds, as such, but of rendering the memory of the war, along with those who fought it, vaguely indistinct. By the time of the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1913, an event marked by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania with a grand veterans' reunion, it was an army (some 50,000 attended) of old men who gathered to reminisce about, not refight, the battles of the Civil War.[11] The reunion included a special commemoration of the event represented in Rothermel's painting; Pickett's Charge, the 'high-water mark' of the Confederacy. The message of reconciliation was reinforced in the address, on that occasion, by President Woodrow Wilson, who emphasised how the former foes had 'found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten.'[12]

Gettysburg Reunion: GAR and UCV Veterans at the reunion encampment, 1913

This apparent healing of the sectional breach is generally understood to be the result of the growing dominance of an exclusionary white male perspective on the conflict. This privileged what, former Captain of the 20th Massachusetts and future Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. famously invoked in 1895 as, 'the soldier's faith' over any alternative interpretations of the war's meaning and what Blight, in a contemporary echo, has described as the 'culture of veterans' reminiscence' which emerged after Reconstruction. That this was an Anglo-Saxon culture, one that privileged white warriors at the expense of black, was visually apparent in the many memorials to the Civil War that began to appear in those towns and battlefields associated with the Civil War. In the nation's centennial year, sculptor Thomas Ball's now infamous statue of a freed slave kneeling at Lincoln's feet was selected for the Freedmen's Memorial to Lincoln in Washington, D.C. positioned the African American as grateful recipient of emancipation, rather than as a soldier – as some 200,000 had been – who fought for it.[13]

Replicated in Boston, and with a similar sculpture (but by a different artist) erected in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1893 it was hardly the image of emancipation, or of the war, that African Americans had the right to expect, and certainly not the one that many, in the 1860s, had anticipated. Yet the process whereby the narrative of emancipation became subsumed in and eventually almost entirely obliterated by one of reconciliation among whites North and South was well underway by 1876. Faced with the question of 'how to make the logic of sectional reconciliation compatible with the logic of emancipation,' the nation faltered. It proved impossible 'to square black freedom and the stirrings of racial equality with a cause (the South's) that had lost almost everything except its unbroken belief in white supremacy.' Instead, Americans North and South achieved a compromise of sorts based on a very selective reading of the causes and outcome of the Civil War, one that removed slavery, and emancipation from the equation. Before long, what Cook has termed a 'new nationalist orthodoxy' emerged, one that 'represented an uneasy combination of northern and southern interpretations and would remain the principal popular narrative of the Civil War at least until the 1960s.' This positioned the conflict as 'a tragic brothers' war,' and it was states' rights, not slavery, that was the cornerstone of this master-narrative, a narrative that continues to resonate today.[14]

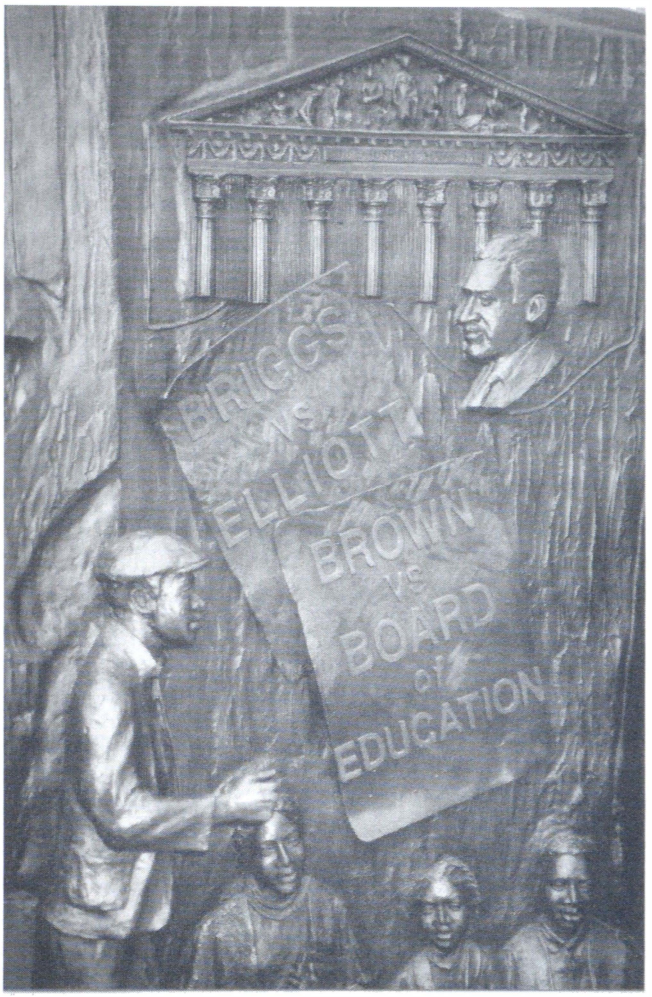


Abraham Lincoln Monument, Old Calton Burial Ground, Edinburgh

By 1893, however, it was not just former Confederates who were promulgating a literal and figurative whitewashed version of the Civil War; the culture of Anglo-Saxon supremacy was more widespread than that, by the turn of the century. When the memorial to Scottish-American soldiers was unveiled in Edinburgh, the mixed nature of the memorial message highlighted the contradictory nature of contemporary attitudes toward both race and the commemoration of the Civil War. The dedicatory sermon (delivered by an American minister) acknowledged that the conflict had 'brought liberation to millions of the enslaved,' and there was, perhaps inevitably, a fair amount of rhetoric that day about Scotland's 'readiness to assist with and take part in any efforts for freedom and liberty wherever these were being made.' At the same time, the emphasis in some of the speeches and addresses delivered on the occasion praising the vigour of 'Saxon blood,' the 'stubborn gallantry of the Anglo-Saxon race' as that was exhibited at Gettysburg, and especially in Pickett's Charge, and the invocation of the 'brotherhood of the Anglo-Saxon family' that stretched across the Atlantic, revealed assumptions about race and the Civil War, that would persist beyond 1893 and the reunion, ten years later, at Gettysburg; that would continue, indeed, to influence both national and international understandings of the Civil War well into the twentieth century.[15]

Civil War, Civil Rights

'If the South has lost the Civil War, it is determined to win the centennial,' the *New York Times* observed in the spring of 1961.[16] How one reads that observation depends very much on how one reads the word 'South.' The South was not the white South alone, and the 'Lost Cause' of the Confederacy was hardly the only version of the Civil War available. Not the least of the problems that the Civil War centennial faced was that it coincided with the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. As Civil War 'buffs,' historians and enthusiasts began to debate the possibility of a centennial commemoration, the nation was experiencing the first rumblings of direct and sustained opposition to the racial exclusion that had, for too long, conditioned and confined the lives of African Americans especially, although certainly not exclusively in the South. In 1953, the year in which New York established its Civil War Centennial Association, African American author James Baldwin published his semi-autobiographical novel, *Go Tell it on the Mountain*, which explored the relationship between religion and racism in the United States. The following year brought one of the most famous Supreme Court rulings in America's history, *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). This overturned the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision of 1896 that had established the socially and economically divisive 'separate but equal' doctrine that ensured the exclusion of African Americans from a society that was prepared to keep them separate, but certainly not equal.



A detail from the South Carolina African American History Monument unveiled in 2001

The so-called 'white backlash' against the Brown decision witnessed a rise in racial violence in parts of the South. The grimmest example of this was the murder in 1955 of a fourteen-year-old schoolboy, Emmet Till from Chicago, who had been visiting relatives in Mississippi when he fell foul of white supremacists in that state. The beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in that same year made it clear that African Americans were no longer prepared to live under a system of segregation and intimidation, and in the rise of Martin Luther King, the

president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the fledgling Civil Rights Movement had found a powerful spokesman.

And yet, in the same year that the federal government established the Civil War Centennial Commission, 1957, President Eisenhower had to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas to force Central High School to open its doors to African American students. He did so in the face of Arkansas's governor, Orval Eugene Faubus's prediction that 'blood will run in the streets' if desegregation was enforced in his state. Given such hostility, the likelihood of the Civil War centennial's functioning effectively as 'a weapon of the cultural cold war' was already in doubt, and other problems loomed.[17] 1957 was also the year that saw the Soviet Union launch its satellite *Sputnik I*, thereby beating the Americans into space. This raised the stakes still further. In the broader context of the Cold War and international relations, *Sputnik* brought forcibly home to Americans the threat that the Soviets posed to American technical superiority in space just as Little Rock brought home to them the cultural and social threat posed by growing racial tensions in the nation.

Seeking to downplay these issues, and in an unconscious echo of Woodrow Wilson's speech at Gettysburg in 1913, Major Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the Union general and chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC) established in 1957, asserted that the 'war did not divide us. Rather, it united us...and made us the greatest and most powerful nation the world had ever seen.' Yet by 1957 that nation was on the verge of a decade that would call its power into question, witness – as the Civil War generation had – the assassination of a president, experience the violent social upheaval that was the African American Civil Rights Movement, and see America become involved a war in Southeast Asia from which, arguably, it has yet to recover fully. The fact that three key Civil War anniversaries – the founding of the Confederacy in Montgomery in February of 1861, the fall of Fort Sumter to Confederate forces in April, and Confederate victory at First Bull Run/Manassas in July – coincided with some of the seminal events of the early Civil Rights era simply highlighted the fact that, one hundred years after Appomattox, civil rights, equality and race remained what Cook has termed 'unfinished business' for the United States of America.[18]

In February of 1960, election year, the lunch-counter sit-ins, protesting against segregated public facilities, began in Greensboro, North Carolina, inaugurating a series of protests against the racial prejudice that African Americans were forced to endure. The anniversary of the 'secession winter' took place in this context, and that of the election of John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic and the youngest man ever to be elected as America's president. It seemed, to many Americans, and indeed to the world, that a new era had dawned, but Kennedy – despite projecting an image of

youth and hope – proved reluctant to tackle head-on some of the most pressing issues of inequality facing the nation. The celebration of the founding of the Confederate nation whose 'corner-stone,' as its vice-president asserted, rested 'upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition,' provided a bizarre counterpoint to Kennedy's inaugural address, which promised that Americans would 'pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.'[19]

Indeed, as Kennedy was preparing for his inaugural, in some parts of the South, unofficial centennial celebrations were already approaching the level of farce; or, at least, they would have done had the issues at stake not been so serious. In Montgomery, Alabama, Judge Walter B. Jones took part in a reenactment of Confederate Jefferson Davis's inauguration in February 1861. Jones played the part of secessionist leader and later brigadier-general Howell Cobb. At the same time, he was presiding over a libel action brought by L.B. Sullivan, the Montgomery city commissioner, against the *New York Times* for an advert, 'Heed Their Rising Voices,' run in support of civil rights marchers. The defense argued that the white male jury, all sporting suitably impressive long beards grown for the centennial, were clearly biased, an opinion with which Judge Jones – who had already attempted to ban the NAACP in Alabama – did not concur.[20]

As Cook reminds us, of course, the enthusiasm with which the birth of the Confederacy was celebrated in states such as Alabama should not be taken at face value as evidence of either states' rights or racist sympathies among those taking part. The Civil War Centennial overall had been intended mainly as both a patriotic celebration and a marketing opportunity, not a pedagogical exercise nor a moral lesson, and many approached it with nothing more than either profit or entertainment in mind. State tourist boards seized the chance to draw crowds to their centennial festivities, and many Americans relished dressing up in nineteenth-century costume, and looked forward to battle reenactments because these activities promised a day out and a break from routine. That did not mean that they all subscribed either to a segregationist or states' rights agenda or sought to deny the historical reality of slavery as the cause of the war.[21] Yet it soon became clear that separating the Civil War from civil rights was not going to be possible. With the official opening of the celebrations – April 12, the anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter – almost derailed by being booked in a segregated hotel in Charleston, South Carolina (so black centennial commission delegates could not attend) the centennial itself began to unravel almost before it had begun as several northern states including New York and New Jersey voted to boycott the ceremony.

In the months that followed, the 'festive atmosphere' that surrounded preparations for and then the actual reenactment of the Civil War's first major battle, First Bull Run/Manassas provided a stark contrast with the violence meted out, especially in Alabama, to the 'Freedom Riders' who had taken buses into the South to challenge transport segregation there. The violence was so extreme that Kennedy, like Eisenhower before him, had to send in the National Guard. When Ulysses S, Grant III was replaced as chair of the CWCC by Allan Nevins, a former journalist and the leading Civil War historian of the day, it was hoped that the CWCC would drive the centennial in a new direction. Certainly Nevins's approach to battlefield reenactments was, to put it mildly, unsympathetic. 'If the National Commission tries to re-enact a battle,' he asserted, 'my dead body will be the first found on the field.'[22]

Yet Nevins's determination to emphasise both the cause and the human cost of the Civil War was, at best, a rearguard action fought against a public perception of the past that preferred the glory to the gore, the sentimental fiction of a 'brother's war' over any uncomfortable reminders of the extremely unsentimental reality of slavery. When the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 arrived, Kennedy's refusal to attend the ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial was what is nowadays termed a 'teachable moment' missed, for him as much as for the nation. Instead, it fell to Martin Luther King, in August of that year, to remind Americans of what the Civil War had really been about, and to emphasise the need 'to make real the promises of democracy,' to 'rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice.' By the end of that year, Kennedy was dead. And the Civil Rights Act (1964), passed by his successor Lyndon B. Johnson, was driven through largely on the momentum of what was perceived to be the Kennedy legacy; the legacy that actually drove it, of course, was that of a war fought a century before, and whose final drama was not enacted, or re-enacted, on any military battlefield.

Conclusion

In some respects, although Charles Wesley's concerns about the Southern emphasis of the centennial were valid ones, the chronological imperative of the Civil War itself would have ensured an initial centennial focus on the states of the former Confederacy even without the civil rights issue highlighting the enduring and contested legacy of the war in many of those states in the 1960s. Fifty years on, and it seems clear that the war's legacy – and the public dissemination of the Civil War story – remains a contentious one. Much, of course, has changed. The Cold War context within which both the Civil War Centennial and Civil Rights battles were fought has given way to a more complex international landscape that finds the United States struggling to make

sense of a post-September 11 world, its troops committed across that world but toward ends that are sometimes as unclear as they are elusive. Whether the sesquicentennial (or CW150) of the Civil War will prove to be in any sense a 'teachable moment' for the United States remains to be seen.

In this opening year of CW150, there are signs that lessons have been learned from the centennial debacle. In Alabama, a state that struggled more than most with the issues in 1961, has selected to merge the Civil War with civil rights more broadly in a 'Becoming Alabama' celebration that seeks to cover all the commemorative bases. Inevitably, the media pounce on any overt expressions of support for the former Confederacy, and equally inevitably some neo-Confederate groups will give them plenty to pounce on, visually, verbally and, via the Web, virtually. It is hardly surprising that the Sons of Confederate Veterans choose to emphasise 'the right of secession' and 'not the cause,' but less certain that contemporary Americans will see secession as the solution to the current federal fiscal crisis. Or, if they do, that perspective might shift as the sesquicentennial progresses. Much may depend on what the nation's first black president chooses to do or, more crucially, what he selects to say on the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 2013.[23]

NOTES

[1] Douglass at the Monument of the Unknown Dead at Arlington, May 30, 1871,' p. 5, at http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mfd&fileName=22/22021/22021page.db&recNum=3. Accessed 27 February 2011.
[2] Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War: Meditations on the Centennial* (New York 1961) 3; Charles H. Wesley, 'The Civil War and the Negro-American', *Journal of Negro History*, 47, 2 (April, 1962) 77-96, quotation 79.
[3] Wesley, 'The Civil War and the Negro-American', 78; *New York Post*, February 17, 1961.
[4] David Blight, 'Will we do better this time?' *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 26 2009, 1; Robert Cook at: http://hnn.us/articles/41285.html (accessed 27 February, 2011).
[5] Kathryn Q. Seelye, New York Times, November 29, 2010: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/30/us/30confed.html; Atlanta Cyclorama and Civil War Museum: http://www.atlantacyclorama.org/ (accessed 27 February, 2011).
[6] Rick Hampton in USA Today, February 17, 2011: http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2011-02-17-1Acivilwar17_CV_N.htm (accessed 27 February, 2011).
[7] Mitch Kauchun, 'Before the Eyes of All Nations: African-American Identity and Historical Memory and the Centennial Exposition of 1876,' *Pennsylvania History*, 65:3 (June, 1998) 200-323, quotation 304.
[8] Bayard Taylor, 'What is an American?', The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 35, No. 211 (May 1875) pp. 561-567, quotations pp. 562, 565-6.
[9] Susanna W. Gold, '"Fighting It Over Again": The Battle of Gettysburg at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition,' *Civil War History*, 54:3 (September, 2008) 277-310, quotations 281-2.
[10] Gold, 'Fighting It Over Again,' 303-4.

[11] Gold, 'Fighting It Over Again,' 279.
[12] For a description of the 1913 reunion, see: http://www.nps.gov/archive/gett/getttour/sidebar/reunion13.htm; for a transcript of Wilson's speech: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3787 (accessed 28 February, 2011).
[13] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 'The Soldier's Faith: An Address Delivered on Memorial Day, May 30, 1895,' in Richard A. Posner, *The Essential Holmes: Selections from the Letters, Speeches, Judicial Opinions, and Other Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 92; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) 189-90; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 18, 90.
[14] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 31; Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 5.
[15] *The Lincoln Monument in Memory of Scottish-American Soldiers* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893) 9, 11, 20, 47.
[16] *New York Times*, May 1, 1961;
[17] Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007) 15.
[18] Grant quoted in Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 1; 'Unfinished Business: The African-American Response to the Civil War Centennial of 1961-65,' in Susan-Mary Grant and Peter J. Parish, eds., *Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 48-64.
[19] John F. Kennedy, 'Inaugural Address,' January 20, 1961: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=8032 (accessed February 28, 2011)' Alexander H. Stephens, 'Cornerstone Speech,' March 21, 1861: http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=76 (accessed February 28, 2011).
[20] Jon Weiner, 'Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights: The Civil War Centennial in Context, 1960-1965,' in Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh (eds.), *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 238; Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 79-83.
[21] Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 132-5.
[22] Nevins quoted in Weiner, 'Civil War, Cold War,' 243.
[23] Campbell Robertson in the *New York Times*, February 20, 2011: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/21/us/21davis.html?scp=5&sq=sesquicentennial&st=nyt (accessed February 28, 2011).

Images: Legends

Figure 1: 'The Conquered Banner' (New Orleans: A.E. Blackmar, 1866). Cover of sheet music mourning the defeat of the Confederacy. The image represents a Confederate flag draped over a cannon the whole surrounded by weeds. The title invokes a poem by the 'poet laureate of the Confederacy,' Father Abram Joseph Ryan, published that same year. Ryan's poem, 'The Conquered Banner' reads in part: 'Furl that Banner, for 't is weary;/Round its staff 't is drooping dreary:/Furl it, fold it, – it is best;/For there's not a man to wave it,/And there's not a sword to save it. . .Furl that Banner, softly, slowly!/Treat it gently – it is holy,/For it droops above the dead./Touch it not – unfold it never;/Let it droop there, furled forever, –/For its people's hopes are fled'; image courtesy of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (LC-USZ62-91833).

Figure 2: 'The Stride of a Century' (New York: Currier and Ives, c.1876). This centennial image is of 'Brother Jonathan,' a younger precursor to the later 'Uncle Sam' image of the United States. He is pictured astride the American continent, a continent crossed, as the picture makes clear, by the railroad. The main building at the Philadelphia World's Fair of 1876 is directly under him at the centre of the image; image courtesy of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (LC-USZ62-106472).

Figure 3: Gettysburg Reunion: GAR (Grand Army of the Republic) and UCV (United Confederate Veterans) Veterans at the reunion encampment, 1913. Harris & Ewing (photographer). LC-DIG-hec-02900 (digital file from original negative). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Figure 4: Abraham Lincoln Monument, Old Calton Burial Ground, Edinburgh. Photo © Author.

Figure 5: A detail from the bronze relief on the South Carolina African American History Monument depicting the passage of what became known as Brown vs. Board of Education (1954), the Supreme Court case that ended legal segregation in the nation's schools. This had been, in fact, five separate cases, hence the reference to one of the others. The monument was unveiled in 2001. Photo © Author.

Martin Luther King Jr.: Myth Versus Reality

DR DAVID MCKINSTRY

The enduring legacy of Dr Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK) is one of the charismatic leader of the civil rights movement. The photographs of King being attacked by Southern racists in Birmingham, Alabama, as he led non-violent protests against segregation are among the most iconic images of the civil rights era. Later that year in August 1963, King delivered one of the most famous speeches in history in which he articulated the hopes of millions, as he shared his dream before 250,000 supporters as they assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial at the end of their March on Washington. Less than a year later, King was the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace prize and became the worldwide symbol of the struggle for racial justice. Many historians believe that in response to MLK's mass direct action campaigns both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were forced to commit to the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act (1964) which outlawed all forms of segregation across the South. However, what is less evident was that the Johnson administration deliberately minimised King's influence during the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Moreover, President Johnson was reluctant to engage in any meaningful dialogue with Dr King on the issue of civil rights during his first year of office and viewed MLK's direct action strategies as being politically dangerous to his administration. This article will focus on the political calculations inside the Johnson Administration as it attempted to isolate King during the passage of the most important civil rights legislation since the civil war. It will employ primary sources from the period making particular use of memoranda from within the administration to shed new light on how President Johnson attempted to keep his political distance from Dr King.

After the Kennedy assassination, Lyndon Baines Johnson became the first Southerner in a century to become president. He took charge of a country in the grip of the worst racial crisis since the civil war. The twin crises of the assassination and the racial turmoil which was spreading across the nation threatened to derail Johnson's administration before he was even able to establish himself as president. Johnson understood that if he was to be viewed as a national rather than a Southern president he would immediately have to commit himself to the cause of civil rights. On November 27th, before a televised joint session of both Houses of Congress, Johnson committed his administration to the passage of Kennedy's civil rights legislation and in so doing publicly committed his administration to the cause of racial justice. President Johnson was willing to give moral leadership on the issue of civil rights; however, this was to be firmly within the confines of party politics. Like his predecessor, he sought to redirect

the mass direct action movement, which had been ignited in Birmingham, off the streets and steer it into established political channels. Johnson, like Kennedy, was ill-equipped to address a social movement generated out of injustice and striving for a vision of community.[1] The limitations of his administration in this respect were evident in his relationship with MLK. An indication of the administration's approach to civil rights was the first memorandum prepared by Johnson aides on the possible items for discussion in Johnson's first meeting with MLK on December 3rd. It stated:

[T]he Negro leadership can be constructive in securing a receptive atmosphere in Congress. The responsibility of the leadership as evidenced by the August 28th march and by the fact that we managed to get through the summer with comparative freedom from violence indicates what role can be played.... Rather than demonstrations, the channeling of energies into registration drives can be meaningful—and not only in the South.[2]

By placing emphasis on voter registration drives, Johnson was attempting to re-establish the strategy of his senatorial career which placed emphasis on black enfranchisement as being the most effective method of dismantling Southern segregation. Franchise measures encountered least opposition by Southern constitutionalists. Although Johnson expected to make electoral losses in the white South by supporting civil rights he was attempting to compensate by gaining African-American votes in the South and the North. The Johnson administration was also attempting to steer King away from what it viewed as being politically dangerous direct action strategies. After the meeting, in a press conference, King gave no guarantee to adhere to Johnson's request for a moratorium on demonstrations. According to Lee C. White, Johnson's special assistant on civil rights, what King agreed to privately and his public pronouncements on demonstrations were contradictory. On December 4th, in a memorandum to Johnson, White stated: 'Dr King...you may have noticed...had a completely different story outside than he did in your office about the question of demonstrations.' [3]

Almost from the outset there was a clash of strategies between Johnson, the insider politician, and King, the leader of mass direct action. Andrew Young, one of King's aides, distinguished King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (NUL) as the only organisation, which 'had a strategy to involve the masses of African-Americans to take control of their own destiny.' [4] King, himself, had later asserted that it had been almost impossible to communicate with certain members of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, including Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall, the meaning and consequences of civil disobedience. Johnson was to prove no different. Almost

from the beginning of his presidency there was a clash of both ideologies and strategies between King's SCLC and the Johnson administration.[5] Indicative of this was a memorandum sent by Lee C. White to Johnson on the formulation of a civil rights programme to help the nation to adjust to the Civil Rights Act, if it was passed, and to avoid the potential of violence. On March 11th, White recommended:

I believe some thought should be given to providing similar constructive channels to these energies for the summer of 1964. Possibilities [include] a series of religious rallies throughout the country, perhaps under the joint sponsorship and participation of such religious leaders as Dr. Billy Graham and Martin Luther King; the energies to prepare for such a program in the major cities would be substantial...[6]

This suggests that a key aide within the administration had no real conception of the nature of King's mass movement and the ideological ethos which underpinned its direct action strategies. By 1964 events had transformed King from being a religious leader to one of the national spokesmen of the mass civil rights movement, yet the administration was still attempting to treat MLK in strictly religious terms. LBJ's treatment of King was also motivated by practical political considerations. Although King had become the symbol of the civil rights movement, his organisation the SCLC did not have the same organisational strength as the NAACP which had 400,000 members, had branches in all fifty States and could be relied upon by the administration to effectively lobby for the passage of civil rights legislation. In contrast, the SCLC's lack of financial stability and coherent organisational planning was evident since the association's creation in 1957. This was recognised by the leadership and in 1960 the SCLC had hired Wyatt Tee Walker as an executive director with the remit to inject financial stability and establish an organisational structure which facilitated some form of strategic programme for the association. However, on May 11th 1964, in a letter to Roy Wilkins, the leader of the NAACP, Walker frankly admitted his lack of success:

I am writing to you in response to your letter to Martin of the 30th. He has been out on the road constantly and has asked me to respond to you out of the urgency of the situation described as it relates to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The truth of the matter is that the SCLC is broke. I suppose this is one of the penalties of the "white backlash" that we all have to experience.

We seem to have a slump that shows no immediate signs of changing. There were some expansion changes that we just had to make out of North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida operations have been costly. During the first part of this week, we expect to float a sizable loan to tide us over the next six week period.

Out of the money we will forward the Leadership Conference $500.00 if at all possible. One of our difficulties surrounding our lack of response was that we were unaware of an assessment until Walter Fauntroy mentioned it during a Board Meeting in Washington.[7]

The letter is indicative of several important points. Firstly, the SCLC concentrated its operations mainly in the South, where a large percentage of the black vote was rurally dispersed and only forty percent voted. Secondly, when both the civil rights and poverty bills were making their ways through Congress, the SCLC did not have the financial, organisational or political strength to influence the outcomes of these pieces of legislation, both of which were vital to the administration and the civil rights movement. In March 1964, Dr. King wrote an open letter requesting funds for his cash-strapped organisation. He stated that it was impossible to continue his southern campaign 'without financial assistance [and that] Negroes contribute funds and services, but poverty limits their aid.'[8]

In the same months that the SCLC was reporting severe financial difficulties, the NAACP had commissioned a television programme in support of the civil rights bill and was funding its members from all over the United States to travel to Washington to lobby Congress to pass the bill.[9] These important financial and structural differences meant that practical politicians, like Johnson, inevitably would court the support of the NAACP, which had the ability to help secure the bill's passage and assist in its implementation at the local level. Johnson's policy of favouring the NAACP above the SCLC was also motivated by political considerations. The administration was attempting to bolster the NAACP's former position as the unchallenged national voice of the civil rights movement. After Birmingham, King and his direct action methods had in effect dislodged the NAACP and had become the national symbol of the movement. However, the methods employed by King alarmed white liberal politicians in Washington.[10]

The Johnson administration sought to direct and control the movement by steering it into what it deemed to be acceptable parameters of political discourse. This meant that the new administration sought to demote King by exploiting the organisational rivalry between civil rights associations. A central component of this rivalry was the organisational and personal jealousy exhibited by the NAACP under Roy Wilkins's leadership towards King's SCLC. Johnson deliberately exploited this animosity in an attempt to defuse the growing radicalism within the movement, which threatened to decline into racial violence in the presidential year of 1964. From Birmingham onwards, King was increasingly becoming radical in both his ideological stance and his use of direct action methods. By mid-1964 King relied more heavily on the advice of the

New York Research Committee to plan increasingly sophisticated tactics for addressing the civil rights agenda, and in particular on the left-wing political strategist Bayard Rustin. In August 1964, before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, King had used him as an intermediary in an attempt to arrange a meeting with the president. Johnson told Lee C. White to inform Rustin that the president was unable to meet him. The reason for this was that before the presidential election Johnson did not want to offend white voters by meeting with the civil rights leader. However, as Harry McPherson, a key Johnson aide, argued, this was also part of a wider strategy by the administration to deliberately ostracise radical groups. In the early days of the Johnson administration, King and his advisers were seen as representing just such a threat to the administration and because of this they were marginalised.[11]

An indication of Johnson's attempts to isolate King can also be seen in telephone records of Johnson's first year, where there is very little evidence of contact with King, apart from during the president's first couple of weeks of office.[12] This can be seen in the Johnson library's Recordings and Transcripts of Conversations and Meetings, which indicated that there was very little direct contact with King in the early months of the administration. In addition the primary materials from the Johnson library indicate that between November 22nd and the passage of the Civil Rights Act on July 2nd, 1964, there were only a total of four recorded telephone contacts between the SCLC and President Johnson and only one private meeting between Johnson and King, on December 3rd, 1963. The records of the contacts between Johnson and the civil rights leadership also indicate that Johnson had no contact with King until the official signing of the Civil Rights Act at the White House in July, 1964. In contrast during the same period, Johnson personally telephoned Roy Wilkins on six separate occasions and his administration contacted the NAACP seventeen times.[13]

The evidence suggests that Johnson was determined to maintain his distance from King. This was partly motivated by the administration being continually informed of the possibility that direct action protests, of which King was a leading proponent, were about to descend into uncontrollable racial violence. This was reflected in internal memoranda, which were circulated in the spring of 1964. On May 4th, Dick Goodwin, a close aide of Johnson and presidential speech-writer, sent the president a memorandum on civil rights stating:

There are two lines of approach to which I have given some thought.
(A) We should not put the President's prestige, office etc., on the line so that each outbreak of violence, each breakdown of order, will be our responsibility…[;] we should not be in a position of having every incident be counted as failure of the Johnson policy.

(B) I think that we should take every possible step toward identifying potential incidents before they occur and do our best -- in a quiet and secret way -- to militate against them. I believe that many leaders in the North, and Southern leaders such as Paul Johnson, do not want to be forced by circumstances into extreme positions. I think we should make sure we have lines of communication open to them, so that when something does happen they have someone here they can call and talk to in complete secrecy, knowing that the call won't be used for political purposes against or damage them. In other words, there is a considerable area of common interest among responsible Negro leaders, political leaders around the country and the White House in preventing as many outbreaks of violence etc., as possible. We should try and use this common interest to prevent extremists from creating unnecessary trouble.[14]

On May 19th, 1964, Douglass [sic] Cater, the president's ideas man, also sent an internal memorandum to President Johnson. It stated:

...[The] Negro leadership is being pushed hard by a more radical element. Some of the leaders like Bayard Rustin [King's aide] have been heard to predict that a little violence this summer might be a healthy thing. No one seems to have a clear idea where trouble may erupt first....[15]

Special assistant Jack Valenti replied to Cater's memorandum, stating:

The President was very appreciative of... your memorandum... and suggested that you get with Bill Moyers and Dick Goodwin on suggestions for the Marshall speech. Also, it might be well if you get with Lee White and work out a specific plan on the civil rights memorandum.[16]

What the evidence suggests is that there was recognition at the heart of the Johnson presidency of several important political issues, which the administration had to take account of with regard to civil rights. Firstly, civil rights campaign issues might alienate potential Democratic Party voters in election year. Secondly, it was thought that the president should maintain his public distance from the issue, whilst privately lobbying moderate civil rights leaders and political leaders. The administration's insider powerbroker approach, which placed emphasis on secrecy, was in stark contrast to King's high-profile approach, which made extensive use of the media to highlight the cause of racial justice. Thirdly, the fact that Valenti indicated that the president had taken note of Cater's memorandum and had instructed that he work with Goodwin and White, suggests that Johnson took Cater's analysis seriously and was thereby moving him closer to the centre of policy formulation on civil rights.

The evidence also indicates that the administration was aware of the possibility of violence erupting in the months before the Democratic Convention and the election in November. The memoranda are further evidence that the administration was conscious of the northern dimension of the racial problem and that it could turn violent. This was a full year before the rioting in the Watts district of Los Angeles. In the presidential election year of 1964, the Johnson administration was faced with the dilemma of how to address the demands of the civil rights movement by negotiating with its leadership. However, King, who was recognised as a symbol of the movement, was the one leader from whom Johnson apparently felt the need to maintain his political distance. This was particularly the case during the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and prior to the Democratic National Convention, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's (MFDP) demands to be seated at the Convention threatened to divide the Party on the issue of race. Even after the omnibus bill was passed and the convention was safely over, the president still maintained his distance from King. When Johnson did contact King on September 28th, on the eve of the SCLC's eighth annual Convention, the theme of which was 'New Directions in the Quest for Freedom', Johnson was still intent on keeping his political distance from Dr. King. In contrast to the informality of the communications between the president and Roy Wilkins, Johnson sent the SCLC leader a formal letter addressed to "Dr. King". Johnson stated:

A great national consensus supported the civil rights legislation enacted into law earlier this year, and the reaction by both public officials and by the owners of private businesses has been most encouraging in every section of the country. That the same support will sustain efforts by government at all levels, by organizations of every character, and by individuals to engage in constructive and positive programs to lift the economic level of all of our citizens and to ensure that the benefits and privileges, as well as the obligations and duties, of citizenship will be available to all on a fair and non-discriminatory basis. Much can be done, and must be done, if the potential freedoms affirmed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are to be translated into practice and meaningful progress. The most direct responsibility of each citizen is to participate in the affairs of his Nation, state, and community by exercising his right to vote—every qualified citizen must register and vote if we are to be worthy of the freedoms we enjoy and hope to obtain.[17]

This rare direct exchange between Johnson and King is significant in a number of respects. Firstly, by telling King that the government would 'engage in constructive and positive programs to lift the economic level of all of our citizens', Johnson was directly linking constitutional and socio-economic civil rights agendas. Secondly, by placing emphasis on legislation and the right to

vote, he was implicitly attempting to discourage King's advocacy of direct action methods and instead encouraging a return to conventional political solutions. It is reasonable to suggest that Johnson understood the threat which the SCLC's mass direct action methods posed to his administration in the months before the presidential election. Consequently, Johnson deliberately peripheralised King from having any real input to the administration's civil rights policy agenda during his first year of office.

Throughout his first year in office President Johnson continually attempted to distance his administration from Dr. King's SCLC, perceiving it to be too radical and of little practical use in helping the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act (1964). Johnson's attempts to marginalise King did have political repercussions. King continually refused to campaign for Johnson openly, partly because the president gave patronage and priority to Roy Wilkins's NAACP. This meant that Johnson had to campaign without the unequivocal support of Martin Luther King, Jr., the Nobel Prize-winning symbol of the civil rights struggle.

NOTES

[1] Miroff, B., *Pragmatic Illusions: The Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy* (New York, 1976).
[2] Lee C. White to President Johnson, Dec. 3, 1963, Folder: Human Rights, Equality of the Races, 11/22/63-3/25/64, Box 2 'Human Rights, (Executive and General HU.1), 11/22/63-7/16/64', Papers of the President, LBJL.
[3] Lee C. White to President Johnson, Dec. 4, 1963, Folder: Human Rights, Equality of the Races, 11/22/63-3/25/64, Box 2 'Human Rights, (Executive and General HU.1), 11/22/63-7/16/64', Papers of the President, LBJL.
[4] Andrew Young, *An Easy Burden: The Civil Rights Movement and the Transformation of America* (New York, 1996), p.273.
[5] Martin Luther King, Jr., Oral History Interview (March, 9, 1964), pp.16-18, JFKL.
[6] Lee C. White to President Johnson, March 11, 1964, Folder: Bill Signing and Implementation, Box 1, Legislative Background to the Civil Rights Act (1964) Papers, LBJL.
[7] Wyatt Tee Walker to Roy Wilkins, May 11, 1964, Folder: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1963-1965, Box A 212, Administrative File, Papers of the NAACP, LC. Walter Fauntroy was in charge of the SCLC's bureau in Washington D.C.. Lillie Patterson, *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1993), p.94.
[8] Martin Luther King, "Open Letter", March 1, 1964, Folder: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1963-1965, Box A 212, Administrative File, Papers of the NAACP, LC.
[9] *Crisis,* May, 1964, Folder: HR.7146, Box 46, House of U.S. Representatives Files, National Archives. Roy Wilkins to Branch Presidents in Wisconsin, April 17, 1964, Folder: Civil Rights Legislation, Clarence Mitchell, 1960-1965, Box 72, Administrative File, Papers of the NAACP, LC.
[10] Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions,* p.269.
[11] McPherson, H., *A Political Education: A Washington Memoir* (Austin, Texas,1972), p.357
[12] Beschloss, M.R., *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964* (New York, 1997).
[13]Transcripts of Telephone Conversations between Lyndon B. Johnson and the Southern

Christian Leadership Council, November 25, 1963 to July 2, 1964, Recordings of Telephone Conversations – White House Series.

[14] Dick Goodwin to President Johnson, May 4, 1964, Folder: Human Rights, Equality of the Races, 3/26/64-5/24/64, Box 2 'Human Rights, (Executive and General HU.1), 11/22/63-7/16/64', Papers of the President, LBJL

[15] Douglass Cater to President Johnson, May 19, 1964, Folder: Human Rights, Equality of the Races, 3/26/64-5/24/64, Box 2 'Human Rights, (Executive and General HU.1), 11/22/63-7/16/64', Papers of the President, LBJL

[16] Jack Valenti to Douglass Cater, May 20 1964, Folder: Human Rights, Equality of the Races, 3/26/64-5/24/64, Box 2 'Human Rights, (Executive and General HU.1), 11/22/63-7/16/64', Papers of the President, LBJL

[17] President Johnson to Martin Luther King, Sept. 28, 1964, Folder: Human Rights 2, 8/21/64-10/31/64, Box 3 'Human Rights', White House Central Files, LBJL.

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