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Ideologies inked in: Scotland's culture of print in the Union debate of 1706

The Anglo-Scottish parliamentary Union of 1707 was with the tri-centenary subject to considerable academic investigation. A range of new political studies emerged along with more populist commentary, and some historiographical conclusions have clashed with popular politics. This contest gained renewed focus during the independence referendum campaign in Scotland in 2014 where some claimed an unbalanced media was at work. This essay will explore the nature of the print culture of Scotland in the crucial four months of 1706/7 when the Scottish Parliament debated the Treaty of Union.

On 3 October 1706 the Scottish Parliament began a new session where the articles of Anglo-Scottish parliamentary union were debated and voted on one by one. In that cold autumn day as the elected (shire and burgh commissioners) and summoned (nobles) of the Scottish estates gathered in Edinburgh, what was the political temperature? The imminent printing of one of the earl of Cromarty's popular pro-union tracts *Triologus: a conference betwixt Mr. Con, Mr. Pro and Mr. Indifferent, concerning the union* (1706), through its very title, captured the atmosphere of feverish and at times perplexing debate.¹ As with the referendum campaign for a fully independent Scottish parliament in 2014, a political watershed had been reached which even the normally disengaged could not ignore. All parliamentarians who met in 1706 were united in one particular sense, however - the *status quo*, the imperfect Union of the Crowns that existed since 1603, was not an option.²

Like George Mackenzie, earl of Cromarty (1630-1714), a remarkable survivor who was the only Scottish statesman to have served in the administrations of Charles II, James VII and II, William and Mary and Queen Anne (*ODNB*, Kidd), John Erskine, eleventh earl of Mar (1675-1732), was another individual with a varied political career. For almost ten years he served as one of the Scottish secretaries or in equivalent posts under Queen Anne but on being dismissed by her successor the Hanoverian George I, Mar led, none too impressively, the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 (*ODNB*, Ehrenstein). By then he embraced the Jacobite logic to Anglo-Scottish union as encapsulated in an anonymous 'Treatise of advice to a Catholic King of Great Britain', c.1710: '[Scots] are so loyally affected that they want but an occasion to

¹ This was a series of 'conversations', numbering at least seven and appearing weekly.

² The best political summaries of the road to the Union of 1707 are Whatley (2006, 2014) and Macinnes (2007). For the articles and voting see *RPS*, 1706/10/1-257. Elected members were called 'commissioners'.

declare for the King [James VIII and III] & against the Union' (Bod. Lib. MS. Eng. e.3454, ff.66-76b). In 1706, however, Mar was a pro-unionist officer of state alarmed at the incendiary atmosphere out with the chamber as the articles of union began their passage through parliament. Religious and economic fears conflated:

... the humour in the country against the treatie of union is much increast a late, and I must acknowledge the ministers preaching up the danger of the Kirk is a principal cause of it, and the opposing parties misrepresenting every article of the treatie makes the commonality believ that they will be opprest with taxes (Hume Brown 1915, 176-7).³

The anonymous and virulent presbyterian anti-union tract *The Smoaking Flax unquenchable* (1706) (with its reference to Isaiah 42:3)⁴ confirmed the pervasiveness of these anxieties and in one of its editions has printed at the end a verse with the following lines (Anon 1706a, 25):

Oh Scotland thy religion and liberties are sold;
Unto the English Nation for Silver and Gold.

This early, near-rendering, perhaps not the first, of Robert Burn's oft used censure '...bought and sold for English gold', usually attributed to his 1791 song poem 'Such a parcel of rogues in a nation', also conflates admitted financial advantages of union with the high price, too high, of curtailed religious and political liberty. In October 1706 the pro-unionist John Clerk of Penicuik, burgh commissioner for Whithorn and subsequently an MP in the first parliament of Great Britain in 1707, saw it all so differently and with much more optimism (Clerk 1706, 43-44):

By this union the English will be so far from pretending to any dominion over us that the rulers of GB will be chosen indifferently from among us and them, as any sovereign shall think fit, that so by a full communication of privileges all jealousies and fears and all the fatal marks of distinction that have been between Scots and English will be extinguished for ever.

³ Letter from John Erskine, earl of Mar to the English treasurer Sydney Godolphin, 26 October 1706.

⁴ Isaiah 42:3 (King James) reads: A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth'.

Clerk, justifying himself as a patriot who voted for union in 1706/7 to secure the Hanoverian succession, put it another way reflecting back four decades later (Duncan 1993, 186-7) in the less sanguine tone shared with his important 'History of the Union' (c.1730):

What could we then do but seriously think of an Union as the only Remedy cou'd be offered to that National Fermentation that was already begun amongst us. Even the Honour of our Antient Kingdoms behoved to give way to England on the best conditions that cou' d be obtained for if We had stood out to the last we must have submitted to the persone on whom the English nation had thought fit to confer their Crown or have made our Country a schene of dessolation Bloodshed and Confusion. It was impossible for us to have supported a different successor to our Crown from the persone in possession of the Crown of England and therefore must, at last, have shamefully fallen under such a Conquest as hapned to us under the Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell.

So it was then, that an effusion of pamphlets, blasts and counter-blasts delivered in late 1706 what was for Scotland the greatest controversy in print since the advent of the printing press.

It would be wrong clearly to think that this Union business was the first intensive print controversy that excited Scotland in the early modern period. The Scottish Reformation was intense but more protracted over two decades either side of the Reformation Parliament of 1560, and much was underground. The confessional disputes of the 1620s and 1630s about liturgy and bishops, Presbyterians versus Episcopalians, were also largely overseas affairs where the Dutch press entered the side of the Presbyterian Covenanters before and after they controlled printing themselves. The Restoration period, in as much as the next confessional controversy gripped the press in the 1670s and 1680s, was again greatly an overseas affair. However, in 1681 we see the first clear conflation of controversy and newsbooks. The Exclusion Crisis in England, where the English parliament attempted to prevent the Catholic James duke of York from succeeding Charles II, the Test Act controversy in Scotland, where a contradictory oath of loyalty was enacted which was impossible for some to take given that it sustained James's rights in all matters ecclesiastical, and lastly the convoluted trial of the Whig earl of Shaftesbury at the Old Bailey in London, ensured that a quarter of the entire output of the Scottish press that year was devoted to controversy. The first six months of 1689 saw more political and ideological debate in Scotland than at any time since the 1640s, as the nature of the revolution settlement was debated, in religious and constitutional terms,

and a surprisingly robust election was fought by Williamite and Jacobite/Episcopalians while, awkwardly for the latter, James VII and II landed in Ireland, which in turn brought on a new wave of news publications. Then in the late 1690s the infamous Darien scheme, those vain attempts to establish a Scottish trading colony at Panama, entered the stage with all the promise of subscription, financial bounty and national salvation and then in 1699 and 1700, when the scheme began to collapse, much press output, some anonymous, attacking William as a hesitant ‘king of Scots’ and the English Parliament as perfidious. In June 1700 the Privy Council became so alarmed at all the printed ‘injustice’ that it established a new ‘committee anent printers and booksellers’ to consider how the press could be controlled and to examine and interrogate. Only a week later the same committee reviewed the case of Hugh Paterson, newspaper publisher, and James Watson (the younger) printer, for the publication of yet another outraged Darien tract, and both were imprisoned, fined and banished from Edinburgh. Then the disastrous crown performance in the election of 1702-3 delivered a further period of feverish press controversy as the Scottish Parliament was unleashed, asserting itself as it passed legislation that protested at decisions made by England over the royal succession and war, taken regardless of Scotland. The hung parliament that resulted from the election undermined crown management of Scottish affairs and saw Scottish members of parliament increasingly turn to the press both openly and anonymously. Then as the union came into view from 1704 provocative tracts from England had to be destroyed, such as William Attwood’s *The Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England, over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland* (1704), strident pamphlets asserting national independence had conversely to be suppressed, while parliament also from 1705 financed authors such as James Hodges and James Anderson to produce texts that reaffirmed the ancient rights and privileges of Scotland (NRS, PC.1, 52, ff.104, 163-4; *RPS*, 1705/6/52, 1705/6/51, 1705/6/111; Mann 2000, 171-76, 189-91, 216-18; Mann 2002a, 85-89; Mann 2014, 207-8; Harris 2006, 381-86). By 1706 the print culture of Scotland was therefore sophisticated and ready to participate in the most significant political decision the Scottish estates would ever have to make.

The tracts or pamphlets produced in or for Scotland from October 1706 to 16 January 1707, the date of the final vote, were squeezed into less than four months of extraordinary press activity (Whatley 2006, 274-95; Szechi 1995, 141-208). They represented, in spite of Darien, the first time that a fully open debate from the domestic press in pamphlet form arose in the context of a ‘mostly’ secular political agenda. In other words, in spite of the

controversies of the past two centuries, in character and scale this was new territory. Comprehending the nature of the print culture of this time is greatly aided by a list of pamphlets accumulated by James Hamilton, fourth duke of Hamilton (1658-1712) entitled ‘List of such prints as were made publict since the sitting of the parliament in October 1706’ (NRS, GD 406. M9/208/6). This is a list of sixty or so pamphlets (see appendix) and is a curious collection given that some are not listed in McLeod and McLeod’s *Anglo-Scottish Tracts* or in Karin Bowie’s excellent *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (McLeod and McLeod 1979; Bowie 2007, 172-80).⁵ If we take all of these sources together, even excluding the many printed petitions and addresses to parliament, we can see that in these months perhaps 120 pamphlets and topical printings were disseminated in and around the Edinburgh parliament.

Several things strike us from this ‘additional’ list of just over sixty pamphlets. In the first place of interest is the very fact that they were noted and collected by Hamilton himself, the enigmatic and erratic anti-union Country party leader who led the parliamentary opposition in the months leading up to the Union. Hamilton was neither so committed to the revolution as his father, the third duke, nor so quick to abandon contact with the exiled Jacobite court. He was a lone voice in January 1689, when over a hundred Scottish nobles gathered in London at the Revolution to agree on how to proceed, with the idea that James continue subject to a regency of William and Mary. Thereafter his tactical behaviour in the politics of Queen’s Anne’s reign is often impenetrable (Mann 2014, 189-92; Harris 2006, 379-80; *ODNB*, Marshall). It may not surprise that he should assemble contemporary press output, yet the collection takes on an interesting character in terms of balance. Admittedly 15% consists of pro-union Daniel Defoe pieces but it is still an eclectic collection. The list is equally split between pro-union tracts such as Clerk of Penicuik’s, *A letter to a friend, giving an account how the treaty of union has been received here* (1706), or anti-union works such as the anonymous *To the loyal and religious hearts in parliament, some few effects of the union, proposed between Scotland and England* (1706) both probably printed in Edinburgh. Hamilton had seen fit to accumulate material on both sides of the controversy, no doubt in order to better formulate his arguments for the rejection of various articles in the Union treaty. This collection seems part of the library of the informed man. Like near contemporary

⁵ Half the tracts in the Hamilton collection are not listed by Bowie (who lists over 60 herself); half are not in McLeods checklist (which contains 90 excluding petitions) and 25% are in neither. Although exactly 60 items are listed by Hamilton some indicate more than one printing, for example ‘Mr Hodges therae and treatises concerning the union’. For insight into petitions, relevant to future research for Scotland and the Union, see Knights (2009), 35-60

private libraries, such as that of Robert Leighton, Restoration bishop of Dunblane and archbishop of Glasgow, which contained not only the expected philosophical, historical, antiquarian and Episcopalian material but also Catholic, Cameronian (extreme Presbyterian) and works of the mystical (*ODNB*, Ouston), we have a diverse list conveying a full range of economic, political and religious opinion. It is also fixed at a ‘moment’ in time.

The book trade that delivered this effusion and aided Hamilton in his collection consisted of perhaps thirty to forty booksellers throughout Scotland, mostly in Aberdeen (3) Edinburgh (18) and Glasgow (8), in addition to about twenty known printers, either skilled journeyman or proprietors. Of these we can identify 9 or 10 press workshops, 1 or 2 in Glasgow, 1 in Aberdeen and 7 or 8 in Edinburgh. All the presses bar one (that of Spottiswoode in Edinburgh) also had a booth which adds a further nine bookselling establishments, so we have approaching fifty outlets for the distribution of books and printed material (Mann 2001, 198).⁶ What of the political make-up of these masters of print?

Taking the capital first, the wealthiest printer was Agnes Campbell (fl.1676-1716), the royal printer, who sometimes traded as the Heirs of Andrew Anderson, her late husband who was awarded the royal patent in 1671. Campbell’s press was located in the Edinburgh College and growing the printing business she succeeded to in 1676, while diversifying into paper making and trade investments in Scotland, Ireland and northern England, she became the greatest Scottish female merchant of the age. She was a moderate Presbyterian who was allowed in the late 1670s to continue as Royal Printer in spite of her religion at a time of high-Episcopalian domination in church politics (Mann 1998; Fairley 1925). At least two female booksellers were also active in Edinburgh in 1706; Marion Bell, the widow of John Johnstone, and the more substantial bookseller Martha Stevenson who traded for four decades and supplied the nobility, including the earl of Findlater. Bell’s confessional position is unknown but Stevenson was the widow of Alexander Ogstoun who just before his death was arrested for selling anti-Catholic works in 1688 (Grant 1912, 90, 95-6, 150; Plomer 1968, 222-3; Mann 2002b, 138, 147).

Other Edinburgh printers were more committed to Presbyterianism than Campbell which tended to place them in the anti-union camp, especially before the ‘Act for securing the Protestant religion and presbyterian church government’ was passed in January 1707, even

⁶ If we include bookbinders, often also small-scale booksellers, the numbers rise to over 70. In general see National Library of Scotland ‘Scottish Book Trade Index’, at <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index> for some basic information on the following printers

though a draft act was first set before parliament in early November. For example, George Mosman (fl.1690-1707) was an underground distributor of Presbyterian material who from his press 'In Harts-Closs over against the Trone Church' became printer to the general assembly after the revolution and was typically anti-unionist. Even more radical was John Reid (elder) (fl.1678-1712) who printed out of 'Bell's Wynd'. Being a Williamite who joined the mob at the revolution, he got into trouble under James VII and II, and was arrested with the bookseller James Glen for printing anti-Catholic works. It was Glen who defended himself by declaring, that must surely mean printing the bible is illegal for it was clearly anti-papist! Reid's nephew John (the younger) (fl.1697-1721) whose press was located at 'Libberton's Wynd', was also a Presbyterian and like his uncle needed no encouragement to engage in riotous assembly when required and both Reids got into various scrapes with the authorities either side of the Union of 1707 (*RPC*, ii, 626; vii, 193; viii, 294-6; xv, 141 and 144; xvi, 228, 248; *RPS*, 1706/10/43, 251; *NRS*, PC. 1, 52, f.189; Mann 2000, 24, 26, 141, 143, 151-2, 175). Meanwhile, different confessional attitudes are found in the Edinburgh press. George Jaffrey (fl.1696-1710) with a press 'within the head of Peebles Wynd', was an obscure printer and son of an Episcopalian bookseller but with uncertain confessional affiliations. However, Andrew Symson (fl. 1699-1712), one of the so-called Jacobite-inclined 'Killiecrankie stationers' (after the battle of 1689) was much more clearly Episcopalian. Not only was he an expelled Episcopalian minister, Jacobite and poet but a close confidant of David Freebairn, also a bookseller and later post-union and post-Toleration Act, Episcopalian bishop of Edinburgh, and his son Robert Freebairn who became printer to the Old Pretender at the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. Symson's press 'At the foot of the Horse Wynd in the Cowgate' must have engaged in the anti-union polemics of Jacobitism. Similarly inclined was James Watson, (younger) (fl. 1695-1722), another Episcopalian whose father James was the Catholic printer who set up a press at Holyrood for James VII and II. Watson junior was a troublemaker as far as the Privy Council in Edinburgh was concerned as from his press in 'In Craig's Close on the North side of the Cross' he printed the *Edinburgh Gazette*, Scotland's first regular newspaper, delivering a cocktail of Jacobite, pro-Darien and Episcopalian protest in print, though also becoming an establishment figure after 1715. Finally the last Edinburgh printer active in the autumn of 1706 was John Spottiswoode (fl. 1706-7). He came from a legal dynasty and was a lawyer himself who set up a press to print legal tracts out of the shop of the law bookseller John Vallange, but also entered the union debate in his own terms as a pro-unionist. His confessional affiliation is unknown (Couper 1917, 1916, 1910; Plomer 1968, 182, 283-4, 303-4; Mann 2000, 147-8).

Outside Edinburgh, the press was smaller but no less vital. In Glasgow Robert Sanders (younger) (fl.1695-1730) was printer to the city and university, with his press opposite the college, and an establishment figure with Presbyterian tendencies but who in 1706 had just emerged after decade of legal disputes with his own mother over his business inheritance, culminating in a famous case before the Edinburgh Court of Session. A second press was run by James Brown (fl.1699-1712) a Presbyterian bookseller and occasional printer, whose wife Janet Hunter (fl.c.1705-35) would continue the family business and was a bookseller in her own right before she was widowed. Meanwhile, continuing the involvement of female book traders, in Aberdeen a single press operated under the management of Margaret Cuthbert, relict of John Forbes (younger) (fl. 1662-1704) who continued as town printer 'Above the Meal Market, at the sign of the Town's Arms' from 1704 to 1710 before her daughter Margaret and son-in-law James Nicol were ready to take control. The Forbes press was renowned for a tolerant attitude to religious publishing, including the works of the Aberdeen Quakers who suffered persecution at the instigation of the bishops of Aberdeen in the 1670s and 1680s (Couper 1915, 46-49; NRS, CS29 box. 436.1; Edmond 1884, iv, lvii; Mann 2002b, 138; Mann 2000, 22, 24, 102-4). Her likely anti-union attitude stems from both press patronage from the Episcopalian North East and the Presbyterian strain of the town council. Indeed, Cuthbert's position is emblematic of the rainbow quality of anti-unionism from differing confessional backgrounds. As we will see, however, this print unanimity is to degree dislocated from the more balanced output of the Scottish press overall: he who pays the piper often calls the tune.

By the time the session of the Scottish parliament opened in October 1706 the debate in print had shifted from arguing over what the term union meant - incorporating, confederal, federal or even conquest - and even away from a final attempt by James Hodges, scholar and constitutionalist and George Ridpath, journalist and historian and perhaps Scotland's Defoe, to by different routes make the case for a kind of regal devolution. This is seen with their *Essay Upon the Union* (printed by Agnes Campbell in Edinburgh but also in London) and *Considerations Upon the Union* (perhaps also printed in both capitals) respectively, of spring and summer 1706. This was a belated idea of two parliaments yet having joint sessions to consider the likes of the succession, war and macro-economics. In Hodges's words 'it is beyond the Invention of man to gratifie either nation with articles of benefit or advantage' and the best security for both is to 'have separate parliaments' (Hodges 1706a, 1, 30; Ridpath

1706).⁷ However, after the treaty of union negotiated in London was published in July 1706 matters turned simply on how to attack the scheme or support it by whatever means. The notion that England might consider in parallel some alternative options, including a sort of Union of the Crowns ‘max’, was but a pipedream.

So, those opposed to union and those in favour, according to the Hamilton pamphlets, made their cases as patriots, scholars, historians, economists, clergy and as parliamentarians, each with a particular case to make, but all finishing with generalised statements of ‘approval’ or ‘disapproval’ (Robertson 1995, 210-25).⁸ Economic enthusiasts such as Clerk and Defoe of course, made the case for access to the English colonial market and the grim state of the Scottish economy and trade, although others such as William Black were not so sure. In his *Considerations in Relation to Trade* of 1706 (printed by James Watson, younger) the near £400,000 of equivalent, mostly intended as compensation for Darien investors, is not so impressive and is at best a loan which would have to be repaid by heavy taxes and taking a share in England’s national debt. Union is not seen as the cure to economic woes, industry being a more pressing matter than trade. (Clerk 1706; Defoe 1706a and 1706b; Black 1706a and 1706b). Nevertheless, Hamilton's collection has not one tract distinctly about Darien and there are few such pamphlets printed in autumn 1706 that reflect on the failed scheme and compensation. This may be because its impact was somewhat neutral in the country where it created patriotic resentment but also some economic desperation. Individual members of parliament were certainly exercised by this topic, however. Equally, pamphlets from the decade before were still in circulation, including those reflecting on the injustices that were seen to afflict the Darien adventure, the failed union negotiations of winter 1702-3 and the likes of the great constitutional speeches of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. The impact of such material is less quantifiably.

The constitutional debate was returned to by Hodges who delivered in his 1706 treatise *Rights and interests of the two British Monarchies* a catalogue of over thirty significant attacks on the freedom and liberties of Scotland inherent in the treaty, a comprehensive demolition, and one printed in London. At some time in the future a stronger Scotland, more equal to England, could justifiably consider union, but not now (Hodges 1706b). Meanwhile the Jacobite, and former physician to James VII, Patrick Abercromby, in

⁷ The McLeods date Ridpath to September but it was certainly printed between the agreement of the draft treaty in London (July) and the opening of the Scottish Parliament (October). Mcleods (1979), 24

⁸ John Robertson provides a good summary.

his *The Advantages of the Act of Security* (also owned by Hamilton) argued that the succession should be left out of negotiations whatever was the outcome, a forlorn hope. Being a Catholic, his view that Act for the Security of the Kingdom (1704) was, in sustaining the sovereign right of the Scottish Parliament, a better national protection than any treaty of union, was a bold pleading for independence which, of course, would tactically have improved the chances of a Jacobite restoration, a possibility which Hamilton wished to keep open (Abercromby 1706; *RPS*, 1704/7/68). Then mockery of the whole union idea was expressed in poetry or in parody. The Rev. William Wright's anonymously published *Comical History of the Marriage Union between Fergusia (Scotland) and Heptarchus (England)* printed both in England and Scotland, pointing to what he judged as the farcical nature of such a 'marriage' contract. Comedy turned to the poetic as the famous rhetoric of James Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, from his speech before parliament made on 2 November 1706, was distributed along with single leaf poems that ranted at the whole idea, like the anonymous call in a poem listed by Hamilton to 'unite' and 'unite again' against union and to stop the process in its tracks (Wright 1706; Hamilton 1706; Anon 1706c). Belhaven's high poetry was mocked of course by contemporaries in the parliamentary chamber and in Defoe's *The Vision*, which Hamilton also had in his collection (Defoe 1706c, 1):

Come hither yea dreamers of dreams;
 Ye soothsayers, wizards and witches;
 That puzzle the world with hard names;
 And without any meaning make speeches.

The constitutional anti-unionists, taken in the Hamilton collection, also focused on two weaknesses in the union argument. Firstly they fell back on the impossibility that a parliament was empowered to vote itself out of existence. The jurist and lord advocate Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's opinions or 'observations on union' as delivered in 1670 when Charles II toyed with Anglo-Scottish union, were dusted down by the Presbyterian minister Robert Wyllie (and reprinted by Andrew Symson) and used to make the case for freeholders, which included free women according to Hodges, having to be consulted before a vote could be taken. After all, two-thirds of those in parliament were elected. In a typical outbreak of contested debate, Cromarty then responded to the re-working of his namesakes ideas and Symson, or his son David, replied strongly with their own printing of *Sir George McKenzie's arguments against an incorporating union particularly considered*, justifying

Rosehaugh's position (Wyllie 1706; Mackenzie 1706b; Symson 1706; Mann 2000, 159; Mann 2014, 126-7). Those who argued for the power and authority of the estates were in a dilemma in this case, given contemporary understanding of what representation meant. John Robertson's idea; however, that that freeholders were merely feudal in Scotland and so not so tied to representativeness is something a parliamentary historian would find debatable (Robertson 1995, 218). The other angle most commonly used by clergy and economists and also patriots, was whether Scotland would be secure in a union, in its institutions, laws and church. So, while one anonymous Presbyterian, John Bannatyne, minister of Lanark and printed (probably by Sanders of Glasgow) a short attack on the entire proposal in series of queries and questions, John Arbuthnot published anonymously his fictitious and eloquent sermon 'preached at the market cross of Edinburgh' when he extolled the virtues of the southern kingdom (Bannatyne 1706; Arbuthnet 1706/7, 4):

Dearly beloved citizens, a generous, powerful, victorious nation, invites you to an intimate union with themselves. A nation whose laws are more just, whose government is milder, whose people are more free, easy and happy than any other in Europe.

Meanwhile, our Presbyterian question master, after declaring the union treasonous as a breach of the Claim of Right, the foundation of the Scottish Revolution of 1688/9, concludes, if the monarchy is to be ended then fine: let us return to the covenant and the bosom of the true faith (Bannatyne 1706, 1-4). Patriotism was also invoked through antiquarianism, and approach for which Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh would have approved. Tracts celebrating the long line of kings of Scots were published and even, as possessed by Hamilton, a pamphlet celebrating distant papal recognition of King Robert III succession in 1390 to illicit a patriotic response. This would have been heartily welcomed by the late James VII who when in exile in Saint Germain outside Paris delighted in 1694 at the discovery in the nearby carthusian priory of a charter of Robert II. This confirmed that king's founding of a chaplaincy at Glasgow in exchange for a dispensation from consanguinity and affinity for his marriage to Elizabeth More, so supporting the legitimacy of Robert III's succession and the Stewart line thereafter (Anon 1706d and 1706e; Mann 2014, 232). And yet overall the pro-union pamphleteers William Seton, Clerk, Cromarty and William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England and idealist behind the Darien scheme, added remarkably to Defoe's effort, showing that the press output was much more even for or against than some felt the

media coverage was, and where patriotism was contested, in the Scottish referendum campaign of summer 2014 (Paterson 1706; Seton 1706).

Arbuthnot's manufactured sermon was printed in Edinburgh, London and Dublin, so what can we say about the use of the press in the generality as revealed through Hamilton's collection and elsewhere? Firstly over 90% of the tracts in Hamilton's check list and more widely were anonymous, even when it was pretty obvious who the author was, as in the case of much of Defoe's output. Nevertheless, anonymity was clearly seen as essential to effective debate. Also, only 40% of these printings indicate place of printing and of these only a handful show the printer's name. Historians have been a little lazy over this and the assumption is always Edinburgh when a printing is declared to be Scottish. However, it is clear that in Aberdeen Margaret Cuthbert printed various tracts and addresses, such as the pro-union *The heemble petition of the peer shank workers and, fingen spinners of Aberdeen, and places thereabout* (Anon, 1706f). Sanders Glasgow press was employed for various addresses sent in from the West, including those from Ayrshire, Lanark and Hamilton. Also, the addresses from the General Assembly were obviously printed by George Mossman, who produced all the official material. There are occasional surprises, such as Hodge being printed openly by Agnes Campbell in Edinburgh, although Hodges was an establishment figure, in spite of his anti-unionism. Some instances though show the printer not merely hiding his or her identity, but engaging in a process of deception. For example, James Watson printed an anonymous tract, listed by Hamilton, *A Letter concerning the consequences of an incorporating union* in October 1706 where, unsurprisingly given the printer, Anglo-Scottish union is rejected in favour of an economic alliance with the Dutch Republic, an option focused on by Macinnes in his union study. Meanwhile while typographical evidence confirms Watson's press in Edinburgh, the letter is addressed from 'E..g...d' (Macinnes 2007, 231-40; Anon 1706g, 27). This level of 'deception' confirms that much more work is required to unearth the true bibliographical history of the union controversy printings of 1706-7. What is certain is that things were not entirely what they seem. Women featured strongly in this debate of ideologies in ink and also, judging by the Hamilton snapshot, the race in print was much closer than some historians of the Union have suggested in the past. Moreover, even though the addresses and petitions were overwhelmingly in the 'no' camp, the overall impression from the variety of print locations, throughout Scotland and in London, was of a balance of which the media of 2014 would have been proud. No member of

the Scottish Parliament could claim to be ill-informed of the choices before them when the final and fateful decision was made in January 1707.

Appendix⁹

‘List of such prints as were made publict since the sitting of the parliament in October 1706’

- †*Ridpeth’s Consideratione upon the Union* [George Ridpath]*
- †*Letter Concerning the union with Mackenzie’s Observations etc* [Robert Wylie]*
- †*A schem for the due tryall off a proper union* [Andrew Brown]*
- †*Some considerations upon trade* [William Black]*
- †Scotland’s great advantage by ane union with England in a letter to a member of parliament [William Seton]*
- †*Sermon preached at the market cross of Edinburgh* [John Arbuthnot]*
- Mr Hepburnes Address* [John Hepburn]
- A schem for uniting the tuo kingdomes different from any yet laid doune* [?Peter Paxton]
- Essay upon the union shewing the subjects of both nationes are already intituled [to] all priviledges the treaty can give* [James Hodges]*
- †*Pittmeddens speech* [William Seton]*
- The cavalier gentleman’s discourse* [Alexander Bruce?]*
- †*State of the contraversie betwixt united and seperat parliaments* [Anon/?Andrew Fletcher]*
- †*Deffoe’s five essays* [Daniel Defoe]
- Earle of Cromarties Letter to the Earle of Weems* [George Mackenzie, earl of Cromarty]*
- †*A ffreindly returne to Mackenzie and Nisbets Letter etc.* [Cromarty]*
- Generall assemblies address*
- †*A discourse concerning the union* [Anon]*
- †*Observations on the 5th article* [Defoe]
- †*Mr Hodges therae and treatises concerning the union* [James Hodges]*
- Letter concerning the consequences of ane incorporat union* [Anon]*
- Essay upon industrie and trade* [David Black]*
- Essay upon the 1st article* [Anon]
- Ane equivalent for Defoe* [Belhaven]*
- A just reproof to the fals reports* [Anon]
- A poem upon the union* [Anon]*

⁹ NRS, GD 406, Papers of the Dukes of Hamilton, M9/208/6 (additional and uncatalogued material). Authors have been identified where possible (anonymity was common) but titles have been left in the original form. Items marked † are listed in Bowie’s *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* and marked * in McLeod and McLeod’s *Anglo-Scottish Tracts*.

- †*Queries* [?Archibald Foyer]
- Answers* [Anon; ? John Spottiswoode]
- †*Letter to the Glasgow men* [Defoe]*
- A letter on the 19th article* [Cromarty]
- †*A seasonable warning* [Defoe]*
- †*Lord Belhavens speeches* [Belhaven]*
- A view of our trad and taxes* [William Black]
- State of the excyse vindicated* [Anon, see Defoe below]?
- †*Considerationes in relatione to trad* [William Black]*
- †*The trimmer* [John Spottiswoode]*
- The anatomy of ane equivalent adapted to the union* [Anon]*
- Remarks upon a pamphlet against the short view* [William Black]
- †*Advantages of the act of security* [Peter Abercromby]*
- The advantages of an incorporat union* [Anon]*
- A letter annent the applicatione of the equivalent* [Anon]
- The Courtier* [Anon]
- †*Reason's letter to the mob* [Defoe]*
- The vision: a poem* [Defoe]*
- †*Queries annent the union* [?John Bannatyne]*
- Some ffew effects of the union* [Anon]
- Sir George Mackenzies arguments against ane incorporat union considered* [Rosehaugh]*
- †*State of the excise after the union* [Defoe]*
- †*A letter from Scotsmen in England to the Scots merchants* [Defoe]
- †*A letter from on of the country partie to his friend of the court partie* [James Webster]
- Dr Dabenants opinion annent salt and malt taxes* [Anon]
- Robert the third's answer to Henry the fourth* [Anon]
- The marriage betwixt fergusai & Heptarchus* [William Wright]*
- Ane answer to the Scotsmens letter to the Scots merchants* [Anon]
- Replies to the authors of the advantages* [Anon] [William Black]*
- †*Penecooks letter* [John Clerk]
- †*Patriot resolved* [Francis Grant]*

†*Testamentary dutie* [Thomas Spence]

Deffoes Caledonia: a poem [Defoe]*

†*Lawfull prejudices against ane union with England by Mr Webster* [James Webster]*

The dessenters of England vindicate, in answer to the prejudices by Deffoe [Defoe]*

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