

NATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS CURRICULUM SUPPORT

# History

## The Treaty of Union

### The Course

[HIGHER]



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## **Background**

### **Summary**

In 1707 Scotland and England became one country when their parliaments were incorporated together by the Act of Union. The Treaty of Union had been negotiated between the two countries in 1706 and was passed in both Edinburgh and London the next year. Scotland and England already shared a monarch after the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

The period surrounding the Treaty of Union can best be understood by investigating the worsening relations between Scotland and England towards the end of the 17th century and examining the arguments put forward in Scotland during this time both in favour of and against union with England. This includes the debate over whether any union should be incorporating, meaning that there would be one British Parliament, or federal, meaning that both parliaments would be preserved.

The passage of the Treaty of Union through parliament in Edinburgh in order to become the Act of Union provides crucial evidence of the reasons as to why commissioners eventually voted to accept the treaty. The social and economic changes in Scotland after 1707 reveal some of the effects of union.

### **History**

The very first records of the medieval Scottish Parliament, sometimes referred to as the Estates of Scotland, date from 1235, during the reign of Alexander II. The changing relationship between Scotland and England goes back to this period.

The Scottish Wars of Independence occurred when the English king, Edward I, tried to impose his will on the Scots after the deaths of Alexander III and Margaret, Maid of Norway, left the Scottish throne with no immediate heir. The unsuccessful efforts of Sir William Wallace to free Scotland from English rule at this time were followed by Robert Bruce's military campaign, which included victory at Bannockburn in 1314 and the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. England recognised the Declaration of Arbroath by signing the Treaty of Northampton in 1328.

The Declaration of Arbroath had clearly stated that Scotland should remain free from English domination. The document also proclaimed a ‘popular sovereignty’, which some have inferred to mean that the king was chosen by the people and not by God.

Although the geographical proximity of Scotland and England meant that the two countries were always linked through trade and commerce, Scotland maintained its own foreign policy, quite distinct from England’s. Most notably, Scotland’s alliance with France, a traditional enemy of England, was a statement of Scottish independence from its neighbour. This alliance, in existence since 1296, would last until the Reformation of 1560. Scotland became Protestant at this time, making closer ties with England more likely at the expense of those it already had with France.

### **Union of the Crowns and after**

When Elizabeth I of England died in 1603, James VI of Scotland also became James I of England. With this Union of the Crowns, the two countries were now more closely linked, and a full parliamentary union became a possibility. Indeed, James VI and I was enthusiastic about a union of both his kingdoms. However, neither parliament in Scotland nor England would accept his request.

The National Covenant of 1638, which declared that the Protestant church should be free from monarchical interference, set Scotland apart from England, despite both countries sharing the same king, Charles I. However, Oliver Cromwell conquered Scotland in the 1650s and created the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, which was later dissolved by Charles II.

During the late 17th century, however, there was a major change in the relationship between monarchical and parliamentary authority in both Scotland and England, and there were several proposals for closer union at various points late in the century. The English Parliament was keen to reduce the military threat posed by Scotland, particularly at a time when England was at war with France, Spain and other European powers.

Following the Revolution of 1688–9, and the subsequent replacement of the Stuart dynasty in England by the house of Hanover, the stage was set for a new relationship between Scotland and England.

## Issue 1: Worsening relations with England

### The Revolution of 1688–9

In 1688 James VII of Scotland and II of England was deposed and fled to France. The English Parliament, anxious to avoid a Roman Catholic successor (the King had just had a Catholic son) had moved to replace him over the next year with his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. This would ensure a Protestant succession. Some Protestants named this event the Glorious Revolution.

Some politicians in both England and Scotland proposed union between the two countries at this point, since the common hostility felt towards James VII and II by Scottish commissioners in the Scottish Parliament and MPs in the English Parliament was viewed as a starting point for closer ties. However, differences in opinion about the relationship between parliaments and the crown meant that union was unlikely to take place in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution of 1688–9.

During this period, a Convention of Estates was called in Edinburgh in 1689. This took place just before James VII and II was deposed, but the commissioners for the burghs and shires (members of parliament in Scotland) were acting independently of the monarch. This explains why it was not called a parliament, as only the king could call one. This Convention had the task of deciding the fate of James as king of Scots, and whether or not to follow England in accepting William and Mary as Scottish monarchs.

During the period 1688–9 the English Parliament drew up a Bill of Rights for William and Mary to sign, a document which set out the division of power between the English Parliament and the crown. Meanwhile, parliament in Scotland deliberated on the relationship between its own authority and the crown, and eventually the commissioners drew up the Claim of Right in 1689.

The Claim of Right stated that James VII and II had forfeited the throne through his own actions, which suggested that parliament was asserting the notion of a contract existing between parliamentary and monarchical authority. The Claim of Right differed from the view of the English parliament, which had declared that James VII and II had in fact abdicated, a position which bestowed greater power on the monarch's part than the Scots

seemed willing to acknowledge. In April 1689, the Convention agreed to accept William and Mary as rulers of Scotland.

Parliament in Edinburgh also issued the Articles of Grievance, which, in addition to setting out its concerns over the conduct of James VII and II, demanded that the committees which kings had traditionally used to govern Scotland, the Lords of the Articles, be abolished. This happened in 1690. It was very important for the future of the Scottish Parliament, as it freed it from control by the king. The parliament could now discuss anything it wished. In the years which followed, this stronger parliament asserted its new authority.

Also in 1690, with Protestantism protected by the accession of William and Mary, the Presbyterian settlement was made, when an Act of Settlement passed by parliament in Scotland formally adopted Presbyterianism as the system of government of the church. This had come about largely as a result of Scottish bishops' reluctance to give wholehearted support to William. The Act of Settlement led to a situation in which the Episcopalian church, particularly in the north east, would in the future support the exiled Stuart dynasty.

### **King William II (William III of England)**

William had the support of Presbyterians in Scotland but demanded that Jacobite clans in the Highlands, who were supporters of the deposed James VII and II, pledge their allegiance to him. In 1689 some Jacobites (supporters of James) attempted a rising against the new monarchy but were failed, despite victory at the battle of Killiecrankie.

In March 1689 James VII and II landed in Ireland but was defeated by William's troops at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. William feared further Jacobite rebellion and sought to establish firm control over Scotland, where there was strong support for the deposed king, particularly amongst some Highland clans.

The Lord Advocate, John Dalrymple, was given the task of seeking the loyalty of clan leaders. On 13 February 1692, troops acting for William's government in Scotland killed 38 members of the clan MacDonald in what became known as the Glencoe massacre. The MacDonalds had been late in pledging their allegiance, and the government had wanted to make an example of them. Parliament declared the killings to be an act of murder.

England's war with France was to place further strains on relations between Scotland and William. This war had begun in 1692 and lasted until the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Although Scotland no longer had an alliance with France, trade between the two countries was still very important to the Scots. The intervention of the English Navy, as well as pressure from the English government restricted Scottish trade with France and other parts of continental Europe.

A Jacobite plot to assassinate William failed in 1696 and, although this was hatched in England, it fuelled greater distrust between William and Scotland, given the numbers of Jacobites known to exist in Scotland.

Many commissioners and public figures in Scotland were dismayed at William's role in the failure of the Darien scheme, since he was instrumental in bringing about the withdrawal by investors of significant amounts of money. He was known to object to the project and blamed by many for it being doomed from the start.

### **The Darien Scheme**

In 1695, parliament formed the Company of Scotland, a trading company which, it was intended, would open up trade between Scotland and potential colonies in Africa, the Indies and America.

There were protests at this by the English Parliament and also by the company it part-owned, the East India Company. Both felt that Scotland's foray into worldwide trade threatened English interests. William agreed, and once he had declared his own objections, English directors withdrew their investment in the Company of Scotland, which was 50 per cent of the total amount invested in the company. William's personal influence also meant that Dutch investors withdrew support and refused to sell ships to the Scots.

It became clear that the Company's original purpose could not be achieved and, as a result of this, the Scots decided to invest entirely in settling in the Darien isthmus in Panama, between Central and South America. However, William saw to it that English colonists in Jamaica would not offer assistance to Scots settlers there and, moreover, that Spain would be allowed to view any Scots settlement as an encroachment upon Spanish territory. During this time William wanted to avoid offending Spain since he was at war with France, and later wanted to avoid offending France during his negotiations on the Partition Treaty.



Scottish ships eventually set sail from Leith in 1698. However, the expedition was disastrous as inadequate provisions and a lack of support from English colonists led to hunger and an eventual abandoning of the colony the next year. A settlement, New Edinburgh, had been established, guarded by Fort St Andrew, but uninterested locals, a hot climate unsuitable for the agricultural intentions of the settlers and widespread fever brought matters to an end. A second expedition the next year also failed. By 1700 only a few hundred survived from almost 2500 that had left.

### **English and Scottish Legislation**

In the period after Darien, relations worsened with a series of laws enacted by the Scottish and English Parliaments.

Princess Anne, Mary's younger sister, was the heir to the throne, but the last of her children died in 1700. In 1701 the English Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, which stated that the throne in England would pass to Sophia of Hanover (Protestant grand-daughter of James VI and I) upon the death of Anne – this is known as the Hanoverian succession. In 1702 William died and was succeeded by Anne.

The English Parliament had assumed, without any consultation, that Scotland would accept the Hanoverian succession. The Scots were angered by what they saw as English arrogance and responded in 1703, when the Act of Security was passed. This stated that Scotland might not accept the same succession as England. The Act of Security was the result of a debate over the '12 limitations', which had been proposed by a commissioner, Andrew Fletcher. It was clear in both Scotland and England that the regal union was not working and changes would have to take place. The crown was reluctant to give royal assent to the Act of Security and indeed did not do so until the following year, when the war in Europe was going so badly that it agreed to it in return for supply.

The Scots also resented having been dragged into the War of the Spanish Succession without parliament being consulted. The session of 1703 passed an Act anent Peace and War, which stated that in the future, parliament and not the monarch would declare war. The Scots could see no advantage in being at war with France as this only disrupted valuable trade. Two acts were passed to address this, the Wool Act and the Wine Act. These stated that despite the war, trade would continue. These acts increased tension between Scotland and England.

With the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, the war in Europe turned in England's favour. Increasingly confident, the English Parliament passed the Aliens Act in February 1705. This Act threatened to come into effect by Christmas 1705 if the Scots had not accepted the Hanoverian succession or entered into negotiations for union. It would treat Scots not living in England as aliens, thus threatening those Scots who owned estates in England. It also threatened to ban trade with England in three key areas: cattle, coal and linen.

### **Other issues between Scotland and England**

In addition to these issues, there were further historical reasons for tension between England and Scotland. Navigation Acts had been in existence since the 1660s, and these restricted Scotland, as well as England's enemies, from trading with English colonies. Jacobites in Scotland and England had since the Revolution of 1688–9 fought, sometimes on the battlefield, to depose William and re-instate James VII and II. There was distrust between many English churchmen who were Episcopalian and the Scots church, which was Presbyterian.

Many Scots felt that since the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the king, based in London and influenced by English governmental advisors, appointed only those who would not threaten English interests to posts in the Scottish government, meaning effectively that Scotland could not act independently as long as there was a joint monarch. The Darien scheme was an example of this, whereby Scottish trade was sacrificed for English policy.

During the 1690s, several years of bad harvests and subsequent famine – known as the 'Ill Years' – were not helped by Scotland's economic problems, which in turn were blamed on the favour shown by the king towards English trading interests. Jacobites even claimed that the Ill Years were God's punishment for the Revolution of 1688–9.

Covenanters still agitated for the Covenant of 1638 to be observed. The controversial execution of Captain Green at Leith in 1705 for piracy provided evidence of a mob hatred of the English in Edinburgh.

## Issue 2: Arguments for and against union with England

### Arguments for union with England

#### Economic

Many people felt that Scotland would benefit economically from union with England and, given the poor state of the Scottish economy in the 17th century, this was viewed as a persuasive argument. Union would give free access to commerce with English colonies. This access had been denied since the 1660s due to the Navigation Acts.

Trade with the colonies could give an advantage to Scottish merchants. Scotland might now compete on equal terms with other European countries, which had colonies worldwide. This would lead to an increase in the Scottish national product that would have been impossible in the pre-union economic conditions.

#### Political

Aside from economic arguments, those who were pro-union suggested that Scotland would be offered better protection by being part of Great Britain, as any threats from Europe would be lessened. Political union between Scotland and England would ensure the security of the island and preserve the liberty from which both countries had benefited for centuries. Many argued that Scotland had shared a common interest with England for centuries because of their geographical proximity and shared culture and religion, and this interest had been cemented by the Union of the Crowns, so political union would merely be a formalisation of this.

In addition, as the king's court in London had advised the king on political appointments in Scotland throughout the 17th century, it was considered by some to be more advantageous to be part of the court than to be outside it, as Scotland would be better protected against potentially harmful English influence and self-interest.

### **Succession**

Those for the union felt that it would secure the Hanoverian succession, which in turn would protect Scottish Protestantism. Anti-Jacobites would be relieved that the throne would never pass back into the Stuart dynasty.

### **Religious**

Similarly, the threat of 'Popery' would be reduced. This was a fear of many Scots Protestants who were afraid of a return of an Episcopalian church. Their fears would diminish, however, if union with England was made, as the Act of Settlement would ensure that no Roman Catholic could become monarch.

### **Social**

The backward social conditions endured by people in certain parts of Scotland were argument enough for some to see union as the only way forward. Civil discord had increased during the 17th century as Scotland fell behind its European rivals economically and people reacted unfavourably to a rise in poverty as it spread around the country.

Property was an issue, particularly in the countryside, with farmers often losing their homes due to bankruptcy, and it was felt that union would provide a more stable economic background for farmers and others to invest in their land improvement and secure their property. Observers also felt that, if union took place, there would be less oppression of the Scottish people caused by ministries in Edinburgh who had been appointed by the court in London.

## **Arguments against union with England**

### **Economic**

Whilst accepting the fact of increased trade with English colonies, anti-union Scots predicted that with membership of a new Great Britain would come an increased burden of taxation, as English taxes were set at a higher rate than Scottish ones. An additional fear was that a British Parliament would be predominantly English in representation and therefore English trade would be favoured over Scottish. The Darien scheme was cited as an example of how this could happen.

Royal burgh councils feared a loss of royal burgh rights in the face of English competition for domestic trade. Some feared the ruin of the Scottish manufacturing industry, as Scottish producers would be unable to compete with better-quality and lower-cost English goods which would flood Scottish markets.

It was assumed that union would bring an introduction of English currency, weights and measures into Scotland. Furthermore, Scots feared a loss of European trade as English interests would outweigh those of Scotland.

### **Political**

The political arguments against union were voiced with passion by those who felt that independent sovereignty was being sacrificed. Landowners feared a reduction in the status of the Scottish nobility in the new British Parliament. Commissioners in Edinburgh felt that the Claim of Right would be undermined by the relationship between the British Parliament and the crown, and this would be seen as a voluntary surrender to the English majority.

The notion that Scotland had always been an independent nation was held dear by many who felt that union would be dishonourable and Scotland would suffer enslavement to English interests. Jacobites stressed the points that the Hanoverian succession would mean that the monarchy would be suppressed by the 'English' Parliament that had enacted its legitimate existence, and Scotland would become 'Scotlandshire', simply 'part of England', when union took place.

### **Succession**

The union would mean the Hanoverian, not Stuart, succession in Scotland. With the guarantee of the end of the Stuart line, Scottish identity was threatened.

### **Religious**

Presbyterians feared that the union would mean English domination in religious affairs and the imposition of the Anglican church in Scotland. The English Parliament had many members who were in favour of an Episcopalian church, and with bishops holding seats in the House of Lords there was a danger that the Presbyterian church would disappear. Ironically, Scots Episcopalians, who maintained sizable support in the north-east and among some Highland clans, opposed union, as they believed that only the restoration of the Stuart dynasty would restore episcopacy to the church.

### **Social**

There were no guarantees that any negotiations between Scotland and England would safeguard Scottish legal tradition, and many feared that Scots law would be ruined by political union. In addition, commissioners were aware that public opinion was against union.

## Issue 3: Passing of the Act of Union

### Position of England

During the 1690s the English attitude to union changed due to shifting economic and political developments. For centuries English governments had feared invasion from Scotland, and it was considered that union with Scotland would bring threats of war to an end. England feared invasion from France on an almost constant basis. The English did not want conflict with Scotland too, and it was feared that France could use Scotland as a 'backdoor' into England.

William had been involved in the War of the League of Augsburg from 1692 to 1697 and then, in 1701, the War of the Spanish Succession, and much of his policy was dictated by his relationship with France. This relationship was affected by years of personal enmity between William and Louis XIV dating back to pre-1689 conflicts between the Dutch and the French. William would therefore know that his strategy in relation to Scotland would be watched closely by France. Queen Anne continued William's foreign policy. She also made it clear that her wish was for a union of both her kingdoms. As the war dragged on, England became increasingly concerned for the security of her northern border.

It was also the predominant view in England that only an incorporating union with Scotland, rather than a federal union, could allay fears of a Jacobite succession in Scotland. A federal union, in which the Scottish Parliament would retain its position and power, might allow a Stuart to return to the Scottish throne. Incorporating union would mean that the Hanoverian succession, legislated for by parliament in London, would remain. By the time negotiations were being planned, there was little English parliamentary opposition in England to a treaty with Scotland.

### Arguments for incorporating union

Incorporating union meant that Scotland and England would share the same parliament as well as monarch. Being one country meant that trade would be better protected by the power of the Royal Navy. Scotland would be part of a powerful nation. The permanent nature of incorporating union meant that

there would be less chance of a relapse into division, which would always be possible under federal union. Incorporating union would secure peace and strengthen the island of Great Britain.

Aside from any of these arguments, it was well known that England would not accept any union other than an incorporating one, so there was almost no point in negotiating for a federal one. Likewise, it was felt by many that there was a possible military threat from England if no incorporating union was agreed, since the English were focused on an incorporating union and nothing else.

### **Arguments for federal union**

Federal union meant that Scotland and England would have closer links in trade but both countries would retain their national distinctions, including separate parliaments. The Scottish church would survive in its Presbyterian form, free from threats of Anglican domination or a return to Episcopalian governance.

Scottish laws, customs and rights would be preserved as parliament's continued existence would ensure that legislation and burgh privileges were not tampered with. As such, Scottish manufactures would be protected from English competitors.

## **The debate on the Act of Union**

### **Treaty negotiations in London**

On 1 September 1705, the Duke of Hamilton proposed that the Queen appoint the Scottish commissioners for union who would negotiate a Treaty of Union with commissioners for union from the English Parliament. Anne's ministers advised her as to whom to appoint, so most of the Scottish commissioners for union were already in favour of union by the time negotiations would be due to begin. George Lockhart of Carnwath was the exception to this rule, although he did not play a significant role in the talks which took place. Quite why the Duke of Hamilton, leader of the opposition, made this proposition has continued to be debated by historians. This was the first of a number of odd moves on his part. Lockhart of Carnwath was to describe this in his memoirs as the 'commencement of Scotland's ruin'.

In London, negotiations began on 16 April 1706. The English commissioners proposed an incorporating union, and this was their sole proposal when they met their Scottish counterparts for the first time. The Scottish commissioners

proposed a federal union, more or less the status quo, with the exception that Scotland would accept the Hanoverian succession. At this point, the English commissioners for union refused to discuss anything further, holding out for incorporating union and nothing else. The Scottish commissioners for union went along with this, mostly because they actually felt it was the best way to secure a good deal for Scotland. Many of them had only proposed federal union simply because they felt obliged to do so since many people in Scotland favoured it.

During the treaty negotiations, the English gave assurances for Scottish peers, as well as English parliamentary assistance for the Scottish economy, in relation to taxation. England also offered Scotland the Equivalent, a sum of money which matched the losses of the Darien scheme and was designed to compensate the Scots for their share in English debt which would be taken on by Scotland after union. Eventually the treaty was agreed by commissioners for union from both countries and it was signed and sealed on 22 July 1706. It would now be subject to ratification by both parliaments, in Scotland and England.

### **Position of commissioners in parliament**

In the parliament in Edinburgh, there was no party system along modern lines, merely loose configurations of commissioners who could be drawn from commoners and peers, who broadly agreed with each other on many issues. The Court party was in favour of the union, and traditionally supported the government of the crown. The Country party grouping was considered to represent the interests of Scotland against those of the English, and was against the union. The Cavalier party also opposed the idea of union, but they were Jacobite and did not always agree with the Country party. There was a group of young noblemen in the New party, which had gained seats in the 1703 election. These commissioners voted together on different issues in parliament, often moving from favouring one side to the other in order to alter votes in an instant; they were likened to a 'flying squad' and so were nicknamed the Squadrone Volante. The Squadrone Volante consisted of Presbyterians who had come to the position of favouring the principles of union by the start of the debates. This gave the Squadrone a hold on the balance of power, which became crucial to the eventual outcome.

Most of those commissioners who were in favour of a union sought one which was fair and equal. During the debate, the Court party won every single one of the votes on each of the 25 articles discussed. The role of the parties and political management was critical in the debate.



**Issues discussed**

During the debate on the Treaty of Union, concerns about the Aliens Act were expressed by commissioners, with many believing that Scotland's economic crisis would continue and worsen if the Act was enforced. Political frustrations were expressed – it was generally agreed that only those Scots who accepted the Hanoverian succession would get appointed by the crown in London to offices in the Scottish government, so Scottish decision-making would always be influenced by English policy.

Despite this, most opponents of union stressed the point that a new British Parliament would also favour English interests over Scottish interests. In addition, the losses due to the Darien scheme still had to be addressed, although some doubted that union could do this satisfactorily. There was much debate on the proportion of Scottish representatives that the treaty proposed would sit in the British Parliament – 45 MPs in the House of Commons and 16 peers in the House of Lords were considered minimal in relation to the number of representatives from English counties such as Cornwall, which had 44 MPs of its own.

As well as the debate inside parliament, there was mob violence in Edinburgh and elsewhere, most of it against the proposed union. In addition, Jacobites around the country were restless at the thought of the unbreakable links with England that incorporating union would bring, although most were unwilling to accept the Hanoverian succession which other opponents of incorporating union viewed as an acceptable price to pay for securing a federal union instead. Covenanters were also unhappy that the union would end their hopes of the National Covenant ever being observed in Scotland.

**Key dates during the debate**

The debate to ratify the treaty and pass the Act of Union began on 3 October 1706. After several days of opening remarks from several commissioners, on 15 October there was a vote to proceed with debate. Between 15 and 31 October, the 25 articles were discussed without votes being taken. On 29 October there was an address from the Convention of Royal Burghs made to parliament, and this address expressed favour towards an 'honourable and safe union' that would be federal in nature and safeguard an independent Scottish Parliament. Between 1 November 1706 and 14 January 1707, the articles of the treaty were discussed again, this time with votes being taken.

During the debate, with concerns being expressed by Presbyterians about the future of the Church of Scotland, on 12 November the Act of Security for the Kirk was passed, ensuring the Presbyterian nature of the church. On 14 November the second article of the treaty, making trade concessions to

Scotland, was passed with the largest majority of any article during the entire debate. The issues of religion and trade served to make the passage of the treaty more secure for the government. By mid-November, opponents of the union were divided, not least because of the Duke of Hamilton's proposal to accept the Hanoverian succession as a condition of maintaining separate parliaments.

A number of other events occurred while the debates were taking place which affected the passage of the bill. On 28 November, the government made concessions to Scotland on tax on liquor. This persuaded some commissioners to accept that union would not be as bad as they feared. In late November, Hamilton played a significant role in calling off a rising of lowland Covenanters and Highland Jacobites in the south-west, which gave fresh impetus to the pro-union cause and won Hamilton favour with the government. On 16 December further concessions were made to Scotland on wool exports, and again on 26 December concessions were made on tax on salt.

There was much controversy over the Treaty. Dalrymple literally lost his life during the debate, possibly to it. Politically rehabilitated since his notorious role in the Glencoe massacre, as a result of many people suggesting that he was less responsible than had seemed at the time, Dalrymple had adopted a pro-union stance because of his Presbyterianism. However, he wanted a greater number of seats in the House of Lords for Scots peers than the proposed 16, and became very animated in heated arguments about this. He died during the debates after collapsing at home with a heart attack.

The Duke of Hamilton continued to be a key figure in events. Though a prominent anti-union leader, his conduct at times harmed the cause of those opposed to union. Between 7 and 9 January 1707, there was a plan for him to lead a walkout of parliament in order to throw proceedings into chaos and make any vote invalid. However, at the last minute he failed to do so, initially refusing even to attend parliament, instead staying at home citing toothache as the reason for his absence. When his followers visited him and persuaded him to attend, he did not lead a walkout, but said he would support one if somebody else led it. Eventually the day's business came to an end with no walkout. By that time most of the articles had been voted on, and on 16 January 1707 the Act of Union was passed by parliament.

### **The Act of Union in England**

Following this, on 22 January the debate on the treaty began in the English Parliament. It had a relatively smooth passage. Tories, who supported the crown, were pro-union. Whigs, although not totally on the side of union, did

not want to be marginalised when union inevitably took place, and they also felt that new Scots MPs and peers would be likely to vote with them, so did not put up much opposition. On 4 March the Act of Union was passed by the English Parliament. On 6 March 1707 the Act of Union was approved by Queen Anne.

## Reasons for passing the Act of Union

### Political

Self-interest amongst many commissioners was a crucial reason for the passage of the treaty through parliament. The Squadrone Volante's hold on the balance of power was another key factor in the Court party's success – there was a belief amongst some members of the Squadrone Volante that they would have a share in the Equivalent if the treaty was successfully passed by parliament. The role of Hamilton in dividing the opponents of union and obstructing the arguments against union was also a significant issue. Continual disagreement amongst the opponents of union such as Jacobites and Covenanters meant they were unable to act together.

### Economic

The assurances given to Scotland that the British Parliament would support the Scottish economy over difficulties caused by increased taxation convinced many that union would be workable. The Scottish Parliament was also persuaded by the incentives of better trade with Scotland's traditional European partners, free trade with England and access to English colonies. During the debate, last minute concessions were made by the English on issues such as salt, wool and liquor, which turned some in favour of union.

### Financial

There were several financial incentives in the form of payments made to many Scottish ministers and politicians for 'services' given to the government. The English government paid a total of £20,000 in salary arrears through the Earl of Glasgow to various players in the debate on the union in parliament, and many perceived these payments as bribery because of their convenient timing. Most notably, the Equivalent – a sum of £398,085.10s – was guaranteed to be paid to various Scots in office or holding influence in parliament to cover the future cost to Scotland of taking on English debt. The sum was calculated to be equivalent to the amount lost due to the Darien scheme, plus 5 per cent per year since the project came to an end, so was perceived as compensation for England's role in its failure.

Some nobles were persuaded to favour union by the perceived threat of the loss of their civil list pensions should the treaty fail. Although Scottish seats in the new British House of Lords were to be limited to 16 peers, all other Scottish peers were to retain their privileges within civil processes which included immunity from arrest for crimes such as debt.

### **Self-interest**

Many aspects of the treaty were designed to appeal to the self-interest of Scottish members of parliament or quieten opposition from the Church of Scotland. The rights of Royal Burghs were to remain, and inherited titles for Lords would also continue. Scots laws and Scottish courts would also be left alone. Thus, many in parliament felt assured that their personal futures, in relation to property, rights and legal privileges, would be secure. Crucially, the Act of Security for the Kirk, passed during the debate, meant that the Church of Scotland would continue in its current Presbyterian form. This was important as many commissioners felt strongly about the preservation of the presbytery.

### **Military**

The security of Scottish liberty and stability under one parliament was felt by many to be guaranteed by the union with England. Furthermore, the knowledge that English forces were moving north towards the end of 1706 at the request of the Duke of Queensberry, and the consequent fear of invasion if no treaty was agreed, persuaded Scottish politicians that Scotland would be taken over by England anyway, and it would be better to have political union with its guarantees and securities than to suffer military conquest. In short, it was felt that peace would be secured by becoming part of Great Britain.

### **Historical**

There had been attempts made in the past to bring about some sort of union between Scotland and England. At various times these attempts had been thwarted by, amongst many factors, resistance on the part of Scottish or English politicians, England's intentions in relation to its foreign policy, aspects of Scottish proposals which were unacceptable to England, Cromwell's unpopularity in the 1650s, religious divisions within the Protestant churches in each country, or simply the failure of negotiations to bring about satisfactory results.

The difference in 1707 was that most politicians in both Scotland and England needed and desired union simultaneously.

## Issue 4: Effects of the union to 1740

### Political

After the Act of Union was passed, the office of Scottish Secretary was created in order for the government to administer its affairs in Scotland. In 1708, the Scottish privy council was abolished. The absence of an agency of government in Edinburgh made it more difficult to control the Highlands.

In response to some Scots nobles being given English peerages in order for them to gain access to the House of Lords, parliament took steps in 1711 to prevent Scottish peers with English titles that had been granted since 1707 from being admitted to the House of Lords.

Opposition to union in Scotland remained in some places as it had been before 1707. Although some Highland clans such as the Campbells and Munros maintained their loyalty to the Hanoverian succession, some clans kept their faith in the Jacobite cause. Partly in response to the Jacobite threat, parliament extended the English Treason Law to Scotland in 1709.

By 1713 there was increased dissatisfaction with the union amongst Scottish politicians who viewed much of the new state of affairs to be more beneficial to England than Scotland. A motion to repeal the Act of Union was proposed in parliament that year by the Earl of Findlater (formerly the Earl of Seafield). All of the Scottish Lords supported the motion, which was defeated by four votes. Although this was a defeat, the strength of feeling amongst the Scots was enough to put the government off re-introducing the Malt Tax for the first time since the union.

Victory for the Whigs at the elections in February 1715 reflected a fear amongst voters, who were members of the landowning classes, of the potential threat to the country posed by Jacobites. The dominance of the Whigs over the next few decades was in part due to some Protestants' aversion to the links between the Tories and the High Church.

In 1725 the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was abolished and the office of Home Secretary was created. The Home Secretary carried out the

duties previously carried out by the Scottish Secretary. The office of the Secretary of State for Scotland was later re-established in 1742 only to be abolished again in 1746.

## **Economic**

There was initial dissatisfaction with the awarding of the Equivalent, much of which was unpaid and tied up in an as yet unrealised system of debentures. The Scottish textile industry found that it could not compete with English competition. The small number of Scots who managed to engage successfully with the colonies was limited mostly to tobacco merchants who were located mainly in the west and because of the nature of their trade tended to operate to some degree outside Scotland, thus contributing less than might be thought to the financial good of the nation. However by 1725, Glasgow had doubled its import of tobacco, although it would be the 1740s before the real boom in the tobacco trade developed in Glasgow.

Increased taxation after 1707 led to an increase in smuggling. This was especially so along the east coast, where justices of the peace were often Jacobite and prepared to turn a blind eye. In many parts of Scotland, customs officers were attacked. This of course led to a loss of revenue for the government.

Increased duties caused the Scottish paper industry to fail. In general, it was felt that, as had been feared by opponents of union, the British Parliament supported English manufacturers often at the expense of the Scots. A case in point was the Scottish linen industry, which faced new duties in 1711 and 1715, whereas the English woollen industry was protected.

There is no doubt that Scottish merchant ships after the union benefited from protection guaranteed to them by the Royal Navy. Although trade with the Dutch declined, there was increased trade with the Baltic countries by the 1720s. Scots also became involved in the Caribbean islands, trading in sugar, rum and cotton.

Scots also started to fill posts in the British army and the East India Company; by the middle of the century, 30 per cent of Company posts in Bengal were filled by Scots.

Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole became unpopular as a result of his attempts to re-introduce the Malt Tax in 1725, but action taken by the government during his term in office did lead to the benefits of union beginning to be felt by some, particularly towards the end of the 1720s and during the 1730s.

Agricultural techniques improved in Scotland after Scottish landowners observed methods used successfully in England. The Honourable Society of Improvers was formed in 1723. Enclosures slowly began to replace runrig systems on Scottish farms, and this led to a general increase in agricultural efficiency and greater production. It is still argued by some, however, that even in the difficult years of the 1690s there were some improvements to the land taking place in Scotland.

The Campbells, led by the Duke of Argyll and various members of his family who secured posts in the Scottish administration, argued the case with the government in London for increased investment in Scotland to aid land development and the nurturing of financial institutions. In 1727 the Royal Bank of Scotland was founded due to suspicions of Jacobitism in the Bank of Scotland. The initial capital for the Royal Bank was raised from Equivalent payments which had been outstanding since 1707. Also that year, the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries and Manufactures was established. Its aim was to encourage Scottish industry; it helped to improve the practices and quality control in the linen industry, which was beginning to see the benefits by the 1740s. In the more favourable economic climate, professional men, including lawyers and merchants, increasingly acknowledged the benefits of union.

## Social

After 1707 continued claims of the unpopularity of union were made vocally by its opponents, pointing to what they felt was an encroaching dominance by England. From 1712, the House of Lords acted as the court of appeal for Scottish cases, but ignorance of Scots law on the part of the Lords meant that the overturning of verdicts were perceived as miscarriages of justice by legal experts north of the border.

The issue of Jacobite land, confiscated by the crown after 1715 and passed into the management of the London-based York Building Company, caused much agitation in the Highlands, as did the Disarming Act, which was passed in 1716 in order to reduce the threat of Jacobitism fuelled by anti-union sentiment in the Highlands after the 1715 Jacobite rising. Highland subsistence farming could not sustain the growing population in that part of the country, with Jacobite clansmen increasingly struggling to survive in a harsh climate with poor soil.

1720 saw the appearance of the first Scottish newspaper, the *Caledonian Mercury*, which had actually existed in the early 1660s but had not been published for almost 60 years. The newspaper, owned by William Rolland, was seen by some as an expression of Scottish sentiment, and the entire

*Caledonian Mercury* business was bought in 1729 by the newspaper's Edinburgh printer, Thomas Ruddiman. He was suspected by the government of having Jacobite tendencies, but was nevertheless allowed to continue to publish.

There was a series of disturbances across the country in the 1720s in response to some of the effects of union. In 1724 there was an outbreak of fence-smashing by levellers objecting to enclosures replacing runrig systems, which not only increased agricultural efficiency but also led to unemployment and poverty amongst day-labourers who could not afford to become tenant farmers.

In 1725 after the attempted re-introduction of Malt Tax into Scotland, there was unrest in Glasgow and Edinburgh, with the Shawfield riots in Glasgow being notable for the resulting demolition of the mansion house of the local MP, who had voted for the tax. Later in 1736, the Porteous riots in Edinburgh, when a mob lynched and murdered a captain of the city guard, served to caution the government in London that it had to manage Scotland more efficiently.

Military road-building and the establishment of forts by General Wade helped to consolidate the authority of the London government over the Highlands, as did the formation of various Highland companies of the British army, such as the Black Watch. Highland tenants were frequently exploited by landowners keen to develop personal fortunes in order to keep up with their English, 'fellow British', peers.

In 1739 the *Scots Magazine*, the world's oldest magazine, was published for the first time. This contained articles on the subject of Scotland, its history, culture and current affairs. Although it covered political matters, it was not viewed as posing any threat towards the government.

## Religious

After the Act of Security for the Kirk was passed during the passage of the Act of Union, Presbyterian clans in Highlands, satisfied with the preservation of the future of their church, supported the Hanoverian succession and were unlikely to add to the threat posed by Jacobism. Episcopalian and Roman Catholic clans in the Highlands still favoured a return of the Stuart dynasty. By 1710, some High Church Tories in parliament, perceiving a threat to the Anglican church, unsuccessfully attempted to remove the privileges granted to the Church of Scotland during the passage of the Act of Union in Scotland.



The Episcopalian church was still in existence in Scotland, with services taking place in meeting houses, although it remained a divisive issue in the south of the country. In 1711 an Episcopalian minister, James Greenshields, was imprisoned by Edinburgh town council for conducting services using the Anglican prayer book. This was upheld by the Court of Session, the highest court in Scotland. However, the House of Lords heard Greenshields' appeal and overturned the verdict on the condition that in the future Episcopalian ministers using the Anglican prayer book would take the oath of loyalty to the crown and pray for the house of Hanover. The places of worship of those who did take the oaths were called 'qualified chapels'.

The Greenshields case led to the Toleration Act of 1712, which many Presbyterians felt breached the Act of Security for the Kirk by encouraging episcopacy and allowing for an increasing influence of Anglicanism in Scotland.

The Patronage Act, also of 1712, gave Scottish landowners the right to appoint ministers in their parishes, rather than ministers being chosen by the congregation, which was also perceived by Presbyterian ministers as a breach of the Act of Security for the Kirk.

In the Church of Scotland there were some controversies surrounding various ministers' interpretations of scriptures. The establishment of security for the church since 1706 had created a freedom to express different religious beliefs within a wider protestant persuasion.

In 1722 the Marrow affair took place, when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland rebuked several ministers for defending a book entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, which suggested that repentance from sin could lead to a new life, whereas the traditional Scottish belief held that people were predestined to eternal damnation for their sins, and only some would be saved by the grace of God.

In 1733 Ebenezer Erskine, one of those rebuked during the Marrow affair, was suspended for continuing to make such controversial sermons. Erskine and others broke away from the Church of Scotland, and gradually formed what they called the 'Associate Presbytery' during the late 1730s. This was the first secession from the state church. The General Assembly attempted to discipline the ministers but could not since they did not recognise the authority of the General Assembly. The Associate Presbytery grew in numbers over the next few years until it in turn broke up into separate churches.

## Jacobite opposition

Jacobites wanted the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. They were opposed to the union as it made the 1688–9 Revolution permanent, denying any further Stuart claim to the throne. As a result, after the union, Jacobites were able to gain support from those who were unhappy with the union. Yet, Jacobite support was limited by fears amongst Presbyterians of the return of ‘Popery’, due to James VII and II’s Catholicism.

Nevertheless, Jacobites emerged as leaders of national sentiment in Scotland after the union. In 1708 a French-sponsored landing of troops was attempted. Louis XIV paid for the invasion fleet, which included James VII and II’s son, James, known as the Old Pretender. However, the intervention of the Royal Navy combined with bad weather conditions led to a failure to land, and the invasion was aborted.

Jacobite publishers like Robert Freebairn published literature appealing to Scotland’s heroic past, glorifying its exploits and celebrating the house of Stuart. The large number of Jacobite fiddle tunes and songs from this period also contributed to popular support.

Most Scots in the lowlands, however, did not support the Jacobite cause as fiercely as those in the north-east of Scotland and parts of the Highlands. Many of those Scottish politicians who were known to be keeping in contact with the Old Pretender and his family during his exile in the period directly after union did so merely in order to keep royal favour should the Stuarts ever return successfully to the throne of Scotland.

In 1714, when George of Hanover became king, there was greater Jacobite unrest in Scotland than at any time since the Revolution of 1688–9. Consequently, in 1715 there was a Jacobite rising. The Earl of Mar, one of the original commissioners for union but now against it, wrote to leading Jacobites and organised a gathering of the clans at Braemar in September, with an assumption of support from France. Mar had been secretary of state from 1711 to 1714. He had lost office with the accession to the throne of George I. In many ways it was this personal grievance that caused Mar to lead the Jacobite rising.

Scotland was in 1715 poorly protected. In order to save money the British government had only a small military presence in Scotland. There was also a shortage of arms and munitions. This was to prove to be a major problem for the British government as they found it difficult to arm those (mostly in the south of Scotland) who volunteered to support George I.

In the period up to 1715, the Episcopalian church was still a major force in the north-east and parts of the Highlands. In many parishes their clergy were still in the parish church, in other places they had opened meeting-houses. Often the clergy distributed Jacobite propaganda. It has also been argued that the areas of strongest Jacobite support were often areas that were suffering economically, especially from the problems facing the linen industry after the union.

However, by 1715 there had been a change in French foreign policy. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which had ended the War of the Spanish Succession, was an agreement between Britain, France and other European powers. In 1715, the Duke of Orleans, the regent of the young Louis XV following the death of Louis XIV, withdrew support for the Jacobites and began to seek an alliance with Britain, which was concluded in 1717.

Despite the loss of French support for the Jacobites, the battle of Sheriffmuir in November 1715 was only a tactical success for government forces led by General John Campbell, the Duke of Argyll. Mar, despite the fact of having superior numbers, failed to take any advantage of this and withdrew from the fight, which was claimed as a victory by both sides. Nevertheless James arrived at Peterhead in December, although by February 1716 it was clear that the Jacobites had lost heart, and Mar and the Old Pretender left Scotland.

The 1716 Disarming Act banned the holding of weapons by Highlanders, a measure designed to prevent future risings. The Act no doubt contributed in part to the failure of an attempted rising in 1719 in north-west Scotland led by the Earl Marischal together with Spanish troops. The Jacobite force reached Glen Shiel but was forced to surrender to government troops.

There was less support for further Jacobite resistance, as more people realised some of the benefits of union. The death of George I in 1727 and the accession of George II did little to increase sympathy for the Jacobite cause, and the eventual rising of 1745, led by Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Old Pretender and known as the Young Pretender, or romantically as Bonnie Prince Charlie, also met with failure.

## Perspective

In 1745, the year that ‘God Save the King’ was composed, there was a final Jacobite rising, led by Charles Edward Stuart. This met with failure and the forfeiture of further Jacobite estates after the battle of Culloden in 1746.

During the Scottish enlightenment of the mid-18th century, native Scots as well as those who migrated around the world made a significant contribution to economic and cultural progress. The development of faculties of medicine and philosophy at Scottish universities served to establish Scotland as a centre of excellence in education to rival Oxford and Cambridge.

The economist Adam Smith, philosopher David Hume, novelist Sir Walter Scott and poet Robert Burns, influenced the world around them and raised the status of Scotland and highlighted the notion, at least in the eyes of some, that Scotland was a distinct nation.

During the 19th century there were further pioneering achievements by Scots and non-Scots living in Scotland. Those such as engineer James Watt and missionary David Livingston showed the significant contribution Scots could make to the industrial revolution and the British Empire. At the cotton mills in New Lanark, the work of Robert Owen established the basis of the co-operative movement.

Scotland’s role in the First and Second World Wars as a source of willing volunteers and centre of ship-building excellence further emphasised the part Scotland could play in the security of Great Britain and the importance that Scottish people attached to the notion of being British.

The Scottish National Party was formed in 1934 and, along with Scottish sections of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties, sought to target Scottish issues as focus areas for policy. This raised the profile of Scotland within the wider British political context.

During the 1970s, with the SNP gaining small electoral successes, the independence movement gathered momentum. General election results showed that there was increased interest amongst Scottish voters in the notion of some form of self-rule, although many people did not consider independence a viable option.

The issue of devolution became more prominent as the 1970s progressed. Devolution would mean that Scotland could have a parliament with limited powers but still remain within Great Britain. There was a referendum in 1979 but there was not a large enough majority in favour of devolution for the government to pass an act granting Scotland its own parliament.

In 1997 there was another referendum, and this time there was a large enough majority in favour of devolution. The subsequent re-opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 gave Scotland greater autonomy within Great Britain, with devolved powers over matters such as education, the police and health.

The first-ever election victory of the Scottish National Party in 2007, 300 years after the Act of Union, is another significant date in Scottish history, although there is debate amongst many commentators as to how much this result was related to a desire for independence amongst voters.

## Appendix

### Biographical dictionary

#### **Anne, Queen**

Queen Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714. She was the last Stuart monarch and was succeeded by George of Hanover.

#### **Argyll, Duke of**

The Duke of Argyll was General John Campbell, who served as Lord High Commissioner from 1705, negotiating for union. He later led government troops against the Jacobites at Sheriffmuir during the rising of 1715.

#### **Atholl, Duke of**

The Duke of Atholl was the Secretary of State in 1696, Lord High Commissioner from 1696 to 1698 and Lord Privy Seal from 1703. Although he was a suspected Jacobite opponent of union, he did not participate in the rising of 1715.

#### **Belhaven, Lord**

Belhaven was a prominent agitator for the Act of Security for the Kirk and an opponent of Union. He made his famous 'Mother Caledonia' speech on 2 November 1706. He was imprisoned after being suspected of supporting James VII and II's French-assisted invasion of 1708 and died in the same year.

#### **Campbell, John**

See **Argyll, Duke of**

#### **Charles I**

Charles I was king of Scots and king of England from 1625, and executed in 1649 during the War of the Three Kingdoms, at the end of the English Civil War.

#### **Charles II**

Charles II was crowned king of Scots in 1651 and England in 1660, and died in 1685.

#### **Charlie, Bonnie Prince**

See **Stuart, Charles Edward**.

**Clerk, Sir John, of Penicuik**

Clerk was a commissioner in parliament between 1702 and 1707, a commissioner for union, and supported the union. He became Baron of the Exchequer in 1708.

**Dalrymple, John**

Also known as the earl of Stair, Dalrymple was Lord Advocate at the time of the Glencoe massacre, and ostracised politically until his rehabilitation around 1700, dying in 1707 during the debates on the Treaty of Union.

**Defoe, Daniel**

Defoe worked for Robert Harley, the English Secretary of State before union. He published *The Review* between 1703 and 1707, promoting English views favouring the union. He was Harley's secret agent in Edinburgh during 1706–7, working undercover as an advisor to Scottish parliamentary committees. Defoe's writings provide much evidence for the period.

**Erskine, Ebenezer**

Erskine was one of the ministers involved in the Marrow affair, and was later suspended from the Church of Scotland and went on to help found the Associate Presbytery in 1733.

**Findlater, Earl of**

See **Seafield, Earl of**

**Fletcher, Andrew, of Saltoun**

He was a commissioner in parliament who shared some views with the Country party and was known as 'the Patriot'. His '12 limitations' proposal led to the Act of Security. Fletcher argued for federal union and against incorporating union.

**George I**

This was George of Hanover, who ascended the throne in 1714 on the death of Queen Anne, which brought about the Jacobite rising of 1715.

**George II**

George II ascended the throne in 1727. He would later oversee the defeat of the Jacobites in the 1745 rising.

**Glasgow, Earl of**

£20,000 paid was paid by the English government to the Earl of Glasgow during the treaty debates for him to distribute amongst various Scottish politicians to correct arrears in their salaries.

**Godolphin, Lord**

Godolphin was Lord Treasurer for England from 1702 and an English commissioner for union.

**Green, Captain**

Green was the master of the English ship the *Worcester*, and was executed at Leith in 1705.

**Greenshields, James**

Greenshields was the Episcopalian minister imprisoned by Edinburgh town council in 1711. The verdict was overturned by the House of Lords in London, leading to the Toleration Act of 1712.

**Hamilton, Duke of**

Hamilton was a leading member of Country party opposed to union during debates. He abstained at the last minute from a planned walkout of parliament, citing toothache as the cause of his absence. He played a significant role at various stages during the debate on the Treaty of Union.

**Home, Earl of**

Home was the leader of the Jacobites in parliament but died in 1706 before the debate on the Treaty of Union.

**James VI and I**

James VI was the king of Scots who ascended the throne of England as James I at the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

**James VII and II**

James VII and II became king of Scots and king of England in 1685, but was deposed and exiled during the Revolution of 1688–9. He died in 1701.

**James ‘VIII and III’**

Son of James VII and II, he was the Old Pretender, being a claimant to thrones of England and Scotland. He was recognised as king by Louis XIV of France. He tried in vain to land in Scotland with an invading force in 1708, and later landed in Scotland after the battle of Sheriffmuir during the unsuccessful Jacobite rising of 1715. He died in 1766.

**Lockhart, George, of Carnwath**

Lockhart was a Jacobite commissioner in parliament. As commissioner for union from 1705, he was the only Scots commissioner to oppose the treaty during negotiations with England. He favoured the proposed repeal of the union in 1713 and supported the Jacobite rising in 1715.



**Louis XIV**

Louis XIV was king of France from 1661 to 1715. He supported James VII and II's attempts to regain the thrones of England and Scotland. He had recognised William III in 1697 but supported the Old Pretender on James VII and II's death in 1701 until his own death in 1715.

**Louis XV**

Louis XV was king of France 1715–74. Before he assumed personal rule, his regent, the Duke of Orleans, withdrew French support for the Jacobite rising of 1715, influencing its failure.

**Mar, Earl of**

Mar was a commissioner for the union, sharing views with many in the Court party, although he sympathised with the Jacobites. He was later appointed Secretary of State by the Tory government in the British Parliament, but sided with the Whigs on occasion. He was known as 'Bobbing John' because of his tendency to switch sides. He had pledged loyalty to George I in 1714 but then led the Jacobite Rising in 1715.

**Marischal, Earl**

He was the leader of the failed Spanish-Jacobite attempt to start a rising in 1719.

**Mary II**

Mary was the eldest protestant daughter of James VII and II, and she ascended the throne in the Revolution of 1688–9 with her husband William.

**Old Pretender**

See **James VIII and III**.

**Paterson, William**

Paterson was a Scottish trader who had founded the Bank of England in 1694. He returned to Scotland to form the Bank of Scotland in order to fund the Darien scheme. He supported the union in 1707.

**Queensberry, Duke of**

Lord High Commissioner from 1700 to 1703, Queensberry was also Secretary of State from 1702. He was at one time the leader of the Court party, and was a commissioner for the union from 1706. Queensberry was the main architect of the Treaty of Union.

**Roxburghe, Earl of**

Roxburghe was prominent in the radical wing of the Country party. He was then made Secretary of State from 1704. As a leading member of the Squadrone Volante, he helped push the union through parliament.

**Ruddiman, Thomas**

Ruddiman was initially the printer of the *Caledonian Mercury* and bought the entire business in 1729. He was suspected by the government of having Jacobite tendencies.

**Seafield, Earl of**

Seafield was Secretary of State from 1696 to 1702 and again between 1704 and 1705, Lord Chancellor from 1702 to 1704, and a commissioner for the union from 1701. He was the leader of Court party favouring the union during the debate on the treaty. However, he later moved to repeal the union in 1713. By that time he had inherited the title of Earl of Findlater in 1711.

**Stair, Earl of**

See **Dalrymple, John**.

**Stuart, Charles Edward Stuart**

Charles Edward Stuart was the son of James, the Old Pretender. He was also known as Bonnie Prince Charlie or the Young Pretender. He led the failed Jacobite rising of 1745.

**Tweeddale, Marquis of**

Tweeddale was leader of the Squadrone Volante, and one time leader of the Country party. He eventually voted for the union.

**Walpole, Sir Robert**

Walpole was the Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1722 to 1742.

**Wade, General**

Wade oversaw military road-building and the establishment of forts in the Highlands during the 1720s and 30s.

**William II, King**

William ascended the throne in the Revolution of 1688–9. He was king of Scots and king of England from 1688 to 1702. He was William III of England. He opposed the Darien scheme and influenced the withdrawal of English investment in the Company of Scotland.

**Young Pretender**

See **Stuart, Charles Edward**.

## Glossary of terms

### **Act anent Peace and War**

This was passed by parliament in 1703, and stated that future kings or queens could not declare war on Scotland's behalf without parliamentary consent.

### **Act of Security**

This was passed by parliament in 1703 in response to the English Parliament's Act of Succession. It was given royal assent in 1704. It proclaimed Scottish independence in terms of trade, law and religion, and asserted Scotland's right to choose its monarch.

### **Act of Security for the Kirk**

This was passed by parliament in November 1706 during the debate on the Treaty of Union. It protected the future of a Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

### **Act of Settlement (England)**

This was passed by the English Parliament in 1701, ensuring the Hanoverian succession on the death of Queen Anne.

### **Act of Settlement (Scotland)**

This law was passed by parliament in 1690 and formally established a Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The future security of the church was preserved in 1706 during the debate on the Treaty of Union.

### **Act of Union**

This was passed in parliament in January 1707 and in the English Parliament in March 1707, ratifying the Treaty of Union.

### **Aliens Act**

This was passed by the English Parliament in 1705 in response to the Act of Security in Scotland. It threatened Scotland with economic sanctions unless parliament accepted the Hanoverian succession.

### **Anglican church**

See **Church of England**.

### **Anglican prayer book**

See **Book of Common Prayer**.

### **Articles of Grievance**

This was a series of demands by parliament in 1689, one of which was that the Lords of the Articles, the committee through which the king traditionally governed Scotland, be abolished.

**Associate Presbytery**

This was the church formed in 1733 after the secession of several ministers, including Ebenezer Erskine, from the Church of Scotland.

**Auld Alliance**

This was the name given to the alliance between Scotland and France, dating from 1292 to 1560. Good trading relations between the two countries existed beyond this period but were restricted during the years leading to union between Scotland and England.

**Bill of Rights**

This was passed by the English Parliament in 1689, and stated that James II had abdicated, therefore allowing the English Parliament to offer the throne to William and Mary.

**Book of Common Prayer**

Sometimes known as the Anglican prayer book, this was used by the Anglican church. Many Presbyterians feared its introduction into Scotland following union.

***Caledonian Mercury***

This was published from 1720 onwards, and was seen as an expression of national sentiment and possibly Jacobite sympathy.

**Cameronians**

Cameronians were Presbyterians who wanted the National Covenant to be observed. They opposed Charles II and James VII and II, and although William III pardoned them and formed a regiment in the British army with them, they opposed the Treaty of Union.

**Cavaliers**

See **Jacobites**.

**Church of England**

This was the Episcopalian church founded during the reign of Henry VIII, sometimes known as the Anglican church.

**Claim of Right**

This was a list drawn up by parliament in 1689, detailing abuses of power by James VII and declaring that the king had by his actions forfeited his right to the crown of Scotland

**Commissioner for the burghs/commissioner for the shires**

Commissioner was the title given to members of the parliament in Edinburgh, much like the terms 'MSP' or 'MP' used today.

**Commissioner for union**

This was the title given to those members of the Scottish and English Parliaments who met in 1706 to negotiate the terms of the Treaty of Union.

**Company of Scotland**

The Company was founded by parliament in 1695 to trade with Africa, the Indies and America. It met with financial ruin following the failure of the **Darien scheme**, although it continued to trade until 1707.

**Country party**

The Country party was a group of members of the Scottish Parliament who claimed to represent Scottish interests as opposed to those of the king and the English Parliament. The Country party opposed union with England.

**Court party**

The Court party was a group of members of the Scottish Parliament who supported the king's government in Scotland. The Court party supported union with England.

**Covenanters**

See **National Covenant**.

**Darien scheme**

This was the disastrous expedition to establish a Scottish colony on the Darien isthmus in Panama, Central America, between 1698 and 1700.

**Disarming Act**

Passed in 1716 in response to the 1715 Jacobite rising, and strengthened in 1725, this effectively removed the right to hold weapons in some parts of Scotland in order to secure government control in the Highlands.

**English Parliament**

This was the legislature of England, and was made up of the House of Commons and House of Lords.

**Episcopalian**

An Episcopalian church is governed by bishops. An example is the Church of England. Another is the Episcopalian Church of Scotland.

**Equivalent, The**

The Equivalent was the sum of money, set at £398,085.10s, guaranteed to be given by the English government to Scotland as part of the terms of the Treaty of Union. The sum was meant to cover the costs of Scotland's share of English debt, and was equivalent to the Darien losses with interest added.

**Federal Union**

This was the type of union favoured by the Scottish commissioners, in which England and Scotland would maintain separate parliaments.

**Fifteen, The**

See **Jacobite rising**.

**Forty-Five, The**

See **Jacobite rising**.

**Glencoe massacre**

This took place on 13 February 1692, when government troops killed 38 members of the clan MacDonald. Parliament declared this to be an act of murder.

**Glorious Revolution**

See **Revolution of 1688–9**

**Government**

This is the term used to cover the grouping of ministers, officers and other appointments made by the Crown to carry out the administration of affairs in the country.

**Greenshields case**

James Greenshields, an Episcopalian minister, was jailed by Edinburgh town council in 1711 but his appeal was upheld by the House of Lords, leading to the Toleration Act of 1712.

**Hanoverian succession**

This was ensured by the Act of Settlement passed in 1701 by the English Parliament, offering the throne to Sophia of Hanover and her descendants on the death of Queen Anne.

**High Church**

This is a term used to describe those in the Anglican church who favoured the ritual practices and ceremonies that were also used in the Roman Catholic church or who viewed the clergy as being of a higher order than the congregation.

**High Church Tories**

This term simply describes those who favoured High Church policies and were members of the Tory grouping in the British Parliament.

**Ill years**

This was the name given by Jacobites to the period to 1699 during which bad harvests led to famine, extreme poverty and starvation for thousands of Scots.

**Incorporating union**

This was the type of union favoured by the English Parliament, in which England and Scotland would be incorporated into a single-parliament country.

**Jacobite risings**

Occuring first in 1715 and later in 1745, these were failed attempts to unite the forces against union to restore the throne to the Stuart dynasty. They were known as 'The Fifteen' and 'The Forty-Five'. There were also aborted risings in 1708 and 1719.

**Jacobites**

This was the name given to those who favoured the throne remaining in the Stuart family. They were sometimes known as the Cavaliers.

**Killiecrankie, Battle of**

This was a battle in July 1689 in which government troops were defeated by those supporting James VII and II. However, it did not lead to a successful rising against the new king, William III.

**Marrow affair**

This was the dispute in 1722 surrounding some Church of Scotland ministers who defended a book entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*.

**Malt Tax**

This had been suspended after the Act of Union but was re-imposed in Scotland in 1725, provoking unrest across the country.

**Navigation Acts**

Passed by the English Parliament in the 1660s, these stated that England's colonies could only trade with English ships or ships with English crews, effectively prohibiting Scottish trade with the colonies.

**National Covenant**

This was drawn up in 1638 and was signed by those who wished to preserve a Protestant church free from monarchical interference.

**New party**

See **Squadron Volante**.

**Parliament (until 1707)**

Parliament was the Scottish legislature, meeting in Edinburgh and made up of commoners and nobles.

**Parliament (from 1707)**

Parliament was the legislature of Great Britain, including members from Scotland in both the House of Commons and House of Lords.

**Partition Treaty**

This was signed in 1698 by England and France, and resolved issues in relation to the sovereignty of some Italian states and the Low Countries. The delicacy of the treaty negotiations was such that William II felt the Darien scheme would interfere with his relations with France.

**Porteous Riots**

This refers to the lynching of Captain John Porteous of the city guard in Edinburgh. He had been found guilty of the murder of rioters during a public hanging of smugglers in April 1736. His execution was deferred after the intervention of Walpole, but a mob dragged him from his cell in September and hanged him.

**Presbyterian**

A presbyterian church is governed by ministers and elders. An example is the Church of Scotland.

**Presbyterian settlement**

See **Act of Settlement (Scotland)**.

**Revolution of 1688–9**

In 1688–9, William and Mary replaced James VII and II, who was exiled to France in a bloodless revolution brought about by the English Parliament. This was known by anti-Catholics as the Glorious Revolution.

**Revolution Settlement**

This was the collective name for the series of measures drawn up as a result of the Revolution of 1688–9, including those setting out the division of power in relation to religious, financial, legal and parliamentary matters.

***Scots Magazine***

First published in 1739, this magazine reflected Scottish people's interest in a variety of topics related to Scottish history, culture and current affairs.



**Shawfield riots**

In 1725, a mob attacked the Shawfield mansion of Daniel Campbell, MP for the Glasgow burghs, after he voted for the re-introduction of the Malt Tax.

**Sheriffmuir, Battle of**

Taking place on 13 November during the Jacobite rising of 1715, this was claimed as a victory by the government, although Jacobites took heart from inflicting heavy casualties on government troops and claimed victory themselves.

**Squadron Volante**

This was the group of politicians in the Scottish Parliament, sometimes known as the New party. Their hold on the balance of power was crucial in the passing of the Treaty of Union.

**Stuart succession**

This was the hoped-for passing of the throne back to James VII and II, which Jacobites tried in vain to bring about.

**Toleration Act**

This was passed in 1712, following the Greenshields case, and allowed for the Episcopalian Church of Scotland to exist on the grounds that it used the Anglican prayer book.

**Tory Party**

This was a grouping of MPs and Lords in the English and later British Parliament who tended to favour the crown and the Anglican church.

**Treaty of Union**

This was signed in July 1706 after negotiations between Scottish and English commissioners in London.

**Treaty of Utrecht**

In 1713, this was signed by Britain and France and others to end the War of the Spanish Succession. It led to a change in French policy towards Britain and a withdrawal of support for the Jacobites.

**Twelve limitations**

This was a series of proposals made in parliament by Andrew Fletcher that would limit the power of the crown and ministers in the English government to influence Scottish affairs.

### **Union of the Crowns**

This occurred when James VI of Scotland also became James I of England in 1603 on the death of his cousin Elizabeth I.

### **War of the Spanish Succession**

This war took place in Europe between 1701 and 1714. Although it centred on the line of succession to the Spanish throne, England became involved by declaring war on France as a result of Louis XIV's support for James, the Old Pretender, as the rightful heir to the English crown.

### **War of the Three Kingdoms**

This is the name given to the various wars taking place in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1639 to 1651, during which the Bishops Wars took place between royalist troops and Scottish Covenanters, the English Civil War was fought between Parliamentarians and Royalist supporters of Charles I, and rebellions took place in Ireland.

### **Whig Party**

This was a grouping of MPs and Lords in the English and later British Parliament who tended to oppose absolute rule and favour a more constitutional role for the monarch. The Whigs dominated British politics during the mid-18th century.

### **Wine Act**

Passed in 1703, this stated that Scotland would continue to trade in wine with France, Spain and other nations, even during periods when these nations were at war with England.

### **Wool Act**

Passed in 1703, this stated that Scotland would continue to trade in wool with its European partners, including during periods of war between these countries and England.

## Timeline

- 1688 Revolution of 1688–9; James VII and II flees to France; Convention of Estates
- 1689 William II (III of England) and Mary II ascend the throne; Claim of Right; Articles of Grievance; Battle of Killiecrankie; Jacobite attempt at rising fails
- 1690 Presbyterian settlement – formal adoption of presbyterianism; abolition of Lords of the Articles; James VII and II defeated by William in Ireland at battle of the Boyne
- 1691
- 1692 Glencoe massacre; England at war with France
- 1693 )
- 1694 )
- 1695 Bank of Scotland founded; Company of Scotland formed ) The ‘Ill Years’
- 1696 Failed Jacobite plot to assassinate King William )
- 1697 England makes peace with France – Treaty of Ryswick )
- 1698 First ships leave Leith for Darien.
- 1699
- 1700 Darien scheme fails; death of Princess Anne’s last surviving child
- 1701 Act of Settlement (England); James VII and II dies; Louis XIV proclaims James ‘VIII and III’ king of Scots and king of England
- 1702 England declares war on France; death of William; coronation of Queen Anne
- 1703 New party gains seats in parliament at elections; Act of Security (Scotland); Wine Act (Scotland); Wool Act (Scotland); Act anent Peace and War (Scotland)
- 1704 Act of Security (Scotland) given royal assent

<b>APPENDIX</b>
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- 1705 Aliens Act (England); execution of Captain Green
- 1706 Treaty of Union negotiated and signed; debate starts in Scottish Parliament; Act of Security for Kirk
- 1707 Act of Union passed in Scotland and England; office of Secretary of State for Scotland created
- 1708 Abortive Jacobite-French invasion; abolition of Scottish privy council
- 1709 Extension of English treason law to Scotland
- 1710 Failed attack by High Church on Church of Scotland
- 1711 Ban on Scots peers with English titles granted post-1707 entering the House of Lords; Greenshields case
- 1712 Toleration Act; House of Lords starts to be used as court of appeal for Scottish cases; Patronage Act
- 1713 Motion to repeal Act of Union defeated in House of Lords; failed attempt to re-introduce Malt Tax to Scotland; Treaty of Utrecht
- 1714 Death of Queen Anne; accession of George of Hanover
- 1715 Whig victory in British elections; death of Louis XIV; failed Jacobite rising; Jacobite land confiscated
- 1716 Disarming Act; York Building Company of London acquires Jacobite land
- 1717
- 1718
- 1719 Failed Spanish-led Jacobite rebellion in Highlands
- 1720 Publication of *Caledonian Mercury*
- 1721
- 1722 'Marrow affair'
- 1723 Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture formed

- 1724 Levellers campaign against decline of runrigs
- 1725 Walpole re-introduces Malt Tax into Scotland; Shawfield riots; office of Secretary of State for Scotland abolished; office of Home Secretary created
- 1726 General Wade begins military road-building in Highlands
- 1727 Death of George I; accession of George II; Royal Bank of Scotland founded; establishment of Board of Trustees for Encouragement of Fisheries and Manufactures
- 1728
- 1729
- 1730
- 1731
- 1732 Dispute in church over patronage led by Ebenezer Erskine
- 1733 First secession from state church – formation of Associate Presbytery
- 1734
- 1735
- 1736 Porteous riots
- 1737
- 1738
- 1739 Publication of *Scots Magazine*
- 1740

## Essential lists

### Issue 1: Worsening relations with England

#### The Revolution of 1688–9

- Revolution of 1688–9 – James VII and II was deposed and exiled and replaced by William II (III of England) and Mary II.
- Attempts to promote a union at this point failed.
- Convention of Estates 1689 – the first meeting of parliament in Edinburgh after James VII and II had been deposed; it acted independently of monarchical power.
- Claim of Right 1689 – parliament claimed James VII and II had forfeited the throne; English Parliament differed, stating that the king had abdicated; Scotland was asserting the notion of a contract between parliamentary authority and that of monarchy.
- Articles of Grievance 1689 – Scottish Parliament document demanding the abolition of the committees which kings had traditionally used to govern Scotland.
- Act of Settlement 1690 – presbyterianism adopted as system of government of the church.

#### King William II (William III of England)

- Glencoe massacre 13 February 1692 – troops enforcing loyalty to William killed 38 members of the Clan MacDonald; parliament declared the act to be murder.
- William at war with France 1692–1697 – England being at war affected Scotland's trade with Europe.
- Jacobite plot to assassinate William 1696 – fuelled distrust between England and Scotland.
- William played significant role in failure of Darien scheme.
- William associated in minds of some Scots with 'Ill years' of famine in 1690s.

#### Darien Scheme

- Company of Scotland formed by parliamentary act in 1695.
- English Parliament raised threat to English interests with William who agreed with them.
- East India Company (part-owned by the English government) objected strongly.
- English directors whose investment in the Company was 50 per cent of the total withdrew after William's views became widely known.
- William influenced Dutch investors to withdraw and refuse to sell ships to the Company.
- William ordered English colonists in Jamaica to refuse aid to the Scots.

- William encouraged Spain to view Darien settlement as an attack on land William recognised as being Spanish.
- William wanted to prevent Darien from interfering with his Partition Treaty with Louis XIV of France.
- Ships set sail from Leith in July 1698.
- Settlement was abandoned in March 1700 after losing most men and ships.

### **English and Scottish Legislation**

- Act of Settlement 1701 (England): created Hanoverian succession in England but not in Scotland.
- Act of Security 1703 (Scotland): asserted Scots independence in the succession – Act not given royal assent until 1704.
- Wine Act 1703 (Scotland): allowed import of wine from France and Spain during wartime.
- Wool Act 1703 (Scotland): allowed trade in wool between Scotland and countries with which England was at war.
- Act anent Peace and War 1703 (Scotland): asserted the authority of the Scottish Parliament, not the monarch, to declare war on Scotland's enemies.
- Aliens Act 1705 (England): threatened Scotland with economic sanctions including a ban on exports to England unless Hanoverian succession was accepted in Scotland.

### **Other issues between Scotland and England**

- Navigation Acts – since the 1660s these laws protected English trade and prevented Scottish trade with the colonies.
- Jacobite opposition to Revolution Settlement.
- English Episcopalian opposition to Presbyterian church in Scotland.
- Scotland could not act independently because union of the crowns meant that king in London appointed ministers for Scotland.
- Scottish trade was sacrificed for English policy, e.g. Darien.
- Famine – the 'Ill years' of the 1690s were seen by many as having worse effects for the fact of Scotland being ruled by King William.
- Scottish economic problems in 1690s were similarly linked to William's rule.
- Cameronians still wanted the Covenant observed in Scotland.
- Execution of Captain Green at Leith in 1705 – evidence of mob hatred of English.

## Issue 2: Arguments for and against union with England

### Arguments for union with England

#### *Economic*

- Advantages in commerce and trade.
- Economy would improve – national product would increase.
- Scotland's trade would catch up with that of other European nations.
- Free trade with English colonies.

#### *Political*

- Protection of being in Great Britain.
- Liberty preserved.
- Common interests already with England.
- Advantages of Scottish politicians being part of the court of the king in London.

#### *Succession*

- Hanoverian succession offered security to Protestantism.

#### *Religious*

- Threat from 'Popery' reduced.

#### *Social*

- Property preserved.
- Reduction in civil discord, poverty, oppression from bad ministries.

### Arguments against union with England

#### *Economic*

- Increased burden of taxation.
- British Parliament would favour English trade over Scottish.
- Royal burghs would be deprived of rights.
- Manufactures may be ruined.
- English currency, weights and measures to be introduced.
- Fear of loss of European trade.

#### *Political*

- Independent sovereignty sacrificed.
- Reduction in status of Scottish nobility in British Parliament.
- Claim of Right would be undermined.
- Voluntary surrender to English majority.
- Scotland had always been independent nation.
- Dishonourable to enter into union in which Scotland would suffer enslavement.



- Monarchy would be suppressed by British, or 'English', Parliament.
- Scotland becomes 'part of England – Scotlandshire'.

***Succession***

- Union would mean Hanoverian succession, not Stuart.
- Scottish identity threatened.

***Religious***

- Presbyterians feared Anglican church in Scotland.
- English Parliament dominated by Episcopalian church with bishops' seats in the House of Lords.
- Episcopalians in Scotland opposed union as union would secure the Hanoverian succession, and only a return to the Stuart dynasty might restore episcopacy to the Scottish church.

***Social***

- Laws may be ruined.
- Public opinion against union.

### Issue 3: Passing of the Act of Union

#### Position of England

- English attitude changed during 1690s.
- Union would bring threats of war from the north to an end.
- England feared invasion France already – did not want conflict with Scotland too
- An incorporating union would allay English fears of Jacobite succession in Scotland.
- No parliamentary opposition to treaty in England.

#### Arguments for Federal Union

- Scotland and England would retain national distinctions.
- Scottish church would survive.
- Scottish laws, customs, rights preserved.
- Scotland's manufactures protected from English competitors.

#### Arguments for Incorporating Union

- Trade better protected.
- Scotland would be part of powerful nation.
- Would prevent relapse into division which might occur with federal union.
- Would secure peace and strengthen the island.
- England would not accept any union other than incorporating.
- Perceived military threat from England if no incorporating union agreed.

#### The debate over the Act of Union

##### *Treaty negotiations in London:*

- Hamilton proposed on 1 September 1705 that the Queen appoint Scottish commissioners.
- Most Scottish commissioners therefore already in favour of union, except George Lockhart of Carnwath.
- Negotiations began on 16 April 1706.
- English commissioners proposed incorporating union.
- Scottish commissioners proposed status quo, with Scots accepting Hanoverian succession.
- English refused to discuss anything other than incorporating union.
- Assurances given for Scottish peers, parliamentary assistance for Scottish economy, payment of the Equivalent, rights of the burghs, and continuance of Scottish laws.
- Treaty signed and sealed on 22 July 1706.

##### *Position of members of Scottish Parliament*

- Country party opposed to union.
- Court party in favour of union.

- Cavalier party (Jacobites) opposed union but disagreed with Country party over Hanoverian succession.
- Squadrone Volante favoured union by the time of the debate.
- Squadrone Volante held balance of power during the debate.
- Those for union sought a fair and equal one.
- Court party won the vote on every single one of the 25 articles discussed.
- Role of parties and political management critical.

### *Issues discussed*

- Concern about threats of Aliens Act.
- Only those who accepted Hanoverian succession would get appointed to Scottish government.
- Continuing economic crisis in Scotland.
- Concern about how much trust could be placed in a British Parliament not to favour English interests over Scottish interests.
- Losses due to the Darien scheme still to be addressed.
- Concerns about the number of Scottish MPs and Lords in British Parliament.
- Mob violence against the treaty.
- Jacobites against the treaty but unwilling to accept Hanoverian succession to prevent it.

### *Key dates during the debate*

- Debate began 3 October 1706.
- 15 October – vote to proceed with debate.
- 15–31 October – articles discussed without votes.
- 29 October – address from the Convention of Royal Burghs, which expressed favour towards an ‘honourable and safe union’ that safeguarded an independent Scottish Parliament.
- 1 November–14 January 1707 – articles discussed with votes.
- 12 November – Act of Security for the Kirk passed.
- 14 November – 2nd article – on trade – passed with largest majority of any article throughout the debate.
- Mid-November – Hamilton’s proposal to accept Hanoverian succession divides opponents of union.
- 28 November – concessions made to Scotland on tax on liquor.
- Late November – Hamilton plays role in calling off rising of lowland Covenanters and Highland Jacobites in the south-west.
- 16 December – concessions made to Scotland on wool exports.
- 26 December – concessions made to Scotland on tax on salt.
- 7–9 January 1707 – Hamilton failed to lead walkout of parliament.
- 16 January – Act of Union passed.

***The Act of Union in England***

- 22 January – debate on treaty began in English Parliament.
- 4 March – Act of Union passed by English Parliament with no opposition.
- 6 March – Act of Union approved by Queen Anne.

**Reasons for passing the Act of Union*****Political***

- Squadrone Volante's hold on balance of power was key to Court party's success.
- Some in the Squadrone Volante believed they would have share in the Equivalent.
- Role of Hamilton in dividing opponents of union and obstructing arguments against union.
- Disagreement amongst opponents of union unable to act together.

***Economic***

- Assurances that British Parliament would support Scottish economy over taxation.
- Scottish Parliament persuaded by incentives of free trade with England and access to colonies.
- Last minute concessions from English on issues such as salt, wool and liquor.

***Financial***

- Bribery of Scottish ministers/politicians.
- £20,000 paid to various Scottish politicians.
- Threats of loss of civil list pension.
- Military patronage.
- Seats on House of Lords for 16 Scottish peers.
- Other Scots peers to retain privileges (immunity from arrest, civil process, debt, etc.).
- The Equivalent: £398,085.10s to cover the taking on of English debt.

***Self-interest***

- Treaty appealed to self-interest of members of Scottish Parliament.
- Act of Security for the Kirk would allow Church of Scotland to continue.
- Rights of burghs and royal burghs to remain.
- Inherited offices for Lords to continue.
- Scots laws and Scottish courts to remain.

***Military***

- Security of liberty and stability under one parliament.
- English forces moving north and fear of invasion if no treaty was agreed.
- Peace secured by being part of Great Britain.

***Historical***

- Scots commissioners and English MPs wanted union at the same time.

## Issue 4: Effects of the Union to 1740

### Political

- Office of Secretary of State for Scotland was created.
- 1711 – parliament banned Scottish peers with English titles granted since 1707 from the House of Lords.
- Some Highland clans maintained loyalty to Hanoverian succession, others kept faith in Jacobite cause.
- 1713 – motion proposed by Earl of Findlater (formerly Seafield) to repeal Act of Union defeated by four votes.
- Whig election victory in 1715; fear amongst voters of Jacobite tendencies of High Church Tories.
- Although this was a defeat, the strength of feeling amongst the Scots was enough to put the government off re-introducing the Malt Tax for the first time since union.
- 1725 – office of Secretary of State for Scotland abolished; office of Home Secretary created.

### Economic

- Dissatisfaction with Equivalent remaining unpaid.
- Scottish industry could not compete with English competition.
- Only a small number of Scots engaged successfully with the colonies.
- Tobacco industry developed in Glasgow.
- Increases in smuggling led to loss of revenue for government.
- Paper industry failed.
- Scottish linen industry suffered in relation to English woollen industry.
- Merchant shipping benefited, particularly in trade with Baltic nations and the Caribbean.
- British government of Walpole grew unpopular.
- Taxes led to smuggling.
- Agricultural techniques improved.
- Increased investment in Scotland.
- 1727 – Royal Bank of Scotland founded; Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries and Manufactures established.
- Board of Trustees created more favourable economic climate and industries such as linen slowly recovered.

### Social

- Claims of the unpopularity of union made vocally by opponents.
- 1712 – House of Lords became court of appeal for Scottish cases.
- 1715 Jacobite rising followed by Disarming Act of 1716.
- Series of disturbances in 1720s in response to effects of union.
- 1720 *Caledonian Mercury* published.
- 1724 – outbreak of fence-smashing by levellers.
- 1725 – Shawfield riots in response to Malt Tax.

- 1736 – Porteous riots in Edinburgh.
- Military road-building; establishment of forts in Highlands.
- 1739 *Scots Magazine* published.

### ***Religious***

- Presbyterian clans in Highlands supported Hanoverian succession.
- Episcopalian and Roman Catholic clans in Highlands favoured return of Stuart dynasty.
- 1710 – High Church Tories in parliament failed in attempt to remove Church of Scotland's privileges.
- 1711 – Greenshields case led to Toleration Act of 1712.
- 1712 – Patronage Act gave Scottish nobles right to appoint ministers in their parishes.
- 1722 Marrow affair in Church of Scotland.
- 1733 secession from state church; formation of Associate Presbytery.

### ***Jacobite opposition***

- Jacobites emerged as leaders of national sentiment after union.
- 1708 – abortive French-sponsored invasion by the Old Pretender.
- Jacobite literature and songs became more widespread.
- Scots Scottish politicians kept contact with James to win royal favour should Stuarts ever return to throne.
- French withdrew support for Jacobites following Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.
- Jacobite rising of 1715; earl of Mar played leading role.
- Battle of Sheriffmuir in November 1715 claimed as victory by both government troops and Jacobites.
- James arrived at Peterhead in December 1715; left with Mar in February 1716.
- 1716 – Disarming Act banned holding of weapons by Highlanders.
- 1719 – failed attempt at rising in north-west Scotland by Earl Marischal and Spanish troops.
- Eventual Jacobite rising of 1745 also met with failure.