

### **'Sovereignty and the World of 1707'**

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At the Treaty of Union with England in 1707, Scotland lost its sovereign nationhood. However, few Scottish historians have stopped to ask what sovereignty meant in the Europe of the time. Although international relations theorists now speak of a Westphalian conception of sovereignty, which followed the Peace of 1648, the matter of sovereignty was, it seems, less clear to early modern contemporaries. How far was the *ius gentium* disentangled from the *ius feudale*? Was sovereignty framed as much in terms of church-state relations as it was in terms of temporal issues? How far was the personal sovereignty of the ruler distinct from the sovereignty of the state itself? This paper aims to use anomalous features of the Union of 1707 to investigate European conceptions of sovereignty between the mid seventeenth and the mid eighteenth century.

### **'Quakerism a la mode: Quietism and the Limits of Toleration in Scotland and Europe, c.1688-c.1700'**

Paul Jenkins

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Building on recent arguments linking the debate on religious toleration and the emergence of the republic of letters, this paper examines how an important series of Scottish works denouncing the Quakers and other religious "enthusiasts" interacted with the growing controversies surrounding toleration on the Continent in the 1680s. Filtered in various ways through the networks of the republic of letters many of these Scottish works both exercised an influence upon, and were influenced by the writings of the likes of Bayle, LeClerc, Bossuet, Fénelon, and Jurieu. In addition to shedding light on the currency and exchange of ideas in one of the most volatile and religiously repressive decades in European history, this paper also addresses crucial issues regarding the contested nature of religious authority and the decided limits of toleration on the eve of European Enlightenment.

### **'The grace of elocution and the power of action' – Scottish rhetoric in revolutionary America'**

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This paper assesses the impact of Scottish rhetorical theory and its practical application in the colonies at the time of the revolutionary war. The main focus of this paper is to compare the rhetorical strategies of two of Scotland's most prominent eighteenth-century rhetoricians – John Witherspoon and Hugh Blair. Although both men were educated together at the University of Edinburgh each ultimately developed radically opposing rhetorical ideologies; which in the case of Witherspoon led to the endorsement of American Independence through the employment of politically focused eloquence and Ciceronian humanism, while Blair remained loyal to the British state, advocating the belletristic study of rhetoric as a social glue to bind together civil society.

In order to investigate this divergence between the two protagonists, it is necessary to place both their educational background and religious affiliations into context. Therefore two of the key themes of this paper will be: firstly, to demonstrate the early contribution of their Edinburgh Professor, John Stevenson, whose classes on logic primarily introduced his students to the study of rhetoric and belles-lettres; and secondly, to account for the Presbyterian influence on Scottish rhetoric at home and abroad in relation to the revolutionary war. This assessment of Presbyterian rhetoric will also address the evangelical and moderate split within the Church of Scotland in order to identify the extent to which this influenced Witherspoon's and Blair's ultimate support for the fledgling American nation or the expanding British state.

### **Bought and Sold for How Much Gold?: The "Equivalent" and the Politics of Calculation in 1706-7**

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At the end of the eighteenth century, Scottish poet Robert Burns famously lamented how the Union of 1707 had seen Scotland “bought and sold for English gold.” There was one way in which this was quite literally accurate. A key condition of the Union was that the English government pay a monetary sum, evocatively titled the “Equivalent,” to compensate “Scotland” for accepting higher levels of taxation and for assuming partial responsibility for England’s National Debt, and indeed to bail-out the Scottish investors in the failed Darien Scheme. Many subsequent histories of the Union have summarily dismissed the Equivalent as a thinly veiled bribe intended to secure the support of key Scottish politicians for the Union. Yet the limited attention granted to the Equivalent by subsequent historians has inaccurately reflected the importance of that sum—calculated as £398,085.10s—in contemporary discourse. Indeed, the Scottish Union advocate Sir John Clerk of Penicuik reflected in late 1706 that “amongst all the *Articles of Union*, there has been none more talked of, and less understood, than the... *Rise, Nature, and Management of the Equivalents*.”

The purpose of this talk will be to explore what can be learned from taking the Equivalent seriously—as at once a highly sophisticated problem in contemporary economic analysis and a critical component of how the fairness (or unfairness) of the Union was understood in emergent public discourse. The advisors responsible for determining the precise value of the Equivalent had to make sense of messes of intractable data on debt and taxation, in two countries with different laws and administrative cultures. Calculating the Equivalent required reconciling different computational skills and traditions, each of which laid different claims to authority on questions of political-economic analysis. The task fell not only to some of England’s top accounting experts, but also to Bank of England founder William Paterson and one of Scotland’s foremost university mathematicians, David Gregory. The question what—and who—made for the most reliable economic calculations reverberated through broader political conversations about the Union. Further, marshaling public support for the Union involved asking a broad, lay audience to believe in the legitimacy and probity of opaque computational practices. In Scotland, polemicists on both sides of the Union debate gave great attention to technical specifics. Contemporary analysts offered their own mathematical reconstructions of what the £398,085.10s meant, which revealed deeper uncertainties about the relationship between loans and investments, about the differences between simple versus compound interest, and about the conditions necessary for economic growth.

Reconstructing how the Equivalent was negotiated, calculated, and interpreted helps contribute to two exciting trends in the recent historiography of 1707. First, it helps deepen our understanding of the place of political-economic reasoning and global economic objectives, among both the English and the Scottish, in the construction of the Union. Second, it provides an especially vivid instance of the vital role of popular political discourse in shaping the events of 1706-7. Even more so, telling the technical story of the Equivalent helps to “globalize Scottish history” by recontextualizing the Union within broader historical shifts in economic understanding, questions about the nature of political-economic expertise, the definition of economic fairness, the financial value of time, and even the mathematical relationship between arithmetic and algebra.

**‘The factory and the farm: Jute, Dundee and the Bengal delta during the nineteenth century’**

Tariq Ali

Harvard University

**‘The overseas at home in Scotland’**

Emma Rothschild

Harvard University

**‘Global Covenant: Presbyterianism Radicalism in the Nineteenth-century British World’**

Valerie Wallace

Harvard University

The rebellions of the seventeenth-century Covenanters are more familiar to historians than the revolts and protest inspired by their nineteenth-century descendants. This paper will examine the legacy of the Scottish Covenanting movement – the inspiration provided by the memory of the Cameronian martyrs and the enduring significance of their political theology – in the nineteenth-century British world. These Reformed

Presbyterians were living in what was arguably the first age of global imperialism and revolution, which saw the birth of modern global politics with their emphasis on popular rights and liberal, mixed, or republican constitutions. Through their missionary and colonisation efforts and political protest for the abolition of slavery and for the institution of representative government, Covenanters contributed to these developments. The Church had a small number of communicants, and subscribed to an illiberal and unenlightened seventeenth-century ideology. Nevertheless, the Church and its legacy had a disproportionate impact on contemporary events. Amidst such ironies was the modern world born.

**“Far o'er the Sea”: The Highland Bagpipe in a Global Context’**

William Donaldson

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