

Histories of Scottish Politics in the Age of Union, c.1700-1945

23 – 24 July 2024

Collingwood College, Penthouse Conference Suite, Durham University

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Scottish Historical Review Trust



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#HSPconference

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THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT

British Political, Social & Local History

The History of Parliament Trust has been promoting research on British political history for over 60 years. Its publications include 65 volumes examining the House of Commons and House of Lords in periods from the 14th century onwards, plus books aimed at wider audiences. The Trust has been co-supervising PhDs since 2010, runs student internships and essay competitions, and organises regular conferences and seminars, including the 'Parliaments, Politics and People' seminar at the Institute of Historical Research. It also develops historical resources, collaborating with organisations like the British Library, British History Online, the House of Commons Library and Parliamentary Digital Service on oral history and digitisation projects and the creation of open-access, web-based datasets.

Research: our in-house researchers, aided by external contributors, are currently working on projects exploring the operation of the Commons, 1461-1504 and 1832-68, and the Lords, 1558-1603, 1640-60 and 1715-90. More contemporary research is being carried out by the oral history project (see resources below). Each project has its own blog / webpages:

<https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com>

<https://victoriancommons.wordpress.com>

Reference Works: 27,000 biographies and 3,000 local constituency histories plus detailed institutional surveys have now been published in 65 volumes. Nine new volumes covering the Commons 1640-60 appeared in 2023. Volumes published before 2010 are freely available on our main website. Later volumes will soon be available on an upgraded site: www.historyofparliamentonline.org

Resources: the History of Parliament is a founding partner of the digital library run by British History Online at the IHR. Alongside its contributions to this resource, it develops its own datasets, such as the MP voting database used by the Commons 1832-68 or the digitised Lords proceedings being compiled for 1558-1603. Collaborations with groups in Parliament have recently resulted in smaller stand-alone datasets:

<https://membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org>

<https://peerages.historyofparliamentonline.org>

An oral history project run in partnership with the British Library is creating a major sound archive of British politics since 1945, based on full-length 'life story' interviews with former MPs and senior peers:

<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/about/latest-research/oral-history-project>

Details of the 2024 undergraduate dissertation competition can be found here: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/news/undergraduate-dissertation-competition-2024>.

Younger students can find materials in the 'Explore' and 'Schools' sections of the main website. Other resources include our YouTube channel, which now contains 30 short videos:

<https://www.youtube.com/@historyofparliament9625/videos>



We are also on Twitter @HistParl @GeorgianLords @TheVictCommons

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DAY ONE: TUESDAY 23 JULY 2024

9.45AM – 10.20AM Registration (Lobby) and refreshments (Boardroom)

Edinburgh University Press book stall available in Lobby

10.20AM – 12PM Panel Session 1

Panel 1.A (Room A) *Courtroom politics*

Chair: Malcolm Petrie

Kajsa Varjonen, 'Politics in the courtroom: The prosecution of rioters after the 1725 Malt Tax crisis'
Emma Macleod, 'Enlightenment justice: the Scottish trials for sedition and treason in comparative context, 1793-98'

Valerie Wallace, 'William Macao and the politics of subjecthood in the courts'

Rachel Bennett and Lauren Darwin, "'This trial is no trivial matter. It affects me, but it affects the country more": The Scottish Martyrs, Scots law and convict transportation to the Australian colonies'

Panel 1.B (Room B) *The politics of abolition*

Chair: Annie Tindley

Matthew Lee, 'The Haitian Revolution, abolitionism and pro-slavery thought in the Scottish public sphere, 1791-92'

Stephen Mullen, 'The West India interest's takeover of the Scottish political system in the abolition era, 1807-34'

Frankie Aird, "'A Manifest Violation of Justice and Humanity": The campaigns against British and American slavery in nineteenth-century Perthshire'

James Wylie, 'Tartan and slavery: surveying the evidence'

12PM – 12.40PM Lunch (Boardroom)

12.40PM – 2.20PM Panel Session 2

Panel 2.A (Room A) *Land and environment*

Chair: Brian Casey

Grace Wright, "'Damn the fellow": the organisation and prevention of land agitation in the social networks of Dugald MacLachlan during the Crofters' War'

Annie Tindley, 'The politics of the Scottish land market: from Lloyd George's Land Campaign to community ownership'

Graeme Morton, 'Patronage and politics within Scotland's climate science, 1820-1921'

Sarah Leith, 'Beauty and the Hydro-Electric Board: Revisiting "use and delight" in mid-twentieth-century Scotland'

Panel 2.B (Room B) *Women in politics*

Chair: Martin Spychal

Natalee Garrett, 'Fashionably Scottish: The Duchess of Gordon and Scottish identity in British high society, c.1770-1810'

Hannah Speed, 'Lifelong political identities in the autobiographies of Scottish women's suffrage campaigners'

Lisa Berry-Waite, 'The Duchess of Atholl: Scotland's first woman MP'

Katie McCrossan, 'Un-co-operative parties? The Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild and Labour Politics'

2.20PM – 2.40PM Refreshments (Boardroom)

2.40PM – 4PM Panel session 3

Panel 3.A (Room A) *Friendship and feeling*

Chair: Emma Macleod

Michael Fraser, 'The Public face of the Argathelian regime: The image of John Campbell, Second Duke of Argyll, c.1704-1733'

Brendan Tam, 'Henry Dundas, "The Friends of Mr. Pitt" and Networks of Political Friendship, 1783-1811'

Nicholas Barone, "'I used to...think about Scotland in my hours of bitterness": Pessimism, decline and patriotic anxiety in Scottish political thought, 1800-1850'

Panel 3.B (Room B) *Politics after Union*

Chair: Kyle Thompson

Edwin Sheffield, 'Clan MacKenzie and Ross-shire politics after Union, c.1708-1715'

Tom Pye, 'Capitalist feudalism? Land and the politics of the tailzie in Britain, 1744-70'

Joshua Smith, 'Politics in the Presbytery: political participation and reaction in the Presbytery of Dunblane, 1790-1832'

4PM – 4.20PM Refreshments (Boardroom)

NB: During this break rooms A and B will be joined to make Penthouse Suite Room A/B

4.20PM – 5.30PM Keynote talk (Penthouse Suite Room A/B)

Ewen Cameron, 'Where did the nineteenth century go?'

Chair: Naomi Lloyd-Jones

Response: Katie McCrossan

5.30PM – 6.45PM Drinks reception (Boardroom)

Co-sponsored by Centre for Nineteenth Century Studies and History of Parliament Trust

From 7.15PM Conference dinner

Lebaneat, North Bailey, Durham (at delegates' own expense)

DAY TWO: WEDNESDAY 24 JULY

8.45AM – 9.15 AM Registration (Lobby) and refreshments (Boardroom)

9.15AM – 10.35AM Panel session 4

Panel 4.A (Room A) *Twentieth-century politics*

Chair: Robbie Johnston

Jim Tomlinson, 'From a globalised economy to national economy? The economic foundations of a new national politics in Scotland, 1914-45'

Sarah Moxey, 'All quiet on the political front? Politics in Second World War Scotland'

Mathew Nicolson, 'Island politics and the Liberal Party's revival in Orkney and Shetland, 1945-50'

Panel 4.B (Room B) *Popular politics*

Chair: Naomi Lloyd-Jones

Karin Bowie, 'Scottish loyal addressing before and after the 1707 Union'

Colin Kidd, 'The contours of modern Scottish republicanism'

Richard Huzzey and Henry Miller, 'And Your Petitioners: Scottish petitions, subscriptional communities and petitioning, 1780-1918'

10.35AM – 10.55AM Refreshments (Boardroom)

10.55AM – 12.15PM Panel session 5

Panel 5.A (Room A) *Constituency and parliamentary politics*

Chair: Karin Bowie

Gary D. Hutchison, 'The Scottish Conservative Party outwith Scotland, 1832-68'

Martin Spychal, 'Surveying Scottish county politics in the constituencies and at Westminster, 1832-68'

Kyle Thompson, 'The Young Scots and English carpetbaggers'

Panel 5.B (Room B) *Spaces and places*

Chair: Matthew Lee

Thomas Archambaud, 'Scotland's imperial meridian: the politics of James and John Macpherson in London, Madras and Calcutta, 1764-87'

Petra Johana Poncarová, 'Ruaraidh Erskine's Gaelic magazines: nationalism, language and faith in the early twentieth century'

Oli Betts, "'On Historic Ground": The politics of building and running railways in Scotland, 1844-1923'

12.15PM – 12.55PM Lunch (Boardroom)

12.55PM – 2.15PM Panel session 6

Panel 6.A (Room A) *Radical politics*

Chair: Richard Huzzey

Dominic Barron-Carter, 'After Orbitson: Retracing "rank and file" experiences of early cooperative communities in nineteenth-century socialism'

Sonny Angus, "'Working Men Cling to Your Text": Christian Chartism in Scotland'

Dave Steele, 'The 1838 Chartist meeting on Glasgow Green: Triumph or damp-squib?'

Panel 6.B (Room B) *Constitutional politics*

Chair: Jim Tomlinson

Laura Stewart, 'The (re-)imagining of the Scottish constitution before 1707'

Stuart Neave, 'Bryce, Argyll and the "forces" underlying the British constitution'

David Torrance, 'Dreaming of Stormont: Northern Ireland as a model for Scottish devolution'

2.15PM – 2.30PM Refreshments (Boardroom)

NB: During this break rooms A and B will be joined to make Penthouse Suite Room A/B

2.30PM – 3.30PM Roundtable (Penthouse Suite Room A/B)

The future of Scottish political history?

Ewen Cameron, Colin Kidd, Emma Macleod, Naomi Lloyd-Jones, Malcolm Petrie, Valerie Wallace

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The **British Agricultural History Society**

promotes the study of the social, environmental, and economic history of the countryside and landscapes. We publish an academic journal, the *Agricultural History Review*, and newsletter, *Rural History Today*, and are always keen for authors to get in touch with ideas for articles on their research. To find out more about the society, and how you can join, please visit our website at: <https://www.bahs.org.uk/>.

CNCS

centre for nineteenth-century studies

The **Centre for Nineteenth-Century Studies** is a locus for research in all aspects of the long nineteenth century (from the 1760s to present-day neo-Victorianism), drawing from the widest possible range of disciplines and interdisciplinary approaches. We aim to shape research through regional, national and international collaboration. Please visit our website: <https://www.durham.ac.uk/research/institutes-and-centres/nineteenth-century-studies/>



Scottish Historical Review Trust

The **Scottish Historical Review Trust** aims to encourage research and publication in the field of Scottish history. We produce the *Scottish Historical Review* and a monograph series. Uniting trustees, editors and journal advisors, the Trust forms a key focal point for all those interested in Scotland's past.

The Scottish Historical Review Trust runs the *SHR's* annual ECR Article Prize, with the winning entry receiving publication in the journal and £500. The current round closes on 6 September 2024. The Trust also offers two bursaries each year, one for postgraduate and independent researchers, and one for people at mid-career level. Please see our website for more details: <https://scottishhistoricalreview.org/>.



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The **Scottish Society for Northern Studies** (SSNS) encourages the exploration of the interactions and influences of the Scandinavian, Celtic, and Scottish worlds – both within Scotland and further afield. Through its seminars, conferences and publications, the Society aims to engage with specialists and enthusiasts of a wide breadth of disciplines, providing a forum and community to discuss past and present alike. For more details, see sns.org.uk.

HSP conference participants

Frankie Aird is a second-year PhD student at the University of Stirling, completing a thesis titled 'Race, Slavery and the Textile Industry in Perthshire'. His work focuses on regional connections to slavery and abolition, and he recently published an article in *Slavery & Abolition*. This autumn, Frankie will be a research fellow at Harvard University, further researching the connections between Scotland's textile industries and American slavery.

Sonny Angus is an early-career independent researcher. He is a historian of nineteenth-century Scottish political radicalism, with a focus on the material culture of franchise reform movements. He has a particular interest in identifying the ideologies and identities of 'rank-and-file' Chartists.

Thomas Archambaud is a PhD candidate from the University of Glasgow and Paris-Sorbonne Université, working under the supervision of Dr Andrew Mackillop and Pr Nigel Leask (GU) and Dr Jean-Francois Dunyach (SU), and funded by the Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities. Thomas has published in *Northern Studies* and the *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*.

Dominic Barron-Carter is an independent researcher specialising in nineteenth-century radical politics in Norwich, Brighton, Merthyr Tydfil and the Orbiston Community. He has previously lectured at Manchester Metropolitan University and has received research bursaries from both MMU and the Society for the Study of Labour History for his work on generational political continuities in Norwich and Motherwell.

Rachel Bennett is a historian of British crime and punishment between the mid-seventeenth and twentieth century. She has published in the areas of capital punishment, beliefs about the agency of the criminal body and women's health in English prisons.

Lisa Berry-Waite is Research and Engagement Assistant Manager for the UK Parliament's Heritage Collections and is a historian of women and politics in modern Britain. She is working on a monograph, provisionally titled *A Woman MP?: From Parliamentary Candidates to Westminster Representatives, 1918-1939*, for Routledge. Lisa holds a PhD from the University of Exeter, is an RHS Associate Fellow and Joint Blog Editor for the Women's History Network.

Oli Betts is the Research Lead at the National Railway Museum in York, UK. His research interests cover the anglophone world 1850-1950, particularly how technologies like the railways connected to culture, politics, and society. He is also very active in connecting museums and universities with each other and wider communities.

Karin Bowie researches public opinion in early modern Scotland. Her 2020 monograph showed how claims about national and godly opinion became prominent in pre-Union Scottish political culture through subscriptional petitioning, participative oaths and printed, manuscript and oral forms of communication and propaganda.

Ewen Cameron is Professor of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh. He is currently working on the history of the relationship between the Scottish universities and the UK state since the late nineteenth century.

Laura Darwin is a lecturer of Early Modern History at Newcastle University. Her research specialisms include convict transportation, the slave trade and the British maritime world.

Michael Fraser is a second-year PhD Student at the University of St Andrews, studying 'Scots and the Protestant International, 1688-1732', which is fully supported by SGSAH. Since his first term of his undergraduate (and later, masters) at the University of Cambridge, he has been fascinated by eighteenth-century politics, Scottish religion and the early Hanoverians.

Natalee Garrett received a PhD in History from the University of St Andrews in 2021 for a thesis on satirical prints of the monarchy and nobility in late eighteenth-century France and Britain. She began teaching at the Open University in 2021 and has been Lecturer in History since 2022. Her research explores the relationship between popular political culture and concepts of identity, including social class, national identity and gender.

Chris Grieves is the Senior Journals Development Editor at Edinburgh University Press. He has responsibility for the press' Scottish Studies, History, Law, Philosophy and Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies journals. Chris has been heavily involved in the creation of the EUP Early Career Researcher hub, which provides guidance and advice on many aspects of academic publishing.

Gary Hutchison's research interests include Scottish conservatism and the conservative party, and electoral violence in England and Wales. He has a monograph on the origins of the Scottish Conservative Party under contract with EUP, and a co-authored article on electoral violence forthcoming in *Past & Present*. He is a Visiting Fellow in Durham's School of Government and International Affairs, and Impact Manager at the University of Edinburgh Business School.

Richard Huzzey is professor of Modern British History at Durham University. He is interested in the history of popular politics and social movements, ranging from Georgian abolitionism to Jubilee 2000.

Colin Kidd is Wardlaw Professor of Modern History at the University of St. Andrews. He is the author of *Subverting Scotland's Past* (1993) and *Union and Unionisms* (2008), and was Editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* between 1999 and 2004.

Matthew Lee completed his PhD at the University of Aberdeen in 2022. His primary research interests are Scotland's connection to enslavement in the Caribbean and its ongoing legacies. Matthew has published on Tobias Smollett's personal and literary ties to Atlantic slavery, the pro-slavery writer Alison Carmichael and the presence of enslaved and formerly enslaved people in Scotland.

Sarah Leith is currently a Research Assistant within the School of Critical Studies at the University of Glasgow. She is also a Research Assistant for the Women Historians of St Andrews project at the University of St Andrews. Her research focusses upon environmental thought and culture in twentieth-century Scotland and her articles have been published by *Northern Scotland* and *Scottish Literary Review*.

Naomi Lloyd-Jones is the conference organiser. She is Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at Durham University and works on extra-parliamentary and electoral politics and party organisation in modern Britain. Naomi is co-editor (post-1707) of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

Emma Macleod is senior lecturer in history at the university of Stirling. She is the author of *A War of Ideas: British Attitudes to the Wars against Revolutionary France* (1998), and *British Visions of America, 1775–1820: Republican Realities* (2013); and she has co-edited *Political Trials in an Age*

of *Revolutions* (2019) and *The Wodrow-Kenrick Correspondence*, vol. 1, 1750–1783 (2020). She was co-editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* from 2018-23.

Katharine McCrossan recently joined the Economic and Social History subject at the University of Glasgow, having been awarded a PhD in History from Glasgow in February 2024. Her main research interests lie in the economic, social and political history of Scotland in the twentieth century, with her PhD research focusing on the co-operative movement in Scotland between 1945 and 1973.

Henry Miller is Vice Chancellor's Fellow in the Department of Humanities, Northumbria University. His second book, *A Nation of Petitioners: Petitions and Petitioning in the United Kingdom, 1780-1918* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2023. He is lead editor of *Petitions and Petitioning in Europe and North America: From the Late Medieval Period to the Present*, which was published by Oxford University Press for the British Academy in June 2024.

Graeme Morton is Professor of Modern History and Director of the Centre for Scottish Culture at the University of Dundee. He is the author or editor of a dozen books, ranging from *Unionist Nationalism* (1999) to *Weather, Migration and the Scottish Diaspora: Leaving the Cold Country* (2021).

Sarah Moxey is an Associate Lecturer in History at the Open University. She was awarded her PhD from the University of Edinburgh in 2022, which examined Scottish party politics during WWII. Her research was sponsored by the National Library of Scotland where she worked in the Special Collections department for 8 years. Sarah is currently adapting her PhD research for publication.

Stephen Mullen is Lecturer in History at the University of Glasgow. He is an historian of slavery and its consequences in the British Atlantic world, particularly Scotland's connections with the Caribbean. His monograph, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775-1838*, was published by University of London Press in November 2022.

Stuart Neave is a PhD student at the University of St Andrews undertaking research into federal political thought in Britain between 1860 and 1940. He previously studied for an undergraduate degree in history at the University of Aberdeen, and a Master's in intellectual history at St Andrews.

Mathew Nicolson recently completed his PhD at the University of Edinburgh. His thesis explored attitudes towards constitutional change and forms of government in Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles between 1965 and 1990. His previous research examined the Liberal Party's revival in postwar Shetland and anti-apartheid campaigns in Scottish civil society.

Malcolm Petrie is Senior Lecturer in Late Modern Scottish History at the University of St Andrews. His research focusses on Scottish politics in the twentieth century, and especially on popular political traditions, the relationship between parties and voters, and political ideologies and ideas.

Petra Johana Poncarová is a Marie Curie Fellow at the University of Glasgow. Her monograph *Derick Thomson and the Gaelic Revival* was published by Edinburgh University Press in 2024. She is one of the co-directors of the National Centre for Gaelic Translation and serves as secretary of the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures.

Tom Pye is a historian of Britain and its empire from 1750 to the present, and currently Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in History at University College London. He is preparing a book

manuscript, based on his doctoral thesis, on the Scottish reaction to Westminster's attempts to de-feudalise its politics after the '45.

Edwin Sheffield received his PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2023. His thesis focused on the noble house of Seaforth and their relationship with the Stuart Dynasty from 1651 to 1719. Currently, Edwin is a primary teacher in Scotland and a research affiliate with the University of Glasgow.

Josh Smith is a final-year Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities-funded PhD candidate at the University of Stirling. His research examines the politics of reading and membership in subscription libraries in Britain in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. His first article, 'Reading against Reform: The Bristol Library Society and the Intellectual Culture of Bristol's Elections in 1812', was published in *Parliamentary History*.

Hannah Speed is a PhD candidate at the University of Glasgow, researching 'Women's life-writing and the suffrage campaign in Scotland c.1870s-1970s'. She has recently published on the writings and biography of Mary Crudelius, founder of the Edinburgh movement for women's higher education, in *Scottish Archives*.

Martin Spychal is a historian of modern Britain, specialising in nineteenth-century politics, society and culture. His first book, *Mapping the State: English boundary reform and the 1832 Reform Act* will be published later this year by the Royal Historical Society and University of London Press. He is a Senior Research Fellow at the History of Parliament working on the House of Commons 1832-1945 project.

Dave Steele is Honorary Research Fellow in the Dept. of History at the University of Warwick and Associate Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His research explores the reputational power of nineteenth-century English Reform crowds. He is editing a special collection for *Routledge* in the *Warwick Series on the Humanities* entitled *Political Sedition in Long Nineteenth-Century Britain – Gender, Space and Protest*.

Laura A.M. Stewart is professor of early modern history and Head of the Department of History at the University of York. Her publications include *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637-51* (Oxford UP, 2016; pbk 2018), winner of the American Historical Association Morris D. Forkosch Prize, and *Union and Revolution: Scotland and Beyond, 1625-1745*, with Janay Nugent (Edinburgh UP, 2020), shortlisted for the Saltire Society Scottish History Book of the Year.

Brendan Tam is a second-year PhD candidate at the University of Warwick. Brendan previously completed degrees at the Universities of Melbourne and Edinburgh and is an elected member of the Society for the History of Emotions Council. His dissertation is focused on exploring the role played by and the dynamics of political friendship in British politics during the late Hanoverian period (1760-1837).

Annie Tindley is Professor of British and Irish History at Newcastle University and writes on modern land issues, including reform, use and ownership, in Britain, Ireland and the British Empire.

Kyle Thompson is an Associate Professor at Pittsburg State University in Kansas. His research focuses on late-Victorian and Edwardian politics; he is mainly interested in political identity and

interactions between candidates and constituents. He is finishing up a research trip funded by the Scottish Historical Review Trust on the topic of this paper, the Young Scots'.

Jim Tomlinson is Emeritus Professor of Economic and Social History at the University of Glasgow. He has two books forthcoming in late 2024: *Churchill and Industrial Britain. Liberalism, Empire and Employment, 1900-1929* (Bloomsbury) and *The Triumph of Textiles. Industrial Dundee, c.1700-1918* (Edinburgh University Press), with Chris Whatley.

David Torrance is a constitutional specialist at the House of Commons Library. He is also an historian, and his most recent book is *The Wild Men: The Remarkable Story of Britain's First Labour Government* (2024). He has a PhD from the University of the West of Scotland and has published widely on Scottish and UK political history.

Kajsa Varjonen is a PhD student at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland. Her dissertation project centres around the 1725 malt tax riots and political culture in early modern Scotland. She is interested in the different arenas and modes of interaction between state, local rulers and 'the people'.

Valerie Wallace lectures on the history of Scotland and the wider world at the University of St Andrews. Before joining St Andrews, she taught for ten years at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. She is the author of *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent* (2018).

Grace Wright is a second-year SGSAH-funded PhD student at the University of Glasgow. Her research, which grew out of interest fostered by being from the Isle of Skye, focusses on women's involvement in nineteenth-century land agitation in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

James Wylie is Project Curator at V&A Dundee, having graduated from the University of St Andrews with previous experience working at Angus Museums & Galleries. Wylie was one of a team of three curators who created *Tartan*, V&A Dundee's first major in-house temporary exhibition in collaboration with consultant curator Jonathan Faiers.