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# Scottish nationalism: The symbols of Scottish distinctiveness and the 700 Year continuum of the Scots' desire for self determination

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Scottish Nationalism: The Symbols of Scottish Distinctiveness and the 700 Year  
Continuum of the Scots' Desire for Self Determination

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## Abstract

With the modern events concerning nationalism in Scotland, it is worth asking how Scottish nationalism was formed. Many proponents of the leading Modernist theory of nationalism would suggest that nationalism could not have existed before the late eighteenth century, or without the rise of modern phenomena like industrialization and globalization. However, an examination of the medieval period of Scottish history illustrates a very strong sense of national sentiment in Scotland as early as the thirteenth century. This was clearly evident by Alexander III's inauguration as King of Scots upon the Stone of Destiny at Scone in 1249. The wars of independence that were to follow that event led to a solidifying of Scottish national identity and Scottish nationalism. From the medieval period onward, one can see a continuum of Scottish nationalism that has lasted until the present. This Scottish nationalism has been driven by the symbols that the Scots have used to assert their Scottish distinctiveness that they see as justification for their right to self-determination. All this places Scottish nationalism within the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism. To reach these conclusions many primary sources were consulted including the Declaration of Arbroath, Daniel Defoe's *Writings on Travel Discovery and History*, and recent newspaper articles concerning the coming referendum on Scottish Independence in the Autumn of 2014. These conclusions should inspire a more thorough examination of medieval sources for the possible presence of nationalism. Theories, such as the Modernist theory of nationalism, should only be consulted after the evidence is examined and evidence should never be molded to fit a modern idea.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The formation of nationalism has become an intensely debated issue within the writings of political scientists and historians over recent decades. Currently it seems as if every country in Europe has a nationalistic movement occurring in which a group that sees itself as distinct is asserting its right to have political autonomy. The Northern League in Italy, the break-ups of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the creation of 15 independent states out of the former Soviet Union are examples of this global trend toward ethnic and national distinctiveness. Many see these formations of nationalism as a product of the modern world in which the French Revolution paved the way for the modern nation-state to emerge. These modern formations and current events have led to the Modernist theory of nationalism becoming the most widely accepted theory of nationalism and it clearly states that nationalism can only be a product of the modern world. Along with these theoretical debates, there are many variations of acceptable definitions of nationalism. For the purposes of this discussion, nationalism will be defined as a powerful sentiment based on a connection to an ethnicity, or to a people, that drives members of that ethnicity to insist on self-determination within their polity.

The recent events that have been taking place in Scotland seem to follow this Modernist Theory of Nationalism as can be seen with the reestablishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1997. However, upon further examination, it becomes clear that this recent rise of Scottish nationalism is merely the latest spike of nationalism that has existed as a continuum in Scotland since at least the thirteenth century. This continuum of Scottish nationalism has always had self-determination as its driving force. Though the modern

events related to rising national sentiment in Scotland give Scottish nationalism the appearance of fitting the Modernist theory of nationalism, its formation in the medieval period and its emphasis on symbols that illustrate Scottish distinctiveness place it under the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism. This supposedly modern rise of nationalism only appears modern due to a quiet period in which Scottish nationalism lay simmering from roughly 1750 to 1950 under economic prosperity brought on by the Union with England. To illustrate these points, the discussion must begin with a description of the modern period of Scottish nationalism, because it is the modern period that leads to the misguided placement of Scottish nationalism under the Modernist theory of nationalism.

On July 1, 1999 the Scottish Parliament met for the first time in nearly three hundred years. It was a triumphant victory for all those who were seeking home rule and increased autonomy for Scotland, including the Labor Party in Britain and the Scottish National Party. Some saw Scotland's reestablished parliament as way to strengthen the British Union, while others hoped that it would be a stepping stone towards Scottish independence. It was the result of over fifty years of rising sentiment in Scotland that was aimed at increased Scottish autonomy. Many of these sentiments were part of the wave of Scottish nationalism that began to accumulate support around the mid twentieth century. The movement itself seemed to have been ignited in the late nineteenth century as part of a European-wide wave of nationalism. It is no coincidence that this time period from roughly 1900 to the 1950s saw the decline of Britain's former prosperity and power throughout the British Empire. As the twentieth century advanced and older institutions like colonialism began to pass away, groups of people from formerly suppressed cultures were now seeking to redefine their nationhood. This was no different in the British Isles

where Ireland would gain its independence from Britain in 1922, and Wales and Scotland were both showing signs of mass movements towards devolution from the British Parliament. Many modern theorists see nationalism as a product of the post eighteenth century world and at first glance Scottish nationalism seems to follow this theory.

From the time of the Act of Union which united England and Scotland to form the Kingdom of Great Britain, there were those in Scotland who felt that the Union was an ill that had been perpetrated upon Scotland. However, starting in the late eighteenth century and into nineteenth, many Scots began to realize the economic benefits of the Union with England. This gave many Scots the retrospective view of the Union not as Scotland losing its independence but as Scotland willingly deciding to unite with England as an equal. This view was held by the famous Sir Walter Scott, who can be described as being both a unionist Tory and an avid Scottish nationalist who was enchanted by the romantic Scottish Wars of Independence.<sup>1</sup> Mentalities like this were shared by many leading Scots and it made them become supporters of the Union while still professing loyalty to their beloved Scotland. It was thinking like this, accompanied with the economic benefits of being within the powerful British Empire, that made moves for Scottish home rule a slowly simmering notion.

Many problems with the Union were very apparent and many of the complaints that came from the Scots focused on underrepresentation. Before 1885, Scotland only sent fifty eight MPs to the British Parliament while Ireland with its declining population was represented by one hundred members.<sup>2</sup> There were other grievances based on issues involving Ireland as well. Unionism in Scotland began to gain more support in the last

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<sup>1</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (New York: Grove Press, 2000), 666.

<sup>2</sup> Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 61.

decades of the nineteenth century. The ever growing debate around the question of Irish home rule had forced the question of Scottish home rule to come to the attention of Scottish political thinkers. However, there were few supporters of Irish home rule or Scottish home rule at this time. The majority of Scots saw the devolution of political power to Ireland as a threat to the health of Britain and in turn a threat to the health of Scotland. Though there were some anti-Catholic and anti-Irish feelings that promoted these unionist mentalities, many Scots embraced unionism because of the fear of possible commercial damage that Ireland leaving the union would cause. Also, it is important to note that these Scottish unionists were in support of and thinking of the British-Irish Union of 1801, they were not referencing the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707.<sup>3</sup> At this time however, the majority of Scots, especially the unionists would have been against home rule in Scotland as well. This was because of the economic and overall prosperity that the Union had proven to bring to Scotland starting from the late eighteenth century.

W.E. Gladstone was the most successful Scottish home rule advocate of the late nineteenth century. His legislation as a Liberal Member of Parliament for Edinburghshire led to the inevitability of Irish home rule and he also made the first significant steps towards Scottish home rule.<sup>4</sup> However, the ideas that he and his followers argued for would not see serious political support until the years leading up to World War I. Even then, support would only come and go in changing tides of approval and discontent. Piggybacking on the question of Irish home rule, Liberals in Scotland became converts to the idea of devolving power to all nations of Britain, and the Scottish Liberal Association voted for home rule in 1888. In 1900, the radical wing of the Liberal

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<sup>3</sup> Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Murray Pittock, *The Road to Independence?: Scotland Since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2008), 10.



Party set up a Young Scots Society which assumed home rule as their primary goal. They verbalized their agenda in 1911 by saying that each of the four nations of Great Britain required separate administration in order to deal with the business of their distinct peoples.<sup>5</sup> Legislation for Scottish home rule seemed to be forthcoming and in May, 1914 the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith introduced a Home Rule Bill as a way to quickly deal with the Scottish question. The bill passed through its second reading in the House of Commons, but was effectively killed by the outbreak of World War I. At that moment, the Scots were just inches away from a reestablished parliament.

Many have argued that because Scotland existed so long as a part of Great Britain and not as an independent nation, it took some convincing for the Scots to succumb to national sentiment. The nationalism of the early twentieth century was noticeable, but mainly led by politicians deemed to be radical and outspoken. The Scots as a whole needed these radicals to inspire them to new ways of thinking about their Scotland, and it would also take some major shifts in the economic conditions in Scotland. So, even though nationalism was beginning to gain momentum by this time, it was a slow process of convincing the nation to see Scotland as separate from Great Britain and as such requiring separate government from Great Britain's parliament. After World War I, the interwar period saw a similar sequence of Scottish home rule bills coming just shy of getting passed into law. After World War II, with the Scots feeling more of a sense of who they were due to the devastating losses of the two wars, Scottish nationalism started to take shape with a more concentrated push for Scottish home rule.

The Scottish National Party was formed in 1934 with the merging of the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party. However, the party was slow to gain support

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<sup>5</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 668.

and its membership would go through periods of dramatic increase and decrease. By 1939, the party's numbers were still well below two thousand. In 1945, The SNP won its first seat at the British Parliament, but little political significance came of this small victory and many Scots who shared the SNP's nationalist sentiment would not support them because of their extreme stance on independence. Most Scots of the time were forced to channel their nationalist feelings into a movement outside of parliament called the Scottish Convention which was founded in 1942 by John MacCormick. MacCormick sought to rouse the people of Scotland with a new national covenant that was deliberately similar to the national covenant of 1638. The new covenant was drafted in 1949. The covenant basically stated that all who supported it would do everything in their power to secure a separate parliament for Scotland, except to wrong the crown or the government of the United Kingdom. This was a much less confrontational approach than the SNP was pushing for and it is why the SNP had a much lower membership in the early goings of its existence. Within three months the covenant had acquired some four hundred thousand signatures. However, the Covenant did not have the desired effect on English politicians in the British Parliament, nor did it make any headway against the Scottish Tory opposition. But, it showed how Scots from all backgrounds were willing to come together in the name of increased autonomy for Scotland.

One of the best examples of the rising nationalist sentiment in Scotland occurred on Christmas Day in 1950. A group of young Scottish nationalists led by Ian Hamilton stole the Stone of Destiny from Westminster Abbey in an effort to rouse public support in Scotland for home rule. The Stone of Destiny, or Stone of Scone, was an ancient slab of rock that was said to have descended from the heavens and to have magical power.

According to tradition, it was the stone that Jacob laid his head on when he dreamed of Jacob's ladder. By a series of good fortunes, the stone ended up in the hands of the ancestors of the Scots and made its way to Ireland. There, the Scots of Dalriada brought the Stone with them to Scotland, and when they conquered the Picts they made the Stone the official coronation seat at Scone Abbey. A great list of Scottish monarchs was crowned upon the Stone of Destiny ending with Alexander III in 1249. King Edward I of England then confiscated the stone in 1296 amidst one of his numerous conquests into Scotland after the death of Alexander III and the subsequent question of an heir to the Scottish throne. Edward I then made a coronation chair in which the stone would fit underneath so that every English king would be crowned upon the stone making him the King of Scotland at the same time. There it rested for nearly 550 years until this group of ambitious young Scots broke into Westminster abbey and stole the stone. They were able to hide the stone in the countryside under some brush and the Scottish newspapers made a great event of this burglary. Scots from all over the nation were pleased with this act of Scottish patriotism. They had the Stone repaired and stored near Stirling and then wondered about what to do with it. The police found out who was involved and Scottish sentiment became eager to see an end to the situation and so the four made the decision to return the stone. They left the stone wrapped in a Scottish flag of St. Andrew's Saltire at the high altar of the ruins of Arbroath Abbey, where Scotland's declaration of independence was signed in 1320. Unfortunately for the young nationalists, the gesture did not have the long lasting effect on Scottish national sentiment that they had planned, but the fact that no arrests were made might give some insight into the potential that this

issue could have towards uniting the Scots. It served as one of the small first steps needed to get the movement started.

Another issue that shows the rising of nationalist sentiment in Scotland was the issue of how Queen Elizabeth was to be titled. Perhaps, this issue is a better example of how the English saw themselves as superior to the Scots and it also shows how the Scots were starting to feel more and more like they were being left out of the decision making in the United Kingdom. It was clear for some time that the United Kingdom distinctively favored the English. Many Scots saw the Union as more of an English conquest of Scotland when it happened and that view was again gaining support in the 1950s. Economic prosperity made the Scots see the Union as a mutual agreement for the betterment of both Scotland and England. By the 1950s however, with the decline of Britain's success, many Scots were beginning to see treachery in the English dominated Union. When the queen was titled Elizabeth II, this strengthened the Scots' suspicions. Though there had been a Queen Elizabeth of England, there had never been a Queen Elizabeth of Scotland and thus the logical title for the queen would be Elizabeth I of the United Kingdom. The Scots reaction to this travesty illustrates how their nationalistic feelings were growing. Many of the postal pillar-boxes in Scotland that bore the mark of EIIR on them were quickly smeared with tar and many were even blown up with home-made bombs. This is clear evidence of how the Scots saw this symbolic issue as insulting to the history of Scotland and of the United Kingdom. This and the Stone of Destiny are examples of how important symbols were in the stirring of nationalistic feelings among the Scots.

It was clear by the 1950s that the mentality of the Scots was changing, especially when it came to how they saw themselves. Their former pride in being British and contributing to the spread of the British Empire's power was now fading. They were now placing their pride in being Scottish. This was partly because of the harsh economic times that Scotland was experiencing in the mid to late twentieth century. The party that stood poised to gain from this changing sentiment was the Scottish National Party. 1967 marked the year of a landmark upset victory for the SNP in which Winnie Ewing won a parliamentary by-election at Hamilton. Hamilton was an area that was traditionally Labor and so this seat's fall to the SNP caused quite a stir in Scotland. From the sixties onward, Scottish nationalism became more and more of a wide-spread feeling shared by the majority of Scots. It still went through peaks and valleys of support including two big peaks in the early 1980s and the late 1990s. The mid to late 1990s were the most significant as it was in this time period that the referendum was passed to reestablish the Scottish Parliament in 1997. Since then, another high point was in 2007 with the SNP winning the highest number of seats within the Scottish Parliament at forty seven. Then in 2011, the first ever SNP majority government was elected to the Scottish Parliament as they won sixty nine seats. Alex Salmond, the head of the SNP, led the way as First Minister of Scotland for his second straight term.

Because of all of these examples, It is easy to argue that Scottish nationalism best fits the Modernist theory of nationalism that sees nationalism as existing due to the conditions of the post eighteenth century world. Part of this is because Scottish nationalism itself seemed to be nonexistent before the twentieth century and by this observation, many would see the formation of Scottish nationalism as a latecomer of the

nineteenth or even mid-twentieth century. But, this appearance is deceiving. Scottish nationalism did exist before the twentieth century; in reality it existed long before that. It was certainly present, but it lay quiet for a two century period of realized benefits of the Union with England from roughly about 1750 to 1950. During this two century period, Scottish nationalism could be seen in the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns. Many Scots, even Sir Walter Scott himself, became wrapped up in this idea of British nationalism, and it was easy to do so because of the great power and influence the British Empire had throughout the entire world. Though many Englishmen might have been quick to correct them many Scots felt included in this idea of British superiority. In effect, they were still Scottish, but their Britishness was a matter of great pride to them because of the success of the empire and the benefits the empire bestowed upon Scotland. The Scots wholly and completely bought into the idea of Great Britain and of being British, unlike the English who never really saw themselves as British. Scottish nationalism goes back much further than even the growth of nationalism of the eighteenth century. It actually reaches back to the medieval period and can be seen with the strongest evidence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in the Scottish Wars of Independence. So upon closer examination, it is clear that Scottish nationalism best fits into the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism rather than the Modernist theory of nationalism primarily due to the antiquity of its formation and how the symbols of Scotland were its driving forces. Scottish nationalism only appears to fit the Modernist theory of nationalism because of how it was quieted by British nationalism and Scottish prosperity from about 1750 to 1950.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Discussion of Nationalism

To delve more deeply into the questions surrounding the origins of Scottish nationalism and how they compare to the modern theories of nationalism, it is necessary to discuss the most accepted theories of nationalism. Nationalism became a popular subject of interest in the most recent period of history following the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. It was of particular interest because of the rise of ethnic nationalism from the late twentieth century to the present that many believe caused processes like decolonization and modernization. Decolonization and modernization then allowed the further development of nationalism to flourish. This rise in nationalist sentiment was one of the largest peaks in nationalism since the World War II era and it has led many theorists from the social sciences to postulate explanations of the complex phenomenon that is nationalism. However, the rise of nationalism, and subsequently, the rise of academic interest in nationalism existed long before these twentieth century examples. From as early as the eighteenth century, theorists began to notice the nationalistic impressions that were left upon the world by the American and French Revolutions and especially the Napoleonic Wars. It was during this time period, and into the nineteenth century that the idea of studying nationalism came into being. The period has been dubbed the 'age of nationalism'. One of the most important debates among these theorists is when nations and nationalism can be said to have originated, an important question when tracing the origins of Scottish nationalism. The evidence provided by the 700 year continuum of Scottish nationalism can only fit into one theory of nationalism; this theory must allow for a medieval formation of nationalism as well as

explain the Scots' strong insistence on self-determination based on their recognition of Scottish distinctiveness.

There are numerous theories that express different ideas about when nations and nationalism began to appear in history as outward expressions of self-identification. One of the more popular theories is the theory of Primordialism which suggests that nations and nationalism have existed from the beginning of time, or at least as long as humans have been around. Umut Ozkirimli describes Primordialism as seeing nationality as a “natural part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell and that nations have existed from time immemorial.”<sup>6</sup> The theory places nationalism as being connected to ethnicity. Edward Shils is credited by many as the first to postulate this theory of nationalism in 1957 with his *Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties*. Other theorists in support of Primordialism include Clifford Geertz and Adrian Hastings.<sup>7</sup> The theorists who support this view use the argument that it is human nature to want to identify oneself with the things that one has in common with his fellow men. More significantly, as many theorists from many fields of the social sciences have argued, this identification comes more from an observation of ‘other peoples’ who have distinctly different characteristics than their own people. This natural human instinct to rally behind commonly shared traits and interests then began to gain a great deal of strength after humans started to live

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<sup>6</sup> Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* ( London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 49.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Shils was Distinguished Service Professor in the Committee on Social Thought and in Sociology at the University of Chicago and he is best known for his work on tradition, civility and the role of intellectuals and their relations to power and public authority. Clifford Geertz became the first professor of the newly established School of Social Sciences at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in 1970 and devoted himself to full time research and writing for the rest of his life. Geertz is best known for his collection of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973. Adrian Hastings became famous for exposing the massacre by the Portuguese army of around 400 peasants in a remote Mozambican village called Wiriyamu. He was Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Zimbabwe and Professor of Theology at Leeds University. His best work on nationalism is *The Construction of Nationhood*, 1997.



in villages, then cities and then civilizations after the agricultural revolution and the switch from hunter-gatherer societies to agrarian societies. The characteristics that people identify themselves with then started to become more noticeable as people from different regions were being born into different religions, races, languages, customs and social practices.

At first, the theory seems logical and many of its supporters point to the ancient Mesopotamians and Egyptians as examples that express this type of nationalism. Though it seems that this theory can be used to explain certain types of nationalism, many of its critics point to how the Primordialist theory assumes that ethnic and national identities are static. This large miscalculation can be seen when one compares a modern Egyptian to the ancient Egyptian that Primordialists look to for their examples of very early forms of nationalism. Though some Primordialists look to Egypt as an example of early nationalism, that Egyptian nationalism would not still be present in the same form today. The theory does not take into account the birth of new religions, the effects of imperial conquest, or the impacts of enormous transformations like the discovery of the New World. It appears that it could be argued that Primordialism offers an explanation of why people form nationalistic feelings, and earlier forms of nationalism adequately fit within this theory. But, the theory appears weaker when used as a general rule of thumb to explain all formations of nationalism.

Scottish nationalism serves as an example of how Primordialism does not help to explain certain types of nationalism. One problem that Scottish nationalism imposes on this theory is the origins of the Scots themselves. The Scots, in fact, came from Ireland and only succeeded in giving the region that is now Scotland their name after

successfully conquering and then assimilating the Picts Angles, and Britons who were already there. Because the Scots were not originally from Scotland, but merely an extension of the early Irish cultures, the formation of Scottish nationalism cannot be as old as the beginning of time. Rather, Scottish nationalism seems to suggest that the rise of nationalism within a given region is based on the conditions that that particular nation is forced to respond to. Often, what the people within that region do if the conditions are right is to form a nation based on commonalities that they notice because of how other peoples' differences make them noticeable. Primordialism then does not work to explain the formation of Scottish nationalism, though it does offer valuable insights into why people form nationalistic feelings in general in relation to its emphasis on ethnicity. It can be used to explain some earlier forms of nationalism but it falls short as a blanket theory because it does not take into account many of the constantly changing factors that impact nations and nationalism.

While on the discussion of Primordialism, some mention of Perennialism should be made. Perennialism is a distinctly different paradigm than Primordialism and is at the same time a very similar theoretical approach to the study of nationalism. Perennialists see nations and nationalism as existing since the beginning of time as the Primordialists do, but where they differ in their conclusions is in relation to the permanence of so called 'natural' nations. Perennialists do not see nations as being static, but rather they see certain nations as being able to change with time. The motives of these theorists are founded on the idea that "even if nationalist ideology was recent, nations had always existed in every period of history, and that many nations existed from time

immemorial.”<sup>8</sup> This theory also stresses the idea that there can be many different types of nationalism as some may come and go over short periods of time while others last for many, many centuries. This theory seems to succeed where the Primordialism theory fails and it also seems to offer an explanation that Scottish nationalism can fit neatly into. However, even though that this theory helps confirm the possibility of the existence of Scottish nationalism from very early time periods, it does not offer an acceptable explanation as to reasons that Scottish nationalism formed or why its influence became so strong on the Scots. Another theoretical approach that covers these issues is needed for the understanding of Scottish nationalism.

The third leading theory of nationalism is the Modernist theory of nationalism. This theory is the most widely accepted theory that social scientists use to explain the rise of nationalism. Modernism rose in response to the defects of Primordialism’s suggestion that nationalism is natural, static and universal. This theory holds that nationalism and nations are products of modernity and that they can only exist as results of specifically modern processes like capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, secularism and the emergence of the bureaucratic state.<sup>9</sup> Tom Nairn, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, John Breuilly and Eric J. Hobsbawm are all leading supporters of the Modernist theory of nationalism.<sup>10</sup> The majority of these theorists’ critics say that the Modernist theory

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<sup>8</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Malden: Polity Press 2009), 49.

<sup>9</sup> Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 72.

<sup>10</sup> Tom Nairn’s positions have included time at Edinburgh University, the Center for the Study of Nationalism at Prague College, and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology to join the Globalization Research Unit. One of his most famous works includes *Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalism and State-Terrorism*, 2005. Ernest Gellner was at one time the William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge. His work on nationalism includes *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983 and *Encounters with Nationalism*, 1995. Benedict Anderson is the Aaron L Binenkorb Professor of International Studies, Emeritus, at Cornell University. His main publication on nationalism is *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983. John Breuilly is the Chair in Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics and Political Science and his main contribution to the field is

creates a very ideological conception of nationalism that no example can live up to except for the extreme examples from the late eighteenth century. This is mainly because the Modernist theory only accepts nations as being of the modern Western version that came about in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and no other formations can be called nations. Thus the theory becomes very narrow and short sighted. The theory's definition of nationalism does not even allow for modern formations of nationalism like the post-colonial formations of the twentieth century to be confidently termed as nationalism. More significantly, the theory says that nationalism cannot have existed before the eighteenth century which saw the creation of the modern nation.

An example of a nationalism that fits into the Modernist theory of nationalism would be the rise of Irish Nationalism that began to form at the end of the eighteenth century. The Irish example fits the Modernist theory perfectly. The Irish rebellion of 1798 even saw the deployment of French troops on the ground fighting for the Irish cause who were fresh from the French Revolution that many Modernist theorists point to as the beginning of nationalism's existence. Both the American and the French Revolutions had huge impacts on the Irish and their development of republicanism that would be channeled into nationalism as a vessel to house their objections to British imperial rule for centuries to come. The rebellion of 1798 forced the British government to reassess their relationship with Ireland and it ultimately led to the Act of Union of 1801 that effectively brought an end to the Irish Parliament in Dublin and their representatives were given seats in the British Parliament at London. This move allowed the British to have greater control over their Irish territories and it is true that many of the more conservative

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*Nationalism and the State*, 1982. Eric J. Hobsbawm has taught at Birkbeck College, The University of London and at the School for Social Research in New York. His main thesis on nationalism is found in *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983 and his *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*, 1990.

Irish saw the union as necessary for the preservation of both Ireland and of the Empire. However, the move added fuel to the growing flames of nationalism that were beginning to occupy a steadily increasing population of Ireland.

This all wound up culminating in the eventual success of Irish nationalism that led to Irish independence in 1922 following the armed Irish insurrection of 1916 among many other uprisings. Given that Scottish nationalism on the surface appears to have begun its rise in the early twentieth century, it would be easy to conclude that Scottish nationalism is an example of the modernist theory of nationalism as well, if not a late example. It looks as if it came much later and was ultimately less successful than the Irish nationalist movement in that Scotland has only succeeded in acquiring increased autonomy in the reestablishment of a Scottish Parliament and not independence as Ireland achieved. It also makes sense that Irish and Scottish nationalism would be similar in their formation as both nationalisms were largely brought about in response to unwanted British rule in both nations. Of course in both cases, the term unwanted can be a misleading term and does not apply to the entire population of either nation as both nations willingly entered into a legally passed British union. But, from the time of the Union of 1707 and the Union of 1801, the discussion about the unions themselves was being carried out in Scotland and Ireland because they had more to lose. Before long the Scottish and the Irish saw that neither union was “federal; both entailed the extinction – not the partnership – of national parliaments.”<sup>11</sup>

The two nations of Ireland and Scotland also have similar histories and heritage. Both are descended from the Celtic peoples that began to inhabit the British Isles as early

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<sup>11</sup> Liam McIllovanney and Ray Ryan, eds., *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2005), 24.

as the third century B.C. They are so similar that Scotland's original Latin name that replaced the nation's former name of Alba was Scotia which meant the 'land of the Irish'. In fact, Ireland was once Scotia Major and Scotland was known by Scotia Minor. The Scoti of Dalriada moved into the region that would become Scotland in around the year 500 led by Fergus Mor mac Eirc. The Scots eventually gained control of the region after defeating and assimilating the Picts who were formerly self-proclaimed rulers of the region with their strongest positions being in the east of Scotland. Also, the two nations even share common languages with the Gaelic that transformed into Irish in Ireland and into Scots Gaelic in Scotland. Taking into account all of these similarities between the Irish and the Scots, and the apparent rise of Scottish nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it becomes even more tempting to see Scottish nationalism as another example of the Modernist theory of nationalism.

Though this assumption seems to hold water at first glance, it begins to become much clearer that Scottish nationalism existed long before the late nineteenth and twentieth century, and that it is indeed much older than the late eighteenth century. Upon closer examination of Scottish history, evidence of nationalistic feelings in Scotland shows up as early as the thirteenth century. Scottish nationalism only appears to be an example of the Modernist theory of nationalism because it lay quiet from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. It was quieted as many Scots, even the most ardent nationalists who still longed for autonomy for Scotland, were beginning to see the benefits that the Union with England was bestowing upon the Scots. Thus in the twentieth century, when the British economic prosperity that the nation was used to as a great world power started to decline, Scottish national

sentiment was revived as times got worse for the Scots. This is what made the reawakening of Scottish nationalism in the twentieth century resemble a late comer to the Modernist theory of nationalism that Irish nationalism fits into so neatly. This appearance was false as the formation of Scottish nationalism occurred roughly some six to seven hundred years before the twentieth century. How then does one explain the case of Scottish nationalism? Is there a theory of nationalism that fits the case of Scottish nationalism?

Ethnosymbolism is the fourth major theory of nationalism and it has seen support from many theorists from various fields of the social sciences. It has aspects in common with both Primordialism and Modernism. It shares with Primordialism its belief in the ancient roots of nationalism and it shares with Modernism its belief that the Primordialism theory goes too far in assuming that nationalism is a static entity that was created simultaneously with the creation of man. It likewise rejects “the stark continuism of the perennialists and to accord due weight to the transformations wrought by modernity” while also rejecting the Modernist theory by arguing for greater continuity between traditional civilizations and modern ones.<sup>12</sup> Ethnosymbolism’s key argument is that nationalism requires the examination of many generations for one to be fully convinced of nationalism’s existence. Also, it argues that foundations upon which nationalism is built are the ethnic symbols that a nation sees as core to its formation as well as its sustenance. National sentiment is then built around these symbols that many within the population rally behind to defend their identity in their quest for freedom from outside control. Besides symbols, Ethnosymbolists say that nations can also rally behind anything from myths and historical memories to values and traditions.

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<sup>12</sup> Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 144.

Ethnosymbolism primarily emerged as a theoretical critique of the Modernist theory of nationalism. Its leading proponent is Anthony D. Smith who stresses the importance of the examination of many centuries that is required to adequately assess the presence of nationalism. On the subject, Smith writes that Ethnosymbolism “gives more weight to subjective elements of memory, value, sentiment, myth and symbol and ... it thereby seeks to enter and understand the ‘inner worlds’ of ethnicity and nationalism.”<sup>13</sup> Thus it is all-together a very different approach to nationalism than both Primordialism and Modernism. It allows for the existence of nationalism much earlier than the late eighteenth century and even seems to say that nationalisms that have arisen more recently cannot be fully understood as nationalism because of the necessity of an examination that spans many centuries. An examination over many centuries is seen as required because the existence of certain sentiments, feelings, and acceptances of national identity must be seen as continuous over long periods of time. Otherwise, tides of sentiment that appear to be nationalist at first glance can be identified as merely temporary reactions that only exist for a very short time and then fade away as fast as they came. The political scientist, John A. Armstrong also supports this theory of nationalism in his *Nations before Nationalism* that was published in 1982.<sup>14</sup>

Given what is known about the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism and what is known about the formation of Scottish nationalism, it is now safe to assert that Scottish nationalism serves as an example for the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism. Through

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<sup>13</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Key Concepts*, 57.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony D. Smith is the Emeritus Professor of Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Department of Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science and he is the President of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism. Some of his main works on nationalism include *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 1986, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2000 and *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 2001. John A. Armstrong is the Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin.



this discussion of the theories of nationalism, it has become clear that there is not one theoretical approach to nationalism that can be applied to every single formation of nationalism. It appears that some types of nationalism fit the Modernist theory, while others fit the Primordialist theory, and while still others fit the Ethnosymbolic theory as does the Scottish nationalism that this discussion is interested in. The many different formations of nationalism depend on the sets of conditions that a polity is given and how they react to them. In Scotland, from the very beginnings, the Scots defined their nation based on a set of very important symbols and collective memory. From their bagpipes, kilts, scotch whiskey, thistles and St. Andrew's saltire, to the famed heroes who fought for and championed Scottish freedom like William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Charles Stewart, Robert Burns, and Sir Walter Scott, the Scots have rallied behind these symbols of the Scottish identity that make the right to rule Scotland a Scottish possession that can be passed to no other nation. This fact is best seen upon an examination of the origins of Scottish nationalism, its survival through nearly 750 years, and how modern Scots still connect to ancient symbols of their nation.

## Chapter 3

### Early Examples of Scottish Nationalism

To reach a conclusion that does not comply with the widely accepted Modernist theory of nationalism, it must first be established that nationalism existed before the late eighteenth century. As has already been stated, Scottish nationalism has existed from the thirteenth century onward as a continuum. Also, for Scottish nationalism to be seen as an example of the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism, it must be proven that Scottish nationalism existed for many centuries and from a very early time period, while also expressing the importance of symbols in the development of Scottish national identity. From a very early time period indeed, the Scots began to unite behind common symbols that expressed the Scots' right to rule their own Kingdom of Scotland that lay just to the north of England and Wales, and across the Irish Sea from Ireland. These Scots came from Ireland around the beginning of the medieval period and they brought with them a strong sense of honor and pride that were key aspects of their Celtic heritage. After conquering and assimilating the Pictish rulers of what was to become Scotland, the Scots began to build upon their sense of Scottishness. This was greatly aided by their ability to recognize the many ways in which the English to their South were different from them. Also, with the Pictish influences, including using a Pictish legend for the creation of the Scottish flag<sup>15</sup>, the Scots began to develop a separate culture from their Irish ancestors. These elements came together to form a Scottish national consciousness that was ever

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<sup>15</sup> According to legend, a battle took place around the year 750 near Athelstaneford. The Pictish king, Unust was having the worst of this battle against the Northumbrians. St. Andrew then appeared to him in a dream and promised him victory. Later, the king and his Picts saw a large cloud formation against the blue sky in the shape of a diagonal cross, or a saltire upon which St. Andrew was crucified. Thus, this battle that was fought by the Picts before they had been overtaken by the Scots from Ireland established Scotland's patron saint and its national flag.

growing, and many vibrant examples of it can be seen by at least the mid thirteenth century.

The Scots began to place an important emphasis on the right of the Scots to rule the realm of Scotland. This can be seen with the coronation of Alexander III in 1249. The young Alexander was around seven years of age when this magnificent and symbolic ceremony took place. The clergy, including the Bishop of St. Andrews, were there and all manner of Scottish nobles came to witness the event. The event itself took place at Scone, the ancient site of the Scottish Kings and the Pictish Kings before them. Alexander was crowned while seated upon the Stone of Scone, or the Stone of Destiny, a tradition that went back to earliest times of Scotland when it was still known as Alba or Alban. Most importantly to the relation of the Scottish claim of a right to rule themselves, a list of more than one hundred kings going back to Scota and Gaedel Glas from Egypt and Scythia<sup>16</sup> were recited down to the new king Alexander. “Hale king of Alba, Alexander, mac Alexander, mac William, mac Henry, mac David...”<sup>17</sup> For the most part, the unbroken succession of Scottish Kings was a myth, but it showed how important it was to the Scots to prove their right to govern their own kingdom and to establish its identity as Scottish. Alexander’s kingship was also symbolically seen to be of divine grace due to the canonization of Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm

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<sup>16</sup> This is from the Scottish origin myth that traced the lineage of the Scoti of Dalriada back to biblical times. They came to Scotland from Ireland and are where Scotland gets its name. It said they were descended from an Egyptian princess name Scota, the daughter of Ramses II, ca. 1304-1237 B.C. She was said to have been the one to have brought the Stone of Scone with her to Ireland and then brought it to Scotland. In this myth the Stone of Scone was also said to be the stone that Jacob used as a pillow when he had his dream about Jacob’s ladder. Later, Constantine II of Scotland may have added Scota’s marriage to Gaedel Glas or Gathelos who was a prince of Scythia and an ancestor to the Picts. This would have been done to incorporate the Picts who were in Scotland before the Scots. This is all described very well by Magnus Magnusson in *Scotland, The Story of a Nation*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>17</sup> The best known source for this account is from John of Fordun’s *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*. Unfortunately, it was written about a century afterward, so some questions should be asked about its credibility. In any case it may be a situation similar to Livy, in that we might have to accept it as close as we are going to get.

Canmore, which took place in 1250.<sup>18</sup> This now gave Alexander's royal line a saintly ancestry and further solidified his right to rule as a symbol of Scottish autonomy.<sup>19</sup>

Alexander's coronation is important because it illustrates the symbolism that the Scots used to establish their right to rule Scotland, and to boastfully exaggerate their prestigious Scottish history. The fact that Alexander III was the last king to be crowned on the Stone of Destiny is also of major significance. The stone itself would become a symbol of Scotland that had its own legends, and even conspiracy theories created about it that theorized whether or not Edward I actually stole the right stone in 1296. Also, the symbolism is seen as being very important to Alexander's contemporary Scots and thus a connection can be made from the symbolism of modern Scotland to these medieval beginnings. As was discussed in Chapter One, the Stone of Destiny being a symbol of Scottish nationalism was still very much present in the twentieth century when the theft of the stone by some young Scots eventually swayed the minds of the English to house the stone in Scotland at Edinburgh Castle. This is not to say that the Scottish national consciousness has been static for more than seven hundred years but rather that the Scots themselves have been aware of their Scottishness since this time period. Along the way, the Scots found more symbols like these to reaffirm their Scottish distinctiveness.

In 1278, though Alexander III of Scotland and Edward I of England were on good terms and in fact brothers-in-law, Edward I, shrewd as he was, tried to reopen an old issue of England's claims of lordship over Scotland. Edward insisted that Alexander pay homage to him for the Kingdom of Scotland during a ceremony in 1278, but Alexander made it clear that he would only pay homage to Edward for the lands that Alexander held

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<sup>18</sup> Malcolm Canmore or Malcolm III and his Queen Margaret ruled from 1058 to 1093. Malcolm Canmore was the slayer of MacBeth.

<sup>19</sup> Gordon Donaldson also expressed the importance of this event in his book called *Scottish Kings*, 9-12

in England.<sup>20</sup> The wording that Alexander is reported to have chosen illustrates very well the sense of Scottish nationalism that was present among the ruling class of Scotland at that time. When asked by the Bishop of Norwich if the King of England had the right to homage for the Kingdom of Scotland, Alexander replied “to homage for my kingdom of Scotland no one has the right save God alone, nor do I hold it save God alone.”<sup>21</sup> If this account is accurate, it can certainly prove useful to the process of establishing the existence of Scottish nationalism. At the very least it must be taken seriously, because even if it is apocryphal, the author clearly wanted to express the Scots’ insistence on Scotland’s right to independence. Any fabrication of the exact details of this issue by a Scottish historian would be expressing the nationalistic feelings that the events aroused within that particular historian and would still be evidence of Scottish national sentiment.

Many supporters of the Modernist theory of nationalism would point to the feudal system as a reason why nationalism could not have existed in the pre-modern world. However, here Alexander III of Scotland works within the boundaries of the feudal system while still managing to express and defend Scotland’s national independence. Alexander was more than willing to pay homage to Edward I for the lands that Alexander held in England but not for the Kingdom of Scotland itself. From this it can be deduced that nationalism could, and indeed did exist in Scotland as early as the thirteenth century, even if it takes closer examination to find it underneath the complex inter-weavings of the feudal system. Alexander’s words were representative of the mentality of all of the

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<sup>20</sup> This was very much an issue that came out of the feudal system which dominated most of Europe at this time. The kings of England had long been trying to claim that the homage paid to them by Scottish kings was for the Kingdom of Scotland. However, the Scots were only paying homage to the English for the lands they held within the Kingdom of England, much the same as the English kings who paid homage to the French kings for the estates they held in France.

<sup>21</sup> “Homage of Alexander III to Edward I, 1278,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 36.

Scottish nobles of his time. Evidence of this begins to steadily accumulate at the turn of the fourteenth century as war with England closed in. The events that would give Scottish nationalism the strength that it needed, and more symbols that even modern Scots still rally behind today, were set in motion with the untimely death of Alexander III.

On March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1286 Alexander III was riding to meet his new bride after a session of council in Edinburgh. He was anxious to conceive an heir to the throne. His first wife Margaret, as well as both of his sons and his daughter, who was the Queen of Norway, had all died at this point making the issue of an heir of utmost importance. Having no children to pass the crown to, it was agreed upon by the nobles in 1284 that the succession would pass to Alexander's granddaughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway. On the trip from Edinburgh to Kinghorn, Alexander's horse fell, due to the poor conditions of the roads that had been caused by a terrible storm, and the king lost his life. As was agreed upon, the crown was passed to Margaret. However, it took some time for negotiations to be settled between Norway, England and Scotland as Edward I had entered into marriage agreements that would betroth his young son Edward to the Maid of Norway. Scotland was obviously worried about falling under English dominion, while the King of Norway was worried about the future safety of his daughter. So, young Margaret 'ruled' for four years from Norway. Then, after an agreement that was reached between all three nations with the Treaty of Birgham, her journey was finally undertaken to Scotland. Sadly, on the trip she became ill and died on the island of Orkney at the age of only seven.

Though six guardians were installed prior to Margaret's death to rule in her infancy, the succession to the throne was now being seriously contested by many claimants, at least ten or more. But there were only two that had strong support to back their claims and they were John Balliol, Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce, the fifth Lord of Annandale.<sup>22</sup> Though these many different claimants illustrate a level of disunity, that disunity should not be misread as a lack of a national sentiment. While the claimants disputed each other's claims to the throne, they agreed on the fact that only a Scot had the right to make a claim. However, it was clear that no headway could be made over the decision of whose claim to the throne should be upheld. So, the Guardians put in place during Margaret's reign approached Edward I of England to arbitrate between the claimants. This was only done in order to avoid armed conflict that may well have led to all-out civil war that would have ripped Scotland apart. Bishop Fraser's letter that he addressed to Edward I echoes this sentiment as he asks for Edward's help by stating, "for the consolation of the Scottish people and for saving the shedding of blood."<sup>23</sup>

In his *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the present*, Christopher Harvie gives his view of a reason why the Scots would agree to such a drastic measure of giving up the over-lordship of their kingdom. He says that due to the faster development of the Scottish nation compared to that of the English nation, the Scots were so secure in the stability of their government that they were not worried at all about entering into a dual monarchy with England after the death of Alexander III. It is

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<sup>22</sup> This Robert Bruce would be the grandfather of the future King Robert Bruce, or Robert I who liberated the Scots from the English.

<sup>23</sup> Bishop William Fraser, "Letter of Bishop William Fraser to Edward I, 1290," Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Document*, 1970, 41.

true that Alexander even considered such a move during his lifetime as a way to improve Scotland's standings. Many future Scots would also favor this approach and this could be applied to some of the Scots who passed the Act of Union. However, it is clear that Alexander and the others always had a union in mind that would benefit Scotland while allowing Scotland to maintain its rightful autonomy. Harvie's mention of the faster development of the Scottish nation is of important interest as even today the Scots appear to be far more nationalistic than their English neighbors to the South. Characteristics like this set the Scottish nation and its nationalism into the peculiar grouping of Ethnosymbolism. Harvie also says that "the collapse of this scheme, and English invasion, made patriots of the mass of the population."<sup>24</sup> This statement does not seem to be far off, but it seems a bit misleading to assume that the Scots were not already well established patriots since at least the time of the coronation of Alexander III. Also, his analysis might be more useful if he were to describe the rates of development of both the English kingdom and the Scottish kingdom with some more depth. But, Harvie is absolutely correct in postulating the long term strengthening affect that the events that took place around the Scottish Wars of Independence would have on the growth of Scottish nationalism.

Also in regards to the Scot's appeal to the English for help, some mention should be made of how many Scots often sided with the English against other Scots. The most famous case of this was when Robert Bruce paid homage to Edward I of England to make his opposition to the Balliol reign known. Bruce only did this to gain the favor of the Edward I until the time was right as the new King of Scotland to strike against Edward I.

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<sup>24</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the Present*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) 8.



It has long been said that the Scots were often at war with themselves as much as they were at war with their enemies. However, these internal struggles for power like the one seen between the large number of claimants who vied for a chance to rule Scotland after Alexander's and the Maid of Norway's deaths, and the one seen later from Robert the Bruce's dealings with King Edward of England, do not contradict the Scottish nationalism that existed at that time. While it is true that they were in fierce competition with each other, even to the point of seeking English aid, what they were competing for mattered most. They were competing for the right to rule Scotland which they saw as an independent sovereign nation that could only be ruled by the Scots. When another nation began to exert too much control in Scotland, it would spark a negative reaction from the Scots that would almost always result in armed uprising against their foreign usurpers.

More than happy to oblige the Scots in their requests for help, Edward I of England seized this opportunity to impart his influence on the proceedings of the Scottish government. It should be noted that Edward I is no longer believed to have only been interested in his own domination of Scotland as was the case for many generations of Scottish historiography. These initial ill feelings amongst the Scottish historians about Edward I, who was posthumously named the 'Hammer of the Scots,' were in no doubt due to the fresh chagrin felt about infringements he made on the Scottish right to rule their sacred Alba. The concept was certainly in the back of his mind, but it is now believed that he did indeed act fairly enough in his decision in favor of John Balliol.<sup>25</sup> It was decided that primogeniture was more significant than proximity and in fact, the majority of the Bruce's own auditors who were present at the session also adjudicated in

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<sup>25</sup> Many Scottish historians have said that Edward I was acting in his own interests by appoint the weaker John Balliol who he could manipulate as he so chose to. However, modern scholars do not accept this theory.

favor of Balliol. The backhanded favor of Edward's arbitration was indeed more proactive than simply applying the use of a puppet king. He instead forced the Scottish nobles, including Robert Bruce and John Balliol, to accept his over-lordship of Scotland before he would resolve the conflict. And thus began the English rule in Scotland and the subsequent fight to regain Scottish Independence that was ever driven by Scottish nationalism. Nationalism was now growing at an increasing rate along with Scotland's hatred of English control of their land and the underlying insinuations of English superiority that the Scots began to take note of.

However, Scotland's claimants did not simply hand over their kingdom to England. In the document that handed the over-lordship to Edward I, it was added that Edward would only have possession of Scotland until he had decided on the proper claimant and awarded the kingdom back to the said claimant as seen here in 1291,

We will concede, and grant that he, as sovereign lord, in order to effect the things aforesaid, have sasine of the whole land and of the castles of Scotland until right be done and performed to the claimants, in such a manner that, ... he give good and sufficient security to the claimants and to the guardians and to the community and kingdom of Scotland, to make restitution of the same kingdom and of the castles,... in the same state in which they were sasine to him... so that the restitution be made within two months after the day when the right shall be tried and declared.<sup>26</sup>

But Edward I did not give the Kingdom of Scotland back after his arbitration and Scotland was growing weary of their decision to ask for his help. They were also growing angrier and it did not take them very long to initiate the motions to move for battle.

In 1295, under John Balliol's reign, Scotland could no longer take the humiliation of being England's vassal kingdom and they signed a treaty with France.

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<sup>26</sup> The Claimants of Scotland, "Submission of the Claimants to Edward I, 1291," Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 44.

Within the treaty's language, can be seen how the hostility had grown in the previous decade of English deception. It states, "In order that the aforesaid injurious efforts of the King of England may... be the more quickly compelled to withdraw from his perverse and hostile incursions."<sup>27</sup> This illustrates the regret that the Scots felt for trusting Edward I to honor his word and release Scotland back to the claimant he declared to be the rightful ruler. The treaty was ratified in February of 1296, and it was agreed that neither France nor Scotland would sue for peace with England without the consideration of the other's well-being. More significantly, the treaty stated that Scotland would begin to militarily harass England, and France would send aid if England launched an invasion into Scotland. This and the other numerous treaties made between Scotland and France would become known as the 'Auld Alliance' and it would be a part of Scottish politics for many years to come as an expression of a commonality in the form of their opposition to England.

Balliol's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, and his power was always in question. A council of twelve was issued to administer authority. They and Balliol together now summoned a large army with the intentions of marching south to England. Following smaller skirmishes, including the brutal sack of Berwick by Edward's army,<sup>28</sup> the English defeated the poorly organized Scottish resistance and it was effectively muzzled. Edward proceeded to humiliate the Scots even more by forcing Balliol to formally and unquestionably relinquish his kingdom and all his people to England. Balliol was then kept in the tower of London for some time until he was released to his

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<sup>27</sup> "Treaty with France 1295," Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 45.

<sup>28</sup> This intensely bloody battle was basically a slaughter conducted upon the Scots at Berwick and it is said that Edward spared no man woman or child, regardless of age. This battle was one of the main contributing factors for Edward I's characterization as a terrifying oppressor of the Scots, while most English sources remember him as a tenacious but a just king.

estates in France. Edward I also took the Scottish crown, scepter, ring and girdle, and then he ceremoniously broke the Great Seal of Scotland. Most detrimental to the Scots and most insulting, Edward had the Stone of Destiny taken from Scone and placed in Westminster Abbey where it rested under the English coronation chair until the actions of the young Scottish nationalists in the 1950s. Edward I placed it there with the intent of making the Scots accept the King of England as the King of Scotland using their own symbolic traditions. The symbolic meaning of the Stone of Destiny and the loss of the Scottish crown jewels is evident in Edward's choice to take them from the Scots. Edward I would not have taken these symbols if he did not see the influence they had in uniting the Scots behind their Scottish identity. By now, Edward was fully planning on taking control of Scotland for good and he knew that in order to do this he had to take the symbols that the Scots used to found their Scottish distinctiveness. The Scots appeared to be beaten and without a chance for survival as an independent kingdom. But, the fires of Scottish nationalism had only been fanned by the disgraces performed by Edward I, and the spirit that fueled the Scots would not rest until they recaptured their independence. In many ways, Edward I's theft of the symbols of the nation of Scotland served as a symbol in itself as a travesty that must be avenged and it helped to demonize the English and further separate the Scots from the English.

Distressed, enraged and without a king, the Scottish resistance was left in desperate need of a strong and charismatic leader who could inspire the courage needed for victorious liberation. From the south west part of Scotland, there came a young knight who belonged to the feudal following of the powerful Stewart family. He was the son of a lesser, but noble laird named Malcolm Wallace, and it is debated whether they

were of Welsh or of Norman descent. His name was William Wallace. Unfortunately, most of the sources about Wallace must be deemed questionable due to the vast amounts of time that passed between his life and the dates of the surviving works related to him. Blind Harry's epic *The Wallace* and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* are the two closest sources, but most scholars do not hold them to be completely accurate. However, all that this means is that the exact details of his life cannot be made certain. For our purposes, identifying his importance to the growing movement of Scottish nationalism, the details do not matter. It is clear that he, or at least the stories about him, have incited the largest wave of Scottish Nationalism to ever have been bestowed upon the Scottish Nation. This nationalism has lasted through the ages and still exists today, as can be seen in the erection of the National Wallace Monument in 1869 which was placed atop the Abbey Craig where he hid his forces before his great victory at Stirling. Modern scholars have often speculated that the 1995 retelling of Wallace's story in the film *Braveheart*, inaccurate as it may be, "not only reflected but may well have influenced the growing popular movement for a separate Scottish Parliament."<sup>29</sup> This is a very credible view that is held by many when commenting on the events of the late 1990's in Scotland.

After Wallace's victory at Stirling Bridge in 1297, he was made high protector and sole guardian of Scotland by consent of the Community of the Realm of Scotland. However, he was relatively unsuccessful after that as he was immediately defeated at Falkirk and never appeared on the battlefield again. He spent the rest of his career participating in mildly successful guerilla campaigns and searching for an ally on the continent, even pleading Scotland's case to the Pope. It may well have been his capture and subsequent brutal execution that solidified him as Scotland's hero and a symbol of

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<sup>29</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 159.

the Scottish nation. He has become a heroic legend much the equivalent to the way in which George Washington is revered in America.<sup>30</sup> Edward I's idea of making an example out of him was not as successful as he had hoped and instead he made a martyr out of Wallace. Freshly inspired, the Scots were now more ready to regain their freedom than ever, but once again they were without a strong leader that could show them the way.

Though the heir to the throne was John Balliol's son, Edward Balliol, few had faith in his ability to reign and in secrecy the other two leading claimants to the throne negotiated who should be crowned. These two new competitors were John Comyn, or the Red Comyn, and Robert Bruce. The events leading up to the decision of who should be king took an unexpected turn on February 10, 1306. The two had decided to meet at the neutral sanctuary of the Church of the Grey Friars in Dumfries. No one is exactly sure of the details of what took place that day, but it certainly seems as if the conversation turned heated until the passionate Robert Bruce slew the Red Comyn with his dagger. Now, Bruce realized that he had but little time to make his next move. Aided by Bishop Lamberton, Bruce had himself crowned "King of Scots"<sup>31</sup> at Scone on March 25, 1306. He carefully chose the symbolic site of Scone to further appeal to the Scots' attachment to tradition in hopes of further legitimizing his coronation. But this makeshift coronation<sup>32</sup> did not please the community of the realm and he first had to convince his rival Comyns, the powerful family of the man he had just murdered, that he should be the

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<sup>30</sup> In the 1790's the goldsmiths of Edinburgh presented a wooden box made from the tree known as 'Wallace's Oak' to George Washington and they named Washington 'the Wallace of America.' The oak referred to is one that Wallace is said to have taken refuge under during the defeat at Falkirk.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that the kings of Scotland were often referred to as "King of Scots" is an important indicator of the attachment the Scots felt to a people rather than to a place.

<sup>32</sup> There was no Stone of Destiny, no crown, no scepter and no ring. More importantly, the Earl of Fife who was supposed to crown Scottish kings was only sixteen at the time and away in England, so his aunt, Isabella of Fife, the Countess of Buchan placed a single gold circlet on the Bruce's head.

new King of Scotland. The situation turned desperate for Bruce as he began to be on the losing side of a raging civil war that he unintentionally started.

Finally, starting with the battle of Glen Trool, a small skirmish that ended in victory for the new king, Bruce's reputation began to gain a certain romance and recognition to it and he slowly became a king without a kingdom.<sup>33</sup> This was only hastened with the death of Edward I of England on July 7, 1307. Now that the 'Hammer of the Scots' was dead, some of Bruce's supporters were no longer in fear of ending up like Wallace, and in 1310, the Declaration of the Clergy showed his growing support. The document states, "We... the Bishops, Abbots, Priors and the rest of the clergy aforesaid, knowing that the premises are based on truth, and cordially approving the same, have made due fealty to our said Lord Robert, the illustrious King of Scotland."<sup>34</sup> This was a move of great defiance that not only put them in danger from English retaliation but it put their very souls at risk through their support of an excommunicated claimant to the throne of Scotland. Supporting such a claimant must have seemed futile, given the fact that Bruce would never be recognized by the Pope due to his religious status. Upon closer inspection of their motives, their actions are not as surprising; they simply refused to accept the oppression of English rule any more. Their support of him must have also been caused by their intense patriotism that yearned for freedom. Also, they must have had heard the whispers amongst the populace of the growing legend of the noble Bruce.

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<sup>33</sup> This term is used to illustrate the fact that no matter how much support he had, Robert the Bruce was not being recognized by England as the King of Scotland. Also, due to his excommunication, the Pope would not recognize him as the King of Scotland either. Thus, even though his fellow Scots were starting to see him as their king, the official kingship of Scotland still belonged to the English crown.

<sup>34</sup> The Clergy of Scotland, "Declaration of the Clergy, 1310," Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 48.

In 1314 on the fields of Bannockburn, not far from Stirling where William Wallace had won his great victory seventeen years earlier, Robert Bruce led his Scots to battle against the English for the fate of their nation's identity and its ability to exist. When Bruce arose on the morning of June 24, he had contemplated moving his army to a better position to somewhat delay the fight due to unfavorable conditions. However, he realized that the mood of his men was to fight the English right then and there. He is said to have addressed his troops with an inspiring nationalistic speech;

For eight years or more I have struggled with much labor for my right to the kingdom and for honorable liberty. I have lost brothers, friends and kinsmen. Your own kinsmen have been made captive, and bishops and priests are locked in prison. Our country's nobility has poured forth its blood in war. These barons you see before you, clad in armor, are bent upon destroying us and obliterating the kingdom, nay, our whole nation. They do not believe that we can resist.<sup>35</sup>

Clearly, Bruce's words must have reinforced his army with the same anger that he had been carrying toward the English rule of Scotland. Within this speech, can be seen the actual use of the word 'nation'. That is extremely important and it is equally important to note his appeal to the threats against 'our whole nation'. These words illustrate very clearly the existence of Scottish nationalism. When the dust cleared and the battle had been decided, it was the Scots who came out victorious and though the victory did not finalize the issue, it certainly helped to ensure their independence. Its moral and political significance was immense and it inspired all of Scotland to make the last push for freedom.

One of the most significant documents to come out of the Scottish Wars of Independence was also one of the most significant documents to come out of the whole

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<sup>35</sup> This speech was attributed to Robert Bruce by Bernard de Linton, Abbot of Arbroath and Chancellor of Scotland and the keeper of the Monymusk Reliquary which was said to have once kept the relics of St. Columba and had become a symbol of Scottish Independence.



of the medieval period in Europe. The document would be one of the first documents in European history to put forth the idea that a king was answerable to his subjects. This was an idea that ran right through to the American Revolution and the French Revolution and helped spawn the sense of Western constitutionalism that we know today. It is perhaps the best landmark that can be pointed out as squashing the application of the Modernist theory of nationalism in Scotland. This Document was a letter of the barons of Scotland to Pope John XXII, but it is more famously known as the Declaration of Arbroath. It came out of a Great Council held by Robert Bruce at Newbattle Abbey that had the purpose of drafting a letter to send to the Pope asking him to pressure Edward II to recognize Bruce as the legitimate King of Scots. The resulting letter was then affirmed at Arbroath Abbey and received in March of 1320. The document is one of the earliest manifestations of nationalism and its language brilliantly illustrates how Scottish nationalism had evolved throughout the course of the Scottish Wars of Independence. More than anything, this letter was a declaration of independence. As such it conveys the theme that Scottish nationalism was chiefly concerned with, the attainment and sustainment of Scottish independence that was justified by an unquestionable Scottish distinctiveness.

After naming off a list of the nobles who were signing their names to the document, the Declaration of Arbroath starts by stating the traditions of the Scottish origin myth that says the Scots had been descended from Scythia the greater, “through the Tuscan Sea and the Hercules Pillars, and having for many ages taken its residence in Spain in the midst of a most fierce people, could never be brought in subjection by any

people, how barbarous soever...<sup>36</sup> It can be seen here how the Scots sought to establish their Scottish identity as being very ancient and thus hard to question. The document then goes on to say that they did “obtain these parts in the West which they still possess, having expelled the Britons and entirely rooted the Picts, notwithstanding of the frequent invasions from the Norwegians, Danes, and English... always remained free from any manner of servitude and subjection...”<sup>37</sup> This portion of the letter is meant to establish the right of the Scottish nation to rule itself and the valor with which the Scots have been able to defend themselves for hundreds of years against any foe that may challenge their sovereignty. They were trying to express to the Pope that the mere idea of a foreigner, especially an Englishmen, claiming dominion over their lands was utterly inconceivable.

This is further reiterated by the lines that state, “This kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 kings, all of our own native and royal stock without the intervening of any stranger.”<sup>38</sup> This line deserves some special attention due to how boldly it ignores the events that have just taken place over the last twenty or thirty years. Not only was the line of kings broken, but it was broken because of Scotland’s request for help from the English to arbitrate between their claimants. Edward I’s subsequent invasion and subjugation of Scotland left the line broken for a decade from 1296 to 1306. The royal succession was also broken when Margaret, the Maid of Norway died as an infant and Edward I was asked to arbitrate between the claimants; there was no king or queen of Scotland for those two years between Margaret and John

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<sup>36</sup> The Barons of Scotland, “Declaration of Arbroath, 1320,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 55.

<sup>37</sup> The Barons of Scotland, “Declaration of Arbroath, 1320,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 55.

<sup>38</sup> The Barons of Scotland, “Declaration of Arbroath, 1320,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 55.

Balliol. However, it is not the facts that the Scottish barons are interested in relaying to the Pope, nor is it the facts that this discussion is interested in. It is, more importantly, their sense of nationalistic pride that guides their pen into the manipulation of their history to further solidify their symbolic right to be independent. That nationalistic pride was conceived and nurtured to adulthood as a result of the Scottish Wars of Independence. This concept is at the heart of what they were writing and why they were writing it, and their main concerns become evident upon examination of the language they chose.

As the letter goes on, the barons now turn their attention to the religious aspects of their right to rule the whole of Scotland; after all, this was a letter to the Pope. The letter emphasizes Scotland's connection to the apostles when it states, the Lord Jesus Christ's "own first Apostle St. Andrew, the most worthy brother of the blessed Peter, whom He would always have to be over us, as our patron or protector."<sup>39</sup> Here, the mentioning of how St. Andrew was the first of the apostles gives even more credit to the Scottish nation with him being their patron saint. Although he was first in calling and not by ranking, the Scottish barons strategically mention him as the first to justify the claims they were making for their right to be independently sovereign. It is possible that they believed this would appeal to the Pope's connection to Peter who was the rock that Jesus would build his church on and the reason that the Roman Bishop became the Pope. Again, the accuracy of the statements made is less important than the motives that were driving their

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<sup>39</sup>The Barons of Scotland, "Declaration of Arbroath, 1320," Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents* 1970, 55. The story of how St. Andrew became Scotland's patron saint is one that also invokes nationalistic notions. On the eve of a great battle against the Northumbrians, the Pictish King Unust had a dream in which St. Andrew appeared to him and told him that he would be victorious. The next day Unust saw a diagonal cross, or a saltire on which St. Andrew was crucified, form in the white clouds against the deep blue Scottish sky. Thus the story of the acceptance of St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland also gave birth to the Scottish flag.

aims. They also use religion to illustrate the divine qualities of their new king, Robert Bruce or Robert I, when they articulate that the “lord Robert, who, for the delivering of his people and his own rightful inheritance from the enemy’s hand, did, like another Joshua or Maccabeus, most cheerfully undergo all manner of toil, fatigue, hardship, and hazard.”<sup>40</sup> To them, Robert Bruce’s passage through these trials and tribulations gave him the ability and the right to be their sovereign lord.

Around the middle of the letter come the most famous, most quoted, and most important lines of the document as it pertains to our discussion of Scottish Nationalism. These words were also the reasons that the Declaration of Arbroath would become one of the strongest symbols of the Scottish nation into modern times. The barons state that,

The Divine Providence, the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death) and the due and lawful consent and assent of the people, made him our king and prince. To him we are obliged and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people’s safety in defense of their liberties. But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavor to expel him, as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and of our rights, and we will make another king, who will defend our liberties: For as long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honors, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life.<sup>41</sup>

These lines exemplify the sense of Scottish nationalism that was strengthened into maturity by the Scottish Wars of Independence better than any other surviving record from the period. Nothing was more important to the Scots than the freedom to govern

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<sup>40</sup> The Barons of Scotland, “Declaration of Arbroath, 1320,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 55.

<sup>41</sup> The Barons of Scotland, “Declaration of Arbroath, 1320,” Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 55.

their own realm of Scotland. The emphasis on “liberty” is a key for proving that Scottish nationalism exists according to the definition of nationalism that was given in Chapter One. People would not be talking about the freedom of a place, rather words like freedom and liberty are used to refer to a people or an ethnicity and therefore we see nationalism here and not patriotism. The words in the document were certainly chosen carefully and they imply that the Community of the Realm and the protection and stability of that entity were more important than any one king, no matter how noble his blood line, or how great his deeds. They expressed their gratitude for Robert Bruce’s deliverance from persecution and hostility inflicted by the English and they also recognized his right to rule by succession. However, the mention of their lack of hesitance to depose their beloved Robert if he ever failed to lead them in a way that maintained their freedom and independent sovereignty, is the most important part that shows how Scottish nationalism had developed to that point. There had never been a document from any nation up to that era in history that made such a boldly nationalistic claim. The document was so far ahead of its time that it is hard for even some modern scholars to grasp the idea of a document like this being composed in the Middle Ages. It makes one wonder why this document does not get as much attention in the teaching requirements for secondary education. One could argue that the implications of the Declaration of Arbroath are at least as important to the development of Western liberalism and democracy as those of the Magna Carta, which is much more commonly emphasized in secondary education textbooks.

On June 24, 1998, the 684<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, the recently excavated heart of Robert the Bruce was placed in a new casket with the

inscription on it that read, “A noble hart may have nane ease gif freedom failye.”<sup>42</sup> The relic of the great king was then placed in its final resting place at Melrose Abbey outside of Edinburgh. Donald Dewar, the Secretary of State of Scotland at the time and soon to become First Minister of the New Scottish Parliament, unveiled a circular sandstone marker on the lawn outside the Chapter House of the Abbey and he exclaimed, “We cannot know for certain whether the casket buried here contains the heart of Robert Bruce, but in a sense it does not matter. The casket and the heart are symbols of the man.”<sup>43</sup> In his own words, Dewar expressed the importance that the Scots placed on Symbols in defining their Scottish identity. One can only imagine the pride with which Dewar made these stirring comments, as the referendum that reestablished a Scottish Parliament had just recently been passed about a year before. That victory, so fresh in their minds, must have given the Scots even more of sense of pride for their ancient liberator. Also, the words that Dewar chose reflect the central theme of this discussion in that it shows how the Scots themselves see their history and how important their symbols are to them. Regardless of the authenticity, the heart ultimately served to rouse the pride of the Scottish nation, a pride that was deeply rooted in its nationalistic traditions. Robert the Bruce, along with William Wallace and the events of the Scottish Wars of Independence all serve as early examples of Scottish nationalism. These examples illustrate the reason why the Modernist theory of nationalism cannot be used to explain Scottish nationalism, while the Scots’ emphasis on the symbols of their nation serves to express the Ethnosymbolic character of Scottish nationalism. Around this time period,

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<sup>42</sup>This inscription also appears on the stone marker that now marks the spot where the Bruce’s heart is buried at Melrose Abbey just outside of Edinburgh. The Bruce had asked upon his death bed that his heart be taken on Crusade as he was not going to be able to make it to the Holy Land.

<sup>43</sup> These comments were made by Dewar at the speech he gave during the ceremony. This source was accessed through Magnus Magnusson’s *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*.

and strengthened by these events, the nearly seven century continuum of Scottish nationalism began.

## Chapter 4

### Post-Medieval Examples of Scottish Nationalism

The early examples of nationalism strengthened a long lasting national sentiment that formed a continuum in which the Scots have used symbols of their distinctiveness to support their desires for self-determinism. In order to illustrate this, examples that show its existence from a much later time period than the previous chapter exhibited must be brought forth. There is no doubt that examples of Scottish nationalism can be taken from any time period of Scottish history since the mid-thirteenth century and especially since the Scottish Wars of Independence. This chapter will focus on examples from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries that will extend the argument from the medieval examples. This will provide Scottish nationalism with more than five hundred years of evidence. This study of many generations is a crucial component of the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism. Though every example of Scottish nationalism during these five hundred years cannot be covered in a discussion this short in length, some of the key examples will show its continued vitality among the Scottish people.

After their glorious high point of Scottish national identity with the Scottish Wars of Independence, and a precarious fifteenth century, the threat of English dominion in Scotland became much more of a threat in the sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation brought many questions forth about the state of government in many countries. In Scotland, it was no different. Some historians have pointed to the initial rejection of the Reformation in Scotland and its eventual success as being directly related to Scottish fears of external influence within the government of Scotland. This can be seen in the comments made by Maurice Lee Jr. that state Henry VIII was bribing most of



the Scottish nobles who professed to be Protestant and the Scottish people could see this. Meanwhile, Cardinal Beaton was very openly concerned about holding on to Scotland's independence and this made the majority of Scots reject Protestantism and flock to Catholicism.<sup>44</sup> There is also an occasion that is brought to light in *All the Queen's Men* by Gordon Donaldson that speaks of a Scottish noble's rejection of being called French by an English noble who admitted to being Spanish.<sup>45</sup> This conflict came about due to the Scottish monarch, Mary Queen of Scots' marriage to Francis, the Dauphin of France who eventually became the King of France. At the same time, the English monarch, Mary I, was married to Philip II of Spain. Their dialogue started with the Englishmen taunting the Scot and the Scot replied with "By the mass, I am no more French than you are a Spaniard." The Englishmen then replied with "Marry, as long as God shall preserve my master and mistress [Philip and Mary] together, I am and shall be a Spaniard to the uttermost of my power." The Scot then responded by saying "By God, so shall I not be French, and I told you once in my lord your father's house, in King Henry VIII's time, that we would die, every mother's son of us, rather than be subject unto England."<sup>46</sup>

While the Scottish noble rejected being called French the English noble happily accepted being called Spanish. These examples and many more show how Scottish nationalism

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<sup>44</sup> Lee, Maurice Jr. *James Stewart, Earl of Moray: A Political Study of the Reformation in Scotland*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971). This work contains a substantial account of the Politics in Scotland during the years preceding the Scottish Reformation and during the Scottish Reformation. Lee shows how the politics behind the Reformation were largely driven by Scottish fears of English dominion. In turn, their fears that came later of falling under French dominion led them to embrace Protestantism in order to separate themselves from Catholic France.

<sup>44</sup> Donaldson, Gordon. *All the Queens Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).

<sup>45</sup> Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots. Cited in Gordon Donaldson's *All the Queen's Men*, 31.

still existed in the sixteenth century and how the Scots would defend their Scottish right to self-determinism from the encroaching English ideas of asserting control in Scotland.

Scottish nationalism survived the Scottish Reformation and in many ways became stronger with the help of the rigid Presbyterianism that the Reformation left in place of Catholicism in Scotland. However, the nationalistic belief in the Scots' right to self-determinism that had been evident since Alexander III's coronation was to face much more serious threats in the seventeenth century. There was a slow progression towards the Union that had begun to gain much speed after the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Slowly, the focus of the monarch now seated in London began to aim more at the concerns of England, while attempting to assimilate Scotland's structure into that of England's. Few monarchs after 1603 would put forth the effort to even set foot in their 'other' kingdom of Scotland. Thus Scottish nationalism had been forced to take new forms; new forms that emerged out of the lack of a Scottish monarch and the corrupt nature of some of their key politicians.

The Union of the Crowns took place in 1603 when the Scottish monarch, James VI, became James I of England upon the death of Elizabeth I of England. James VI and I did all he could to create an atmosphere that was British, and to alleviate the separate anxieties of the two 'auld enemies.' He was very much for the establishment of a United Kingdom that would set up a single monarchy in place of the dual monarchies that existed and were governed separately by two parliaments and a single monarch. However, the majorities of both the Scots and the English initially opposed this idea for fear of losing their political power and their national identities. The English were worried because their monarch was now Scottish and the Scots were worried because of

the larger size and power of their neighbors to the South. In the end it would be the Scots who were the most founded in their worries as the balance of power and influence gradually shifted toward London.

James VI and I started immediately to eradicate the problem of the Gaelic Highlands that had long been in defiance to the Scottish monarch as well as the English monarch. The Scottish Highlanders were on the field at Bannockburn in 1314 with Robert the Bruce and they often joined Scotland's side against the English, but in peace time they warred with each other and rejected the authority of the Scottish monarch. However, by the mid eighteenth century, the symbols of the Highlanders would be added to the symbols of Scottish distinctiveness that fueled their Scottish nationalism. Now that James VI and I had the power of both nations to use against the Highlanders, he began to slowly break their independent hold on the authority over their lands. The Highlanders were very different from the lowlanders at this time, but the importance they placed on self-determinism is symbolic of the building blocks for Scottish national consciousness. James VI and I was largely unsuccessful at first, but his policies of internal colonization in the Highlands and Islands which saw Anglicized lords displacing drones of Gaelic Highlanders to Northern Ireland was to set the approach to the problem for many years to come.

James VI and I also had a great deal to do with the establishment of the Ulster Plantation to which many of the Highlanders emigrated. Also, along with the Highlanders, the groups of Scots that would become known as the Scots-Irish in American historiography were also relocated to the Ulster Plantation, many against their will. James was trying to remove potential threats to his authority by creating an

Anglicized hegemony throughout Scotland and his moves also served to drive a wedge between the Gaelic Irish and the Gaelic Scots who had formerly been on fairly good terms. These actions, accompanied with the Navigation Laws that treated Scots as foreigners in Britain forced Scottish nationalism to adapt, but they did not manage to extinguish its ever burning flame. Eventually, the Act of Union would be passed into law in 1707 as a result of the hard place that Scotland had been forced into by a series of events. However, Scottish nationalism survived in spite of the loss of political autonomy.

Contemporary to the Act of Union, Daniel Defoe notes that after the Union of the Crowns Scotland was “in a political sense, tho’ not in a Legal Sense, always under the Management of the *English* Court: It had the Subjection without the Advantages.”<sup>47</sup>

Defoe is one of the most noted pro-Union activists. In fact, many anti-Union Scots accused him of being a manipulative spy sent in to meddle in Scottish affairs. George Lockhart of Carnwath described Defoe as being a “vile monster and a wretch.”<sup>48</sup> But here, Defoe openly acknowledges the problems that the Union of the Crowns inflicted upon Scotland. He goes on to elaborate that Scotland’s,

“Seamen were press’d into the English Service as Subjects, yet, at the same time, excluded the Merchants Service as Foreigners, an *English* Ship Sailed with above one Third *Scots* Men would be seized, as not being Sailed by *English* Men, and the Colonies of England were at last all barred from them, as much as from the *French* or *Dutch*.”<sup>49</sup>

Defoe asserts his belief that the Act of Union would help to alleviate these problems and they were caused by the ‘unofficial’ or ‘partial’ union of the dual monarchies, but this

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<sup>47</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Writings on Travel Discovery and History*, ed. D.W. Hayton (Brookfield: Pickering and Chatto Limited, 2002) 99.

<sup>48</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland’s Ruine: Lockhart of Carnwath’s Memoirs of the Union*, ed. Daniel Szechi (Aberdeen: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1995) 147.

<sup>49</sup> Defoe, *Writings on Travel Discovery and History*, 99.

seemed hard to believe for most Scots. It was not long before virtually all economic decisions were made in a manner that ignored Scotland's needs and benefited only the English. Scottish nationalism had to adapt in order to survive in a world where violent uprisings were no longer the applicable solutions; most would be hard to convince to revolt against their own king. Those who did revolt were mostly unsuccessful.<sup>50</sup>

Political savvy was now the avenue that the Scots had to take to retain their sense of identity and to protect their Scottish nation. Like the English Defoe, many of the anti-Union Scots saw the negatives of the Union of the Crowns. But unlike him, they mostly feared worse conditions under the auspices of forming one completely united kingdom. There was no indication that the attitude of the English would suddenly change after they formally acquired Scotland's realm as their own. Their opposition to such a notion expresses their nationalistic way of thinking that placed the good of Scotland above all else and it showed the importance they placed on maintaining political autonomy over their Scottish nation.

Another event that eased the passage of the Act of Union was the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Scotland's parliamentary functions had changed forever as King William of Orange was invited to govern both England and Scotland after the expulsion of King James VII of Scotland and II of England. Scotland's parliament had started to become increasingly more volatile and this was only aggravated by the increasing tensions between England and Scotland.<sup>51</sup> This volatility eventually led to submission to the pro-English monarch that ruled both kingdoms. The expulsion of the Stuart kings

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<sup>50</sup> Different groups of Scots organized several uprisings after it became apparent that the monarch seated in London would ultimately be negligent to Scottish concerns, even to the point of passing legislation that was punitive towards the Scots. None of them were successful and it became increasingly more difficult to organize such uprisings as Scotland's situation turned bleaker.

<sup>51</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History 1700-2000* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 5.

also led to the formation of the Jacobites and the Jacobite cause who would later revolt many times in an effort to restore the Stuarts to the throne of Scotland. They were called Jacobites because of their support of James VII and II and *Jacobus* is the Latin for James. The Glorious Revolution further sent Scotland hurling toward union with England. To many, Scottish nationalism now became entangled with the Jacobite cause which tended to make nationalism acquire a negative stigma due to the Jacobites' association with Catholicism.

George Lockhart of Carnwath who was contemporary to the Glorious Revolution and the Act of Union points out in his memoirs how “any person might very well declare for or against the first and be at the same time...averse to the other.”<sup>52</sup> What he means by this is that just because one was for the Glorious Revolution does not mean that he was for the Union, or that one being against the Glorious Revolution did not mean that they were against the union. What he is trying to do here is to separate the nationalistic Jacobites from the nationalistic Scots who were anti-union. These ideas vividly paint a picture of the complexity of Scottish politics that had an increasing number of variables that further complicated matters. Lockhart expands on this idea by stating that one is to place

the opposition to the Union on too narrow a foundation when he ascribes it only to a spirit of Jacobitism... it could and did proceed from no other motives than concern and zeal for the interest and prosperity of their country.<sup>53</sup>

Based on his deductions, it would appear that Scotland's political landscape at the time was more dynamic than just Jacobite anti-Union and pro-Union anti-Royalist differences.

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<sup>52</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland's Ruine*, 278.

<sup>53</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland's Ruine*, 278.

His comments also illustrate the anti-Union sentiment that was widely held by most of Scotland.

Perhaps the most detrimental event that sealed the fate of the Scots into agreeing to send commissioners to the Act of Union was their failed attempt to establish a colony halfway across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1695 an act of parliament had established a corporation entitled the 'Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies.' The company had extensive powers to found colonies in any unclaimed territories and to make exclusive trade treaties with the backing of the crown. William II of England had no enthusiasm for this company and he made it illegal for Englishmen to invest in it. The Scots then turned to a kind of patriotic promotion that was extremely successful. William Paterson then came to the forefront and gave the company a target, the Isthmus of Darien, which was the narrowest point in the Americas. Somewhere around one quarter of Scotland's liquid assets was invested in the Company of Scotland and in July of 1698, the expedition set sail from Leith with about twelve hundred colonists on five ships. They named their settlement 'Caledonia' after an ancient name for Scotland and then constructed a township named New Edinburgh. All this was done in spite of the fact that the Spanish had already laid claim to the land they settled on. The Darien venture turned out to be a horrible disaster and it left the Scottish economy in shambles.<sup>54</sup>

One of the reasons that most see as partly being responsible for the collapse of the Darien colony was the issue of the Spanish claim to that territory. From the arrival of the Scots at Darien, the Spaniards wanted them out and they ultimately sought the favor of King William of England to side with them. There had been a treaty signed between Spain and England and the colony at Darien was in jeopardy of infringing upon it. The

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<sup>54</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 531.

Spanish asked for the English to not allow any aid to reach the Scots from either England or from the English colonies in the Americas. Daniel Defoe stated that the claims made by the Spanish of the negative effects that English aid to Darien would inflict, “could not be denied by the *English* Court, and accordingly a Proclamation was sent to all the *English* Plantations, forbidding Trade or Correspondence with them.”<sup>55</sup> When the Scots found out about this intervention by William, the news incited intense outrage against William, England, and any type of union including the current Union of the Crowns. They felt that their attempts had been swindled away from them as a result of their own monarch making deals with the Spanish to keep the Scots from attaining their success. In actuality it was probably only a small factor that caused the colony’s failure. The unpreparedness of the Scots is most likely what did them in. Bringing woolen clothes and whiskey, nothing to farm with or any knowledge of trading was also probably to blame. But, the way they reacted to the English interactions with the Spanish shows how their nationalistic tendencies were further starting to cause resentment toward a union with the English.

The effects that the failed Darien venture had on the Scottish economy were horrid. To makes things worse, all this happened during a period of harsh weather in which Scotland was suffering from five years of unsuccessful harvests that led to death from starvation of at least a fifth of the population.<sup>56</sup> Underemployment and poverty became increasingly the norm throughout all of Scotland. In response to their dismal situation some Scots turned to anger against their king, and angry pamphlets began to be circulated that listed the injuries that Scotland had suffered as a consequence of the Union

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<sup>55</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Writings on Travel Discovery and History*, 115.

<sup>56</sup> Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 531.



of the Crowns of 1603. They were now claiming that their sovereignty and freedom had been violated, a sentiment that had been echoed many times throughout Scottish subjection to 'English' rule. Others saw the harsh reality of the great probability that a formal and absolute union with England was coming, as it might be the only way for Scotland to survive. With the exception of some short-sighted and selfish aristocratic Scots, Scottish nationalism supplied the reasoning that supported both of these viewpoints.

The extremely nationalistic cries for self-determinism that followed the Darien debacle came out as a partial response to their economic situation that had become turmoil. A noted Scottish Historian, Christopher Harvie, implies that periods like this saw the most intense forms of Scottish nationalism.<sup>57</sup> He conveys his beliefs that conversely, times of economic prosperity were enough to mask the Scots' desire for complete independence. Harvie then states that aristocratic nationalism in Scotland began to decline around the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup> Nationalism was adapted by the masses as they became the unheard mistreated subjects of Great Britain. However, it should rather be argued that the Scottish aristocrats who then began to advocate the Union were acting because of their Scottish nationalism. They became pro-Union only after they realized there was no other option that would successfully bring Scotland out of its turmoil. Though they wanted to retain their independence, their monarch was now only interested in supporting English affairs. Queen Anne's regime would even go so far as to pass laws that treated the Scots like they had been a bitter enemy that England had conquered. The Scots, even the most nationalistic of them, had no choice but to swallow

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<sup>57</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*, 13.

<sup>58</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*, 14.

their patriotism and hope that the Union would put an end to their hardships without harming the symbols of their nationhood.

Nationalism did indeed eventually fall into the hands of the people, as Harvie suggests, but not until after the governing elites had been forced to push theirs aside in order to do what they could to save Scotland. Harvie's comments about this apply to the situation during the Union deliberations and after the passage of the Articles of Union into law. The transference of nationalistic sentiment into the hands of the people was mainly because of the Church of Scotland which was known as the Kirk. The Kirk, which was a creation of the Scottish Reformation, was so afraid of Anglican Church domination and the reinstatement of bishops over Scotland's church system that they became the Union's most fierce opponent. It was the Kirk that influenced the people more than any other aspect of Scottish society because of the strict adherence of all Scots to their Presbyterian beliefs. The people began to become so against the Union that they took to open rioting in the streets of Edinburgh. The rioting included attacking pro-Union Scots' houses and forced pro-Union English residing in Edinburgh to require military escorts to get from one place to another.

Queen Anne came to power in 1702 with the death of her cousin and brother-in-law William II of Scotland and III of England. She was the daughter of the deposed James VII and II, and she would be the last of the House of Stuart to rule Scotland. Like the monarchs that ruled the dual monarchies before her, she had little interest in Scottish affairs. Her aims were focused on forcing the Scots to enter into an Act of Union that would officially form the Kingdom of Great Britain and the separate kingdoms of Scotland and England would cease to exist as political entities. As has been discussed,

she shared these desires with many that came before her, most notably James VI of Scotland and I of England, but the now downtrodden Scots were in a desperate situation. The stage was right for Queen Anne to finally acquire the lands of Scotland. All her regime had to do was force them into submission by passing further economic restraints and then offer salvation through the auspices of Union. At this point, as Daniel Defoe puts it “there was no way to Recover themselves, but either better Terms of Union and Alliance, or a Returning back to their separate Self-Existing State.”<sup>59</sup> With those comments it can be seen how nationalism could be present amongst the both the pro-Union Scots and the anti-Union Scots. They could both be described as acting with the goals of the preservation of Scotland in mind. But, even the anti-Union Scots knew that going back to a completely separate Scotland would be an incredibly difficult task given their current economic and demographic situation.

Before and after Queen Anne came to power, the Scots were attempting to make arrangements to improve the conditions of the Union of the Crowns. The English had agreed that if the queen died without an heir, the succession would pass to the Hanoverian line. But, the Scottish Parliament made it clear that Scotland would not accept the Hanoverian line unless certain aspects of the Union were changed to improve the situation in Scotland. In defiance of England, The Scottish Parliament passed three acts that would ultimately only succeed in provoking Queen Anne and the English Parliament into tightening the persuasions of Union. In 1703, Scotland passed the Act anent Peace and War, the Wine Act and the Wool Act. The Act anent Peace and War declared that no sovereign of the two countries could declare war or make alliances without the Scottish Parliament’s consent. The Wine Act formally permitted the

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<sup>59</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Writings on Travel Discovery and Travel*, Pg. 123.

importation of French wines into Scotland, which contradicted the English trade embargo on France. Lastly, the Wool Act encouraged exportation of Scottish wool and banned the importation of English wool. These acts were meant to improve the Scottish economy while at the same time making it clear that they alone had the power govern their realm.

The most provocative act and the one that caused negative legislative response from England was the Security Act that was passed in 1704. This Act openly stated that the Scottish crown was not to go to the Hanoverian line, as the English had decided, unless certain conditions had been met. The Act stated that the Scottish Parliament would have the right to convene and select the successor to their crown on the event of the queen's death and that,

the same be not the successor to the Crown of England, unless that in this present session of Parliament, or any other session of this or any ensuing Parliament during her Majesties reign there be such condicions of government settled and enacted, as may secure the honour and soveraingty of this Crown and Kingdom.<sup>60</sup>

The wording of this legislation marks the last stand of the Scottish nationalists that came from the aristocracy that made up the Scottish Parliament to try to secure Scotland's independence. They knew very well the implications that it would likely lead to, but these provocative legislations were the only weapons they had to wield at the time. Unfortunately for the Scots, the move backfired and it prompted Queen Anne and the English Parliament to pass legislation that would put the stranglehold on Scotland and would end up forcing most of the Scottish Parliament to embrace the Union. In response to these acts, George Baillie of Jerviswood, recalls the English Lord Halifax claiming, "all these acts were the effects of a bad humour amongst the Scotch, which began with the business of Darien, when they resolved to have got the English trade for

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<sup>60</sup> The Act of Security, 1704, Compiled by Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 1970, 268.

themselves.”<sup>61</sup> His comment shows how the English mentality was toward the Darien venture and how they justified the Scottish resistance as being based on their own follies.

There were also militant forms of resistance occurring in Scotland that were not necessarily sanctioned by the government, but they were occurring nonetheless. This resistance came in the form of the secret dealings of the Jacobites and the French. The Jacobites were strongly opposed to Union because they knew that it would greatly increase the difficulty of restoring the Stuarts to the throne of Scotland. By now, the Stuart heir was James VIII who would become known as ‘the pretender’ and French support was ever growing. The French King, Louis XIV, made it known that he would be in favor of James VIII reclaiming both the throne of Scotland and England, saying that James was the most legitimate claimant. He made it a point to address James as James VIII Scotland and III of England. There were always rumors of planned military uprisings and they were indeed being planned. In a letter to the Irish born Jacobite Spy for France, Nathaniel M. Hooke, Sir Alexander Maclean proposed his plan for attack,

I would have the Highlanders and Irish that are in Flanders to be of the Highland expedition... If we land in the Isles two months before the great landing, we'll be entire masters of all the Highlands and ready to march with them.<sup>62</sup>

These plans never materialized until after the Union was made into law, but this shows the standpoint of the more militant nationalism that had begun to embrace the Jacobite cause. They did not necessarily support the restoration of the Stuarts, but some saw it as the lesser of two evils. This trend toward the embracement of Jacobitism was only to increase as the Act of Union came closer to being passed. It is estimated that by then, nearly two thirds of Scotland was in support of the Stuart restoration and of the Jacobite

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<sup>61</sup> George Baillie, *The Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood*, ed. The Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh: Alex Laurie & Co. Printers) 16

<sup>62</sup> Ed. William Dunn Macray, *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons) 40.

cause.<sup>63</sup> This does not mean that all anti-Unionists were supporting the Jacobites, but even the most extreme anti-royalist Protestants were willing to accept another Stuart over the Hanoverian line of succession and the dominion of the English Parliament. The Jacobite cause was yet another form that Scottish nationalism was shaped into as a result of the impending Union. To many Scots, the reestablishment of the Stuart Dynasty in Scotland would at least symbolically restore the autonomy of the Scottish government.

Queen Anne was not alone in her desire for Union. The English House of Commons was behind the decision-making process as well. The Parliament had been gaining in power and made great advances in this department after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It was the House of Commons that on February 5, 1705 passed legislation known as the Alien Act. The Act recommended to Queen Anne that commissioners should be appointed to negotiate for Union between England Scotland. The Act also said that if progress had not been made towards Union by Christmas of 1705, many harsh penalties would be imposed upon the Scots. Any Scot not already residing in England would now be considered an illegal alien. Also, the importation of Scottish cattle, sheep, coal and linen into England would not be permitted. The Scottish economy, already barely functioning as a result of the Darien episode, could not take any more blows; Scotland was forced into appointing commissioners to the Union. One of the issues that the Alien Act was meant to remedy was the question of succession if the Queen should die without an heir, and was in response to the Acts that the Scottish Parliament had passed in the two years prior. The pace towards Union began to steadily hasten after the passage of this legislation.

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<sup>63</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of A Nation*, 558.

In the Spring of 1706, the proceedings were undertaken and commissioners to negotiate for Union were decided upon and sent to discuss the particulars of a treaty of Union. The treaty that was agreed upon was then sent to the two parliaments to be discussed and ratified. One of the key issues within the treaty was the principle of incorporation that was a requirement for the English and the only way in which they would ratify the treaty. Most of the Scots, however, were against complete incorporation and wished that the Scottish Parliament could continue to be a separate entity. They pushed for more of a federal system that would not relinquish all of their powers to the new parliament of Great Britain that would be created and located in London and far from the concerns of Scotland. Most of the Scottish commissioners were handpicked by the English to be Scots who were open to incorporated union such as the Duke of Queensberry and the Duke of Argyll. When it leaked out that the issue of incorporation was within this proposed Treaty of Union, there was widespread anger and opposition throughout the burghs of Scotland and especially in Edinburgh where rioting and panic became common. This public outrage was fueled by nationalistic pride and the ever growing fear of the loss of Scottish independence.

The Scottish Parliament met in October of 1706 to debate the ratification of the Articles of Union, and at this point, opposition to the Union was reaching its peak. Mobs of interested and angry Scots began to crowd the outer Parliament House to shout their rejections towards the pro-Union members of Parliament. The Duke of Hamilton was the leading proponent of anti-Union sentiment with the Scottish Parliament and the people rallied behind with great rejoicing as they professed their support of him. Pro-Union members of Parliament were bombarded by insults every time they arrived at or left the

proceedings, and the angry mobs that gathered were not afraid of resorting to violence to get their points across. George Lockhart reports that on October 23, “three or four hundred of them... did hasten in a body to the house of Sir Patrick Johnston... threw stones at his windows, broke open his doors and searched his house for him.”<sup>64</sup> Sir Patrick Johnston was a commissioner of the Union and one of the Union’s leading supporters. Though he was formerly the well-received Provost of Edinburgh, they had no problem attempting to rip him limb from limb for supporting the signing away of their sovereignty. Lockhart certainly believed that that is what would have happened had Johnston been home at the time that the mob had broken in.<sup>65</sup>

Before the mobs broke out in October during the debates over ratification of the Treaty of Union, the pro-Union Scots and the English residing in Edinburgh during the proceedings did not believe that the resentment of the anti-Union Scots was of major concern, but the riots had them now thoroughly convinced. As Lockhart put it, it was evident that the resentment was stemming from the fact that “the Union was crammed down Scotland’s throat.”<sup>66</sup> Disapproval for the Union also existed within the countryside and in smaller burghs where many letters and addresses were sent to the Scottish Commissioner of the Union. The letters claimed that an incorporated Union went against the laws and constitution of the realm of Scotland. Lockhart makes mention of such a document and recalls it stating,

therefore, we beseech your grace and Honourable Estates, and do confidently expect, that you will not allow of any such incorporating union, but that you will support and preserve entire the sovereignty and independency of this crown and kingdom, and the rights and privileges of Parliament, which have been so valiantly maintained by our heroick ancestors for the space of two thousand years,

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<sup>64</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland’s Ruine*, 143.

<sup>65</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland’s Ruine*, 143.

<sup>66</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland’s Ruine*, 144.



that the same may be transmitted to succeeding generations that they have transmitted to us.<sup>67</sup>

What is most interesting about the wording of this letter is that it mentions the legitimacy of Scotland going back two thousand years. This was a symbolic claim that was also used during the time of the Scottish Wars of Independence to establish the right of the Scots to rule their own nation. Here, Scottish nationalism is illustrated brilliantly by using the past to prove the identity of the Scottish people. And it is certainly great heroes such as Robert the Bruce and William Wallace of the Wars of Independence that are being referred to when the letter mentions their 'heroick ancestors.' The Wars of Independence and the nationalistic pride that was incited by them are never far from a Scot's mind. Bruce, Wallace and the Wars themselves would serve as powerful symbols that the Scots would build their national sentiment upon through their history, and their being referenced here shows that.

There were many other excellent examples of the non-militant side of the now growing feelings of nationalism. During one of the meetings of Parliament that was undergoing the discussion of the Treaty of Union, Lord Belhaven made one of the most patriotic speeches that was to be heard during this sequence of events. His passionate words were said to have moved the house and he himself was resolved to drop to his knees in tears. His words spoke of the economic hardships that were pressing on Scotland and how they would only worsen if the Act of Union was passed into law. It was clear that others thought the economic situation would improve. But he also is foreshadowing in his speech the loss of power that Scotland would experience if they entered into Union with England. He exclaims,

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<sup>67</sup> George Lockhart, *Scotland's Ruine*, 149.

but above all, my lord, I see our ancient mother Caledonia<sup>68</sup>, like Caesar, sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking around her, covering herself with her royal garment, awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an exclamation – ‘et tu quoque me fili?’ [and you, my son?]<sup>69</sup>

The ancient reference to Caledonia is used in this case because Lord Belhaven was sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and the Jacobites were known to have their larger support from the Highlands that were to the north and west of Scotland. However, the ancient reference here is also a very typical template for any Scot arguing against the usurpation of the sovereignty of their nation and it is another example of the Scots’ use of symbols to justify their right to self-determinism. Also, the reference to Caledonia should be taken as a reference to a people or ethnicity and not to a place. Caledonia only became the accepted name of ancient Scotland due to the name that the Romans gave to the people who inhabited those lands, the Caledonii. This fact and Scotland’s name coming from the Scots shows that the dismissal of these examples as patriotism and not nationalism would be hasty. There is clear evidence that there was a connection to a people and not a place. These are the feelings and beliefs that make up the elements of Scottish nationalism that persist unchanged through time since the Scottish Wars of Independence.

Despite the Scottish opposition, both militant and political, the Act of Union was finally agreed upon by the English and Scottish commissioners after only three months of deliberation. The new Parliament of Great Britain met for the first time on October 23,

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<sup>68</sup> Caledonia was the ancient name for the lands that the ancient mountainous tribes of Scotland inhabited around the time of the first coming of the Romans. The historian Tacitus called those collective mountain tribe Caledonii. They sometimes banded together in efforts of armed resistance against the encroaching Romans. Their most famous battle pitted them against an army led by Agricola that took place at what Tacitus called Mons Graupius.

<sup>69</sup> Many different Anglicized versions of this speech exist. This excerpt was taken from Magnus Magnusson’s use of it in his *Scotland: The History of A Nation* which came from John Struthers, *History of Scotland*. Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The History of A Nation*, 549.

1707 and all hopes for Scottish autonomy would soon fade as a result of a chain of several failures to regain Scottish sovereignty. Regret must have begun to set in for the pro-Union Scots as the Scottish members of the new British Parliament went south to take part in their new creation. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's memoirs reported that the Scots found themselves obscure and out of place. Their English counterparts ridiculed them for their speech, their manners and their impoverished status. Worst of all, the Scots went unheard and ignored in spite of their votes and they found themselves lost in the unfamiliar intrigues of English politics.<sup>70</sup> The only Scots to benefit were the short-sighted proponents of the Union that were richly rewarded with pensions, seats in the House of Lords in the new British Parliament, and diplomatic titles such as ambassador to Paris. The survival of Scottish nationalism seemed to be doomed to fail and the nationalistic feelings were not far from fading away with the Scottish Parliament and with the ancient lands of Caledonia and Alba.

There are many theories as to why the Scots willingly signed away their independence and the effectively disbanded their parliament. Some place all the blame on the corrupt few who were either bribed or promised awards for advocating the Union.<sup>71</sup> While these individuals did have an impact on the proceedings of these events, they were not the sole reason for the passage of the Act of Union in Scotland. Many economic constraints brought on by the Darien episode and years of bad harvest left the Scots in a desperate situation. A good deal of the pro-Union Scots became pro-Union

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<sup>70</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The History of A Nation*, 553. Magnusson located these states from the memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. The memoirs are rare to find in print or microform and the originals are located in Scotland.

<sup>71</sup> This can be seen by the contemporaneous phrase that went "bought and sold for English gold" and in Robert Burns' "such a parcel of rouges in a nation" where he laments about Scotland's loss of independence due to corruption.

because they truly believed that it was what was best for Scotland. Christopher Harvie says “one could be both an advocate for the Union and a sincere nationalist... some may have even felt it necessary to unite with England to escape the stigma of Jacobitism.”<sup>72</sup> This stigma he refers to came from the Jacobite association with Catholicism which was detested in much of England and Scotland. The longing for independence and sovereignty would not fade though. These longings were the causes for mass support of the Jacobite cause in which strict Presbyterians placed their support in a Catholic choice of monarch rather than be subjected to the English.

Scottish nationalism would live on and persist as it always had since its conception at the famed battles of Stirling and Bannockburn. In 1708, there was an attempt at a Jacobite uprising. Again, not all of Scotland was in support of the Jacobites, mainly due to the Catholic stigma associated with them, but most were willing to support James VIII as the only other option to Hanoverian English Dominion. The uprising was quelled very quickly and it only led to more punitive measures passed toward the Scots by the pro-English British Parliament. Also, it did not take the Scots long to attempt to politically bring down the Union that some of them had helped create. After multiple legislations that began to take a turn against the Scots and even went so far as to undo some of the concessions that were made to the Scots in the Articles of Union, the Scots were unwilling to accept the terms any longer. In 1713, some of the key Scottish supporters of the Union decided to repeal the Act of Union as the only viable option. The Earl of Seafield, supported by the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Mar, put forward a resolution in the House of Lords in June. The resolution to repeal the Act of Union was defeated by only four votes. Magnus Magnusson says that this was “a reflection of the

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<sup>72</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*, pg. 13

growing strength of the Jacobite movement which would dominate British politics for the next thirty years.”<sup>73</sup>

There would be two major Jacobite uprisings to take place after the Act of Union and they occurred in 1715 and 1745. Both were unsuccessful and the more significant of the two was the one in 1745; it has become known in Scotland simply as the '45. This is where the famous character of Bonnie Prince Charlie appears on the pages of Scottish history. He was the son of 'The Pretender' James the VIII of Scotland. Many of the Jacobite supporters were hiding out in Rome bickering and awaiting opportunities to reinstate the Stuart succession. Prince Charlie made it to Paris in early January of 1744. He had planned on his travels remaining covert but he was unable to keep them a secret and all of Europe knew that the Scots were planning something soon. Prince Charlie met with the French army that was assembled at Dunkirk and they launched a fleet toward England, but the English were ready and they met the Scots and French on the way. Before a naval battle could get underway, a large storm played havoc on both sides and several vessels were lost with all hands. Prince Charlie survived undaunted, but he lost French support even though he pleaded with King Louis XV to renew his invasion plans. Prince Charlie was determined to raise a rebellion on his own.

With aid from some of the descendants of the Irish Catholics who had fought with his father at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, Prince Charlie acquired guns, swords, and two ships, the *Du Teillay* and the *Elisabeth*. The ships came from the Irish Antoine Walsh and the Irish slave trader Walter Ruttledge. They set sail for Scotland on July 5, 1745 and as their terrible luck would go they met a British Man of War ship and the larger ship, the *Elisabeth* was forced to turn back. Though Prince Charlie was advised to

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<sup>73</sup> Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of A Nation*, 557.

turn back, he was determined to go on with the invasion. Upon landing he was met with Highland reinforcement including Mor MacGregor the son of the late Rob Roy MacGregor who brought his full clan of MacGreogors with him, and also the MacDonalds arrived as well. The stage was set and the battle ready for commencement. Despite low chance of success, they were very optimistic. Though the campaign saw a good deal of early success, like the many uprisings before, it would ultimately fail due to the lack of qualified leadership and the waffling nature of the Scottish support of Jacobitism.

After the failure of the '45, Scottish nationalism was again forced to adapt to their new situation. Nationalistic feelings could no longer find refuge in the Jacobite cause as the many Jacobite failures had only brought increased punitive legislation from the British Parliament. The Scots who had before believed that the Stuarts were a better option than the English dominion of the Hanoverians could no longer rationalize the support of a Catholic 'pretender.' Also, the Scottish economy had by now started to recover and signs were showing that the Scots who were pro-Union to improve Scotland's conditions were justified in their assumptions. Though it would not be the last attempt at an uprising, Jacobite or otherwise, the 1745 uprising was the last significant attempt at the re-establishment of an independent Scotland. The events that led up to, transpired during, and occurred after the Union as negative reactions exhibit many of the different characteristics of Scottish nationalism that had to adapt to changing times. Now is when nationalism fell to the hands of the mass for a period, as well as the writers that inspired hope for the future. Though the economic situation made the Scots' belief in Scotland's right to be governed by the Scottish no longer exist at the forefront of Scottish

politics, it persisted onward. Eventually realization of the consequences of being controlled by the British Parliament would reappear as economic prosperity faded with the luster of the British Empire. It was this reappearance that would often be mistaken as the birth of Scottish nationalism under the qualifications of the Modernist theory of nationalism. However, as the evidence has shown, Scottish nationalism was indeed much older than its resurgence in the twentieth century. It simply would lay quiet for a period of roughly two centuries in the hands of the masses that were led by the carefully chosen words of writers like Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott.

## Chapter Five

### Scottish Nationalism Masked Under Economic Prosperity and British Nationalism

The failure of the last Jacobite uprising of 1745 marked the last significant attempt at reestablishing the Scottish royal line that might have had a chance to secure Scottish autonomy. The time period that began shortly after would serve to form the foundation of the illusion of the Modernist creation of Scottish nationalism.<sup>74</sup> This is because of how Scottish nationalism became quieted due to economic prosperity that the Union brought to Scotland. Many of the pro-Union Scots during the time of the signing of the Union were hoping that this economic prosperity would justify their position. It appeared that their placing the good of Scotland over Scotland's independence was now paying off in a big way as they joined England as part of Great Britain, the most powerful country in the world through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In some ways, the intense Scottish nationalism that characterized the Scots from their Wars of Independence to the Jacobites' last stand at Culloden in 1746 was redirected into a new sense of British nationalism. In many cases the Scots were the first to volunteer to fight for Great Britain on her many frontiers around the globe. Besides their military efforts, the Scots were also able to feel connected to the British Empire by other contributions that included manufacturing, ship building and trade that fueled the expansion of British influence. Though Scottish nationalism was much harder to see under these conditions, the continuum that had been established around the thirteenth century was still there simmering with the hopes of achieving the highest level of autonomy possible for Scotland. However, it would take the decline of the British Empire to release the full

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<sup>74</sup> This reference is to the Modernist theory of nationalism which is discussed along with the other leading theories of nationalism in Chapter 2.



force of Scottish nationalism once again, and this would bring it to the forefront of Scottish politics.

There were three main ways in which the Scots' intense nationalism was distracted and led to assume the temporary form of British nationalism. The first was the participation of the Scots in military expeditions that strengthened and extended Britain's power and influence around the world. The second was the extreme economic growth that saw Scotland's cities boom in population and economic opportunity. The third was the intellectual enlightenment that was taking place during the mid to late eighteenth century. All three of these factors contributed to the global dominance of the British Empire in the nineteenth century and helped the Scots to feel British. The feeling was only temporary however, as many examples of Scottish nationalism can be seen during this period. The period simply saw the issue of Scottish autonomy and independence become a less emphasized issue than the improvements for Scotland that were seen by many as a direct result of the Union with England.

The Scots have long been known for their reputation as steadfast and brave warriors. As far back as the time when the Romans first came to the island of Great Britain, the ancestors of the Scots were renowned for their battle skills. The area that would become Scotland would be one of the only regions in Western Europe that the Romans were not able to bring under their control. Fighting was to become ingrained in Scots' culture, and when they felt part of the British Empire, they fought for Great Britain as their ancestors had fought for Pictland, for Dalriada, for Alba, and for Scotland. They quickly became known as fierce regiments in the British armies that were dispatched to safeguard Britain's territorial holdings from the Americas, to India and China. The Scots

supplied a great portion of the manpower needed to build Britain's massive empire. The majority of these Scots came from the Highlands which was the region in Scotland that held true to its clan based military culture that the lowlands had long turned away from. Between 1740 and 1815, eighty six Highland regiments were officially raised to fight in the British army with many of them making a name for themselves such as the famous 'Black Watch.' From the turn of the eighteenth century onward the Scots made up the backbone of the British army.<sup>75</sup> Though most of these military contributions came from the Highlands, Scottish nationalism was soon to take on the symbols of the Highland culture, and the Scottish identity began to fuse with the Highland identity. Ethnoscopically speaking, during its quiet period, Scottish nationalism began to add the symbols of the Highlanders to the list of Scottish symbols that Scottish national consciousness and distinctiveness were built around.<sup>76</sup>

Scotland's economy saw a massive boom in the middle of the eighteenth century in which a Scottish middle class pushed itself into being a factor within Scottish society. It was as if suddenly the average Scot had a real chance of attaining a higher quality of life than his predecessors could ever dream of. With these conditions taking hold all over Scotland, it is easy to see how complaints and arguments about Scotland's political autonomy were overlooked by growing numbers of successful merchants, scholars, and traders. Glasgow became the center of these economic transformations. In 1752 alone,

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<sup>75</sup> Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World and Everything in it*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2000), 348.

<sup>76</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2000*, 231. Throughout chapter eleven, Devine gives an excellent discussion of how the Scottish identity began to take on a Highland form after the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746. In a modern sense, the symbols of the Highlands, a region that before the eighteenth century was seen as separate and abrasive to Scottish hegemony, became the symbols that are now used to display Scotland's distinctiveness. These Highland symbols such as the kilt, the tartan, the bagpipes, and the clans became combined with symbols like the St. Andrew's saltire, the thistle, William Wallace, and Robert the Bruce, as making up the Ethnoscopical foundation of Scottish nationalism.

Scottish merchants unloaded twenty one million pounds of tobacco at the port of Glasgow, and by 1758, Scottish tobacco imports from America were larger than those of all English ports combined.<sup>77</sup> In 1771, the figure was increased to forty seven million pounds of American tobacco that was arriving in Glasgow. The tobacco trade was just one aspect of Scottish overseas trade as Scotland was now contributing forty percent of the total British importation. Also, while the Scottish overseas trade was experiencing this boom, so was the Scottish linen trade which increased four-fold between the years 1768-72.<sup>78</sup> Cotton and wool also contributed to the unparalleled economic growth. To aid these growing industries, the Royal Bank of Scotland and the British Linen Company were established in the mid eighteenth century. Though a large portion of the Scottish population was still living in relatively unchanged rural structures, Scotland's cities were growing at a rate faster than any other nation in Europe due to this economic growth that led to increased economic opportunity.

Lastly, during the late eighteenth century, Scottish education began to improve dramatically and this factor in turn aided economic growth. From the time of the defeat of the Jacobites in 1745 to about 1790, the small city of Edinburgh became the epicenter of Western intellect.<sup>79</sup> Great Scottish minds that could have been looked to for inspirational justification of nationalism such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, Adam Ferguson and Hugh Blair were preoccupied with setting the social and

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<sup>77</sup> Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, 162.

<sup>78</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 105.

<sup>79</sup> James Buchanan, *Crowded with Genius, The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh's Moment of Mind*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 2003, 1.

educational standards for the rest Europe. In 1762, Voltaire stated that “today it is from Scotland that we get rules of taste in all the arts, from epic poetry to gardening.”<sup>80</sup>

The Scots became so engrossed in a period of prosperity, both intellectual and economic, and they became so swept up in the idea of being British that the issue of Scotland’s autonomy became a less intense issue. Though many Scots were distracted with their aforementioned military, economic and intellectual contributions to Great Britain, and to the benefit of Scotland itself, Scottish nationalism still lay underneath it all simmering. Many examples of it can be seen from this quiet period that lasted from around the mid eighteenth century to the mid twentieth century. In many ways the issue of Scotland’s freedom and independence fell to certain literary masters who could at times rouse the masses of Scotland to remember their ancient right to rule Scotland. Talented writers were able to play upon the underlying continuum of Scottish nationalism that was driven by the Scots’ recognition of Scottish distinctiveness. The Scots used symbols of that distinctiveness to express their right to rule Scotland and many of these popular works would focus on such symbols.

One such literary genius to write during this time was Robert Burns. Robert Burns lived from 1759 to 1796 and during that period he developed an illustrious writing career for which he became world famous. He wrote with a romantic style about the past in his poems and bards, and he would acquire the title of Scotland’s Bard and the future creation of a national holiday in his name to be celebrated on his birthday, January 25. He held and displayed a Jacobite tone and often referred to his country’s birth of nationalism in the glorious fight for independence during the Scottish Wars of Independence. His writings, and more significantly his popularity, both with his

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<sup>80</sup> Cited in James Buchanan, *Crowded with Genius*, 2.

contemporaries and with all generations of Scots, are an indication of the vitality of Scottish nationalism beyond the fall of the Jacobites. His writings also perfectly illustrate the importance of symbols and historical memory in the construction of Scottish nationalism; which is a key component necessary to confirm the existence of the Ethn symbolic theory of nationalism.

One example of Robert Burns' nationalistic appeal to the past is "Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn" also known as "Scots Wha Hae." Within this poem that was at one time put to melody as Scotland's national anthem, Burns writes a fictional speech that Robert Bruce gave to his troops on the way to Bannockburn where they would win Scottish independence back from England. The poem starts out by saying "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled, Scots wham Bruce has aften led," The mentioning of Wallace and Bruce in such popular poems show the longevity of their symbolism and their importance to Scottish national consciousness. Also, it is important to note that Burns was mainly writing in Scots. It is interesting that he chose to write in this Scottish dialect and not in English. By using the Scots dialect itself, Burns was able to further symbolize the Scottish distinctiveness that served as the reasoning behind the Scots' desire for autonomy. Then he goes on to state, "See approach proud Edward's power, Chains and Slaverie."<sup>81</sup> These lines reflect the fear of falling under English dominion that the contemporaries of Bruce felt and perhaps the regret that Burns felt about Scotland losing its independence in 1707. The last two stanzas speak to this fact best when they say, "By Oppression's woes and pains! By your Sons in servile chains! We will drain our dearest veins, But they shall be free!, Lay the proud Usurpers low!, Tyrants fall in every foe!, Liberty's in every blow!, Let us Do or Die!"

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<sup>81</sup> Robert Burns, "Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn,"

Another work of Burns' that illustrates his role in keeping nationalism alive is "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation."<sup>82</sup> In this poem Burns is commenting on the corrupt nature of some of the pro-Union Scots as he laments about Scotland's loss of independence with the signing of the Act of Union. He writes, "We're bought and sold for English gold, Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!"<sup>83</sup> Again, it is not just the fact that Burns is writing about these events that shows the events' symbolic importance to Scottish nationalism, but it is also the immense popularity that his words earned him amongst his fellow Scots. Robert Burns Day is still a holiday in Scotland that is celebrated with as much vigor and jubilation as any other national holiday in the nation. In 2009, a poll conducted by the Scottish television network, STV, placed Robert Burns as the 'Greatest Scot' as he just barely beat out William Wallace who came in second.<sup>84</sup> Clearly, Burns' writings are still striking nerves among modern Scots.

Another figure to come out of this period who sympathized with the nationalistic symbols of Scotland's past glory was Sir Walter Scott. Scott came a few years later than Burns as he lived from 1771 to 1832. Like Burns, Scott romanticized Scotland's past as many of his works seemed to possess a regretful tone towards the Act of Union. However, unlike Burns, Scott's works seemed to lead his readers toward the reluctant acceptance of the Union as being the best outcome for Scotland. Many historians have written of Scott as trying to convince his doubting countrymen of this acceptance and they often note his own hesitation to do so. On the one hand Scott longed for the restoration of the glorious days of Wallace and Bruce while on the other hand he struggled with the realization that Scots must look toward a British existence to survive.

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<sup>82</sup> Robert Burns, "Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn"

<sup>83</sup> Robert Burns, "Such A Parcel of Rogues in a Nation"

<sup>84</sup> STV Poll, 2009.

However, some scholars have suggested that Scott never fully reconciled himself to the Act of Union and that his writings inspire far more subversive and nationalistic interpretations than most have perceived.

One such scholar is Professor of English Literature, Julian Meldon D'Arcy, who in her book entitled *Subversive Scott: The Waverley Novels and Scottish Nationalism* makes the argument that Scott's works were much more nationalistic than they appear at first glance. She claims that there are two narratives embedded within Scott's works; one that a Scottish reader might hear and one that an English reader might hear. A Scottish reader would be much more likely to pick up on the nationalistic sentiment within Scott's work. One of the quotes she used to point out this message is when Colonel Talbot is appealing to Waverley to leave the Jacobites and he says "But I wish you to be aware that the right is not with you; that you are fighting against the real interests of *your country*, and that you ought, as an *Englishmen* and a patriot, to take the first opportunity to leave this unhappy expedition before the snow ball melt".<sup>85</sup> Here the conflict is defined in terms of English versus Scottish and not Hanoverian versus Jacobite. This is what D'Arcy points out as being Scott's national alignment; one which an English reader would be less likely to pick up on or more likely to ignore due to the less than enthusiastic English accepting the term British, and one that a Scottish reader would be more likely to see the ancient pretext of the Scottish struggle for independence from England. Also D'Arcy points out that whenever Scott discusses battles within the novels, he always mentions them in a Scottish versus English sense and not in a Jacobite versus

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<sup>85</sup> Julian Meldon D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott: The Waverley Novels and Scottish Nationalism*, (Iceland: University of Iceland Press, 2005). The italicized words have been italicized for emphasis by D'Arcy to show the words that a Scottish reader and an English reader might interpret differently. The selection comes from Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels, Chapter 55, page 258.

Hanoverian sense. Clearly, his subversive messages could have inspired the Scottish reader with feelings of angst about their lost independence, and like Burns, Scott's popularity in Scotland shows how his writings were connecting with the Scottish people.

One of the most surprising areas in which appeals to Scottish nationalism could be found would be in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Unlike the Waverley novels that were aforementioned, *Ivanhoe* does not take place in Scotland at all, nor is it about anything that has to do with Scotland. This story is about the situation in England at around a hundred years after the Norman Conquest in 1066. The protagonist, Wilfred of Ivanhoe, is a proud Saxon whose father does not like him allying so freely with the Normans. Although we know that tensions between Normans and Saxons were most likely healed by this time, In Scott's fictional England, the Saxons still hold heavy grievances toward the Normans and even hope to regain the over lordship of England one day. Here again, we can employ D'Arcy's theory of dual interpretations. A Scot reading this would see passed the fictional tale of Normans vs. Saxons and would be more likely to recall long struggles the Scots had been involved in for their independence from England. This might be enhanced by the fact that Scott was writing at about the same length of time that Scotland lost its independence as the Saxons had lost their independence in *Ivanhoe*. It would certainly be easy for the contemporary Scots reading this work to empathize with the Saxons and see the Normans as being as overzealous and meddlesome as the English had always been to the Scots. Thus, Scott's work would be playing on the already existing feeling of Scottish nationalism.

Many historians also place Sir Walter Scott at the center of the Highlandification of the Scottish sense of identity. Though other scholars have pointed out that the symbols



of the Highlanders were already becoming used by upper class lowland Scots before Sir Walter Scott's writings became popular, Scott certainly sped this process up. Most notably, Scott coordinated the reception of George IV from August 15-19, 1822. It was the first royal visit to Scotland since Charles II landed at Garmouth in 1650. Scott decided to make Highland culture the keynote of the event and the king himself donned full Highland dress, kilt and all, as he watched the 'gathering of the clans' that Scott had arranged. The clans that participated paraded from Holyrood to Edinburgh Castle. Here again, it can be seen that the Highland symbols are being transformed into universal Scottish symbols of identity, and as with Scott's literature, there may have been different interpretations of these events. The English would not have been aware of how this was playing on the already existing feeling of Scottish nationalism, and the king certainly would not have worn a kilt if he was aware of how the Scots interpreted this celebration of Highland culture. Also, to help restore some Scottish pride in Scottish distinctiveness, Scott arranged to have the Scottish honors, or the Scottish crown jewels, found and put on display at Edinburgh Castle. It is not difficult to see how the writings and actions of Sir Walter Scott kept an already present feeling of Scottish nationalism simmering within the Scots who were otherwise preoccupied with improving conditions and prosperity within their nation.

Another great literary figure came in the early part of the twentieth century in Hugh MacDiarmid. In many circles in Scotland, he became the best Scottish poet since Robert Burns. MacDiarmid was an avid Scottish nationalist who eventually turned to writing his poems in Scots rather than in English, much like Burns. Also like Burns, and Scott as well, MacDiarmid was an important figure in stirring up interest in the symbols

of Scottish nationalism. He did most of his writing at the very end of the two century period in which Scottish nationalism lay quieted by prosperity and pride in Britain. He was a very controversial figure who did not enjoy much success south of the border between Scotland and England. The popularity of a poet who listed Anglophobia as one of his hobbies in his Who's Who interview illustrates the presence of Scottish nationalism, a nationalism that was by the time of Hugh MacDiarmid back on the rise towards its surge to prominence which began in the latter part of the twentieth century. This can be seen by the events of Chapter One that discussed the formation of the Scottish National Party in 1934 that was partly created out of the former National Party of Scotland that MacDiarmid helped form.

One other key example of the persistence of Scottish nationalism throughout a time when it seemed to fall from the minds of the Scottish people was the Insurrection of 1820. The event has received little attention from historians, but it is evidence of the unsettled feeling of the people of Scotland about the Union. During this insurrection a group of radical reformers that was mostly made up of disaffected workers, organized and posted a proclamation in the streets of Glasgow. It called for all classes to come together and fight against tyranny and to defend the Scottish "*Constitution* which was purchased with the DEAREST BLOOD of our ANCESTORS, and which we swear to transmit to posterity unsullied, or PERISH in the Attempt."<sup>86</sup> Ultimately, the attempt to secure an independent Scottish government failed, but much like the Jacobite uprisings it served to breathe new life into the feelings of discontent toward the Union and helped spark the push for increased Scottish autonomy. P. Berresford Ellis describes the Scots that were involved by saying that "The Radicals not only reacted against the appalling

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<sup>86</sup>P. Berresford Ellis, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), 22.

social conditions but against their country's union with England which they considered the main reason for their ills."<sup>87</sup> It is important to note here that it is this emphasis on blaming the Union for the troubles of Scotland that makes it different from the hundreds of other workers revolts that were occurring throughout Europe at roughly the same time period. It is not as if the many disgruntled English workers who organized riots were shouting for dissolving the Saxon-Norman Union of 1066. The English workers would have simply called for reform and new worker protection within the system of their current government. The Scottish workers however, due to their nationalistic feelings of Scottish distinctiveness, used this opportunity to remind their countrymen of the injustices that they felt had been done upon them with the signing of the Act of Union in 1707.

The quote by Ellis perfectly illustrates the conclusion that this discussion has argued for based on other evidence like this. As Scotland's prosperity began to wane in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Scottish nationalism began to gain strength from its quieted state as a growing disgruntled class of Scots began to blame the Union for their woes. The Scottish Insurrection of 1820, and the examples of Burns, Scott and MacDiarmid show the continued survival of Scottish nationalism through a time that otherwise lacked significant political movements for increased political autonomy. Many see the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746 as the end of the Scottish nation's existence. But, recent nationalist activity has shown that Scottish nationalism is still very much alive and it appears to be growing in strength as it still rallies behind the ethnic symbols that Burns, Scott, and MacDiarmid wrote about. Today, even Burns and Scott themselves can be added into the symbols of Scotland along with the St. Andrew's Cross,

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<sup>87</sup>P. Berresford Ellis, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, 299.

the thistle, William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, the Declaration of Arbroath, the bagpipes, the kilt and the tartan. All of these symbols continued to serve as symbols of Scottish distinctiveness during the two century period from about 1750 to 1950 in which overwhelming support for Scottish independence was not to be found. Though some symbols were emphasized more at certain times than others were and it could be argued that meanings have changed, the important fact to take away is that the Scots have continually used symbols to assert their Scottish distinctiveness as justification of their right to self-determinism. This two century period accounts for the reasoning that leads many scholars to see Scottish nationalism as fitting the Modernist theory of nationalism. However, this discussion has proved that Scottish nationalism existed before the twentieth century re-strengthening and it was in fact, part of a much older phenomenon in Scotland.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

On the night of January 10, 2012 Alex Salmond, the First Minister of Scotland, declared that the long awaited referendum on Scottish independence will be voted on in the autumn of 2014. It is no small coincidence that the referendum will occur in 2014. It seems that year was strategically chosen in order to appeal to the Scots' symbolic definition of their nationhood as 2014 will be the 700 year anniversary of Robert Bruce's victory at Bannockburn. Salmond insists that the date will allow all sides interested to campaign for their cases, though he seems to have been under some pressure from Westminster to set a time frame for the vote. Also in 2014, Scotland will host the Commonwealth games in Glasgow and the Ryder's Cup golf tournament at Gleneagles. Most importantly, for extra help in stirring up nationalistic sentiment, the second Year of Homecoming<sup>88</sup> will be held in 2014 as well. Whether or not Salmond deliberately chose the anniversary, anti-nationalists were quick to accuse him of such motives. The SNP, and Salmond both are afraid of this kind of negative press and that it will undermine the SNP's message of a conciliatory departure from the Union that will continue a British partnership in which the SNP and Scotland will be welcoming to all, even the English. The campaign is sure to be an interesting one as the debates and political mud-slinging quickly began. Although there is no way to predict the results of the referendum, as of the last public opinion poll conducted in Scotland the Scots seem to be warming up to the

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<sup>88</sup> The First year of Homecoming was held in 2009 by Homecoming Scotland. The idea behind the yearlong festivities was to encourage Scottish tourism by inviting those with Scottish heritage to visit Scotland and celebrate Scottish culture. The event in 2009 was so successful that it earned 53.7 million pounds of additional tourism revenue eclipsing the target of 44 million pounds. The success of the first event has led to the planning of the Second Year of Homecoming in 2014, and again, it is most likely no small coincidence that the 700 year anniversary of Bannockburn occurs in the Summer of 2014.

idea of a political divorce.<sup>89</sup> The fact that the Scots were still talking about independence in 2012 brings this discussion full circle and proves that Scottish nationalism has been a continuum that has spanned over seven hundred years.

On September 5, 2011, the *Herald* published an opinion poll on Scottish independence in which the Scots who participated made a statement which no opinion poll had shown up to that point. The poll asked the participants to vote yes or no on the issue “that the Scottish Government should negotiate a settlement with the Government of the United Kingdom so that Scotland becomes an independent state.” The results of the poll show that thirty nine percent of the Scots polled said they would vote yes for independence, while thirty eight percent said that they would vote no and twenty three percent said they were unsure. It marked the first time during this series of ten polls in which the independence option achieved the highest portion of the vote. What is most substantial to consider in the results of this poll is the number of undecided voters. That number went up considerably throughout the series of these polls and is evidence of the growing acceptance of the future possibility of Scottish independence. Because as Chris Eynon of the TNS-BMRB that conducted the poll for the *Herald*, said, the poll suggests “that resistance is being challenged and more people are being encouraged to reconsider their opposition to independence.”<sup>90</sup>

As the debate for Scottish independence heats up, it has so far seemed to favor the SNP. This is due in large part to the negative reactions that have been coming out of

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<sup>89</sup> Severin Carrell, “Scottish Independence Referendum: Why Autumn 2014?,” *The Guardian*, 11 January, 2012 accessed at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/jan/11/scottish-independence-referendum-autumn-2014?newsfeed=true>. The discussion of Alex Salmond’s announcement to hold the referendum in the Autumn of 2014 can be found here along with the discussion of Salmond’s possible reasoning.

<sup>90</sup> Newsnet Scotland, “Independence Takes New Lead in Opinion Poll,” 5 September, 2011 cited at <http://www.newsnetScotland.com/index.php/scottish-politics/3120-independence-takes-lead-in-new-opinion-poll.html>. All references to the poll conducted on September 5, 2011 are taken from this article which reports on the poll that was published in the *Herald* on the same day.

London and the U.K. government. The Scots have now made it clear that the issue should be settled in Scotland and by the Scottish people; the English should stay out of this and let the referendum be created in Scotland. This opinion was expressed in the most recent poll which was published about a week after Salmond's announcement. The new poll places Scottish independence as a majority favorite. Fifty one percent of Scots polled said that they would vote for independence while only thirty nine percent said that they would vote no. The fact that the phrasing of this poll was asked using the direct wording that Salmond plans to place on the referendum ballot in 2014 shows a great deal of promise for the cause of independence in Scotland. These polls that were conducted within the last year establish the presence of concern over political autonomy and independence for Scotland since the time of Alexander III's coronation to the present. Within this 765 year period, that concern has served to foster a persistent sense of Scottish nationalism that has been built upon the symbols of Scottish distinctiveness and has been fueled by the Scots' belief in the Scottish right to self-determinism. It was evident in Alexander III's coronation and you can hear it in Alex Salmond's voice when he spoke to the Scottish Parliament and said, "Independence in essence is based on a simple idea. The people who care the most about Scotland, that is the people who live, work and bring up their families in Scotland, should be the ones making the decision about our nation's future."

Along with the importance placed on Scottish autonomy, the ethnic symbols of the Scottish nation remained part of Scottish nationalism. The connections that the Scots have to their symbols can be seen by the erection of monuments all over Scotland, from the Wallace Monument in Stirling to the monument to Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, and

by the way Scots teach their children to learn the words of “Scots Wha Hae” by heart. The debate over the implications of holding the independence referendum during the 700 year anniversary of Bannockburn speaks loudly as well. Anti-nationalists are as aware of the sentimental attachment that Scots have to that date as the nationalists are. But, with these modern issues, we have come full circle. The Scots again are showing that they are determined to assert that the Scots alone have the right to rule over the realm of Scotland.

There clearly has been a continuum from the thirteenth century to the present in which the Scots have been concerned with their autonomy and independence. That concern has been wrapped up in nationalism. Scottish nationalism is strongly based, as has been illustrated, on the symbols of the Scottish identity. These symbols, more than anything else, are used to establish Scottish distinctiveness. That distinctiveness, the Scots believe, is the justification of the Scots’ right to self-determinism. Though these symbols change in importance over time, new ones are added and meanings sometimes change, the importance of symbols to the Scots shows how the Scottish nationalism is an example that fits within the Ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism. This discussion has outlined the ways in which the Modernist theory of nationalism fall short of explaining the ancient roots of Scottish nationalism. However, the Modernist theory of nationalism is useful for explaining many other formations of nationalism, such as the formation of Irish nationalism that began to take shape in the modern period. Scottish nationalism only briefly appears to fit in with this theory because of the roughly two century period from about 1750 to 1950 in which it lay quietly simmering beneath British economic prosperity. The evidence has shown that Scottish nationalism best fits the Ethnosymbolic



theory of nationalism due to the Scots emphasis on symbols and their continued insistence on Scottish autonomy that has lasted for over seven hundred years.

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