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NATIONALISM IN SCOTLAND

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Prohlá-uji, že jsem práci vypracoval/a samostatn ě s použitím uvedené literatury a zdroj informací.

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## ABSTRACT

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My thesis deals with the nationalism in Scotland, one of the countries, that proven themselves capable of maintaining their own cultural identity and heritage.

The thesis describes nationalism, devolution and Scotland as well as Scottish nation, its language and symbols. I also described the major historical events, that created Scottish self consciousness.

Thesis also focuses on the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century on progress of successful Scottish devolution, Scottish National Party and Scottish Parliament. I also described positive and negative impacts of creating independent Scotland.

I used Scottish literature and historical books as a materials, as well as internet articles,mostly of government organisations and newspapers.



## **Introduction**

For more than one thousand years, the Scottish nation stood proud and diversified from other inhabitants of the British Isles. During the history of the United Kingdom, this state formation culturally assimilated many other nations. Scotland spent most of its existence as part of Europe and upheld its cultural heritage. In the last two decades, Scotland could be viewed as very pro-national active region, which is close to its final goal ó full independence and restoring its former self-reliance as a state. During its existence, Scotland gave birth to more important people than it is regularly accepted. Alexander Fleming, Alexander Graham Bell or James Watt are the same sons of Scotland alongside other better known Scottish citizens like Robert Burns or William Wallace.

This thesis aims to describe and characterize nationalism, the Scottish nation, its archetypal features and unique attributes as well as the most important breakpoints in Scottish history, which seriously affected and formed this nation, mainly its negative stance against its neighbour, England. The thesis focuses on two particular eras ó Scottish War of Independence in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and also the partially successful Scottish devolution during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the brief history and functioning of Scottish National Party.

The thesis also addresses the advantages and disadvantages of an independent Scotland and describes reasons or demands for rights of the Scots. It also briefly introduces the problems, which would be probably caused by declaring the independence of Scotland.

The literature that will be used can be divided into 3 categories. The first is sociological literature, describing the nation and nationalisms including authors Max Weber, Adam Smith or Montserrat Guibernau. The second part is historical and

ethnological literature, which focuses on Scotland; the key source here is Magnus Magnusson and his *Scotland : The Story of a Nation*. The third area of literature is sources for recent activities concerning the independence of Scotland ó these will include newspapers, official government materials and other theses which concentrate on the similar topic.



## 1. Nationalism and nation

At the beginning it is necessary to define two basic terms that will be used through the whole paper: *nation* and *nationalism*. Understanding that the Scottish nation was not fully assimilated by Great Britain is a vital part of the problem. According to Gellner (1983), being part of a nation means "sharing the same culture, history, artefacts of men, convictions, communication and way of behaving." It is a complex behaviour and self-conscious pattern, where a single category is not enough to identify an object as a member of a nation. Adam Smith defines *nation* as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991). This definition was often a target of criticism, for example by Guibernau in his essay "Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment." (2004)

The Encyclopedia Britannica defines nationalism as "an ideology based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass other individual or group interests." It can be viewed as a love for one country, its history and the nation itself and it places the nation itself to the top of the priority ladder.

The classical definition of social anthropologist Ernest Gellner claims that "nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983), which emphasizes the political importance of nationalism and does not try to define the exact belief. This theory was criticized, because it threatened all other things like religion, law system, social justice as secondary principles required to maintain the functional nationalistic state (O'Leary, 2003).

Another accurate definition of nationalism can be "National identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations" (Guibernau, 2007). The meaning of nationalism overlaps with the term *patriotism*, which can be viewed as a personal stance to nationality. The differences between both terms are hard to establish and sometimes are very subtle or overlapping. Nationalism can be viewed as positive as well as negative. George Orwell states in his famous essay "Notes on Nationalism" that

"Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power. The abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige, *not* for himself but for the nation or other unit in which he has chosen to sink his own individuality." (Orwell, 2003).

Orwell also distinguishes between positive, negative and transferred nationalism, where Celtic nationalism includes Scottish, Welsh and Irish, are labelled as a positive group, although it is also labelled as "racistic". Celtic nationalism, in contrast to all other nationalisms, does not claim Celtic nation superior or better than other, Scottish and the other nationalists want to maintain their national identity and independence. They consider themselves at least equal to British and other nations across Europe. Cohen describes personal nationalism :

"Nationalism is an expression of self-identity. It is to say, "I am Scottish", when Scottishness means everything that I am : I substantiate the otherwise vacuous national label in terms of my own experience, my reading of history, my perception of the landscape and my reading of Scotland's literature and music, so that when I "see" the nation, I am looking at myself." (Cohen, 1996)

Modern and moderate Scottish nationalism is closely connected with the Scottish National Party, which was one of the political leading political parties of Scotland in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Ultrationalism is a militant and violent form of nationalism. It often declares that only one nation has a right to inhabit a certain area and is superior to other inhabitants. It is often linked with authoritarianism, militarism, propaganda and a manipulative approach to information. Ultrationalism was the final concept of the National Socialist German Worker's party, which escalated into World War II and genocide. Positive nationalism, combined with a wish for independence of the incorporated nation, can also lead to terrorism. In Scotland, this was the case of the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA), nicknamed "Tartan Terrorists" (Not to be confused with "Tartan Army", which is a large based fans of Scottish national football team. They are often criticized for violent and disrespectful behavior). This organization, founded Scottish by separatist Adam Busby, was involved in several cases of sending letter bombs or threatening to kill English people. The targets of their activities included even Lady Diana Spencer or Margaret Thatcher in 1983. They operated even in the years 2002, 2007 or 2009 with a similar modus operandi; letter bombs or hoaxes and a threat strategy. The SNLA luckily did not manage to fulfil their threats. (BBC, 2002)

### **Devolution**

Devolution is defined as "transfer of power from a central government to subnational authorities" (Britannica, 2013). In terms of devolution in a unionistic nation, devolution from central government to local sub-offices can be viewed as

transferring a certain part of the ruling power back to the nation itself. This action supports regionalism and self-esteem of the nation. It is also a step away from successful assimilation of the other nation by the central country, in this case by Great Britain. Successful devolution also suggests that the minor nation is given trust to influence the major nation and to govern itself. Successful devolution process is defined by three conditions: first is a transfer of functions and competences that already existed under the control of the central government; secondly, the new office is subordinate to the central one, but the representatives are voted, not appointed; finally, the newly formed office is exactly geographically defined (Svoboda, 2012). The devolution process also has a positive side effect for the central government, whose portion of work, concerning regional matters, is reduced by the minor matters which do not have to be discussed at central office. Devolution also builds and fortifies confidence for state offices by bringing them closer to people and making them feel connected. "By being closer to the people and being seen to be closerí .the assemblies would engage the attention and loyalties of citizens; they would be "their" assemblies." Said Richard Norton-Taylor, British political editor, and displayed general public opinion. (Norton, 1994).

## **2. Scotland, land and nation**

Scotland is a region located in the northern third of Great Britain. The first attempt to separate these two regions by a landmark was probably Hadrian's Wall, built in 122 in order to separate Roman controlled south and maintain safety. The wall also served for collecting custom taxes. The wall is 122 kilometres long and it lies completely on current English soil. The current border between Scotland and England was practically established in 1237 by the Treaty of York, signed by Henry II of England and Alexander II of Scotland, although there was some minor shifting. It measures 154 kilometres between the River Tweed, position in the west and the Solway Firth in the east. It is the only Scottish land border. Scotland has also very rich coastal territory, which contains plenty of islands and archipelagoes, e.g the Shetland or Orkney islands. Scotland has a large share of sea regions, which are very important for the oil and fishing industries and the claiming that Scotland was one of the most important points of Scottish pre-election campaign "It's Scotland's oil" of the Scottish National party in 1974.

Scotland is divided into eight electoral regions: Central Scotland, Glasgow, Highlands and Islands, Lothian, Mid Scotland and Fife, North East Scotland, South Scotland and West Scotland. This modern system reflects the population density. An older, simpler system used to separate the Highlands, the Central Lowlands and the Southern Uplands.

## **History of a nation**

The first inhabitants of Scotland are dated around 900 BC in the Iron Age, a sub group of Celts from what is now France. In this era the separation into Goidic and

Brythonic groups occurred. The Scots trace their origins back to the pre-Roman era, to the wild Gaelic clans, which inhabited the north of the Great Britain. The first historian to mention the inhabitants was Publius Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman historian, who monitored and described the military campaign of his father-in-law, Roman general Gnaeus Julius Agricola. Tacitus named the enemies of the Roman empire as Caledonians and also describes their loss at the battle at Mons Grapius, where the Roman legions defeated the chieftain Calgacus and over 30 000 Caledonians in 84 AD. Tacitus in Agricola describes Caledonians as red headed and large people, similar to the well-known Germanic tribes. (Magnusson, 2000)

Later, historian Eumenius in 297 AD uses the term Picts, which means 'painted or tattooed people', referring to a typical blue tribal tattoo. The Picts used to tattoo themselves with the same ornaments that they used to carve into stones or to decorate jewellery. The Picts formed seven kingdoms (Cait, Ce, Circinn, Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortriu). The reign of Picts was ended by Kenneth MacAlpin, who was proclaimed as the first king of the Scots, according to the Chronicle of the Kings of Alba, which is part of the Poppleton manuscript from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. (Magnusson, 2000)

The difference between the Scottish nation and the English nation was also acknowledged in 1320 by Pope John XXII., signing The Declaration of Arbroath. The Declaration was primarily a political issue, but it is very important for nationalistic ideas of Scotland. Firstly, the Declaration mythically proclaims the origin of the Scots to the Great Scythia and its states, that the Scots conquered Britons and Picts and withstand the Danish and Norwegian assaults. This document was written clearly in order to conserve the identity of the Scottish national, claiming 'as long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be brought under English

rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we are fighting, but for freedom — for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself. (Declaration of Arbroath, 1320)

The Declaration of Arbroath was signed by the fifty one representatives of the Scottish nation. The approval of this document gave Scotland the right to defend themselves against the English and acknowledged their national identity by the most holy authority. The Declaration of Arbroath and its ideas are still very important for the Scottish nation. It shows that the Scottish passion for independence and freedom is deeply rooted in the nation's history. The document is also acknowledged by United States president George Walker Bush to have influenced the American Declaration of Independence (G.W.Bush, 2008), being the first approved document to introduce the idea of a social contract between the king and the nation. This document declared Robert the Bruce as king by the will of the people and also brought possibility to end his kingship in case he broke the terms of the declaration by high treason, as stated by words "Yet if he should give up what he has begun, and agree to make us or our kingdom subject to the King of England or the English, we should exert ourselves at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own rights and ours, and make some other man who was well able to defend us our King;" ("The Declaration of Arbroath", 1320).

### **First war of Scottish Independence**

The war lasted from 1296 to 1328. It was initiated by an English invasion during the political vacuum and chaos after death of young Margaret of Scotland. Fearing civil war between supporters of Robert de Brus and John Balliol, Guardians of Scotland asked Edward I of England for help to decide which of them had a stronger claim, but

Edward decided to invade Scotland and usurped the title of Lord Paramount of Scotland, negating the Treaty of Birningham, which was ensuring Scottish independency, setting the relationship only to personal union. In 1292 John Balliol was crowned king of Scotland, only to have his authority undermined and he was pushed to form an alliance with France. Edward I treated this as an act of treason and invaded Scotland. In the upcoming conflict one of the most iconic Scottish war heroes was born, William Wallace.

### **William Wallace**

William Wallace was a Scottish landowner, who rebelled against English tyranny, gathered a small force and joined Andrew Moray. They defeated the English forces, led by John de Warenne, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Surrey and Hugh de Cressingham, a very unpopular English treasurer. At the Battle of Stirling Bridge, the Scottish resistance took advantage of their defensive position and used a perfectly strategically placed bridge. The Scots waited until part of the English army crossed the bridged and then attacked, creating chaos and a chokepoint, which was practically impassable, so the English could not move any further, neither forward nor back. The high number of English casualties was caused by drowning in the river. Earl of Surrey ordered the bridge to be taken down, to prevent the Scots to press towards. Hugh de Cressingham was captured and flayed to death. The battle itself denied the superiority of cavalry against infantry and affected the following course of events.

William Wallace was knighted and entitled Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland. His next battle, Battle of Falkirk, was a failure. On 21<sup>st</sup> July 1298, Edward's withdrawing army attacked Wallace, who was probably planning to ambush withdrawing troops. Backed by the Callender Wood, impassable for cavalry, Wallace



formed his spearmen into formations called a sheltron, a rounded hedgehog of spears. Although this formation was very defensive, it lacked mobility and massed a high numbers of troops on a small place. The crucial moment was withdrawing of Scottish cavalry, as ordered by nobles, leaving Wallace defenseless against Welsh archers, who easily broke the tight formations and English cavalry could finish the battle, forcing Scots to retreat into the forest.

After this battle, William resigned the title Guardian of the Scotland in favour of Robert the Bruce, future king. On 5<sup>th</sup> August 1305 William Wallace was betrayed by John de Meneith and given to the English, who ignored all letters of safe conduct. He was found guilty of treason and war crimes and executed by hanging, drowning and quartering. His head ended on a pike atop London Bridge. This brutal way of execution made him a martyr. He is a very popular figure for statues and other decoration. The National Wallace monument was built on the hilltop of Abbey Craig, near Stirling. William Wallace became the main character in Walter Scott's *Exploits and Death of William Wallace, the Hero of Scotland*. During romantism William Wallace became a romantic hero, fighting for idealism and freedom of Scotland. This also fortified the stereotype of the Highlander. (Magnusson, 126 ó 160)

## **Robert Bruce**

Robert Bruce was a Scottish noble, Earl of Carrick, who became infamous for murdering his political opponent, John Comyn, on sacred ground at Dumfries. He brought on himself the wrath of the Pope and was excommunicated from the Church. He was absolved by the Bishop of Glasgow and crowned King of Scotland on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1306. He was forced to leave Scotland, but he started a successful military

campaign in 1307, which was ended by the famous battle of Bannockburn, where he defeated Edward II., son of Edward I. The battle took place near the besieged Stirling Castle, on wet and muddy terrain, which gave advantage to the Scottish light regiments. The battle lasted two days and a major factor in the battle was the morale of the troops. Robert formed sheltrons again and managed to destroy the English archers with the charge of light cavalry, which led to the single oriented battle, in which the Scottish army lost only two knights. Edward II. was inexperienced battle leader, who could not control the nobles and the army properly. The earls of Gloucester and Hereford were taken captive and the king himself had to flee. The Battle of Bannockburn is also very well known for a personal heroic act of Robert the Bruce, when he crushed the head of Henry de Bohun, who recklessly charged him, with a single blow of battle axe from a small palfrey. The Battle of Bannockburn was the final major conflict in the First War for Independence and it granted Scotland the military superiority over its region. The end of conflict was supported by Declaration of Arbroath and finished by the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1328, which recognized Robert the Bruce as a king of independent Scotland. (Magnusson, 2000)

### **Jacobite revolution and the Battle of Culloden**

Another famous battle to mention is the Battle of Culloden, which ended the Jacobite rebellion and which greatly influenced Scottish national heritage, although the result of the battle was very bad and the consequences were catastrophic. Jacobism was the political movement to bring back the the Stuarts to the throne of England and also restore the authority of the Catholic Church. Charles Edward Stuart, known as òBonnie Prince Charlieö entered Scotland to gather an army and form a rebellion force against the House of Hannover, claiming the intent to free Scotland from British tyranny. He

also used the religion conflict between Catholicism and English Protestantism to support his cause. Although his entry was not as heroic as he hoped, because he managed to reach Scotland only with seven men, he rallied an army about 5,000 and after victorious Battle of Prestonpans, he marched to Britain, hoping that the French would support his cause with an invasion at south, locking the British between two lines. His charge stopped, thanks to the confusing intelligence and he had to withdraw back to Scotland. The Jacobite army was poorly equipped and was built from many different regiments, mainly of Scottish Clan regiments and they lacked morale and training. The battle itself was a disaster. Combination of rough terrain, exhaustion and well-trained enemies led to massacre. This battle was the end of one era of Scottish history. The wounded clansmen were killed with no mercy and Prince Charles fled and took no other action in supporting Scottish independence. He was saved by few loyalists and Flora MacDonald, who became a Scottish heroine. (Magnusson, 2013)

The consequences of the Battle of Culloden were grim and cruel. A series of repressions and executions took place as well as confiscation of grounds and banning the highland dress. The culture of Scottish nation was systematically eradicated as a punishment for rebellion.

### **Act of Union 1707**

The Act of Union composes of two Acts, one for each kingdom. Act the Two Kingdoms of England and Scotland was released by the British Parliament and Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England was released by the Scottish parliament. These Acts connected Scotland to England and subdued Scotland under English dominance and thus created Great Britain.

They were released in order to maintain a single ruler over both kingdoms, although both kingdoms were already under personal union by queen Anne. One of the reasons was the French revolution, which created havoc and chaos all over Europe and it was not impossible for Scotland to follow the example and declare independence. Scotland was financially ruined after failure of the Darien scheme, an experiment to set up and maintain a colony in Panama, where Scottish nobles and investors lost nearly one quarter of the available money in Scotland and it was easy to offer compensation for the loss in case the Scottish Parliament approved Act of Union. This act was viewed as treachery and bribery, causing uproar and a feeling of betrayal across Scotland. Robert Burns denominated Scottish MPs as 'parcel of rogues in a nation' in his poem 'Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation'; the Convention of Royal Burghs protested with a petition and civil distress led to imposing martial law. All these protests could not impeach the authenticity and legality of the voting and a proper right to fuse the kingdoms together. Queen Anne became the first queen on the British throne and Scotland was allowed to send 45 representatives as MPs into the House of Commons, which consisted of 558 seats and England occupied 489 of those. Scotland also gained sixteen representative peers in the House of Lords. Original Scottish Parliament was disbanded and Scotland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom. Act of Union connected Scottish military, economy and politics together with the English ones, although Scotland maintained several separate matters. (Magnusson, 2000)

### **Scottish emigration**

Scottish people created very strong communities abroad and their emigration rate was very high during some eras of history. According to the American National Census 2000, the number of people claiming Scottish ancestry in the United States of

America was 4,8 million citizens, which is nearly the same as the population of Scotland, 5.3 million in 2011.

The most popular target of Scottish emigrants was Canada. It offered decent work opportunities and a good, growing economy. In Canadian Nation Census 2006 15,1% of Canadian citizens claim to have Scottish ancestors and claim Scottish heritage. Certain Canadian armed forces also use Scottish tartan kilt as an official uniform, namely the Royal Highland Regiment of Canada or the Royal Fusiliers of Canada, forming and maintaining the national spirit and connection between these two countries. The spirit of the nation is strong in minorities abroad.

One of the main waves of emigration was during the Highlands Clearances in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. These were actions of forceful re-settling of the original inhabitants of Highlands mainly to the seashore in order to restructuralise the industry and to create grasslands for sheep. This was also a consequence of the failed Jacobite uprising, which was lost in the moment of defeat in the Battle of Culloden. Thanks to the Act of Proscription of 1746 and the Disarming Act of 1746 tradition areas of Highlands were taken away from clans and distributed amongst landlords, who naturally wanted to increase the profit from their area and their planning did not include the Highlander population. The Highlands destiny was to provide grasslands for sheep. The massive herding of sheep was due to the price rise of wool from 1760s. Clansmen were forced to move out of their homes to the shore, where the resettlement was prepared, but it was poor place, the Scottish people were treated very bad and carelessly, stuffed into little wooden cabins rather than proper houses. (Magnusson, 2000) Their main work on the shore was processing sea weed, which was hard and poorly paid. These acts forced a massive wave of emigration, mainly to America. The

landowners even supported the Scotsmen emigrating, paying their tickets and giving them some money to move away from their homelands.

The second wave of emigration was caused by the infamous Highland Potato famine in the 1840s, which caused a massive emigration wave to Canada. The plague caused famine in Ireland and Great Britain, due to the monocultural approach to farming.

Another popular place for emigration was Australia, where the first wave of emigrants was formed by prisoners. Between 1832 and 1850 the number of emigrants rose to 16 000 of assisted immigrants and even 20 000 of unassisted immigrants. Today people with Scottish heritage form about 9 % of the Australian population. Even the first man to die in Australia was Scottish, a sailor Forbey Sutherland from Orkney Islands. (öImmigrantsó Scottish Australans,2013ö)

## 4.Scots as a nation

In this chapter I want to describe traditional Scottish symbols, that are unique for the Scots and separate them from the other nations. This includes both historical and cultural attributes. A lasting existence of many national attributes is a vivid connection to the past, when Scotland was independent kingdom.

### National symbols

Scotland uses two flags as national symbols. One symbolizes Scottish kingship and the other the Kirk. The national flag, symbolizing the Kirk, is a white diagonal cross on a blue background, known as St. Andrew's cross. The use of this symbol, called also the Saltire, can be dated to 1286, when the symbol of St. Andrew on the cross was used on the seal of Guardians of Scotland. The other flag that is commonly used is the Royal Standard of Scotland, which holds the Royal Arms of Scotland. This consists of red lion rampant with a blue tongue and claws on yellow background. The Standard also contains red double borders with heraldic lilies. This standard can be historically traced to 1222, when Alexander II used it as a royal emblem. The Royal Standard was used until the Union of Crowns in 1603, when it was replaced by The Saltire. Recently the banner is used as a national symbol, used mainly to show support to sports teams. The Standard is also used officially to mark the absence of the Sovereign at the Scottish royal residences. The national anthem of Scotland is not officially proclaimed, but *Flower of Scotland* is generally used for that purpose, written by Roy Williamson for The Corries, a Scottish folk group from 1960s. *Scotland the Brave* is a song, which is probably the most associated with Scotland and also is sometimes used instead of national anthem. It was also adopted by a Canadian army regiment The British Columbia dragoons.

Apart from Scottish crown jewels, which include classical crown, scepter and sword, the proper coronation ceremony requires the Stone of Scone, Lia Fail in Gaelic. The origin of the stone is unknown, legends tend to set it back to the biblical era. The stone, with other Scottish regalia, was transported to London in 1296 by Edward I. as a trophy and was incorporated into King Edward's Chair, which serves for the coronation purposes of the English ruler. The Stone was kidnapped in 1950 by four students of Glasgow university. Unluckily, the Stone was broken into two pieces during the attempt to remove it from the chair. The search for the Stone was unsuccessful and it was returned on 11 April 1951, when the students put the stone on the altar of Arbroath Abbey, passing it directly under protection of the Church of Scotland. The Stone of Scone was later returned to Westminster Abbey. On 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1996, the House of Commons announced, that the Stone will be moved back to Scotland as a symbolic act and from 30. November 1996 remains at Edinburgh castle. It will be moved only for the coronation of a new ruler and then returned back. (Britannica)

Scottish national flower is thistle. It is believed, that the Scottish warriors, sleeping before the battle of Largs in 1263, were woken by a scream from Norse warrior, who stepped on the thistle. The Norse tried to sneak in the night to the Scottish encampment, so they were barefooted. The heraldic Thistle is very popular in Scotland and it was a symbol on coinage or a symbol of chivalry Order of the Thistle, knightly order founded by King James VII of Scotland. Encyclopædia Britannica also uses thistle as its symbol, paying tribute to the city of its origin, Edinburgh.

### **Tartanry**

Scottish tartan is a traditional cloth pattern of criss-crossed horizontal and vertical colorful bands. The pattern differs from area to area, clan to clan and tartan



served also as an identification and clanship. The typical clothes made from woolen tartan include great kilt, which acts as a Scottish national dress. After the unsuccessful Jacobite revolution wearing of tartan was banned by Dress Act 1746 in order to suppress the clan identity and Scottish nationality. The punishments for openly wearing the tartan dress or kilt were severe, as we can see from the Act :

"That from and after the First Day of August 1747, no man or boy within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as Officers and Soldiers of His Majesty's Forces, shall on any pretext whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes, commonly called Highland clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philabeg, or little kilt, Trowes, Shoulder-Belts, or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for Great coats or upper coats, and if any such person shall presume after the first said day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid garments or any part of them, every person so offending... shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond the seas, there to remain for the space of seven years." (Act of Proscription 1747)

The act was repealed on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1782. The popularity of tartan and Highlands, described as a genuine and romantic by romanticism authors and poets as Robert Burns or Walter Scott, rose in a few decades. Although the description was heavily romanticised, this literal generation succeeds in creating the most known stereotype of a Scotsman ó a red haired proud Highlander, dressed in tartan kilt. The popularity of tartan escalated and culminated in 1822, when King George IV visited Scotland. This was a great event, masterly managed and organized by Sir Walter Scott. The King was

dressed into the tartan kilt and he was addressed as a clanchief. Walter Scott and Highland societies conceived this as a festival of celebrating the Scott's idea of the Highlanders, cultural segregation and restoration of the national pride. The outcome of this event was generally positive, although the series of a king's caricatures appeared. King George IV was fat, nearly obese and the tartan kilt, combined with pink stockings, made him look generally funny. This event's outcome was generally considered very positive and it boosted the broken pride of the Scottish nation, although it declared the stereotype of the Highlander as a stereotype of whole Scotland. (Magnusson, 2000)

### **Scottish Gaelic and Scots**

Scotland has a very rich language background, which combines together three very different languages. Scottish Gaelic is an ancient Celtic language, which is slowly dying (2011 Census, 2011) in spite of all support it gets as a cultural relic. Lowland Scots, which is similar to English, but it has different roots and is often considered a social stigma and finally, Scottish English, which has its own irregularities.

### **Gaelic**

Scottish Gaelic is systematically subdivision of Goidec language group, which also includes Irish and Manx. The other language subgroup Insular Celtic languages are Brythonic languages. Gaelic developed from Middle Irish, so its proto-language is Old Irish.

Gaelic replaced Cumbric and Pictish and united the newly created kingdom. The Bible was translated into Scottish Gaelic in 1690 by reverend Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle.

Gaelic does not have the status of official language in the United Kingdom, but it was recognized in the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. By this Act Gaelic started to act as a national language and it transferred Gaelic to same position as English, making Scotland bilingual. The Act established Bòrd na Gàidhlig, an office responsible for conserving and reviving Gaelic. There is also a rising trend of landmark signs both in English and Gaelic. In 2008, a Gaelic TV channel BBC Alba started to broadcast, alongside a radio station BBC Radio nan Gàidheal. Only 1.2 % of population can speak Gaelic, according to the National Census from 2001. The number of speakers has a decreasing tendency, mostly thanks to the age of the speakers.

### **Scots**

Scots or Lowland Scots is systematically Germanic language, which evolved from Middle English and is in the Anglic language group; therefore it is much closer to English than Celtic Gaelic, which shows no similarity or affinity to English. Thanks to the similarity and resemblance to English, Scots is not viewed as a proper language. Until the 18<sup>th</sup> century Scots was viewed as a vulgar language of uneducated Scottish people. This attitude was changed by Sir Robert Burns, who restored lost respect for Scots as a proper, artistic language. He truly became the Bard of Scotland and his heritage is reflected and respected every New Year's Eve, when his "Auld Lang Syne" is the traditional song to sing across whole Great Britain.

Scots has no official recognition from European Union and it is also connected to lower social working class, which support the idea of the dialect and Scots is often mixed together with English, creating a heterogeneous language.

According to a statistical survey conducted by the Scottish government, 64% of those questioned do not consider Scots as a proper language. The survey also states, that

73% are for supporting learning Scots in school as strengthening national identity. Statistics show that Scots is understood and spoken at home and exists mostly in spoken form. Only 6% of respondents claimed, that they use Scots in written form fairly often. (Public Attitudes Towards the Scots Language, 2010)

### **Scottish English**

Standard Scottish English (SSE) is a variety of English, used by professional class and treated like a norm. It can often be mistaken for Scots, which influenced it. It has its own irregularities, lexical, phonetical and grammatical. It also contains words for Scottish terms only, for the Kirk or landscape vocabulary. Its history dated back to 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Scots became popular among artists and poets. Scottish English has a rhotic accent, with different pronunciation of many vowels and with different rhythm of speech. It has also a simplified grammar.

### **Church of Scotland**

The Church of Scotland, also known by its Scots name, the Kirk, was officially founded by John Knox in 1560, although its roots are much older. Christianity in Scotland was brought by missionaries from Ireland, namely St. Columba, St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, and was developing separately from English Christianity. Scotland was allowed to have two archbishoprics – one in Glasgow and other in St. Andrews. St. Andrews was elevated to this position in 1472 by Pope Sixtus IV. This changed in 1560, when Scottish Parliament accepted The Scots Confession, document written by John Knox, who cooperated with John Calvin. Calvin was French theologian, who emigrated to Switzerland and he was also one of the leading figures of Protestant reformation. Knox also used Book of Common order and Book of Discipline to form the basis of the

new protestant Church of Scotland. The approving act of parliament caused a little schism, where minor presbyterian churches started to exist.

The British Parliament acknowledged the Church of Scotland in 1921 by the Church of Scotland Act. Contrary to the British church, there is no direct competence of the Scottish Parliament over the Kirk and also the Monarch is not the head of the Church of Scotland.

It is the most popular church in Scotland, having 607,714 enlisted members in 2000, according to the National Census. The Church is governed by national council, the General Assembly, which meets once a year in Edinburgh. The responsibility is passed down to hierarchically formed regional and local offices. The Church also forms six councils to execute operations like social care and missionaries. Thanks to its presbyterian base, the Church of Scotland does not have bishops, but it has presbyters instead, who take care of 44 presbyteries in Scotland and 5, which are not part of the Scottish Synod.

### **Scots law**

Scotland has also a slightly different law and education system, that both conserve historical difference, compared to English counterparts. The roots of Scots law date back to the feudal and custom system of law, which was used by different cultures, sharing the living area in Scotland. The main body of Scots law was formed during the feudal era, when a better and more complex system was needed. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century it also incorporated large portion of Roman law in order to settle the situations which were not resolvable by Scots law.

The Act of Union proclaimed Scots Law to be preserved and kept in the same force and validity as before. The authority of College of Justice, Court of Session and Court of Justiciary was preserved as well, but due to connecting English and Scottish Parliament together, the supreme authority was moved to London.

Some of the differences between Scots Law and English law are quite important, different legal age for example. The legal age in Scotland is 16, compared to 18 in England. Other are quite minor, like a different terminology in courts and the number of juries or slightly different use of a precedents system. One of the interesting differences is a third possibility for the result of a trial, the "Not Proven" verdict, which is used in the case, when the guilt cannot be proven, but the judge is convinced of the guilt of the prosecuted.

Scots law has incorporated another, regional system, the Udal law. This system is active in Shetland and Orkney area and it has rather significant Norse roots.

### **Scottish National Party**

The Scottish National Party was founded on 20 April 1934 by fusion of the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party, creating a united and monopolistic national party. The initiator of this action was John McCormick from the National Party of Scotland. The vision of the party was clear – a fully operational, independent Scotland. As the first chairman Sir Alexander Malcolm McEwan from the former Scottish Party was appointed. Its first minor victory was in 1945, when Robert McIntyre won by-elections in Motherwell, winning the historically first seat in the British parliament for the Scottish National Party. This success was unluckily for the SNP just a temporary victory as the seat was lost three months later in a general election to Labour party. The rising popularity of the party is set in the 1970s during the oil crisis. The

crisis was caused by the OPEC embargo against United States as a reaction to their support of Israel in the Arab-Israeli war. This resulted in quadrupling of the price of a barrel of oil during six months and the ownership of oil reserves became important. United Kingdom had signed the Continental Shelf Act, which declared certain areas in the North Sea in 1964 and first big oil discovery was in 1969. Later, in 1975 Queen Elizabeth ceremonially opened the first British Petrol pipeline from Cruden Bay to Grangemouth. All these actions created a general idea among Scottish people that Great Britain was redistributing Scottish property among other parts of Great Britain. According to the Continental Shelf Act 1964 the areas where the oil was found belonged to Scotland. The SNP very quickly adopted the slogan and strategy 'It's Scotland's oil'. This campaign was primarily administered and created by Gordon Wilson, leader of the Scottish National Party. The campaign was launched on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1972 and it was aimed as an anti-British, describing them on the leaflets practically as thieves and adding the image of M. Thatcher as vampire (SNP Publication, 1972). This campaign should have strengthened Scottish regionalism. The SNP's number of seats in the Westminster Parliament rose firstly to 6, then to 11 seats in the end of 1974. The final number resulted in 30.4% of votes in Scotland, which was a great success. This setting, combined with cooperation with Plaid Cymru, a nationalistic party in Wales, was ideal to open the discussion about devolution. In 1979 the first referendum concerning the 'Scotland Act 1978' was held. The Act was presented by Michael Foot, member of the Labour party, and received royal assent on 31 July 1978. This Act would establish a Scottish Assembly, a minor office, led by a First Secretary, who would gain a similar function as the recent Secretary of State for Scotland. The office would also gain power to introduce primary legislation known as Measures. The referendum was unsuccessful, due to an amendment introduced by

George Cunningham from the Labour Party. This bill modified the original Act, changing the requirements and adding the condition of the approval the referendum by minimum of 40% of Scotland registered voters instead of original simple majority. This amendment was strongly opposed and finally was outvoted only by 15 votes, resulting in 166 votes for and 151 against. The outcome of referendum was pro-Act positive : 1,230,937 (51.6%) voted for the act, and 1,153,500 voted against, forming 77,237 less voters. But the general turnout of 63.8 % enumerated the positive votes to only 32.9% of registered electorate, which was not enough. The referendum was a failure and the reaction of the Scottish National Party was negative. The party started the "Scotland said yes!" campaign and began the move for motion of no confidence against James Callaghan's government. After consulting with the Liberal Party, the motion was presented by Margaret Thatcher MP, leader of the opposition Conservative Party. This action was later became heavily criticized because of a completely different opinion on Scotland Act, which the Conservative party did not support and was generally against the devolution of Scotland. As James Callaghan, Prime Minister, stated in his speech :

"So, tonight, the Conservative Party, which wants the Act repealed and opposes even devolution, will march through the Lobby with the SNP, which wants independence for Scotland, and with the Liberals, who want to keep the Act. What a massive display of unsullied principle! The minority parties have walked into a trap. If they win, there will be a general election. I am told that the current joke going around the House is that it is the first time in recorded history that turkeys have been known to vote for an early Christmas." (Callaghan,1979)

The vote was passed and the government lost only by one vote, 311 for "Yes" and 310 for "No". The consequences were easy to predict - fall of the government was followed by general election, in which the Conservative Party won and Margaret



Thatcher became prime minister for next eleven years. But the situation of the Scottish National Party did not improve: the number of their seat in Parliament was reduced from eleven to only three and the Scotland Act was, of course, repealed. It was as just as James Callaghan had predicted.

The next decade was not successful. The failure of the referendum influenced the morale and the party internally unstable. This led to the creation of two major inner factions inside the Scottish National Party. The first of them, *Sion nan Gaidheal* (*Seed of the Gaels* in Gaelic) was a radical nationalistic group, sometimes escalating into militant nationalism. The other fraction was pro-left active wing of SNP called the 79 Group. The group wanted to form a socialist and republican Scotland and believed that the leftwing stance would bring more public support. The most important member of the 79 Group was its spokesman, Alex Salmond, who later became Prime Minister of Scotland. 79 Group called for political strikes and for forming "Scottish resistance". This state of Scottish National Party was unbearable and resulted into the banning of the both factions at the 1982 meeting.

The next decade of SNP was not crowned by general success or any progress toward independence or devolution. In 1990, Alex Salmond defeated Margaret Ewing in poll by 486 votes to 186 votes and was elected as National Convener. It was generally expected, that after General Elections in 1992, there will be a chance for some progress in establishing Home rule. But the election results were devastating ó the poll was won by the British Conservatives, led by John Major. Scottish National Party got only 3 seats in Parliament, which was the same number as won in previous election. In 1997 the SNP acquired six chairs in Parliament and supported the referendum for Scottish parliament alongside the Labour party with the positive campaign, Scotland FORward. The only negative campaign was supported by the Conservative party. The referendum

was a success with turnout of 60.4 % of voters, who voted 47.3% for Scottish Parliament. This referendum led to Scotland Act 1998, which was considered a great success and a pre-step to complete autonomy.

SNP was very successful in the first election to Scottish Parliament, where they had 35 seats out of 129 possible, making them the second strongest political party after the Labour party.

### **Scottish Parliament**

Scotland has a long tradition of functioning Parliament, which dates back to 13<sup>th</sup> century. Scottish parliament was a meeting of delegates of clergy, nobility and land lords. Original Parliament was disbanded after Act of Union in 1707.

The modern Scottish Parliament was founded as a result of successful Scottish devolution referendum in 1997. The first election to the Parliament was held on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1999 and its powers were transferred from London on 1<sup>st</sup> July. The first meeting of the Parliament was on 12 May 1999 in the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh. The modern house of office of the Parliament, a modern designed building by Spanish architect Enric Miralles, is located in the Holyrood area and was opened on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2004 by Queen Elizabeth II.

The Scottish Parliament has 129 seats, where 73 members are elected through a direct election in constituencies, where the number of seats depends on the population at the region. The 56 remaining posts are divided by proportional system of the political parties. Elections take place every 4 years.

The Scottish Parliament can control a broad range of matters by releasing Acts. A draft of an act, the Bill, still has to obtain a royal signature to become a valid Act of Parliament, with the same legislative power as Acts of Parliament from the British

Parliament. The Scottish Parliament can adjust the price of income tax by up 3 pence per pound. The Scottish Parliament can release Acts adjusting health care, education, agriculture or home affairs. The Scottish Parliament however does not have power over more important issues such as foreign policy, energy issues, social policy or constitutions, in which they are in subordination to Westminster. These Acts are issued by English Parliament and have to be followed by Scotland as well as the rest of Great Britain. Also the competence to independently process grants from European Structure funds is significant.

#### 4. Reasons for and against independent Scotland

One of the main reasons, why the SNP wants an independent Scotland, is economical. The fact, that oil in the North Sea belongs to Scotland, has been repeated from the 1970s till the present days. Alex Salmond claims Scotland to be the 14th wealthiest country per head. The idea of 'Westminster stealing Scottish oil' has been paraphrased many times. According to *Scotland Analysis : Macroeconomical and fiscal performance* (2013), a paper made produced for HM Government, there are a few more factors, that should be considered. It is true, that Scotland has the third best economy in the UK, after London and the South East, but an economy focused only on oil would be fiscally unstable and vulnerable to changes on the global market. The current stable economy is a result of the integration of Scotland's economy into the macroeconomy of the United Kingdom. For the model simulation, Scotland is compared to another state with oil based economy - Norway. The result of this simulation is a statement, that creating a stable, oil revenue based economy is a long term concern, during which the economy would be unstable and in a worst case scenario could lead to a state bankruptcy.

Other reasons are based on nationalistic tendencies. Scotland was independent for a major part of its history and many citizens still view the current arrangements as oppression of a nation. The successful devolution and maintaining national pride and tradition only strengthens this feeling and self-esteem. The most problematic part of creating an independent state would be international politics and subsumption of the newly created states into a modern world. *The Act of Union*'s validity for modern politics is very debatable, as mentioned in *Scotland Analysis : Devolution and the implications of Scottish independence* (2013). The paper suggests, that the rest of the

United Kingdom of England, Wales and Northern Ireland- would continue to exist as a successor of the previous United Kingdom and maintain all contracts and membership in all international pacts, but Scotland would have to apply for membership in all of them. Overlapping the gap, where Scotland was a part of United Kingdom for more than 300 years, and creating connection to the past is not an easy task, but history has shown, that it is possible. The paper gives dissolution of Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as an example, using them as direct precedents.

Implementing a newly created state into the European Union or NATO would bring numerous problems and require extensive revision of existing treaties. The critical point would be the harbor for Trident submarines in the Faslane base on the River Clyde. The SNP has stated a several times, that the presence of foreign weapons of mass destruction will not be allowed in a newly independent Scotland. This act would be very displeasing for NATO, because Faslane is a very important harbor in accessing the North Sea. The vision of no submarines and being part of NATO does not seem real. The presence would be probably ordered by NATO or the SNP would betray one of the most important statements about an independent Scotland. (BBC, 2013). And Furthermore, existence of an independent state outside the NATO would mean, that Scotland would have to form its own full strength army and it would not benefit from the advantages of a complex defence system.

Another problematic part of declaring an independent nation would be allocation of the national debt of Great Britain and starting the proper work of financial flows. The future currency system is also unknown and an independent state with different taxes could have a large impact on the price of the stock of Scottish companies. Implementing the changes is much more work than the SNP claims, as stated in the document *Scotland Analysis : Currency and monetary policy* (2013). Maintaining the sterling

system would leave a new Scotland under the influence of the Bank of England, and it would have to deal with fiscal changes of another economy. The solution of using only the euro is considered less convenient, but possible, although Scotland is much more integrated in the United Kingdom economy than in the European Union.

A fully independent Scottish state would be the logical final point of slow, but confident Scottish devolution. There are a few steps from having one's own parliament to having one's own state, although a lot of work lies in front of Scottish Parliament. The self-management of natural resources, controlling the taxes and national budget are global logical reasons for independence, supported by a strong nationalistic spirit, cultural difference and an independent history.

## 5. Conclusion

In my bachelor thesis I described and discussed nationalism in Scotland. My aim in this bachelor thesis was to describe and explain nationalism in Scotland, its historical foundation and mainly the situation in the second half of the 20th century. I started by defining common terms as ñationö, ñationalismö and ñdevolutionö. After that, I proceeded to describe Scotland as a nation by describing their historical and geographical facts and I concentrated on events, where English nation and Scottish nation stood against each other in a conflict.

In next part I defined the Scottish nation by describing its characteristics ó flag, anthem, unique traditions or other notable attributes, that are not shared with the rest of Great Britain, forming the national consciousness and separate culture.

Next I concentrated on modern history, mainly on successful devolution and the Scottish National Party. I also described the creation and the function of the Scottish Parliament.

At the end, I summed up the main reasons why Scotland wants to form independent state and future problems, that might occur in the future of the Scotland. The second half of 20th century was a proof of high level of nationalistic and separatistic tendencies of Scotland and the will to form an independent state with its own government, own economy or own international politics. I also considered and mentioned research papers from the government of United Kingdom, which are written in a more sober and more realistic way than the claims of the SNP, which tend to be a little bit propagandistic.

Considered all the facts presented, I would like to state, that the Scots really differ from the other of the United Kingdom's nations. They have their own culture, history and traditions, which often comes from conflict with the English. But creating a

new independent Scotland seems impetuous and hot-headed. Devolution would continue and the Scottish Parliament would gain more and more competences and the authority of Scotland in the United Kingdom would steadily grow and prosper as a part of it. The creation of a new state would cause of complications on the international level and the new state would have to solve numerous problems, sequent upon abruption from the United Kingdom. A newly born Scotland would have to deal with an unstable economics and with building all the sectors, which were provided by the United Kingdom, from the beginning ó national defence, health system, education system etc. This one step beyond the safety zone is a great risk and can equally lead to both endings ó prosperity or catastrophe.



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## **9. Czech summary**

Má bakalářská práce se vnuje nacionalismu ve Skotsku. Jako cíl práce jsem si stanovil popsat a zpřehlednit národní identitu skotského lidu. V první části práce jsem vysvětlil pojmy nacionalismus a devoluce, které jsou stěžejní pro zvládnutí tématu. Dále jsem se široce zabýval samotným Skotskem a klíčovými kapitolami z jeho historie, které budovaly duch národa a jeho národními symboly. Práci uzavírám pojednáním o úspěšné skotské devoluci, Skotské národní straně a Skotském parlamentu. Pozornost jsem také věnoval výhodám a nevýhodám samostatného Skotska.