

Master's Thesis - History of Politics and Society

Title: Civic Nationalism: An imagological analysis of the transformations within twentieth century Scottish nationalism

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Abstract

This study investigates the transformations that took place within Scottish nationalism over the course of the twentieth century. An argument is made that the field of imagology, including its seminal textbook 'Imagology', has entrenched a one-sided and oppositional conceptualisation of nationalism characterised by regressive ethnocentrism. In response, this study examines the extent to which Scottish nationalism constitutes a real-world example of civic nationalism. Civic nationalism is operationalised by four 'pillars': Inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and a modernising narrative. Three cases are investigated: an assessment of mid-to-late-nineteenth century Irish nationalism, to act as a comparison device; a critical historiography of the twentieth century Scottish nationalism scholarship, to identify stereotype construction within academia; and an analysis of primary Scottish National Party (SNP) election propaganda materials, that compares all three cases. It is found that the 1850s and 1860s Fenians were entirely characterised by ethnocentrism, whereas in contrast, the 1870s and 1880s Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) gradually transformed into a constitutional, civic nationalist movement. The Scottish nationalism scholarship articulates two prominent and recurrent stereotypes about Scotland: Scotland as small, distant, and peripheral; and the Scots as patriotic and post-nationalist. Additionally, the SNP's 1967 Hamilton by-election victory is identified as a critical juncture. An analysis of the SNP materials found that the party's nationalist narrative transformed from liberal and sub-supranationalist in the late-1940s and the 1950s, to a regressive and ethnocentric form in the 1960s, to become characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism after 1970. Concluding that mid-1970s Scottish nationalism constitutes a real-world example of civic nationalism, the study concludes that 'Imagology' should have offered a more substantive and reflective exploration of civic nationalism. Consequently, future scholars are encouraged to employ civic nationalism as an analytical tool.

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Nationalism in the United Kingdom

Nationalism remains a hot topic in contemporary academia following the success of populism after the turn of the twenty-first century. It has a distinctive history in the United Kingdom (UK), whereby several co-existing and competing nationalist narratives and secessionist movements have fundamentally influenced the direction of British state since ‘modern’ nationalism gained movement in the late-eighteenth century¹. Most notably, early-twentieth century Irish nationalists successfully fought an independence war with the UK and broke away in 1922. Today, Scottish nationalism, politically reified in the Scottish National Party (SNP) is arguably the nationalist force that most dominates UK political thought. Whilst an independence referendum held in 2014 was unsuccessful for the nationalists, the plebiscite failed to alleviate the issue “for a generation” (BBC, 2014) and the political lobby for a second referendum thrives.

Analytical framework (1): Imagology

A wide-ranging and inter-disciplinary field of study, nationalism studies is located as a central interest within imagology. Imagology intersects history, (ethno-symbolist) anthropology, and literary studies, and is centrally defined by two of its pre-eminent scholars, Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, as “the study of cross-national perceptions and images as expressed in literary discourses” (2007, p. ii). Imagology concerns the process through which national stereotypes, that is, imagined *long durée* characteristics held by nationals about themselves and other nations, are (re-)produced within and consumed through literary sources such as books, posters, leaflets, newspaper articles, etc. Stereotypes (for example: the English are posh; the Germans are stoic and serious) are bound tightly in the mind of individual nationals; and the collective images held by all members of a national group form national stereotypes. Imagologists distinguish between ‘auto-image’ stereotypes held by members of a given nation about themselves (e.g., images held by French nationals about ‘the French’) and ‘hetero-images’ held about other nations (e.g., how French nationals stereotype ‘the English’).

Imagology’s seminal textbook, edited by Beller and Leerssen, is the eponymously titled ‘Imagology’ (2007). It is an encyclopaedia-like codex that contains short, alphabetically systemised

¹Four main categories of explanation for the rise of nationalism are noted by Smith: the primordialist, the perennialist, the modernist, and the ethno-symbolist (1999, pp. 3-9). The ‘modernist’ explanation, described by Leerssen as the dominant scholarly paradigm today (2007e, p. 385), posits that “the nation is not only recent, it is also novel, and a product of the processes of modernization... the French Revolution [marked] the moment when the ideal of the sovereignty of the people was fused with the drive to cultural homogeneity, to forge self-determining nations... Hence, nations as well as nationalism are purely modern phenomena, without roots in the past” (Smith, 1999, p. 6). For an in-depth analysis, see: Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

articles written about the discipline's central definitions, concepts, case-studies, and investigative methods. In 'Imagology', Leerssen defines nationalism as the "political instrumentalisation of the national auto-image" (2007e, p. 386). This is the process by which individuals of a national group articulate national images and stereotypes for consumption by its members to achieve political outcomes. Whilst this definition appears neutral, the theoretical conceptualisation of nationalism in 'Imagology' is broadly critical. Many of the concepts it explores highlight reprehensible nationalist phenomena such as 'intolerance' and 'prejudice'. Laudatory concepts such as 'inclusion', 'civility', and 'liberalism' are broadly omitted or included as brief, sketched out contrast devices to better elaborate upon the more objectionable concepts. The clearest indication of 'Imagology's' critical, even oppositional relationship with nationalism is demonstrated by its limited and underdeveloped assessment of a crucial concept within nationalism studies and imagology. Whilst 'Imagology' dedicates considerable space to nationalism's problematic dimensions such as 'prejudice' and the repugnant 'ethnocentrism', merely one short paragraph is devoted to ethnocentrism's opposite: civic nationalism.

Analytical framework (2): Civic nationalism

Originally developed by Kohn (1944), the distinction between ethnocentrism and civic nationalism has been more recently examined by Stephen Auer, then lecturer at University College Dublin, in his trailblazing study on the post-Soviet Central European nationalist experience. Auer describes ethnocentrism as the political activation of members of a national group through reference to their blood, birth, and ethnicity (2004, p. 5). Leerssen goes one step further and describes ethnocentrism as an oft "unfavourable flaw" and "synonym of racial arrogance" (2007c, p. 324). Most analysts have viewed the nationalist phenomenon as a hindrance to the development of a liberal democracy due to numerous reported examples of real-world exclusionary ethnocentrism and despotism associated with a nationalist ideology (Auer, 2004, pp. 4-5).

Auer's analysis challenges this assessment. He investigates whether 'liberal nationalism' - referred to in this thesis as 'civic nationalism' - could act as a consolidating force to reinforce the new democratic institutions in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia during the 1990s. He concludes that whilst none of his cases proved entirely immune to the forces of ethnocentrism, with political leaders stoking some degree of ethnic hatred, politicians in all three nations successfully formulated universal values of liberalism and inclusion within their national contexts (2004, p. 171). Auer argues that this socially unifying process strengthened the legitimacy of the new regimes and enabled its nationals to become more self-critical about the darker parts of their national histories (2004, p. 172). Auer defines civic nationalism as membership of the national group undergirded by shared:

“political, liberal, and civic values... [whereby] the only means of belonging are the territorial bounds of the country” (2004, p. 5).

Consequently, political inclusivity, liberal values, and civic values constitute three of four ‘pillars’ of civic nationalism operationalised throughout this thesis’ analysis.

Analytical framework (3): Modernisation

The fourth civic nationalist pillar is a ‘modernising narrative’. Bauman describes modernisation as a never-ending process of becoming (2012, p. ii) in which individuals perpetually seek to improve themselves from birth until death. Whilst Bauman critically concludes that fulfilment cannot be achieved within such a framework, this thesis interprets modernisation as a positive, progressive, and forward-looking process whereby nationals articulate their ambition for the nation to better exist in the future. This positive narrative sits in contrast to a regressive narrative in which actors primarily employ political instrumentalisation of the national past. For example, in his analysis of transformations within Irish literary narratives of the nineteenth century, Leerssen describes how Irish writers transitioned from depicting Ireland as situated in the ‘periphery’ of the UK at the start of the nineteenth century to depicting Ireland at its own ‘centre’ by the start of the twentieth century (1996, p. 227). This forward-looking, modernising ‘chronotype’ (temporal-spatial pattern in literary imagination; Leerssen, 1996, p. 7) demonstrates Ireland’s transformation from a state of inactivity to activity. Discourse transformations of this type are explored within the Scottish case.

In the view of this author, the omission of a comprehensive exploration of civic nationalism in ‘Imagology’ unbalances imagological critical inquiry into nationalism. Opportunities for imagological adherents to investigate potential real-world occurrences of civic nationalism may be restricted by entrenchment of the field’s one-sided theoretical framework. A vast but predominantly one-sided body of nationalism studies literature has emerged despite Anthony Smith’s² balanced description of nationalism as “the central thread, binding and dividing, the peoples of the modern world” (1998, p. 1). Whilst many critiques of the objectionable manifestations of nationalism find their origins in the authoritarian and racist nationalist regimes of continental Europe in the 1930s and 1940s³, not all nationalisms and stereotypes are the same. Civic nationalist discourses are produced, too, next to more problematic variations. The main intention of this thesis is therefore to demonstrate to a real-world example of civic nationalism. Drawing upon Auer’s three pillars of civic nationalism, and the fourth modernising narrative pillar developed from Bauman, this investigation analyses the extent to which Scottish nationalism characterises members of the national group due to their

²One of the twentieth century’s pre-eminent nationalism scholars.

³Noted to negatively affect perceptions of Scottish nationalism in the 1930s (Cameron, 2008, p. 127).

inclusive political, liberal, and civic values, coupled with a modernising narrative; as opposed to an ethnocentric, essentialist fact of blood and birth that “abhors multi-ethnic states” (Leerssen, 2007a, p. 22).

Chapter One: The Irish Parliamentary Party

Contrasting cases are appropriate for researchers to highlight the qualities of the phenomena they study. When investigating liberal nationalism in Central Europe, Auer compared three cases: Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Considering the substantial pre-existing scholarly corpus that addresses Irish nationalism, and in particular the imagological investigations already undertaken by Leerssen, Chapter One investigates late-nineteenth century Irish nationalism. This case is intended to demonstrate civic nationalism’s exploratory power whilst also acting as a departure point and contrast device for Scottish nationalism. This decision is justified by Ireland’s shared historical experiences with Scotland between the years 1801-1922. Both nations were situated within the Union but distant from the UK’s political centres in England and London. Both nations ‘lost’ both their parliament and capital city when incorporated into the UK (Leerssen, 1996, p. 227) and most importantly, Ireland, like the SNP in Scotland, reified its nationalism in a constitutional political party: The Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP). Chapter One compares Fenianism against the transformations within the IPP’s nationalist discourses between the years 1858-82. The findings suggest that Irish nationalism transformed from an era of ethnocentrism in the 1850s and 1860s into an era of civic constitutionalism after 1882. This analysis thereby highlights historical mechanisms by which nationalism may change between different forms. To ensure that the Irish analysis remains complementary and asymmetrical⁴ to the Scottish case, this analysis restricts its focus to one critical juncture: The 1882 Kilmainham Treaty.

Chapter Two: Critical historiography

Leerssen describes how literary texts “float like ice-bergs in a sea of discourse [and] are nine-tenths submerged in a larger discourse environment” (1996, p. 2). To better assess Scottish nationalism, a clear understanding of Scotland’s wider chronological and historical context is required. The intention of Chapter Two is to critically review a sample of the twentieth century Scottish nationalism scholarship, consisting of academic journal articles, books, newspaper articles, and book reviews, through the application of an imagological lens. This review situates the thesis within Scottish nationalism studies’ wider debates, ensures appropriate consideration of Scotland’s cultural and political historical antecedents, identifies the mechanisms by which Scotland’s past continues to

⁴Asymmetric historical comparisons refer to investigations whereby the researcher interrogates one case carefully while limiting themselves to a mere sketch of (an)other case(s) (Kocha, 1999, p. 40).

impact upon later attitudes (Leerssen, 1996, p. 9), and identifies the stereotypes articulated within the Scottish nationalism historiography. This assessment reveals two prominent and recurrent narratives about Scotland. The first is Scotland as small, distant, and peripheral; and the second is the Scots as patriotic and post-nationalist. Whilst these narratives present a mixed picture as to whether the Scots should be considered civic nationalists or non-nationalist, the analysis demonstrates civic nationalism's explanatory power when applied to a critical historiography.

Chapter Three: The Scottish National Party

Chapter Three examines transformations within the SNP's nationalist narrative over the course of the twentieth century. This assessment is conducted via an imagological analysis of primary election propaganda materials produced by the party between the years 1945-75. According to Michigan State University's Professor Bruce Smith, 'propaganda' is "the dissemination of information – facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies, to influence public opinion" (2020). The propaganda dataset under scrutiny in this analysis consists of local election and general election campaign pamphlets/leaflets that articulate narratives about Scotland and Scottish people. In keeping with Leerssen's imagological conceptualisation of nationalism, the materials constitute the political instrumentalisation of the Scottish national image. This chapter has two intentions. The first is to demonstrate civic nationalism's explanatory power when applied to a primary dataset. The second is to compare the IPP, the critical historiography, and the SNP findings to deliver a comprehensive assessment addressing whether Scottish nationalism should be characterised as civic. This analysis concludes that during the late-1940s and the 1950s, the SNP articulated an unexpectedly liberal and sub-supranationalist, if peripheral, nationalist narrative. In the context of Scotland's deindustrialisation, the SNP of the 1960s exhibited regressive and un-civic, if consistently liberal, ethnocentrism. However, after 1970, the party capitalised on the platform laid by Ewing's 1967 Hamilton victory and effectively exploited the discovery of North Sea oil. These two factors constituted a threshold effect that, by 1974, had transformed the SNP's narrative into one characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism.

Scottish National Party archive sources

The primary SNP dataset has been accessed from the National Library of Scotland (NLS) SNP archive collections. An inventory of the items analysed can be found in Appendix A. The election pamphlets/leaflets collections were selected for analysis due to number of individual materials available, their focus on the years between 1945-75, and their imagologically interesting content⁵. As

⁵Other election propaganda materials, such as campaign posters, were rejected due to their insufficient imagological content.

a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, access to the NLS was heavily restricted and an exhaustive investigation was not possible.

Thesis statement and conclusion

This thesis concludes that Scottish nationalism, as reified in the SNP, gradually transformed over the twentieth century. By 1974, the party's nationalist narrative was characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism (inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and a modernising narrative). Demonstrating a clear, real-world example of civic nationalism, the analysis defends the thesis statement that a more substantive and reflective exploration of civic nationalism should have been included in 'Imagology'. As a corollary, imagologists are encouraged to employ civic nationalism as an analytical tool in their assessments of nationalism.

Introduction

A comprehensive investigation into the contours of Scottish nationalism in the twentieth century is best served by an understanding of the contours of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century. In keeping, this chapter examines the significant pace of change within Ireland's articulation of nationalism between the establishment of the Fenian Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1858, the foundation of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) in 1874, and the party's defeat to Sinn Féin in the 1918 general election. This analysis identifies one critical juncture, the 1882 Kilmainham Treaty, that best explains Irish nationalist transformations within this period. Critical junctures refer to moments of historical flux during which the decisions of key actors make a greater impact upon history's long-term trajectory than usual due to the emergence of openings for change (Lange, 2013, p. 75). Actors choose from a selection of discrete, alternative choices whereby the selection of one becomes 'locked-in' and entrenched thereafter via self-reinforcing mechanisms⁶. The outcomes of these decisions are typically near impossible to reverse without incurring significant cost. This is called path-dependency (Lange, 2013, p. 75).

A case is made that before 1874, Irish nationalism was predominantly ethnocentric and regressive, dominated by Fenianism⁷'s violent, anarchic, and informal political methods. Whilst the IPP articulated a constitutional and civic form of nationalism from 1874, the party was politically unsuccessful until the 1879 agricultural slump. This severe, exogenous economic downturn provided the necessary environment for the IPP and its charismatic leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, to fight the 1879-82 Land War. IPP success facilitated the emergence of the 1882 Kilmainham Treaty, whereby Parnell and the Liberal Party leader and Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone negotiated rent relief for hundreds of thousands of Irishmen and initiated the end of centuries-long Ascendancy⁸ landlordism. Consequently, mainstream Irish nationalism became locked into a forward-looking, constitutional, and civic form of nationalism. This trajectory became so entrenched that despite Parnell's death in 1891, and a consequent split in the party, civic nationalism remained the predominant articulation of Irish nationalism until the First World War.

⁶Lange outlines four reinforcing mechanisms: Rational-choice, power, cognitive 'blindness', and norms. For a detailed explanation, see: Lange (2013).

⁷Disorganised, localised, and secretive grassroots nationalist movement committed to an Irish Republic; to be achieved through violent struggle with Britain and the rejection of constitutional politics (English, 2007, p. 179). Although formally constituted in the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1858, absent central planning meant that the movement emerged across Ireland at different speeds (Foster, 1989, p. 390).

⁸Established elite, land-owning, and predominantly Unionist Anglicans (Foster, 1989, p. 170).

The research questions investigated in this chapter are: to what extent did Irish nationalism transform from an era of ethnocentrism to an era of civic nationalism by the early-1880s; and why did constitutionalism become so entrenched after 1882? These analyses deliver two broader outputs related to the central thesis statement. Firstly, the IPP case demonstrates the explanatory power of civic nationalism (defined as: inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and modernising narrative) and broadens the body of literature employing civic nationalism as an analytical tool. Secondly, as a constitutional, sub-UK nationalist political party, whose dissolution took place less than 25 years⁹ before the Scottish National Party (SNP) was founded, the IPP offers a suitable comparison for the SNP case.

The 1801 Act of Union

When the Home Rule League¹⁰ was founded by Isaac Butt in 1873, Ireland had ceased to be an independent country for almost three quarters of a century. Legislated in response to the failed 1798 Wolfe Tone Rebellion¹¹ (English, 2007, p. 116) and immediate military necessity (Hoppen, 2008, p. 328), Ireland's absorption into the United Kingdom (UK) via the 1801 Act of Union came with many benefits: Ireland was granted 100 MPs in the British House of Commons, later increased to 105 (English, 2007, p. 115), who overrepresented the Irish population per capita relative to Great Britain¹². Irish MPs were granted an equal vote on imperial matters and were able to introduce primary legislation. The cost, however, was an end to Ireland's sovereignty¹³. The dissolution of the Irish House of Commons encapsulated the loss of Irish symbolic and legislative power and meant that, in effect, Ireland's capital had been relocated from Dublin to London. By failing to legislate for Catholic emancipation¹⁴ most Irishmen, rather than being incorporated into the new Union, were rendered a systematic minority within the new state (Foster, 1989, p. 285). The continuation of the viceroy, a colonial institution, demonstrated Ireland's unequal status (Foster, 1989, p. 289). Although legislation passed in the decades following repealed the most stringent Irish-particular socio-political

⁹The National Party of Scotland, a political party that merged with the Scottish Party to form the SNP in 1934, was founded only 10 years later in 1928.

¹⁰Reformed into the Home Rule Party in 1874 and the IPP in 1882. Home Rule Party and IPP are used interchangeably in this analysis.

¹¹In December 1796, France sent a 43-ship fleet with 15,000 men to invade Ireland accompanied by Irish agitators including their leader, Theobald Wolfe Tone. The attack failed and Wolfe Tone committed suicide in British custody (Foster, 1989, pp. 278-280).

¹²Calculations show that had boundary reform been undertaken in 1910, Irish representation would have been reduced by forty seats or 42% of the original 105 total (McConnel, 2004b, p. 363).

¹³Due diligence is paid to the ambiguity concerning Ireland's pre-Union sovereign status, considering the severe Tudor and Cromwellian interventions that took place in Ireland between the years 1500-1700. The description of Ireland as 'quasi-colonial' (English, 2007, p. 125) as opposed to 'full-colonial' probably best reflects the complexity of Ireland's *de jure* parliamentary independence and *de facto* governance by London officials in Dublin Castle.

¹⁴Right to hold public office.

restrictions, by 1858, the position of most Irishmen within the Union was much the same as it had been in 1801.

1858-74: Fenianism

In the late-1850s, franchise legislation restricted the vote to a minority of landholding, Ascendancy elites. This excluded the majority of Catholic, non-Ulster-born Irishmen¹⁵. In the 1859 general election, 55 of Ireland's 105 constituencies returned Conservative MPs who were overwhelmingly from a landed background (Foster, 1989, pp. 382-384). Imparting limited influence upon regular Irish politics, contemporary Irish nationalism was popularly¹⁶ expressed through alternative, informal Fenian networks. Opposition to 'England' was foundational to Fenianism, whereby an us-them divide imagined by its members pitted 'the Irish' against 'the English'. Fenian anti-English hetero-images were often articulated better than their conceptualisation of the Irish nation, and R.F. Foster goes as far to argue that their "central motivation revolved around the view that England [was] a Satanic power on earth" (Foster, 1989 p. 391). This is certainly reflected through publications written in the *Irish People*, a successful Fenian national newspaper that acted as the movement's sanitised, violence-free front. For example, the 20 January 1866 edition denounced how "English policy... has been of a character to completely denationalize the Irish" whilst valorising "those ardent national characteristics which belong to the Celtic race" (English, 2007, p. 180). This antagonistic and racially informed language reflected episodes of anarchic Fenian anti-English violence that took place in the late-1860s: Two poorly organised violent uprisings took place between February and March 1867 and on 13 December 1867, a group of Fenians attempted to rescue one of their leading members from prison. Rather than setting him free, a planned explosion killed 12 civilians and injured many other unfortunate bystanders (English, 2007, pp. 180-181).

Fenianism presents a clear example of what Auer would term 'blood and soil' ethnocentric nationalism. The Fenians were fundamentally exclusivist by nature, framing Irishness less by its own qualities than through its opposition to Englishness. As the 27 January 1866 edition of the *Irish People* opined, "the first grand, indispensable step toward Freedom is Nationality" (English, 2007, p. 186); that is, political freedom from England secured via the development of non-English national identity. This nationalism excluded all England-born persons but also failed to recognise members of the Ireland-born Ascendancy. Joep Leerssen has described post-1801 literary manifestations of Ireland's auto-image, held by Irishmen, that articulated Ireland as distant and 'othered' (in contrast with

¹⁵In 1871, only 15.9% of Irish males possessed the vote compared 33.6% in England and Wales and 31.3% in Scotland (Hoppen, 1985, p. 215).

¹⁶80,000 Fenian members were claimed in 1864 although 50,000 was more likely (Foster, 1989, p. 394).

England's dominant centre), as 'auto-exoticism'¹⁷ (1996, p. 35). Fenian preoccupation with the English administration of Ireland is entirely in keeping with this perception, thereby rendering Ireland, pursuant to Leerssen, "a passive object of representation" (1996, p. 36) vis-à-vis England. Although Leerssen's analysis places focus on the immediate post-1801 Irish experience, Fenianism demonstrates that Irish auto-exoticism persisted well into the 1860s.

Whilst franchise suppression was a significant restricting mechanism that inhibited formal Catholic Irish political engagement, the Fenians' recurrent use of violence and secretive organisational methods demonstrated their explicit illiberalism. Constitutional politics was rejected as "the degradation of national virility, strength and manhood" (English, 2007, p. 187); thus, Fenianism enforced a cleavage between Irish nationalism and legal political channels. This is evidenced by the IRB's tepid support for the new, constitutional Home Rule League in 1873 and its withdrawal of that support in 1876, during which the first (and only) IRB MP, John O'Connor Power¹⁸, was expelled from the Fenian movement (McConnel, 2004a, pp. 42-43). Additionally, the Fenians chose to expend considerable energy regressively fixating on the past, rather than articulate a modernising narrative about the Irish future. *Irish People* editor John O'Leary described how:

"Theobald Wolfe Tone and Thomas Davis¹⁹ – the example of the one mainly transmitted to us through the teaching of the other – had much more to do with Fenianism than any famine or failure... Fenianism is the direct and, I think, inevitable outcome of '48, as '48 was the... outcome of '98" (1896, pp. 78-79).

Imagining Fenianism as a successor to Davis, and Davis as a successor to Wolfe Tone, O'Leary illustrated the movement's belief in a traceable Irish nationalist blood-lineage. Holding a fixed belief of England as Ireland's historical, long-term foreign occupier (English, 2007, p. 186), their narratives seldom articulated a vision for Ireland's future beyond the establishment of a vaguely defined 'republic'. At variance with these ethnocentric characteristics, the social nature of the movement illustrates a notable civic nationalist dimension. Owing to their secretive nature, Fenians could not hold conventional gatherings such as public meetings. Instead, they held picnics, fake cricket matches, and went drinking together (Foster, 1989 p. 394). Richard Comerford argues that "past-time was the key to the mass appeal of Fenianism" (1992, p. 52), and this is certainly reflected in Richard English's finding that pubs acted as the movement's centres for both recruitment and socialisation (2007, p. 188). Fenian nationalism was thus grounded in local communities and strengthened Irish civil society. This demonstrates Fenianism's unmistakable civic values. Despite

¹⁷"A mode of presenting and representing oneself/one's nation in one's otherness" (Leerssen, 1996, pp. 37-38). In this case, Irishmen exoticised themselves by 'othering' their non-Englishness.

¹⁸MP for County Mayo, 1874-85.

¹⁹Editor of *The Nation*, an 1840s Younger Irelander newspaper. The Young Irelanders was an 1840s cultural-romantic Irish nationalist movement (Foster, 1989, pp. 310-311).

this, Fenianism's exclusivity, illiberal methods, and regressive narrative characterise its nationalism as blood and soil ethnocentrism.

1874-82: The Call for Home Rule

Although Fenianism was popular, it was not politically successful, and after the failed 1867 uprisings it collapsed into a semi-chaotic state (Bew, 1978, p. 41). Likewise dissatisfied with Ireland's politics, in 1874 Irish Conservative MP Isaac Butt founded the Home Rule Party. Butt sought a devolved parliament in Dublin for Irish affairs whilst remaining committed to Ireland's association with the British Empire. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that the party's foundational meeting:

"breathe[d] that spirit of dignified moderation, of calm and self-contented earnestness... to convince... the English people that their interests and the interests of the empire will be as much served... by Home Rule as those of Ireland" (English, 2007, p. 193).

Whilst framing Ireland's auto-image vis-à-vis England, the Home Rule Party's founding members exhibited civic behaviour, designed Home Rule politics to operate through constitutionally liberal channels, and imagined a future Ireland better represented through devolved government²⁰. In the 1874 general election, the Home Rulers won 60 seats (Foster, 1989, p. 398). This spectacular result reflected popular Irish Ascendancy support for the party's objectives and commitment to achieve change via the ballot box. In parliament however, Buttite Home Rulers, not unlike the Fenians, were ineffective in achieving their desired political outcomes. Home Rule members introduced 31 bills between 1876 and 1877 and opposed legislation regarded as inimical to Irish interests. In response, ministerial speakers simply ignored their arguments and Conservative and Liberal MPs, elected to mainland British constituencies, voted down their bills with overwhelming majorities (Thornley, 1960, pp. 40-42). Butt was unwilling to respond to defeat with 'factious obstructivism' or demand his MPs pledge to follow party line²¹ (Thorney, 1960, p. 41); methods that have been denounced by Irish political commentator Conor Cruise O'Brien as a "lack of political realism" (1946, p. 59). Within a civic nationalist framework, however, Butt's sense of obligation to maintain the well-running of parliament above party politics illustrated his commitment to civic values. Similarly, by withholding strict party discipline, Butt built a broad-tent, inclusive party that empowered liberal freedom of conscience. O'Connor Power's short-lived dual IRB and parliamentary membership depended upon toleration.

²⁰The phrasing employed here matters. Home Rulers described their proposed Dublin Parliament at different times as the resolution to Ireland's present and future political upset, but also as a restoration of the abolished Irish House of Commons. The former looks forwards, the latter towards the past. Parnell himself advocated, more neutrally, for Ireland's "right of national self-government" (1877, in Lyons, 1977, p. 69).

²¹In UK parliamentary parlance: 'withholding the whip'.

Two main factors improved the IPP's political success. The first was the political rise of Charles Stewart Parnell. An Ascendancy MP from an upper-class background, from 1876, Parnell had opposed Butt's methods and in retaliation to the defeat of IPP measures, aggressively employed heavy-handed obstructive parliamentary tactics, such as the filibuster and repeated adjournments, to impede the passage of House of Commons legislation. This extended to legislation unconcerned with Irish matters and forced the House of Commons to sit 51 hours after midnight in July 1878 alone²² (Thornley, 1960, pp. 45-51). Although obstruction won few, mostly minor, parliamentary concessions, with most legislation eventually passing through the House unchanged, the tactics dissociated Parnell from the increasingly discredited Buttites. Furthermore, Parnell's willingness to "stay up all night infuriating the English" won the admiration of his nationalist home audience. Butt died in May 1879 and, endorsing his political methods, IPP MPs elected Parnell party leader in 1880 (Thorney, 1960, p. 53-56). Although this change improved the party's standing in Ireland, Parnell's methods undermined the IPP's previous civic values and introduced an Irish/English us-them dynamic into constitutional Irish nationalism.

The second factor was the agricultural slump of 1879. Following two years of poor harvest, Irish agriculture was ruined in 1879 by potato blight coupled with freak rain and summer cold. This coincided with the emergence of grain and beef competition from Australia and the US. Consequently, whilst Irish potato production plummeted by 75%, export prices and wages fell to historic lows (Foster, 1989, p. 402). When landlords insisted on paid rents and evicted those unable to pay²³, peasant land agitation erupted across Ireland in what is now called the 1879-82 Land War. Despite his Ascendancy background, Parnell recognised the historic association between Ireland's peasantry tenants and the Fenian movement. Although the IRB leadership formally disavowed constitutionalism, many individual Fenians supported the IPP's methods towards Irish self-government. Exploiting IRB organisational weakness, in 1879 Parnell helped found the Irish Land League²⁴ with the support of constitutional Fenians, the IPP, and Clan na Gael²⁵, and was himself appointed president. The Land League sought to achieve 'Three Fs' for the peasant tenants: Fair rent, fixity (security of tenure), and free sale (English, 2007, p. 197). By incorporating Catholic land agitation into the Home Rule-orientated, Ascendancy majority IPP, Parnell subsumed much of Fenian

²²A comprehensive summary of Parnellite obstructivism has been undertaken by Thornley, who, amongst other findings, describes how the 'guillotine' parliamentary time-limit was invented in response to the IPP obstruction crisis (1960).

²³Eviction remains one of the most evocative and painful images in Irish national history. From 1879 to 1883, 14,600 tenants were evicted – more than the previous thirty years (Foster, 1989, p. 408).

²⁴Non-parliamentary, Catholic majority, nationwide movement that campaigned for tenant relief during the Land War. During the 1880 general election campaign, the Land League backed Parnell and produced a manifesto in support of the IPP (O'Brien, 1946, p. 56).

²⁵Founded in 1867 in New York, Clan na Gael was an American-Irish, US-based organisation closely connected to radical Irish nationalism until the 1930s (Foster, 1989, p. 359). Operated as a funding-raising body for Irish nationalists.

Ireland into the constitutional movement (Foster, 1989, p. 403) and became the leader of both branches of nationalist Ireland²⁶.

Irish nationalism therefore approached a critical juncture. Whilst Parnell had become Ireland's pre-eminent nationalist leader, he espoused the characteristics of both ethnocentric and civic nationalism during his Land War campaign. Via parliament, the IPP responded to a government crackdown bill with an unprecedented 41 hours of continuous obstruction in a single sitting (Thornley, 1960, p. 53). Via the Land League, Parnell encouraged tenants to pay only those rents that were "according to the times" and to "keep a firm grip of your homesteads". These actions were reinforced by actual and implicit threats of violence (Foster, 1989, pp. 404-406). Consequently, the Land League was outlawed and in October 1881 Parnell was imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol. Later that month, Parnell issued the 'No Rent' manifesto. This short document outlines Parnell's Land League methods and called for Irishmen to:

"pay no rents under any circumstances to their landlords until the government relinquishes the existing system of terrorism" (New York Times, 1881, 21 October, p. 1).

It describes England as tyrannical, cites historical Irish struggle, and appealed to the Irish 'race' to stand together against their "cowardly" English enemies (New York Times, 1881, 21 October, p. 1). Despite operating via constitutional politics, and although the manifesto employs a modernising narrative by describing the Land War as "one more struggle in which you have the hope of happy homes and national freedom to inspire you" (New York Times, 1881, 21 October, p. 1), the No Rent Manifesto instrumentalised an exclusivist, regressive-looking, and racially charged un-civic Irish national image for the IPP's political ends. At the end of 1881, Parnell, and by extension Irish nationalism, articulated an unmistakably ethnocentric nationalist narrative. The Kilmainham Treaty overhauled this. Whilst the Land War had forced Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone to grant free sale via the 1881 Land Act, the legislation was complex, inefficient and did not satisfy Parnell. In 1882, whilst in prison, Parnell contacted Gladstone and offered to end the Land War in exchange for tenant arrears relief. Gladstone accepted, and in 1882 passed the Arrears of Rent Act. This legislation obliged the government to pay an estimated £2,000,000 in arrears for 130,000 tenants (Hickey & Doherty, 2003, p. 287). This confirmed the IPP as Ireland's pre-eminent nationalist vehicle. Consequently, the agitation subsided, Parnell was released, and crucially, through negotiation, the IPP's constitutional methods had triumphed. O'Brien describes the Kilmainham Treaty as "the transmutation of Parnellism from a quasi-revolutionary movement into a complete constitutional one" (1946, p. 55) and a civic nationalist assessment corroborates his assessment.

²⁶Often called the 'New Departure'.

Exclusivist, ethnocentric language vanished, illiberal violence ended, and following the 1885 general election, the party held the balance of power in the Commons with an unprecedented 86 seats (Foster, 1989, p. 416). Having established liberal methods the previous year, the IPP backed a Liberal government and abandoned un-civic obstructionism. Although it failed to pass its second reading, an Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced by Gladstone in 1886. The IPP's modernising objective to achieve self-government was in the process of realisation via liberal constitutionalism.

Conclusion

Applying Lange's path-dependency framework, the 1882 Kilmainham Treaty was a critical juncture in which Parnell chose to embrace constitutionalism instead of ethnocentrism. Following this decision, the IPP's pre-eminent status as the vehicle for Irish nationalism became a locked-in, constitutionalist norm that remained unshaken by Parnell's death in 1891, the defeat of a second Home Rule Bill in 1893, and a three-way split in the party until 1900. Fenianism failed to re-capture Irish imaginations and the IPP won no fewer than 71 seats in each general election thereafter. Only the exogenous upheaval of the First World War facilitated the opening of a new critical juncture, the 1916 Easter Rising, to challenge civic Irish nationalism. Whilst there is insufficient space for this analysis in this chapter, such an investigation may interest future scholars. Concluding the research questions, this analysis demonstrates that Irish nationalism transformed comprehensively from an era of ethnocentrism to an era of civic nationalism between the years 1858-82, and that the constitutionalist decisions taken during the Kilmainham Treaty entrenched this new historical trajectory. By illustrating a clear example of sub-UK ethnocentrism and civic nationalism, and by highlighting the mechanisms through which articulations of nationalism change over time, the nineteenth century Irish case offers a clear departure point and contrast device for the twentieth century Scottish nationalism investigation.

Introduction

Between the years 1934-67, underwhelming electoral performances by the Scottish National Party (SNP) hindered Scottish nationalism from exciting much academic interest (Levy, 1986, p. 236). Consequently, Dr Robert McIntyre's first SNP parliamentary by-election victory in April 1945 was ignored by both Westminster and scholarly journals. In imagological terms, the SNP neither instrumentalised Scotland's national image for political ends nor disseminated a nationalist narrative with much success (Leerssen, 2007e, p. 386). However, following Winnifred Ewing's shock November 1967 SNP by-election victory in Hamilton, a Labour safe seat, Scottish nationalism studies transformed into an engaged and lively field of scholarly debate; particularly among Scottish academics who articulated how under-investigated Scottish nationalism had previously been. Between 1967 and 1973, numerous texts examining Scottish nationalism hit the bookshelves²⁷. Released in 1969, Professor H.J. Hanham's *Scottish Nationalism* underwent considerable scholarly review. Hanham's critics were united in their descriptions of Scottish nationalism as "recent" (Snow, 1970, p. 115), "pallid" (Miller, 1970, p. 1732), and "rebirth[ed]... in the peripheries" (Mansbach, 1973, p. 1060). Such was the overt discourse of unfamiliarity, sense of distance, and 'forgottenness', that one academic opined how it appeared:

"in fashion for authors of works on Scottish nationalism to preface them with an apologetical note virtually lamenting the ill fate that has led them to write on such a thorny subject" (Ferguson, 1970, p. 215).

In an indifferent, off-handish manner, Hanham's critics had constructed and disseminated a new set of images, narratives, and stereotypes about Scotland.

This chapter undertakes an imagological assessment of the under-analysed stereotypes about Scotland articulated within the Scottish nationalism scholarship. Scholarly narratives are distinct from those articulated by traditional political agents, such as political parties, and offer fresh insight into the transformations over time within nationalism. This chapter explores two of the most prominent and recurrent narratives within a sample of the scholarly literature²⁸ that place focus upon Scottish nationalism developments between the emergence of Scottish political nationalism in the 1920s and the foundation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. The first narrative articulates pre-1960s Scotland

²⁷For example: Kellas, (1968); Smout, (1969).

²⁸Consisting of academic journal articles, books, newspaper articles, and scholarly book reviews, the literature sample was obtained by inputting 'Scottish nationalism', 'Scotland and nationalism', and 'Tom Nairn' into the literature database, Worldcat. As a substantial part of Scottish nationalism scholarship was written after 1967, the relative lacuna of secondary documentation written between 1920-66 is recognised as a potential source of analytical bias. Additionally, the sample is only partially randomised: The individual documents were selected from Worldcat's top results based upon their perceived relevance to the overall study.

as small, distant, and peripheral in relation to England, thereby stereotyping the Scottish people as static and unmodernised. Following the November 1967 Hamilton by-election, this narrative recedes, and the Scots become re-characterised as forward-looking, liberal, and albeit to a degree, exclusivist. The second narrative imagines the Scots as patriotic, civic, and post-nationalist. Whilst the Scots are stereotyped as patriotic and civic throughout the twentieth century, Scotland's post-nationalism is divided into two phases: pre-1970s sub-nationalism and post-1970s sub-supranationalism. Within a civic nationalist framework (defined as: inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and a modernising narrative), these narratives present a mixed picture as to whether Scottish nationalism should be characterised as civic or non-nationalist.

The research question addressed in this chapter is: to what extent has Scottish nationalism scholarship articulated transformations within Scotland's nationalist narrative over the course of the twentieth century? This investigation serves three broader outputs related to the central thesis statement. The first is to undertake a historiographical review of Scotland's historical developments. This provides insight into the key arguments within the Scottish nationalism scholarship and contextualises the SNP analysis in Chapter Three. The second is to place a spotlight upon the images, stereotypes, and clichés employed in studies of Scottish nationalism. This is designed to draw wider attention to image construction within academia and encourage critical reflection by scholars regarding their own work and that of others. The third is to demonstrate the explanatory power of civic nationalism when applied to a critical historiography.

Scotland as 'peripheral, small, and distant'

The terms 'periphery/provincial' are employed throughout the literature sample to stereotype pre-1967 Scotland's imagined position on the edge of the United Kingdom²⁹. Writing in the late-1960s and early-1970s, New Left Marxist and Scottish nationalist Tom Nairn described SNP nationalists as "merely lumpen-provincials" (1968, p. 56) within a Scottish "peripheral experience" (1981, p. 338). Whilst it may seem unusual for a self-avowed Scottish nationalist to describe his contemporaries so crudely, Nairn's language informs a stereotype in which the Scots suffer from lethargy. Lethargy within peripheral nations has been explored by imagologist Joep Leerssen. In his analysis of nineteenth century Irish literature, Leerssen argues that after the 1801 Act of Union domestic Irish writers depicted Ireland as a peripheral silhouette in contrast to England's dominant centre (Leerssen, 1996, pp. 226-7). This articulated a chronotype³⁰ whereby modernisation processes halted, and the Irish nation ceased to progress forward. According to Leerssen, a traumatic historical event typically

²⁹For example: Tong (1994, p. 247); Farbey et al. (1980, p. 420).

³⁰Spatial and temporal pattern in the literary imagination (Leerssen, 1996, p. 7).

precedes a nation's transformation into a peripheral state. In Ireland, this was the Union's abolition of the nation's capital and Houses of Parliament in Dublin (Leerssen, 1996, p. 227).

In Scotland, a comparable process took place. Following the 1707 Act of Union, the Scots also lost their capital city and parliament in Edinburgh. There is, however, a significant difference. Ireland had experienced English colonisation from the sixteenth century, and so until independence was obtained in 1922, no Irish state³¹ had existed. In contrast, Scotland experienced an effective demotion. The 1707 Union transformed Scotland from an independent, sovereign state into a part of Britain. In this vein, Anthony P. Cohen describes the various post-1707 expressions of Scottish nationalism as a "lament for the continuing denial of the integrity and authenticity" (1996, p. 803) of lost Scottish nationhood. Nairn's withering description of the 1960s Scottish nationalists as 'lumpen-provincials' therefore articulates a narrative that is consonant with nineteenth century Ireland: Ireland entered a post-Union peripheral state in 1801; Scotland experienced the same after 1707. Yet, whereas Nairn suggests that anti-modernising lethargy continued to affect the Scots in the 1960s, the Irish had, in the interim, achieved independence from Britain and 'regained' their capital in Dublin. The capital of the people living in Scotland, however, remained London. This peripheral narrative is complemented by journalist Neal Ascherson's 1975 evocative description of the Scots suffering from political disempowerment and *anomie*³². To Ascherson, the sources of Scotland's national woes were economical: with policy decided in London, Scotland experienced economic statism without a state, "hanging between the economies of East and West Europe" (Harvie, 1998, p. 167). Articulated on the peripheral outskirts of Britain, the Scottish nationalism scholarship stereotypes the pre-1960s Scottish people as static and unmodernised.

Challenging this narrative, Scottish historian Sir Tom Devine³³ has investigated the extent to which the 'Celtic fringe' regions of Scotland and Wales shed electoral support from Labour to the SNP and Plaid Cymru following the SNP's 1967 Hamilton victory³⁴; and how Labour tried to win them back (2008, p. 143)³⁵. This mirrors Leerssen's own analysis of the 'Celtic Twilight'³⁶ in Scotland and Ireland (1996, p. 191). According to Leerssen, the Celtic fringe is an imagined space that is "curiously otherworldly, shadowy, liminal, and remote" (Leerssen, 1996, p. 188). Celtic fringes are typically imagined within a peripheral chronotype: static, unhistorical, and unchanging. Within

³¹In the post-Westphalian sense.

³²Émile Durkheim's 'ultimate social breakdown' (Harvie, 1998, p. 96).

³³Described in the *Financial Times* as "Scotland's most distinguished historian since Thomas Carlyle" (Lloyd, 2021, 14 May).

³⁴Plaid Cymru also won their first seat from Labour in Wales in 1966.

³⁵The term 'Celtic Fringe' is also employed by Raymond Tong to highlight economic domination of Scotland by England (1994, p. 247).

³⁶Synonyms.

Scottish literature, the mythical village Brigadoon appears out the mist of the Scottish Highlands to visitors, and then vanishes again, only to reappear centuries later entirely unchanged (Leerssen, 1996, p. 190). The mundane image constructed by Devine that depicts the late-1960s Labour Party appealing to the Celtic fringe for electoral support therefore creates tension with Leerssen's analysis. Drawn into mainstream politics, Devine undermines Scotland's peripheral state and implies a transition had taken place. Contrasting Devine's assessment with Scotland's history, one concludes that the Winifred Ewing's 1967 Hamilton victory formed a critical juncture³⁷. Between Dr Robert McIntyre's short-lived³⁸ by-election victory in Motherwell in 1945, and 1967, the SNP had failed to win a single Westminster seat. In 1967, Hamilton's constituents had a liberal, free choice to vote for their preferred candidate. Although the SNP did not contest what was a safe Labour seat in the 1966 general election, the voters elected the SNP candidate. Consequently, Scottish nationalism became irreversibly forced onto the British national agenda. Since 1967, there has always been an SNP MP at Westminster³⁹. Considering this, Devine's assessment that Labour started to tap into the Celtic Fringe contemporaneously to the post-1967 rise of popular Scottish nationalism accords well with an assessment that Scottish history had become locked onto a new trajectory. This articulates a narrative in which Scotland transitioned from a peripheral to non-peripheral state and affirms Devine's employment of the term. Considering the static constraints that peripheral status places upon national development, the Scottish nationalist scholarship suggests that 1967 was a turning point after which the Scots started to articulate a modernising narrative.

Descriptions of post-1967 Scotland's imagined relative size and distance from England are articulated frequently within the literature sample. Many of these appear on the one hand as subtle, unconscious, and underlying expressions; others appear as more intentional and overt, such as Scottish historian William Ferguson's wry 'thorny subject' remarks (1970, p. 215). Starting with the latter 'overt' type, in his comparative analysis of the Labour Party and the SNP from the late-1960s until 2011, Gerry Hassan describes Scotland's "Northern, near-foreign politics of little real interest to the Westminster village" (2011, p. 50). This expression constructs an auto-image of Scotland that is distant from England, and especially London. Presenting the Scots as a near-foreign 'other' relative to Londoners, despite their shared citizenship, Hassan hints towards an exclusivist us-them narrative between the Scots and the English. By extension, Hassan constructs a Scottish 'meta-image' (perception of how one's own national group is perceived by another; Leerssen, 2007d, p. 344) of

³⁷Critical junctures refer to openings of historical change whereby key actors make choices from a selection of discrete alternative that, once made, have consequences that cannot be easily reversed. These consequences become locked-in, and events thereafter become path-dependent (Lange, 2013, pp. 75-6).

³⁸McIntyre held the seat for less than three months. Labour won back the seat in the July 1945 general election.

³⁹Devine describes Hamilton as "the most sensational by-election result in Scotland since 1945" (2006, p. 574).

‘Westminster’ (referring London’s political elite) that is ignorant of Scottish affairs. This image evokes the pre-Scottish Parliament, management-from-a-distance system in which Scotland was *de jure* governed from London between the years 1707-1999. Similarly, Hassan’s employment of ‘village’ presents Britain’s decision makers clustered closely together within an idyllic, removed space that excludes the Scots.

Hassan’s evocative discourse is consistent with other Scottish academics whose views appear to broadly align with the political aims of the SNP, i.e., independence from England and progressive social policies. In Hassan’s words: the “forward march of Scottish nationalism” supplanting the “forward march of Labour” (2011, p. 54). Such narratives trace their origins to Nairn, who describes the UK as an artificial construction whose existence is limited to the Acts of Union paperwork (1977). To Nairn, the dissolution of the UK would facilitate meaningful national representation for the English and Scottish peoples via their own state and facilitate the election of socialist governments (1977). Nairn also argues that the economic “domination of small nations” (Cocks, 2005, pp. 73-4; Nairn, 1977, p. 338; Wellings & Kenny, 2019, p. 852) by larger, imperial nations hinders democratic development due to their irreconcilable power imbalance. Similarly, UK historian Ben Jackson constructs graphic images of the UK as a “decrepit hulk” (2014a, p. 15) and an “antiquated relic” (Jackson, 2014b, p. 51). These narratives sketch out an image of Scotland as small, distant, and impotent relative to larger England⁴⁰.

Within a civic nationalist framework, Nairn and Hassan’s assessments challenge an imagined democratic deficit in Scotland. This is grounded in Britain’s post-Second World War electoral history whereby most Scottish MPs returned to Westminster were not members of the governmental party⁴¹. Through secession from rotten Britain, Nairn’s predicts that both Scotland and England would experience improved national representation. Whilst he anticipates that independence would result in socialist governments, Nairn stresses that the Scottish people would make this decision democratically. Thus, he articulates a clear liberal and modernising nationalist narrative. This argument is corroborated by the Hamilton by-election result. In 1967, the Scots, given the opportunity, demonstrated their nationalist wishes using the ballot box. Although Nairn and Hassan frame Scotland’s auto-image vis-à-vis England and Britain, which could be interpreted as exclusivist, this image is employed to highlight democratic malaise rather than Scottish ethnocentrism. In his review of Scottish nationalism transformations from the 1960s, Jackson extends Nairn’s argument and describes Britain as “an imperial state, suffused with the style of fripperies of empire” (2014b, p.

⁴⁰Although not explored in this analysis, Nairn articulates a centre/periphery dynamic between England and Scotland (Leerssen, 2007b, pp. 278-81; Wallerstein, 1974). Such an analysis may interest future scholars.

⁴¹Routinely the England-dominating Conservatives.

51). This colourful language reinforces a narrative in which Westminster is both the centre of power, but also an antiquated, showy, and non-essential institution (Merriam Webster, 2021). Jackson thereby contrasts static Britain with Scotland's modernising ambition for a better constitutional settlement. Although stereotyped as static and unmodernised pre-1967, following the Hamilton by-election the Scottish nationalist scholarship re-characterises the Scots within a forward-looking, liberal, and somewhat exclusivist, nationalist narrative.

The Scots as 'patriotic and post-modernist'

Expressions that articulate the Scottish people as 'patriotic' are threaded throughout the literature sample. For example, Hanham describes how 1910s and 1920s Scottish Kailyard School⁴² writers established a "glow of patriotic pride" amongst the Scottish population following successful publications within the British literary scene (1969, p. 146); Ben Wellings and Michael Kennedy, in a longitudinal review of Nairn's writings, highlight divergences in English and Scottish expressions of nationalism as "patriotism[s]" (2019, p. 859); and Cohen develops a theory of 'personal nationalism' to challenge the stereotype of Scots as "ninety-minute patriots"⁴³ (1996, p. 804). Unfortunately, however, the authors do not offer a definition of Scottish patriotism. It therefore remains unclear why the Scottish people should be described as patriotic; except, perhaps, as a possible synonym of nationalism. In contrast with the 'overt' Scottish stereotype language, the employment of Scottish patriotism is exemplary of the 'unconscious' expression type.

In 'Imagology', Leerssen details that patriotism and nationalism are conceptually distinct. He notes that whereas nationalism assumes 'the nation' in its imagined form to be the most fundamental reference point and 'glue' holding the political bonds and loyalties of collective society together, patriotism refers to a life of loyalty to law, custom, parliament, and one's fellow citizens (2007f, pp. 393-395). Patriots are individualists who seek to create resilient societies through an egalitarian respect of national institutions and the pursuit of virtue. In lieu of 'the nation', civic values form the backbone of society. Patriotism may therefore be understood as a cognate of the civic values pillar of civic nationalism. Leerssen describes that patriotism is characterised by its "tendency towards heteronomy: the acceptance of... diversity" (1996, p. 19). Patriots are therefore neither national chauvinists, nor proto-nationalists/ethnocentrists (Leerssen, 1996, p. 13). By reframing the Scots as civic, non-nationalist patriots, it becomes much easier to identify examples of this narrative nestled

⁴²London-based Scottish literary movement that tailored its content towards Scots Presbyterians and English nonconformists. Hanham argues that "Scottish writers found it easier to make their mark [then] than at any time before or since" (1969, p. 146).

⁴³Originally coined by SNP MP Jim Sillars to describe the aftermath of the SNP's poor 1992 general election performance (Harvie, 1998, p. 238).

throughout the literature sample. The most recurrent terms employed are the Scots as “post-nationalist” (Hassan, 2011, p. 55); “post-political” (Nairn, 1993, p. 159); “post-modern” (Brand et al., 1994, p. 617); and “post-sovereign” (Jackson, 2014b, p. 54). Even twenty-first century SNP party leader Alex Salmond described himself as a “post-nationalist” (Jackson, 2014b, p.54). These expressions articulate a narrative whereby the Scots diverged from the nation as society’s fundamental force⁴⁴ and experienced a different kind of collectivism beyond the nation⁴⁵. When contrasted against Scotland’s history, two post-nationalist⁴⁶ phases can be identified: Scotland as sub-national; and Scotland as sub-supranational.

Scotland’s sub-national phase refers to the reluctance of the Scottish people to seek an independent state outside of the UK between the years 1707-1967. During this era, the Scots willingly committed cooperation and enthusiasm to the Union and the Empire project in the pursuit of socio-economic betterment (Harvie, 1998, p. 35). Sub-supranational refers to the era of Scottish Europeanisation that took place after 1967⁴⁷. During this period, the Scottish nationalist narrative transformed to contain characteristics of European integration and global economic interdependence (Jackson, 2014b, p. 50), anchored by pooled sovereignty and shared human rights⁴⁸. Rejecting the idea of an independent, sovereign nation-state, neither narrative articulates nationalism. Instead, the Scots are stereotyped in the pursuit of sub-national economic prosperity before 1967, and thereafter by sub-supranational acceptance of hetero-diversity and progressive, egalitarian values. This is consistent with the characteristics of patriotism. As patriots prioritise the interests of civil society, the Scottish nationalism scholarship threads a narrative of civic values throughout Scotland’s history. However, considering patriotism’s conceptual exclusivity with nationalism, these civic values are articulated outside of a nationalism framework.

Aside from this tension, the patriot’s allegiance to parliament presents another source of analytical dissonance with the Scottish nationalism scholarship narrative. Leerssen argues that the 1801 abolition of the Irish House of Parliament transformed Irish patriotism into nationalism, as the Irish people lost the representative body through which their civic virtues could be channelled. In this vacuum, the nation gradually replaced civic virtue as Ireland’s fundamental societal glue (1996, p. 12). In Scotland, the national parliament had been abolished almost one hundred years earlier. This implies that a similar process should have taken place. However, whereas Irish Fenians reacted to the

⁴⁴The ‘post’-less index values: ‘modern’; ‘nationalist’; ‘political’; and ‘sovereign’, are nationalist shibboleths.

⁴⁵Hence the ‘post-’ values.

⁴⁶Similarly described as ‘non-nation nationalism’ by Harvie (1998, p. 34)

⁴⁷A seamless, immediate transition is not implied. Multiple national narratives may co-exist and transform over time. Leerssen defines all simultaneously co-existing national images as a nation’s ‘imageme’ (2007d, p. 344).

⁴⁸Although taking place outside of the study-period, evidence of this narrative is illustrated by Scotland’s 62% vote to remain in the European Union during the 2016 UK referendum (BBC, 2016).

1801 Union by articulating their desire for a state, the so-called ‘Republic’⁴⁹, no such movement emerged after 1707 in Scotland. To the contrary, in a referendum held in 1979 to ascertain Scottish opinion on devolution, only 32.9% of the electorate voted for a Scottish parliament⁵⁰ (BBC, 1997). Therefore, whilst stereotyped as patriotic by the Scottish nationalism scholarship, these characteristics deviates from the historical pattern articulated by Leerssen’s typology. This presents a clear case for the emergence of a new kind of Scottish patriotism, one that should not have occurred, and which more generally has been overlooked.

Conclusion

The stereotypes articulated by the twentieth century Scottish nationalism scholarship can be divided into two stages. Pre-1960s Scotland is presented as static and peripheral, in which the Scots were unmodernised. Following the SNP’s shock 1967 by-election victory, which formed a critical juncture, the Scots are re-imagined within a modernising narrative and with liberal values, albeit as also somewhat exclusivist. Throughout the twentieth century, the Scots are imagined espousing civic values. Therefore, applying a civic nationalist framework, the post-1967 Scots appear to be characterised as civic nationalists. However, at the same time, Scotland’s civic values are presented within a patriotic framework. As patriotism is formulated as conceptually exclusive with nationalism, a mixed picture is presented to whether the Scots should be described as civic nationalists or as a new kind of patriotic non-nationalists. Taken together, one concludes that a new and previously overlooked typology of Scottish patriotism has been articulated by the Scottish nationalism scholarship. This conclusion addresses the research question by demonstrating the stereotype transformations within the Scottish nationalism scholarship. Turning to the central thesis statement, this investigation serves three broader purposes. Firstly, it provides a clear historiographical foundation of Scottish nationalism for contrast against the SNP election propaganda materials analysis in Chapter Three. Secondly, it draws wider attention to image construction within academia. Thirdly, it demonstrates civic nationalism’s explanatory power when applied to a critical historiography.

⁴⁹Proclaimed by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) during the 1916 Easter Rising (Foster, 1989, p. 597).

⁵⁰A 40% ‘Yes’ threshold had to be exceeded for implementation (BBC, 1997).

Introduction

This chapter investigates the transformations within the Scottish National Party (SNP)'s instrumentalisation of Scotland's national image during the twentieth century. Following access provided by the National Library of Scotland (NLS)⁵¹, primary SNP election propaganda⁵² materials have been examined. Local election campaign leaflets/pamphlets⁵³ and Westminster constituency election campaign leaflets/pamphlets⁵⁴ were selected for analysis⁵⁵. These collections were chosen for three reasons. Firstly, in the view of the author, they contained the most detailed and imagologically interesting qualitative data within the NLS' SNP archive. Other datasets, such as the SNP election campaign posters collection⁵⁶, contained text-sparse and one-dimensional graphics unsuitable for imagological analysis. Secondly, composed of multitude sources dating from 1945 to 1975⁵⁷, the collection's time frame complements the historiography analysis performed in Chapter Two. Thirdly, during the COVID-19 pandemic, access to the NLS was heavily restricted⁵⁸. As an exhaustive investigation was not possible, the pamphlet/leaflet collections offered the most comprehensive dataset within time constraints. Although only briefly reviewed, the miscellaneous leaflets collection⁵⁹ appeared to contain academically promising SNP data. This may be of interest to future Scottish nationalism scholars.

This investigation has two central intentions. The first is to illustrate the explanatory power of civic nationalism (inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and a modernising narrative) when applied to a primary dataset. A case is made that during the late-1940s and the 1950s, the SNP articulated a liberal and sub-supranationalist nationalist narrative, which, until now, has been overlooked. In the context of Scotland's deindustrialisation, the late-1960s SNP exhibited the

⁵¹Located in Edinburgh, Scotland, the NLS holds the SNP archive collections.

⁵²“The dissemination of information – facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies, to influence public opinion” (Smith, 2020).

⁵³Acc.7295/22.

⁵⁴Acc.7295/23.

⁵⁵Scotland has a strong pamphleteering tradition that can be traced back to seventeenth century writer Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (Hanham, 1969, p. 66).

⁵⁶Acc. 7295/30.

⁵⁷Whilst sources were available for each decade between the years 1945-75, the collections primarily consisted of sources produced during the 1970s. The total sources examined for each decade are as follows: 1940s and 1950s: five; 1960s: four; 1970s: twelve. Some sources were undated. Where necessary, the source provenance was ascertained through its contents (names of the candidates, references to contemporary events/figures, the ward/constituency, etc.). Where an absolute year could not be identified, a range is given. Authorship of the documents is ascribed to the stated election agent or, where absent, the SNP.

⁵⁸At the time of the author's visit, researchers were only permitted to attend NLS for a maximum of five hours per calendar week.

⁵⁹Acc. 7295/24.

characteristics of regressive and un-civic ethnocentrism. However, after 1970, the party capitalised on the platform laid by Ewing's November 1967 Hamilton by-election victory and successfully employed the discovery of North Sea oil in its election propaganda materials. This threshold effect transformed the SNP's nationalist narrative into a popular, modernising, and unmistakably civic form of nationalism. 'Threshold effects' are historical processes that refer to points in history whereby increases in one factor have little or no impact until either it or another reaches a particular level. Once the threshold is reached, its associated outputs transform rapidly (Lange, 2013, pp. 72-73)⁶⁰. The second is to undertake a comprehensive and multi-dimensional analysis of Scottish nationalism. Three different types of civic nationalist assessment are demonstrated within this thesis: a complementary and asymmetrical⁶¹ investigation of late-nineteenth century Irish nationalism, a critical historiography of the Scottish nationalism scholarship, and a dataset analysis of primary SNP election propaganda materials. With an aim to demonstrate a real-world example of civic nationalism, this comparative chapter addresses the following research questions: to what extent do the SNP election propaganda materials substantiate the assessment that the 1967 Hamilton by-election was a critical juncture in Scotland's nationalist history; and should mid-twentieth century Scottish nationalism be characterised as civic? The central thesis statement, that 'Imagology' should have contained a more substantive and reflective exploration of civic nationalism, is addressed in the Conclusion.

The 1940s and 1950s: Overlooked liberal sub-supranationalism

Two materials produced during the 1940s and 1950s have been selected for analysis. Following its establishment in 1934, and the disruption caused by the Second World War, this period was the first prolonged and uninterrupted opportunity for the SNP to articulate its nationalist narrative. The first, an undated⁶² election leaflet produced by the SNP to support one of Dr Robert McIntyre's Motherwell constituency campaigns, is the oldest within the dataset. The leader of the SNP between the years 1947-56, H.J. Hanham describes McIntyre as a "passionate [believer] in economic freedom... a neo-Lockean populist who believes in a property-owning democracy" (1969, pp. 173-4). Similar commitments to democracy and the protection of individual rights are expressed in the leaflet, whereby McIntyre is described as standing for:

"A Democratic Parliament to speak and act for the Scottish people... Return of control to Scotland of industries privately amalgamated or nationalised and run from London... Strengthening of European ties in a Federation [and] ... with

⁶⁰A comprehensive description of threshold effects is found in Lange (2013).

⁶¹Interrogating one case carefully and sketching (an)other case(s) (Kocha, 1999, p. 40).

⁶²McIntyre stood in Hamilton on three occasions: in the April 1945 by-election (won), the July 1945 general election (lost), and the 1950 general election (lost). It is not clear for which election this leaflet was produced.

Commonwealth countries... [and] the widest distribution of Political and Economic power [with] legislation to protect the community against the abuses of all forms of monopoly – private or state” (Daniels, n.d., pp. 1-2).

In contrast with Fenianism, and consonant with the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) under both Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell⁶³, the leaflet evidences the SNP’s clear liberal methods. Seeking to mitigate economic abuses by either ‘private or state’ forces, the party presented itself beyond the traditional Left-Right dichotomy⁶⁴. This political flexibility is consistent with Tom Nairn’s description of Scottish nationalism as “post-political” (1993, p. 159), and by extension, post-national; and reinforces Neal Ascherson’s description of the late-1960s and early-1970s Scottish economy as ‘hanging’ in liminal uncertainty between capitalism and socialism (Harvie, 1998, p. 167). A pamphlet produced to support McIntyre’s successor, James Halliday, during his 1959 general election campaign to become MP for Stirling, Falkirk, and Grangemouth Burghs⁶⁵ describes how “a Scottish Party M.P... would have no need to be silent for fear of embarrassing his Party, or offending his whip” (Young, 1959, p. 3). Halliday, like Butt in the mid-1870s, did not mandate that his prospective MPs follow the party line. Whilst this helped the SNP, like the IPP, to become an inclusive and broad-tent nationalist vehicle, the party’s organisational effectiveness was undermined by this accommodating political method⁶⁶. Consequently, the party’s poor electoral performances under Halliday during the 1950s draw closer parallels with Butt than with Parnell.

During the late-1940s and 1950s, the SNP demonstrated the inclusivity of its politics by exhibiting interest in a multitude of national and supranational groups. Although the Motherwell leaflet refers to the Scottish people in both national and communitarian terms, its focus on the Scottish nation appears more consonant with civic nationalism than Scottish patriotism. No variants of the term ‘patriotism’ are employed in these materials. On the other hand, however, the ‘ties’ the SNP sought to ‘strengthen’ with the Europeans and the Commonwealth of Nations illustrate an inclusivity beyond the boundaries of the nation. Demarcating an early interest in a European ‘Federation’, and when considered in combination with the post-political characteristics already identified, the leaflet expresses the distinct characteristics of the Scottish patriotism typology identified in Chapter Two; although, in the form of sub-supranationalism⁶⁷ rather than the expected sub-nationalism⁶⁸. This constructed a positive, internationalist hetero-image of the world outside Scotland. Similarly, the SNP

⁶³Post-1882 Kilmainham Treaty.

⁶⁴This position also appears in a late-1940s or 1950s leaflet produced during a Bo’ness’ local election (SNP, n.d., p. 1).

⁶⁵Halliday polled last, behind Labour in first place and the Conservatives in second place.

⁶⁶Harvie concurs that the 1950s SNP leadership was ineffective but survived like a ‘modest family business’ (1998, p. 173).

⁶⁷Stereotyped by the Scottish nationalism scholarship after 1967.

⁶⁸Stereotyped by the Scottish nationalism scholarship before 1967.

developed a positive auto-image of Scotland. Whilst ‘London’ interference is blamed for the loss of Scottish industry (Daniels, n.d., p. 1) and Scotland “having to wait at the back of the [British] queue” (Young, 1959, p. 3), this issue is framed through the SNP’s desire to ‘return control’ via liberal, constitutional methods. Instead of regressive exclusivism, this narrative is more in keeping with the democratic malaise articulated by Gerry Hassan (2011, p. 50) and Nairn (1977). Envisaging a “free Scotland, able to apportion her income... to overcome [tax, unemployment, pensions, and education issues]” (Young, 1959, p. 3), the SNP articulated a clear modernising narrative.

In summary, the late-1940s and 1950s SNP election propaganda materials are characterised by a liberal, inclusive, and modernising nationalist narrative; albeit one that was also uncertain, liminal, and sub-supranational. Many of these findings challenge the Scottish nationalist scholarship. This tension is best explained by Scotland’s historical context: following the Second World War, successive Labour and Conservative governments implemented broad national reconstruction programmes, including: house building schemes, the National Health Service⁶⁹, and a social welfare system (Cameron, 2008, p. 132). These policies received popular acclaim and thereby maintained Scottish confidence in the Union⁷⁰. Consequently, like the mid-1870s IPP, the SNP failed to make an impact on Scottish politics and thus, up until now, the SNP’s early civic and sub-supranational narratives have largely gone unnoticed.

The 1960s: Hostile ethnocentrism

By 1967, more than twenty years had passed since the SNP had last won a seat at Westminster. Over the same period, the decline of Scotland’s major industries, including shipbuilding⁷¹ and the railways⁷², had shrunk the Scottish economy (Hanham, 1969, p. 181). In contrast with previous decades, the ruling United Kingdom (UK) parties failed to adequately address Scotland’s housing needs and the ongoing process of deindustrialisation (Cameron, 2008, p. 135). Two election materials produced during the late-1960s suggest that, in this environment, the SNP’s nationalist message had become more hostile, existentialist, and less inclusive. The first leaflet was produced during Winifred Ewing’s 1967 Hamilton by-election campaign. Presenting a community-focussed, liberal narrative,

⁶⁹In 1948.

⁷⁰Between 1945-55, the Conservatives’ vote share in Scotland became more equal to its vote share in England than in any time in history (Cameron, 2008, p. 135).

⁷¹In the early 1950s, 10,000 men worked in the railway industry in Glasgow, Motherwell, and Kilmarnock. Less than 1,00 remained by 1963 (Harvie, 1998, p. 123).

⁷²Between 1950-54, Scottish shipbuilding accounted for 12% of global shipbuilding output. By 1968, it was only 1.3% (Harvie, 1998, p. 122).

the material demonstrates a degree of continuity with the party under McInyre and Halliday. Drawing attention to Scotland's high emigration rate after the Second World War⁷³, Ewing is quoted asking:

“what of my three children? What of yours? Will they want to stay or [be]... forced out by low wages, poor housing, lack of opportunity” (McAteer, 1967, p. 1).

In conjunction with a series of investments pledged for Scottish culture⁷⁴ (McAteer, 1967, p. 3), the party placed unambiguous focus upon Scotland's social issues and clearly exhibited the party's civic values. Through the reference to Scotland's children, however, the pamphlet presented an anxiousness about Scotland's national future; namely, that without sufficient Scots remaining in Scotland, Scotland's existence could become threatened. In Ewing's words, “its importance will gradually decrease until the world regards Scotland as another Yorkshire” (McAteer, 1967, p. 1). Framed through an imagined blood-lineage, the civic values formed part of a nationalist narrative rather than a civil society orientated, patriotic one. Like previous materials, no variants of the term ‘patriotism’ appeared in the 1960s. Resembling the Fenian ethnocentric publications written to incite the Irish against their perceived English existential threat, the pamphlet threads a clear ‘blood and soil’ narrative. Describing the election as “YOUR choice”, it continues ominously “but if you continue to vote for Tory-Labour politicians... Scotland will cease to exist as a nation” (McAteer, 1967, p. 1). Framing itself as the only acceptable electoral choice, the SNP undermined its liberal commitment to achieve change via the free choice of the Scottish people. The pamphlet also demonstrates that, whereas the SNP had previously framed the Scottish nation through a positive, modernising auto-image, it had become re-imagined in contrast to a hostile and Fenian-resembling anti-London hetero-image. This language evokes a more antagonistic and auto-exoticised (Leerssen, 1996, p. 35) form of Hassan's ‘Westminster village’ remarks (2011, p. 50), and draws attention to the decline of the party's previous inclusive internationalism - positive references to the world beyond Scotland are omitted from the 1960s literature. Whilst the pamphlet describes that its content “is not wishful thinking, nor is it S.N.P. propaganda” (McAteer, 1967, p. 3), the very use of the term indicates that the party was mindful about its open dissemination of facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies, to influence Scottish public opinion (Smith, 2020).

Overtaking a Labour majority of over 16,000 votes (Harvie, 1998, p. 179), Ewing won the Hamilton by-election. Framed as the critical juncture that transformed Scottish nationalism into a

⁷³The net loss of Scottish population by migration totalled approximately 210,000 between 1963-7 (Hanham, 1969, p. 30). Hanham outlines that without emigration, Scottish unemployment, already 4.1% by 1968 (compared to 2.4% in England and Wales), would likely have been much worse (Hanham, 1969, p. 30).

⁷⁴In the leaflet, the SNP pledged to invest in cultural sectors, including: theatres, colleges of music, and Gaelic language and literature (McAteer, 1967, p. 3). This evokes the ‘no language, no nation’ Gaelic revivalism attempted by Lord Erskine in the 1910s and 1920s (Hanham, 1969, pp. 123-124).

more forward-looking, modernised, and civic form⁷⁵, one would expect to see an increased articulation of the four civic nationalism pillars. To the contrary, the opposite occurred. The next opportunity for the SNP to disseminate its nationalist narrative took place during the October 1969 Glasgow Gorbals constituency by-election. A pamphlet produced to support the party candidate, Tom Brady⁷⁶, describes him as “fighting” for a “a new world” (Taylor, 1969, p. 3). Whilst this appeared to articulate a modernising narrative, the pamphlet continues:

“In wartime, dangerous talk costs lives. In Scotland, dangerous voting means slum housing, second-class wages... a harder struggle all around... In a fight you don’t tie your hands behind your back... A vote for unionists now is a vote against Scotland – a vote against yourself... Do you want to be buried alive? For that is the choice – a new Scotland or no Scotland” (Taylor, 1969, p. 3).

Deepening the ethnocentric language employed in 1967, the comparison between the Scottish people continuing to vote for the mainstream British parties, and the risks associated with loose wartime talk, is extreme. Whereas the Hamilton pamphlet previously employed a blood-lineage, existential threat to draw attention to Scotland’s migration patterns; in 1969, it was used as a bellicose call to arms, challenging the Scots to change their voting behaviour lest they be ‘buried alive’. To a certain extent, these threats to life align with the language employed by the 1850s and 1860s Fenians, who rejected constitutional politics to ‘fight’ the English. However, despite the aggressive tone, the pamphlet demonstrates how, unlike the Fenians, the SNP continued to perceive liberal, constitutional politics as the prevailing medium to achieve change. Committed to contesting elections, hostile language was a tool to persuade voters, rather than to encourage real acts of violence. Notwithstanding this, within the electoral system the SNP continued to articulate itself as the only acceptable choice to voters. Akin to the SNP under McIntyre and Halliday, the leaflet states that “in an independent Scotland, your vote will be effective - right or left” (Taylor, 1969, p. 3). On the one hand, all political opinions were acceptable, but on the other, the SNP was the only permissible choice. This contradictory message demonstrates the extent to which the party’s nationalist narrative remained static, uncertain, and peripheral, and framed through an anti-English hetero-image. Whilst the Glasgow Gorbals pamphlet highlighted the SNP’s desire to ‘invest in education’, a civic ambition, the justification given was:

“Scotland had four universities for centuries whilst England made do with two... Now Scots children are on part-time education... It’s a lesson in Westminster rule we can’t afford” (Taylor, 1969, p. 4).

Rather than framing their vision for a better Scotland within a positive Scottish auto-image, the SNP employed remote history to engage in anti-English one-upmanship. Rather than expressing

⁷⁵Similarly, Hanham outlines that Ewing’s victory was marketed as a ‘new approach’ (1969, p. 186).

⁷⁶Labour won the election with a majority of the votes. Brady came second with only 25% (Harvie, 1998, pp. 181-182).

a modernising narrative, especially about its civic values, the SNP fixated regressively and exclusively on the distant past.

Writing in the late-1960s, Hanham argued that:

“it would be a bold man who would say that many people in Scotland, other than the members of the Scottish National Party, have been willing to do anything positive to put Scotland back on the map of Europe” (1969, p. 48).

This was, in fact far, from the truth. Whilst the SNP won Hamilton in 1967, the party underperformed and lost the 1969 Glasgow Gorbals election. Ewing lost her seat shortly thereafter during the June 1970 general election, in which the SNP only retained one seat⁷⁷. At the close of the 1960s, as in the mid-1940s, the SNP were unable to effectively instrumentalise Scotland’s national image for its political ends. These circumstances have created tension with the assessment that 1967, as a critical juncture, irreversibly changed the trajectory of Scottish history. This discrepancy is part explained by the responses to the major parties took following the Hamilton result: Seizing an opportunity to wrest constitutional reform from Labour’s traditional policy platform, in 1968, Conservative party leader and future Prime Minister Ted Heath committed the party to Home Rule⁷⁸ (Devine, 2008, pp. 143-144). Responding to Heath, the incumbent Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, set up a Royal Commission on the Constitution in 1969 (Devine, 2008, p. 144). These actions pre-empted the SNP’s policy platform. More decisively, however, the party’s articulation of a repugnant, hostile, and ethnocentric narrative message illustrates how, in the context of deindustrialisation and in contrast with the critical historiography findings, Scottish nationalism remained expressed in uncertain and peripheral terms as late as 1969.

The 1970s: Civic nationalism

In October 1970, BP struck oil approximately 110 miles from Aberdeen (Devine, 2008, p. 154). This discovery offered enormous potential for the UK economy; however, situated within Scotland’s coastal waters, valuations of the so-called ‘black gold’ stood in stark contrast with Scotland’s high unemployment rate, which in 1971, was the worst in Western Europe (Devine, 2008, p. 154). Three SNP materials demonstrate how, between the years 1971-4, the party used the 1967 Hamilton by-election victory as a platform to capitalise on the discovery of North Sea oil. Over the same period, the party narrative transformed to exhibit the characteristics of a forward-looking and civic form of nationalism. Rather than having an immediate impact, the 1967 Hamilton by-election only became

⁷⁷The Western Isles. The party polled only 11% in Scotland and numerous SNP councillors lost their seat owing to their inexperience and inability (Devine, 2008, p. 144).

⁷⁸Often referred to as the ‘Declaration of Perth’.

activated and locked-in as a critical juncture due to the thresholding effect of the North Sea oil discovery.

The first material is a pamphlet produced during the SNP's September 1971 Stirling, Falkirk, and Grangemouth Burghs constituency by-election campaign. Former party leader, Dr Robert McIntyre, stood for the SNP⁷⁹. Highlighting how Scottish constituents have "on average, about 10 opportunities to vote", making the by-election "the opportunity of a life-time" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 1), the pamphlet illustrates the SNP's commitment to undertake politics via liberal methods. Unequivocally, this was the SNP's most entrenched and recurrent nationalist narrative characteristic between the mid-1940s and mid-1970s. Despite conveying a hostile tone during the 1960s, the party's exhibition of unqualified liberal enthusiasm sets it apart from the 1850s and 1860s Fenians. The pamphlet also illustrates the party's transition away from its earlier sub-supranationalism. Describing how "remote control from London is bad enough – even more remote control from the Brussels' bureaucracy will be a disaster" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 3), the party resisted the idea of Scotland being governed by both Westminster and Europe⁸⁰. Framed as a "positive result for Scotland – and for our future" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 3), the language is forward-looking and modernising. The language is also nationalist and articulates neither the sub-nationalist nor sub-supranationalist variants of Scottish post-nationalist patriotism. No variants of the term 'patriotism' are employed in the 1970s materials; and consequently, such terms do not appear within the entirety of the NLS SNP leaflet/pamphlet collections. Addressing whether the by-election outcome could alter government policy, McIntyre responded that "Ewing's Hamilton victory result after 1967 did just that" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 3). Thus, although the party performed poorly in elections between the years 1967-70, the SNP evidently felt that it had obtained a foothold in British politics after 1967. This perception is consonant with the historiography stereotype of late-1960s Scottish nationalism transitioning out of a peripheral chronotype⁸¹.

Following the October 1974 general election, the SNP broke into Westminster comprehensively. Winning seven Scottish seats with 22% of the vote, the party pushed the Conservatives into third place and forced Labour to adopt a home rule policy (Devine, 2008, p. 144). Like the IPP after the 1882 Kilmainham Treaty, the SNP began to realise their political objectives via constitutional methods. The second material under analysis, a newspaper-style leaflet produced to support one of Roger Knox's 1974⁸² Kirkcaldy election campaigns, illustrates that much of this

⁷⁹McIntyre finished in second place behind Labour. The Conservatives finished in third place.

⁸⁰During the 1960s and 1970s, the SNP debated whether it should advocate for independence or home rule. The party settled on independence. Anti-EEC Scottish nationalists were described as 'separatists' (Miller, 2008, p. 185).

⁸¹Temporal-spatial pattern in literary imagination; (Leerssen, 1996, p. 7).

⁸²Unclear whether it was produced for the February or October general election.

success was owed to the SNP's effective employment of the North Sea oil discovery. Responding to the question "what can Scotland's oil do for Scotland", the leaflet presents a hypothetical, forward-looking "peep into Scotland's [independent] future" (Chalk, 1974, p. 1):

"The Scottish cabinet today agreed to put the terms of Common Market entry to the people of Scotland in a referendum⁸³... The Scottish delegation to the United Nations international disarmament conference left today for Geneva... The foreign aid committee set up by the Scottish Government last year will recommend that an annual sum be set aside for the peripheral areas of England" (Chalk, 1974, p. 1).

This invented future articulates a narrative characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism: policy is imagined governed by input of the Scottish people via the ballot box; Scotland is imagined cooperating inclusively with the international system towards civic peace efforts; and the SNP anticipates that Scottish economy would become sufficiently modernised to offer financial support the poorer areas of England. Strikingly, this inverts the stereotype of Scotland trapped within a peripheral Celtic fringe (Leerssen, 1996, p. 191) relative to dominant England.

Contesting the Argyllshire constituency in both February and October 1974⁸⁴, a pamphlet produced to support the SNP candidate Iain MacCormick⁸⁵ describes his commitment to "build a balanced and prosperous community in Argyll" and "the freedom of the people of Scotland to develop their own resources and manage their own affairs" (Davidson, 1974, pp. 2-3). With a clear focus on community issues, MacCormick demonstrated the SNP's unmistakable civic values. Notably, the pamphlet articulates an inclusive narrative in which Argyllshire's local community forms part of wider Scottish people with the 'freedom' to '[manage] their own resources and affairs'. Hinting towards Scottish management of the North Sea oil, this language not only reaffirms the SNP's commitment to liberal democracy but also demonstrates the extent to which it had reimagined the Scottish nation. Describing that "a vote for me... is the best guarantee of... an early end to the misgovernment of our country [holding Scotland back as]... a mere region... one of the 'development areas'" (Davidson, 1974, pp. 3-4), the pamphlet demonstrates how the party stopped framing the Scots in relation to a hostile and auto-exoticised anti-English hetero-image, and started imagining a modernised, positive Scottish auto-image of the future. Whilst Ewing lost in 1970, the shock 1967 result won the SNP a foothold in the formal UK political system and laid the platform for the SNP to capitalise on the North Sea oil discovered in 1970. Forming a threshold effect, these two factors

⁸³Harvie describes that the party unanimously supported its 'No – on anybody else's terms' slogan as it incorporated both pro- and anti-EEC Scottish nationalist positions (1998, p. 190).

⁸⁴Unclear whether it was produced for the February or October general election.

⁸⁵Two elections were held in 1974. MacCormick won both times.

combined transformed the SNP's nationalist narrative into a popular, modernising, and civic form of nationalism.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the transformations within the SNP's instrumentalisation of Scotland's national image during the twentieth century through an analysis of its primary election propaganda materials. It found that during the late-1940s and the 1950s, the SNP articulated an unexpectedly liberal and sub-supranationalist, if peripheral, nationalist narrative. Due to the success of the mainstream UK parties' economic policies at the time, these characteristics have been overlooked until now. In the context of Scotland's deindustrialisation, the SNP of the 1960s exhibited regressive and un-civic, if consistently liberal, ethnocentrism. However, after 1970, the party capitalised on the platform laid by Ewing's 1967 Hamilton victory and effectively exploited the discovery of North Sea oil. These two factors in combination constituted a threshold effect that, by 1974, had transformed the SNP's narrative into one characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism; a platform upon which the party broke into Westminster. Concluding the research questions, these findings suggest that the 1967 Hamilton by-election was a (delayed) critical juncture; and that Scottish nationalism should be characterised as civic after 1974. Consequently, the analysis has demonstrated the explanatory power of civic nationalism on a primary dataset and, by comparing the findings with the IPP case and Scottish nationalism scholarship, delivered a comprehensive and multi-dimensional analysis of Scottish nationalism.

Conclusion

Findings

This thesis set out to investigate the extent to which twentieth century Scottish nationalism characterised a real-world example of civic nationalism, rather than blood and birth ethnocentrism. This was designed to challenge the existing body of scholarly nationalism studies, which has thus far demonstrated a critical, even oppositional relationship with nationalism. To this end, an imagological framework, as developed by Joep Leerssen and Manfred Beller in the field's seminal textbook 'Imagology', was employed to analyse the transformations within Scotland's nationalist narrative. Four 'pillars' of civic nationalism were operationalised: Inclusive politics, liberal values, civic values, and a modernising narrative. The first three pillars were identified by Stephen Auer through his examination of the transformations within post-Soviet, mid-1990s Central Europe nationalism. The latter pillar was developed in Zygmunt Bauman's analysis of twenty-first century modernity. The successful demonstration of all four pillars was formulated to indicate the presence of a civic nationalist narrative. Accordingly, three inter-related cases were assessed.

The first concerned the transformations within mid-to-late-nineteenth century Irish nationalism. It found that on the one hand, the 1850s and 1860s Fenians articulated a clear ethnocentric nationalist narrative. In contrast, the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) transformed from exhibiting ineffective liberal nationalism in the mid-1870s, to a mixed, part-ethnocentric narrative during the 1879-82 Land War, to a comprehensive, effective, and constitutional civic nationalist narrative following the 1882 Kilmainham Treaty – a critical juncture. This assessment illustrated a clear example of sub-United Kingdom (UK) ethnocentrism and civic nationalism, highlighted the mechanisms through which nationalism may change over time, and constituted a contrast device for the Scottish nationalism investigation. The second undertook a critical historiography of the Scottish nationalism scholarship. It identified two prominent and recurrent stereotypes about Scotland: Scotland as small, distant, and peripheral; and the Scots as patriotic and post-nationalist. Additionally, the SNP's November 1967 Hamilton by-election victory was identified as a critical juncture. Whilst these narratives presented a mixed picture as to whether the Scots should be considered civic nationalists, or a new kind of patriotic non-nationalists, the analysis provided a clear historiographical foundation about the debates concerning Scottish nationalism, drew wider attention to image construction within academia, and demonstrated civic nationalism's explanatory power when applied to a critical historiography. The third investigated the transformations within the SNP's nationalist narrative. It found that during the late-1940s and the 1950s, the SNP articulated an unexpectedly liberal and sub-supranationalist, albeit a liminal and peripheral, nationalist narrative. In the 1960s,

the SNP exhibited an ineffective, regressive, and ethnocentric form of nationalism. However, after 1970, the party capitalised on the 1967 Hamilton by-election critical juncture to effectively exploit the discovery of North Sea oil. Together, these factors constituted a threshold effect that, by 1974, had transformed the SNP narrative into one characterised by all four pillars of civic nationalism. This assessment demonstrated the explanatory power of civic nationalism when applied to a primary dataset and, in comparison with Irish nationalism and the Scottish nationalism scholarship findings, delivered a comprehensive and multi-dimensional analysis of Scottish nationalism.

In the view of the author, the omission of a comprehensive exploration of civic nationalism in 'Imagology' has unbalanced imagological inquiry into nationalism and entrenched a one-sided theoretical framework. This may have restricted research opportunities into potential real-world occurrences of civic nationalism. In response, this thesis has presented a comprehensive demonstration that mid-1970s Scottish nationalism is a real-world example of civic nationalism. Consequently, the thesis statement, that a more substantive and reflective exploration of civic nationalism should have been included in 'Imagology', has been defended.

Limitations

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, an exhaustive review of the National Library of Scotland (NLS) archive collections was not possible. A research trip scheduled in January 2021 was cancelled less than a week before it was due to take place due the emergence of a new 'Alpha' strain of the coronavirus in Kent, UK. A second, successful research trip took place at the end of July 2021, less than four weeks before the thesis' due date, whereby access to the NLS was restricted to only five hours per calendar week. This placed limitations on both the time that it was possible to spend in the archive, and on the time that was available to perform the data analysis

Under better circumstances, more attention would have been paid to areas of divergence between the nationalist narrative articulated by the local SNP branches - the bodies producing the primary election propaganda materials - and the party leadership. In a similar vein, a comparison between the different party blocs (highland vs. lowland; pro-EEC vs. anti-EEC; liberal vs. socialist) was not possible; although, differences were certainly likely to exist. Such investigations may interest future scholars.

Recommendations

Having demonstrated the explanatory power of civic nationalism, imagologists are encouraged to employ civic nationalism as an analytical tool in their assessments of nationalism. In terms of future research, three intuitive directions for continuing this research are recommended: Firstly, regarding

Scottish nationalism, several of its interesting aspects remain under-investigated. For example, Scotland's pre-1945 and post-1975 historical developments, and many primary materials in the NLS archives, remain unexamined. Secondly, whilst this investigation placed focus upon two sub-UK nationalisms, a multitude of others were omitted. Welsh, Cornish, and English nationalism constitute ideal cases for consideration. Thirdly, beyond the UK, several other global sub-national and secessionist movements warrant civic nationalist investigation. Examples include Catalonia, Brittany, and Kurdistan.

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