JOHN BUCHAN
The Antonyms of Scottish Nationalism

By

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INTRODUCTION

What is nationalism? What is this phenomenon, this idea, this concept that permeates modern thought, action and creed? What is it about nationalism that drives people to war and destruction as well as joy and happiness? What does it stand for? How is it defined? These are questions that have haunted scholars throughout the 20th century. They haunt because there is no one definition that can be ascribed. An ever changing and amorphous subject, it cannot be pinned down, not even within one nation or person. Thus, in talking about nationalism, one can merely hope to explore single facets at a time.

In its rough outline, nationalism refers to the sense of pride and caring a people share when joined together by the same culture, language, and history in the same geographical area. This people sees itself as a nation with specific characteristics that form its identity. This understanding of nationalism provides the context for this project, an examination of Scottish nationalism during the Interwar period (1918-1938). It examines the role of the intellectual in the

creation of a national identity.[1] More importantly, it is a study of how one

Scottish intellectual, John Buchan, participated in Scottish nationalism. Buchan

and his relationship to Scotland serve as a case study through which one can

theorize about the role of intellectuals in the development and maintenance of

national identity and cultures.

Intellectuals play and have played very important roles in the creation of

national consciousness and identity. They are the community where the ideas and

philosophies that generate and perpetuate nationalism are initially discussed at a

theoretical level. Looking at the development of nation-building in the 19th

century, it can clearly be shown that the educated elite generated trends and

movements of intellectual thought which sparked the nationalist feelings that were

cultivated so broadly.[2] In their role as the forefathers of group identity and the

awakeners of national consciousness, the intelligentsia is typically depicted as the

central, self-identifying figures of the nations that they are instrumental in

creating. They are typically seen as embodying the pure characteristics that they

are fostering and perpetuating.

I wish to question this characterization of the nation-building

intelligentsia. Just as a nation is built on complexities, contradicting

characteristics and incongruous parts that are reevaluated as a "pure" essentialized

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[1] Identity is the most difficult term and perhaps overused term in this paper. It will be used to
refer to both the larger political entities, Scotland and Britain, as well as smaller philosophical and
cultural entities.
[2] While there is much debate about the origin of nationalism as a social movement, which will be
discussed in Chapter One, this paper assumes that the modern form of nationalism it addresses
arose in the 19th century.

identity, so too is the intelligentsia made up of incongruous parts and contradicting characteristics yet perceived as the embodiment of that "pure" identity it seeks to establish. John Buchan's personality and position within the revival and perpetuation of Scottish identity reflects such complexities. The contradicting characteristics, incongruous parts, and complexities present in Scottish national identity are also present in Buchan himself.

In an address to Parliament in November 1932, Buchan stated,

> Britain cannot afford, the Empire cannot afford, I do not think the world can afford, a denationalized Scotland. In Sir Walter Scott's famous words, 'If you unScotch us, you will make us damned mischievous Englishmen.' We do not want to be, like the Greeks, powerful and prosperous wherever we settle, but with a dead Greece behind us. We do not want to be like the Jews of the Dispersion – a potent force everywhere on the globe, but with no Jerusalem.[3]

This statement does two things. Firstly, it confirms the many sentiments and concerns faced by Interwar Scotland. And secondly, it presents the wishes of one man for the future of Scotland. Although not an overwhelming force in Scottish society, Scottish nationalism came into question during the Interwar years with the economic and social changes following World War I. An active intellectual as a Member of Parliament, editor of the publishing company, Nelson and Sons, novelist and historian, Buchan engaged in these discussions about Scotland's future as a nation and attempted to impart his views to the Scottish people. Although raised in the Lowlands of Scotland, Buchan was also a part of the British tradition, being educated at Oxford and serving abroad in the imperial administration. Buchan's numerous speeches, essays and books illustrate the

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[3] *Parliamentary Debates /PD/* 272 H.C. Deb. 5s., cols. 253-60

multitude of venues across the British Isles and Canada that he utilized to speak about Scotland as a great nation. This thesis will examine these speeches and writings to see how Buchan attempts to shape Scottish identity into one unified vision but in the process reveals his own embodiment of Scotland's complexities.

Within the discourse of Scottish affairs and Buchan's writings and speeches, three interconnected tensions become apparent and play off of one another. The first tension was a result of the unification of Scotland and Great Britain in 1707. The Union of 1707 caught Scots between their role as members of Great Britain and their own independence as a separate nation. The second tension was caused by the evolution of the British Empire and the great industrialization of the 18th and 19th centuries. Scots were full participants in the evolution of the Empire and the great industrializations, a matter that stood in total conflict with the traditional rural cultural identity of Scotland. The third tension is specific to the Interwar years, during which Scottish intellectuals with radical political leanings challenged Great Britain and British-minded Scottish parliamentarians, advocating for Scotland and Scottish interests to the point of devolution. In the interest of depth, this thesis is focusing on these three major tensions. The examination of other tensions such as those found in religion are outside the scope of this project.

The first tension has two parallel parts. The Scots' identity was conflicted by their membership in Great Britain and the cultural and industrial division between the Highlands and the Lowlands. In addressing this presence of dual

identity, Buchan chose to focus on the ability of the Scots to overcome these different identities and to become one unified people. He described their unique ability to unify as their greatest strength.

Developing as a result of the process of unionization, two distinct national identities of Scotland were formed, thus creating the second tension. With the Union came industrialization and modernization, which brought economic power, stability, a disciplined work ethic and major participation in the British Empire. Scotland adapted to this transformation and within the British Empire became known as a great-industrialized nation. At the same time, the Scotland that had existed prior to the Union, the Scotland of traditions, ballads, and romanticized myths, was forced to fight for its survival and came to exist as a distinct Scottish identity. The Scottish character was, therefore, made up of two parts: the modern industrialized identity and the traditional, rural identity. In his many speeches and publications, Buchan illustrates the presence of these two identities and the role that the institution of the Union played in shaping them. His article, "The Making of Modern Scotland," is a prime example of this process of their development.[4]

The third tension addresses the political make-up of Scotland. Despite the push during the Interwar years to address Scotland's problems, Scottish politicians' agenda were focused on British issues. Even the Labour party, which was thought to be the party of nationalism, was focused on dealing with Great Britain's problems and economy. At the same time, there were Scottish

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[4] John Buchan, "The Making of Modern Scotland." *Some 18th Century Byways.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1908/1926)

intellectuals of a more radical political leaning who pushed for greater recognition of Scots in Parliament and even advocated for devolution if such recognition was not forthcoming. While Buchan falls into the Conservative camp, he pushed Scottish affairs in Parliament and worked with and supported some of the radical intellectuals like Hugh MacDiarmind. Buchan was an English-oriented politician, who was divided between his affiliation with the Union and Scotland's independent identity.

This paper examines these tensions as they arise in the history of Scotland. These tensions form the backdrop for the rise of Scottish nationalism, the impact of the Union, the unique Scottish dichotomy between Highlands and Lowlands and understanding the apparent conflicts in John Buchan's philosophies and political actions. Chapter One, "The Dog that Did Not Bark," lays out the history of Scottish nationalism. Despite having many of the preconditions typically associated with the evolution of nationalism leading to independent political entities, nationalism in Scotland never evolved into a mass movement advocating for independence from Great Britain and the Empire.

Chapter Two, "Clio Stir Our Blood like Poetry and Song," discusses the role of history in constructing national identity and examines Buchan's philosophy of history and views on history's role in the development of Scottish identity. One of Buchan's primary theses in writing Scottish history is that after the Union of England and Scotland two different Scotlands emerged: the industrial Scotland and traditional Scotland. In illustrating how these

characteristics developed over time, Buchan brings the issue of history and historiography to the fore. Here 'history' refers to the narration of the past, as it was perceived, while historiography is the production of such narratives.

Chapter Three, "The Odd Strains that Make-up Our National Character," first takes an in-depth look at Buchan's views on nationalism and then examines how the larger tensions which pulled at Scotland permeate Buchan's statements. Although Buchan recognizes some of the paradoxes, which he depicts, he argues that the greatness of Scotland is its ability to encompass these disunities in one united essential identity. Despite his firm belief in this unified identity, Buchan himself belies the presence of it with his outspoken preference for the Borderlands of Scotland.

The Interwar Period, from 1918 –1938, was a time of severe economic depression aggravated by the decline of Scottish industries, the movement of Scottish capital of English banks, the emigration of Scots around the world and the immigration of Irish Catholics to Scotland. These changes manifested themselves in widespread concern over the future of the Scottish nation. There was an overwhelming feeling that the Scottish nation was dying and would soon become merely a northern section of England. As a result of these hardships and concerns, Scottish nationalism rose in a much louder voice and movement than it ever had previously. Scottish nationalism during the 19th century had been present in cultural movements but had never matured into a larger political movement, despite having many of the preconditions associated with nationalist

movements in small nations. With the upheaval of World War I and changes in Scotland's economy, many Scots began to question the status quo of Scotland's place in the Union with England and the British Empire. John Buchan would become the quintessential symbol of Scotland of this era, as well as one of its finest historians, writers, parliamentarians, and ambassadors. This thesis examines not only Scottish nationalism in the period but also how John Buchan's role as an intellectual shaping Scottish identity highlights the incongruities present in intellectual elites in the nationalism debate. Buchan is as complex a character as the Scottish people themselves.

CHAPTER ONE

"The Dog That Did Not Bark"[5]: The Legacy of 19th Century Scottish Nationalism During the Interwar Period

To understand Buchan's position as an intellectual and how he embodied the complexities of Scottish identity, it is first necessary to understand what these complexities were. This chapter looks at the development of Scottish nationalism chronologically. At a broad level, it attempts to examine why Scottish nationalism did not develop with more strength and with a greater mass following. At a narrower level, it looks at the presence and origins of the main tensions this thesis is focusing on: the political tension between conservative British parliamentarians and radically inclined Scottish intellectual nationalists, the tension between pre-modern and industrialized Scotland, and the tensions between Scotland and Britain, Scotland and its internal divisions, Highland and Lowland. Through these discussions, the ground is set to examine how Buchan fit into these complexities and how they saturated his writing.

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[5] Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), 120

Nationalism Theory

Nationalism is a broad and unwieldy subject that many have written on but none have given a defining theory. The elusiveness of nationalism stems from its ability to mutate and change depending on the situation. Thus, the definitions and theories put forth by sociologists, political scientists, historians, etc. are not able to satisfy and explain all nationalisms. There is cultural nationalism, religious nationalism, political nationalism and more; yet, each form may or may not share similar characteristics. The debate about nationalism stems from its very origin. Scholars have offered a variety of theories about the genesis of nationalism. There is a modern constructivist view that believes nationalism is only a 19th century creation of modernism. There are others that have taken a primordialist viewpoint, arguing that nations have been apart of the world's social structure, since antiquity. And there are yet others who fall somewhere in between these two groups and follow an ethnosymbolic view of nationalism, suggesting the antecedent of nations can be seen in history.

The modern constructivist view takes the stance that nations are a creation of nationalism. This 'nationalism' became a driving force with the modernization of society: industrialization, migration into cities, rising literacy, and rising middle class. By this definition, nationalism and nations are a distinctly modern 19th century phenomenon. The theory goes on to state that nations are recent 'constructs' in which educated elites played a dominant role. These elites

reinvented, created, and imagined a culture, history and society to forge a nation. In particular, the symbols of the nation like flags and anthems were created to give people a sense of belonging and community. All cultural and political avenues were used to show that the historical continuity of the nation, whether it had to be told through semi-fiction (myth or history) or forged (manuscripts or ancient texts).[6] As Eric Hobsbawm, one of the leading constructivist theorists, states, "that comparatively recent innovation, the 'nation,' with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative."[7] Hobsbawm's opinion about the modernity of nations and their constructed qualities is strongly supported by Ernst Gellner (1964), Miroslav Hroch (1985), and Elie Kedourie (1977) among others.

Many would argue that Benedict Anderson's work, *Imagined Communities* (1983), belongs with the above theorists. There are some, however, like Anthony Smith who sees Anderson as differentiating from them slightly. Smith argues that Anderson gives a more subtle argument, highlighting Anderson's statement that Gellner went too far in his assumption that because something is invented it is fabricated.[8] Anderson argues that the nation is a construct of an imagined political community. Once certain conditions were set, most important the rise of print capitalism, this political community could grow to

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[6] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 7.
[7] Hobsbwam and Ranger (1983), 13-14.
[8] Anthony Smith. *The Nation in History Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 57

become a nation. Smith argues that Anderson's ability to see an imagined political community that is historically imbedded separates him from other constructivist theorists.[9] Print capitalism, arising from the creation of the printing press, led to the dissemination of literature that allowed people to read in the vernacular. This readership led to people being able to realize that they were part of a larger community than the physical community that they lived in. Print allowed people to realize that there were other people, who they could not see, who were reading the same material at the same time. This simultaneity allowed people to imagine and associate with others, thus forming a group.[10] Anderson's definition of the nation and its origin has become one of the most widely accepted and used theories.

Anthony Smith's differentiation of Anderson from other constructivist theorists stems from Smith's wish to support his own theory on the ethnosymbolic origins of nations. This viewpoint "seeks to link modern nations and nationalism with earlier collective cultural identities and sentiments."[11] Smith accepts, along with other theorists (John Armstrong [1982] and John Hutchinson [1987]) that nations are modern inventions but he insists that nations have premodern antecedents in which the modern nation bases itself. For example, the history of the collective people that form a nation does not come completely from invention, there has to be something that existed beforehand for the history to be generated.

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[9] Smith, 58.
[10] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (London: Verson, 1991), Chapters 1-3.
[11] Smith, 62.

Smith illustrates three ways "in which the past may influence the national present." The first is recurrence, when premodern collective identities present an ideal type of nation and the present nationalists draw on this ideal type. The second, continuity, exists when institutionalized elements of the nation can be traced back to premodern times. Finally, appropriation is when nationalists rediscover and authenticate aspects of 'their' ethnic past.[12] Smith's argument about the role history plays in shaping the present is particularly useful, when trying to understand how nationalist historians utilize history to legitimize their nation.

There is yet another viewpoint about the origin of nations. The primordialist or perennial viewpoint argues that nations have always existed. Modern theorists who support this belief include Hugh Seton-Watson (1977) and Adrian Hastings (1997). These theorists argue that nations have been in existence since ancient times and that manifestations of the nation can be seen among ancient Greeks as well as Poles, Scots and English, among others, in the Middle Ages. As Hastings says of the nationalist debate, "the key issue at the heart of our schism lies in the date of commencement."[13] This primordialist view of nations is one that was espoused by the early 19th century nationalists. Ernst Renan (1882) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) were among the leading philosophers and historians to highlight and cultivate the importance of the historic nation. Numerous nationalists have followed their lead.

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[12] Smith, 63-64.

[13] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, religion, and nationalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7.

Scotland's Nationalist Development

In order to understand Scottish nationalism and its distinctiveness, it is first necessary to understand the typical development of nationalism. In rise of nationalism in the 19th century, there appeared across Europe a relatively similar set of developments regarding nationalism in small nations. The rise of nationalism can be attributed to a variety of influences. During the Enlightenment, intellectuals began to discuss the idea of the individual versus the group. Their view of the world suggested that the individual belonged to a nation or group. This provided an identity and unified individuals within groups.[14] This process was aided and encouraged by the development of print media, which allowed people to imagine themselves as part of a larger group. By reading newspaper and books simultaneously with other people, one could understand that there was a larger structure that unified people beyond immediate circumstances and beyond what could be immediately comprehended.[15] These ideas were able to take root with the modernization of society with its industrialization and migration into cities while literacy increased and the middle class grew. With these intellectual and socio-economic preconditions, nationalism began to spread

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[14] Thomas Nipperdy. *Germany From Napoleon to Bismark (1800-1866).* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 263

[15] This argument is the general premise of Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities* (1991).

across Europe.[16] A very general overview of typical national development

includes the establishment of a group of upper-middle class educated elites who,

influenced by these preconditions, begin to agitate and push for having their

'cultural groups' recognized as a separate entity.[17] They became nationalists

arguing for a nation's identity. Examples of this nationalist development include

Czech nationalism and Polish nationalism. This kind of cultural nationalism

focused on the vernacular language, a real or imagined history, and a culture

based on folk traditions. The economical and political upheavals of 19th century

Europe caused many small nations to become agitated, self-realized and develop

into nationalist entities. It is often argued that these nationalist movements were

often state seeking.[18] The future of the nation after it has developed both

culturally and politically is case specific. Some nationalist movements

developing in the 19th century were successful in getting their political demands

met, others were not. Overall, nationalist claims in Europe were fought over and

debated throughout the 19th century. It was not until after World War I that some

of the smaller stateless nations were recognized as separate nation-states.

A different track was followed in Scotland. Scotland had many of the

preconditions associated with nationalist movements. By the turn of the 19th

century, it not only had a long history of having a separate identity but Scotland

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[16] This is a very general account of nationalist development. Due to natinalism's changing structure there is no one way to describe it. This description, therefore, is merely an attempt at address some of the general trends.

[17] Nationalist theorist, Miroslav Hroch suggests that the development of nationalism occurs in three stages, based on the social class groups involved: A. the intellectuals, B. the middle class, and C. the masses. He calls these the ABC's of nationalism. See Hroch (1985)

[18] Elie Kedourie in his work, *Nationalism*, assumes that all nationalist movements are seeking self-determination. See Kedourie (1961)

had been the home to prominent Enlightenment thinkers and the ideas that sparked nationalism. The Scottish people had, within the geographical borders of the northern British Isles, a long established awareness that they were different from the other groups that inhabited the island: English and Welsh.[19] Up until 1707, the Scottish people had functioned as their own nation or separate independent state. With the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the two nations or states (England and Scotland) were forged into one governmental system but allowed to maintain separate cultural establishments. This Union changed the dynamic within Scotland. The loss of self-determination manifested itself by an increased attentiveness to existing Scottish character and identity. Because Scotland was still in a pre-industrialized state at this point, the characteristics that they heralded as their own were those associated with a pre-modernized nation. They were characteristics found in ballads and legends not books and they came to take on a traditional feeling with the passage of time and process of modernization. These characteristics were preserved in the Scottish institutions.

As the centuries progressed, many Scottish cultural traditions and ways continued to exist reinforcing their separate identity. There was a Scottish Church, Scottish laws and a Scottish education system. These official Scottish establishments kept the Scottish people's sense of their own self-government

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[19] Scotland presents a complex case, regarding the issue of whether or not nations are a modern construction or have existed throughout history. It most easily fits into Anthony Smith's ethnosymbolic definition that the nation is a modern construct but that it is based in premodern antecedents.

alive, despite their political tie to the English Parliament. They had their own literary traditions. They were able to push for some small political reforms.

Following the intellectual heights of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scots continued to achieve great literary accomplishments in the early 19th century. The work of Sir Walter Scott was heralded throughout Scotland and arguably the world. Scott's writings were grounded in Scottish culture and history. Scott specifically used the ballad and traditional sources to generate material for his works. He was, therefore, maintaining the pre-modern characteristics, which existed in Scotland. Scott developed the style of historical fiction. Nationalists throughout Europe were inspired by this style as a way to illustrate their nation's great past and traditions, even if they were not true. This is an example of how the intellectual elite played a role in developing national identity. The renowned poet Robert Burns also wrote at this time and drew much praise and awareness to Scottish verse. Burns wrote poetry in the Scots language. This was yet another intellectual attempt at reviving and maintaining Scottish characteristics as they had previously existed. These two literary figures became "precursors of a model European nationalism that came to be expressed through the ballads and the 'ideal types' of historical novels of Balzac, Hauff, and Manzoni."[20] Based merely on the work of these two men, Scots had a powerhouse to use in support of the Scottish nation. Yet, only little movements in nationalism were made.

In 1854, The Times *wrote,*

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[20] Christopher Harvie, "Ballads of a Nation" *History Today* Sept. 1999, 13

> Scotland is a country manifestly in want of a grievance. She labours under the weariness of attained wishes and the curse of granted prayers…When there really was a national mind the world heard nothing about the Abbey Craig, the Royal Arms and the rights of the Scottish herald…Yet the more Scotland has striven to be a nation the more she has sunk to be a province.[21]

For all the possibilities and foundations set at the turn of the 19th century, Scotland was increasingly tied to England and lacked a potent national voice. This summation by *The Times* suggests why a potent voice was lacking. Scotland had no "grievance." The "wishes and the curse of granted prayers" is a reference to the Union, something Scotland agreed to. This view of Scotland was not abnormal and continues to pervade scholarship on Scotland to the present time. Christopher Harvie argues that "nationalism had been defeated…In respectable society it had been weakened, right and left and it lacked the leadership and the ideology which could fuse it with popular demands."[22] Put another way, Scottish nationalism has come to be regarded as the "dog which did not bark."[23] This absence can be highlighted over the course of the 19th century by the lack of any significant national claims. The revival of the Romantic Movement in the 1850s and the press for Home Rule between 1880 and the First World War were "quite distinctly precursors, not the thing itself, remarkable in any wider perspective for their feebleness and political ambiguity than their prophetic power."[24] The *Times* article also implies the existence of this stunted form of nationlism when it suggests that attempts of national movements only pushed Scots more towards

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[21] Marinell Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History,* (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head, 1980), 145
[22] Harvie (1977), 89
[23] Harvie (1977), 120
[24] Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain*. (London : Verso, 1977), 96

England. There was too much contradiction within the concept of nationalism for it to be taken seriously.

The root of the relative absence of nationalism can be almost universally attributed to the effects industrialization, urbanization and Empire. These developments were pervasive throughout Scotland. As a result of joining with England, Soctland was able to participate in the trade and modernization that England was in the process of developing. Not only was Scotland able to participate in England's growth but also it was able to improve its own economic resources. By the mid-19th century, Scotland was well on its way to being a powerful industrial site. This growth affected Scotland in a variety of ways, all of which led to a suspension of Scottish political nationalism. The middle class was economically satisfied and therefore did not seek out nationalist claims. The social structure of society was changing. Politically, more sections of society were included. Most influential in changing the structure of Scottish society and encouraging its relationship to England was participation in the British Empire.

Within the traditional social structures of Scotland, the institutions that typically guarded Scottish identity were "finding it difficult to adopt to the strains thrown up by the forces of modernization and industrialization."[25] The 'new' middle class that was being created through industrialization increasingly disrespected institutions such as the Kirk and the law. They saw these institutions as preservations of the 'old' middle class supported by aristocratic patronage,

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[25] Richard Finlay. "The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850-1950" *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 113, (1997), 16

which in their eyes was corrupt and denied them a place in society.[26] This sense of power and the ability to condemn existing social conditions was a result of gaining economic power. Industrialization served as a distraction for the Scottish middle class away from the traditional nationalist trajectory of other small nations. The middle class was content with its economic gains and did not feel the need to turn to nationalism to rectify Scotland's place in the Union.[27] Furthermore, it was able to turn away from traditional symbols of Scotland like the Kirk and the law. In turning away from institutions that typically supported nationalism, it is not surprising that nationalism did not flourish during the 19th century. Chapter Two addresses this new society that was created as a result of modernization from a slightly different direction. In looking at Buchan's history of Scotland, it can be shown that Buchan picked up on this transition in Scottish society. He illustrated how the process of modernization led to the development of two Scotlands, old pre-modern Scotland and new industrialized Scotland. Chapter Three then examines how the presences of these two Scotlands permeate Buchan's description of Scottish identity.

The absence of nationalism can also be understood through electoral and party politics. In part, the middle class was more satisfied with its position within the Union when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. Prior to the bill, only 4,000 Scots were eligible to vote. The ratio was one adult male in 125 had the right to

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[26] Finlay (1997), 16
[27] This is a main basis in Nairn's argument, 145

vote in Scotland.[28] Following the passage of the bill, however, all middle class

white males were given the right to vote. The expansion of the vote gave Scots a

larger representation within parliament. This representation did not necessarily

mean that Parliament addressed Scottish issues. For the time, however, it was

regarded as an achievement. To Gladstone, the Reform gave to Scotland a

'political birth…the beginning of a duty and a power, neither of which had

attached to the Scottish nation in the preceding period.' Freedom was believed to

come with assimilation. [29]   Within Scotland, the franchise gave the middle class

the power to demand greater access to traditionally aristocratic privileges. They

wanted to abolish the old institutions and patronage. They sought to become

prominent members of society and to have the ability to voice opinions, without

being caught in antiquated systems of preference. These demands were met.

Simultaneously, the institutions were "subordinated" to British issues.[30] An

example of this demand for change and its development can be seen in the

Disruption of 1843, in which the issue of patronage was debated for ten years and

resulted in a division of the Kirk.[31] Not only was the middle class increasingly

able to assimilate with England as a result of the reform bill but it also fostered

this process by tearing down old bastions of Scottish identity.

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[28] Finlay (1997), 16
[29] Harvie (1999), 31
[30] Harvie (1999), 31
[31] The Kirk was the Church of Scotland. It is separate from the Church of England. The dispute was between moderates and evangelists, resulting in the evangelists forming their own Free Church of Scotland.

The path of assimilation led to other forms of amalgamation between Scottish and English politics. This can most clearly be seen in the Liberal domination of Scottish politics for most of the 19th century. The Liberal Party supported free trade, the Reform Bill, and Calvinism. The unprecedented strength of the Liberal party in Scotland can be accredited to the Liberal "identification with central preoccupations of 19th century politics in Scotland." These topics included religion, free trade, franchise reform, and issues of land.[32] By courting Scots, the Liberal party was successful, not only in receiving their votes but also in encouraging the deflation of nationalist sentiment. By addressing the most important issues of the middle class, the middle class was politically satisfied by the Union and saw no need to separate Scotland or cultivate political nationalism. The manifestation of this contentedness can further be seen in how the strength of the liberal party in Scotland led to the development of a British parliamentary tradition in which Scots who gained access to Parliament towed the British oriented party line. This tradition is one which Buchan was born into and played a balancing act in throughout his life.

Despite the political satisfaction that was generally achieved by most middle class Scots during the century, there was still an active and pivotal issue surrounding the preservation of Scottish identity. Political nationalism was essentially preempted by the political makeup of the Union, but there was still much discussion in the cultural arena about Scottish identity. Scholars have tried to explain how this is possible. Both Richard Finlay in his book, *A Partnership*

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[32] I.G.C. Hutchinson, *Scottish Politics in the 20th Century* (Hampshire UK: Palgrave, 2001), 2

for Good? (1997)*,* and Tom Nairn in *The Break-Up of Britain* (1977) offer

valuable, if somewhat contradictory views on the subject. Finlay believes that

nationalism does not have to be hostile in order for it to be a prominent and active

force. In the case of Scotland, Finlay asserts "Scottish national identity did not

vanish, rather it adapted itself to cope with these new circumstances."[33] Nairn, on

the other hand, argues that Scottish nationalism was "stunted" and "ill formed,"

therefore suggesting that it had not evolved in the correct manner of a nationalist

movement. Finlay asserts that Nairn is wrong in his assumption that Scottish

nationalism did not evolve properly. He suggests that Nairn's mistake comes

from not dealing with the "historical complexities of the evolution of Scottish

national identity." He sees Nairn's analysis as assuming that Scottish nationalism

must be hostile to the British state, and if it is not, then it does not make a

significant contribution to nationalism.

Ultimately, both scholars offer viable arguments. While Nairn's argument

may not be as complex in its understanding of nationalism, it does, however,

provide complex reasoning for why it was that the trajectory of traditional

nationalism was not pursued in Scotland. His argument is that the middle class

was economically satisfied, as a result of industrialization. Political nationalism,

therefore, was never active or active enough to affect British politics. Finlay's

argument highlights that there continued to be attempts to foster and encourage

national identity. These attempts, however, were never successful because they

never became politicized. In part, the Scottish case developed differently from

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[33] Finlay (1997), 20-21

other small-dominated nation states because it had a degree of political freedom that other nations did not. Therefore, cultural nationalist movements did not have to become political in nature. This illustrates Finlay's argument that Scotland had a very complex case. The political arena existed for people to actually speak out. That said, cultural movements often create momentum for larger political agendas. In Scotland's case, the cultural movement never generated the momentum or support to manifest itself as a political agenda.

A prime example of cultural nationalism's inability to influence political nationalism is the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR). The Association, founded in 1853, wanted greater recognition of their Scottish uniqueness; focusing on the absence of Scottish issues in Parliament. The Association was not nationalist per-se; it did not encourage a break with the Union. Instead, it accepted the Union but wanted to stop the slights that Scotland had continually received since its inception. The Association saw self government as a solution to this problem: "self government and self administration are not however incompatible with the Union. Scotland will never be improved by being transformed into an imitation of England but by being made a better and truer Scotland."[34] This kind of "middle-of-the-road-thinking" attempted to find a balance between complete devolution and complete domination. Buchan picks up on this question in his political career and is discussed at a later point (see Chapter 3).

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[34] Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationalism*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 95

One of the main entities that allowed Scotland to slip under the radar of the nationalist movements which populated Europe in the 19th century was the position of Scotland as part of the British Empire. The effect of empire in the development of Scottish nationalism and identity has several parts. First, the empire created an external place in which Scotland and England could co-exist as partners in a joint pursuit. Secondly, the empire contributed to the formation of the British identity. Thirdly, these first two factors contributed to the formation of a Scottish identity. In the course of the examination of these three aspects of Scotland's relationship to the British Empire, it becomes relevant to explore the ongoing scholarly conversation that is taking place surrounding this topic. The scholarship provided by Linda Colley in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992), Neil Davidson in *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (2000), Richard Finlay in *The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism* (1997), Graham Walker in *Intimate Strangers* (1995) and Tom Nairn in *The Break-up of Britain* (1977) not only illuminates the issue but the debates among the scholars gives added depth.

Graham Walker in *Intimate Strangers* argues that "far from being eclipsed by her larger neighbor Scotland used the opportunity structured by the Empire to demonstrate what Scots quite immodestly considered the superiority of their nation's cultural and moral distinctiveness."[35] This statement indicates the effect and role that the empire played in shaping Scotland's relationship to England. This relationship had not been a good one prior to the mid-18th century. As Linda Colley points out in *Britons*, Scotland and England had had a rather

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[35] Graham Walker. *Intimate Strangers.* (Edinburgh: J. Donald Publishers, 1995), 18

tempestuous relationship. It was colored on both sides by a fear of what the other would do. England, she argues, suffered from 'Scottophobia', which had been cultivated through a long history of mutual hatred. This hatred was based on memories of slaughter, pillage and rape on both sides and was "kept alive by folklore and children's games."[36] England imposed restrictions on the Highlands after the revolt of 1745 to try to curb highland defiance and induce them to join Britain.

This inducement proved profitable for the Highlanders and Scotland as a whole. The Highlands had been known as a place of ferocity and fighting, its men associated with strength, courage, and soldiering. Colley suggests that the English decided to take advantage of this and put it towards the cultivation of the Empire. That is, they no longer saw the Highlands as "an expensive nuisance. It had become the arsenal of empire."[37] This inclusion of Highlanders and more broadly Scots into the British military abroad cultivated a sense of independence and importance in Scotland. The importance of the military in Scotland had first been cultivated following the Union in 1707. Tom Nairn in *The Break-up of Britain* (1977) quotes William Ferguson's major piece, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (1968): "Until the end of the 18th century Scots did not share the ingrained anti-militarism of the English. They continued to take a pride in their martial traditions and one welcome aspect of the Union of 1707 was the way it

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[36] Linda Colley, *Britons*. (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 117
[37] Colley, 118

consolidated the new prospects for Scots soldiers."[38] The Empire furthered this

military connection. The military and service abroad became one of the key

sources of advancement in society for Scots. In particular, the wars that took

place in the Empire during the 18th century provided infinite sources of

advancement. Whether from families of title and money or of lesser social

standing, the military provided Scots with the opportunity to rise in the world:

"securing British victories could be a means of ensuring their own."[39]

      The success of Scots in the military contributed to a more general trend

that the Empire generated in Scotland, the rise of middle class wealth and power.

The Empire had a profound effect on the Scottish economy in numerous ways,

which in turn cultivated the Scottish middle class. As a place for advancement

and wealth, going abroad was a prime venture in which to be occupied; "the

Empire provided all sorts of opportunities for different types of Scots. The

achievements of émigré Scots and Scottish imperial administrators were a source

of great pride…for the new commercial middle class the empire was seen as a

place of great opportunity in which to exercise entrepreneurial dynamism and

enterprise."[40] It was possible to go abroad and achieve great success and wealth

as administrators, businessmen, etc in much the same way as soldiers in the army.

It was also possible to take advantage of the empire at home in Scotland. The

Scottish economy expanded into and bolstered the imperial markets; "the

centrality of the Empire to Scottish economic success was openly acknowledged

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[38] Tom Nairn. *The Break-up of Britain* (London: Verso, 1977), 166
[39] Colley, 127
[40] Finlay (1997), 16

in the descriptions of Glasgow as 'Second City of the Empire' and the Scottish economy as 'Workshop of the Empire'."[41] Finlay argues that it provided "for both individual Scots and the nation as a whole,…the opportunity to rid the historic curse of poverty and backwardness and propel Scotland into the ranks of the prosperous nations."[42]

The growth that Scotland was able to gain through imperialism both militarily and economically gave the idea of an 'imperial partnership' with England credibility. [43] Moreover, the achievements made through colonies and imperial trade generated a feeling on both sides of the border that "Scotland was not England's peer but its superior."[44] Colley argues, "investing in Empire supplied Scots with a means for redressing some of the imbalance in wealth, power and enterprise between them and the English."[45] The process of colonization and imperial expansion created a sense of equality for Scotland. While it might be tied to a larger government, the Empire provided a tangible venue through which Scots could see themselves as achieving and contributing to something that brought them prosperity, success and recognition. They could continue to see themselves as an independent nation despite their Union with England. Moreover, this nation was strong and something to be proud of. The relationship of Scotland to Britain is one that is constantly questioned. Buchan

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[41] Finlay (1997), 17
[42] Finlay (1997), 17
[43] Finlay (1997), 17
[44] Colley, 123
[45] Colley, 128

picked up this tradition of strength and independence. He firmly believed in

Scotland's status as a separate nation which was connected to Britain.

The prosperity achieved within the context of Union arguably made it hard

for Scots to find as much fault with the Union as they had at its inception. Nairn's

argument that the middle class was able to satiate itself through the Empire arises

out of these developments.[46] Whether Nairn's argument is adopted or not, what is

clear is that the Empire provided an external place in which Scotland and England

could exist at partners in a joint-venture in a way that was not possible within the

confines of the island of Britain.[47] In attempt to flesh out the relationship

between Scotland and England in the Empire, Colley suggests

> if Britain's primary identity was to be an imperial one,
> then the English were put firmly and forever in their place,
> reduced to a component part of a much greater whole, exactly
> like the Scots, and no longer the people who ran virtually the
> whole show. A British imperium, in other words, enabled
> Scots to feel themselves peers of the English in a way still
> denied them in an island kingdom.[48]

In stating, this Colley further illustrates how the Empire created space for

Scotland to have equality but she includes how the title of 'British' comes into

play. The question of the interplay between the idea of Britain and the smaller

entities which makes it up is one that pervades discussions across the British Isles.

In the case of Scotland, it provided a unique way for Scots to think of their actual

physical neighbour England. Under the system of Empire, England did not

technically hold any power over Scotland, even though it was the actual physical

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[46] This argument is key to Nairn's discussion of Scotland, 91-195
[47] Both Colley and Finlay discuss how the external being of empire allowed Scotland the room to maneuver and co-exist with England in a way that might not have been possible, solely in the confines of the British Isles.
[48] Colley, 129

center of British power. As will be shown, however, as the system of Empire

started to decline these views came into question. Hence, Buchan's discussion of

Scottish presence in Britain is given increased relevance.

It has been argued by Colley and Davidson, among others, that the Empire

was a driving force in the formation of a British identity.[49] Davidson uses the

case of the American colonies in the 18th century to illustrate how it was that a

British identity was perpetuated and built by the Empire. Being abroad in the

American colonies, provided a venue through which Scots could illustrate their

loyalty to a British nation. For Scots in the colonies, they saw themselves as part

of a larger system than just Scottish or English, it was the British system.

Through the process of being in the Empire, the notion of Britishness was

cultivated. This gave the British identity an undeniably imperialistic character.

Furthermore, by being cultivated in the place of Empire, the notion of British

identity was also associated with a sense of Scottish equality. Thus it is that

Colley asserts that the British identity is connected to a sense of equality between

England and Scotland. The question then becomes how did these tensions play

out during the Interwar years when the Empire's strength was called into

question.

Simultaneous to the production of a British identity through Empire,

Scottish identity was also cultivated through the Empire. There are two aspects to

this cultivation. The first is that be being abroad in the Empire, Scots were able to

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[49] Colley, 129-30 and Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood.* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 113

see themselves more clearly as one nation. Key to this realization was the position of Scots, especially Highlanders, in the military. Secondly, it was through the Empire that many of Scotland's symbolic identities were formed. The army played a particularly important role in cultivating a sense of Scottish identity. Scotland had up until the later 18th century been deeply divided between the Highlands and the Lowlands. The Highlands were seen by the Lowlands as a menacing and backwards society, which was looking to revolt against them. The Highlands wanted nothing to do with the Lowlands, which were associated with England and pressures of control and domination. In the army, however, the Highlander's tradition of great military prowess was extremely well respected and became something for the Lowlanders to be proud of. Moreover, their military accomplishments overseas provided the Lowland burghers with the new imperial markets, through which they could achieve wealth and prosperity. Similarly, with the respect and praise that they received in the army, Scots became proud to associate themselves with Highlanders.[50] Arguably, these two very different groups began to see themselves as part of the same identity.

The role of Scots in the Empire quickly became characterized by symbols and personality traits. These traits and symbols contributed to the formation of a more unified identity among Highlanders and Lowlanders. The success of Scots in the army led to Scots being seen as a "martial race,"[51] with qualities of

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[50] Davidson, 116-122
[51] Finlay (1997), 16

"bravery, endurance and military skill."[52] Furthermore, the success of the Highlanders within the army led to the promotion of Highland characteristics as Scottish symbols; "the kilt and the bagpipes acquired popularity where hitherto they had enjoyed none."[53] Ironically, these symbols became associated with the Empire as a whole. Not only did the army provide symbols of Scottishness but also the process of colonization led to the perpetuation of Scottishness. When Scots lived abroad, they were "quick to adopt the symbols and traditions of Scotland with pipe bands, Burns' Nights, statues to Wallace and Bruce and Highland Games abounding in 'little Scotland's' around the globe." The promotion of these Scottish characteristics abroad then had the effect of reinforcing Scottish characteristics at home. Scottish colonialist's contacts with home were extensive. By spreading the word of what Scottish traditions the colonists were promoting, the colonists were "further reinforcing imperial notions of Scottish identity."[54]

Through the process of Empire, Scotland came to see itself in several different ways, all of which are connected and ultimately had a profound effect on Scottish identity and nationalism. By being apart of the Empire, Scotland was able to grow in economic and social standing. This growth led to a feeling of significance and equality in its relationship to England. By working together in an external environment as joint-partners, Scotland and England were able to see each other more clearly as part of a larger being, Britain. Scotland also came to

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[52] Davidson, 119
[53] Nairn, 166
[54] Finlay (1997), 16

see itself more clearly with the unification of Highlanders and Lowlanders. It can be argued looking at this process that British and Scottish identity is inherently intertwined. Britishness is not possible without Scots, while at the same time Scottishness was cultivated through its membership in the British Empire. The idea of being British and apart of something larger allowed Scots to see themselves as one united being.

There is some contention among scholars as to when and how the relationship between British and Scottish identities took place. Finlay argues that it was in the 19th century, that the Empire started to play a role in Scottish identity and nationalism.[55] Davidson, however, disagrees with this view and suggests that the effect of the empire on Scotland started in the 18th century. Additionally, he points out that some Lowland Scots had already sought a British identity, even before the Union was formed.[56] Colley appears to support this viewpoint, as well, although she does not state it directly. The process of imperialism only allowed these Scots to further prove their loyalty to Britain. Furthermore, Davidson argues that Finlay tries to separate Scottishness and Britishness in a way that is not possible. He agrees that Scottishness was achieved, in part, through the Empire, but argues that this is only one sided. He suggests, however, that British national consciousness was cultivated through the Empire and the combination of Scottish and English identities. Thus, it is not just the Scots using the British Empire to develop a Scottish identity but also, through Empire, the cultivation of

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[55] Finlay (1997), 14
[56] Davidson, 112

a British identity made up of English and Scottish identities.[57] The role of Empire in the identity formation of the British Isles worked, in many respects in a circuitous manner, in which Scottish, English, and British identities fed off each other in opposition and also in collaboration. As the Empire declined in the Interwar period, the question arises: how did these three entities reevaluate their relationship?

The Interwar Period and Nationalism: Political

Nineteenth century trends illustrate that there were two perspectives on the issue of Scottish nationalism. First, there was the cultural arena, which was popularized by small literary movements and symbols of Scottish culture. Secondly, there was the political arena. The political arena was not particularly active. The cultural developments never manifested into larger mass political movements. Nationalism in the Interwar period continued to be characterized by this dual process of nationalism. Although they both come under one title, Scottish nationalism, they tended to work independently of one another. They did not have a strong tradition of feeding off one another to gain momentum.

World War I brought about several important changes in Scotland that had a profound affect on Scottish nationalism. Throughout the United Kingdom, the economic, political and cultural structure was reshaped in the post-1918 era.[58]

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[57] Davidson, 112-114

[58] Finlay "National Identity in Crisis: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the 'End of Scotland', 1920 – 1939." *History* (1994), 242

Scotland lost a significant number of men, over 20% of Britain's war dead. For those returning, many felt that Scotland was not a 'home fit for heroes'.[59] Scotland's deficiency was compounded due to the collapse of the British Empire, which had given it a feeling of meaning and importance within the political structure of Great Britain.[60] This collapse highlighted for many Scots Scotland's unequal position within the geographical area of the island of Great Britain. Furthermore, Scottish ties to the British Empire exacerbated economic conditions. The Scottish industry which had driven the Empire and the Scottish economy was collapsing: "the economy, which was the linchpin of nineteenth century Scottish greatness, lay ruined and exposed as over-reliant on the old, heavy, export-related industries."[61] The economy was devastated, leading to large-scale despair.

There were a number of essays written during the interwar period describing the horrible condition of Scotland. These essays typically focused on several key results of the poor economy, which were seen as debilitating to Scotland's national condition: the massive number of slum-dwellers, the loss of Scottish industry, the massive emigration of Scots abroad, the influx of Irish immigrants and the loss of Scottish cultural identity. One of the more dramatic essays, *Caledonia: Or the Future of The Scots* (1927), by George Malcolm Thomson, addressed the condition of the slums and unemployment: "there is nothing in Europe to compare for vastness and vileness with the slums in Scottish cities…half of Scotland is slum-poisoned. The taint of the slum is in the nation's

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[59] Pittock, 103
[60] Finlay (1994), 242
[61] Finlay (1994), 243

blood…the leading Scottish industries are in a state of manifest decay…not only is Scottish industry decaying, it is steadily ceasing to be Scottish."[62] Thomson alludes in this statement to another aspect that affected the economic and social morale of Scotland, the movement of Scottish capital to England.

Several of Scotland's major banks moved to England at this time, as well as numerous other industries. Scottish capital was slipping away from Scotland into England. The collapse of the economy not only caused unemployment and slum dwelling but it also caused massive emigration of the Scots. As Buchan said in a parliamentary debate, "Our population is declining, we are losing some of the best of our race stock by the migration and their plea is being taken by those, whatever their merits, who are not Scottish. I understand that every fifth child born now in Scotland is an Irish Roman Catholic."[63] Scottish intellectuals and politicians took great offence at the massive immigration of Irish. Throughout the essays written on the condition of Scotland, the presence of the Irish is focused on and lamented. Internally, Scotland saw itself as seriously injured. Because the Empire was collapsing, the outlet which had previously appeased Scotland, was no longer available. Indeed, the massive emigration of Scots all over the Empire was seen as a great loss.

Scotland was alarmed. The future of Scotland was at stake, as the title of Thomson's essay would suggest. The once confident and content nation of the

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[62] George Malcolm Thomson. *Caledonia or The Future of the Scots* (London, Keagan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO, 1927), 18-22, 40-42
[63] *Parliamentary Debates*, 272, H.C. Deb., 5s col. 253-261,

pre-war period was turned upside down. One writer, Colin Walkinshaw

highlights this change in his book *The Scots Tragedy* (1935):

> For two centuries after the loss of her political independence
> Scotland had remained to an astonishing degree socially and
> economically distinct…[s]he had kept control…of her own
> livelihood and her own habits of life. Now, silently but very
> rapidly, all this has simply disappeared.[64]

Not only had this independence disappeared but the people of Scotland were

disappearing: "the first fact about the Scot is that he is a man eclipsed. The Scots

are a dying people."[65] In this same vein, the nation was challenged and

disappearing. One Unionist MP said in 1929, of the nation, "Scotland has passed

the stage of nationhood. Her nationhood has been absorbed into a weird area."[66]

This statement supports the argument that Scotland had seen itself as a nation

until the pre-war years. The Scots argued that this new condition was a result of

"widespread discontent with the economic conditions in Scotland."[67] The

collapse of the economy and the British Empire illuminated for Scots that their

status as a nation was not as strong as they had pretended it to be. As with many

economic changes and instability, the issue that had been ignored or absent came

to the surface. The question arose for intellectuals like Buchan how to re-navigate

the relationships between Scotland and Britain, Scotland and England.

The severe economic and social changes following World War I had a

significant effect on the political structure of Scotland. All of the established

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[64] Liam McIlvanney. "The Scottish Renaissance and the Irish Invasion: Literary Attitudes to
Irishness in Interwar Scotland" *Scottish Studies Review* (Spring 2001), 79
[65] Thomson, 10
[66] Finlay (1994), 244
[67] Finlay (1994), 248

political leanings of the late 19th century were overturned. The Tory Party became dominant, while Liberals slowly lost power. Although the Labour party never became the dominant party, it did grow significantly and gain power. The transformation can be seen clearly, when looked at numerically. In 1914, there were 54 Liberal MPs from Scotland, 13 Conservatives, and 3 Labour. In 1924, there were only 8 Liberal MPs, but 36 Conservatives, and 26 representing Labour.[68] Within these political shifts, the presence of nationalism grew but as yet, did not have a large impact.[69]

The Liberal decline in Scotland also occurred in England, but not at the same time. Liberalism was least powerful in Scotland during the 1920s and more active in the 1930s. The opposite was true in England. Generally, the Highlands remained Liberal but many of the Lowland bastions of Liberalism fell to Conservatives. Part of the reason for the Liberal collapse was the 1918 Franchise Act, which redistributed the electoral boundaries to create equal constituencies: 11 of the 13 seats abolished had been Liberal.[70] While Liberals had been able to assess the interests and concerns of late 19th century politics, they were not able to adapt to the transformation in society's concerns following the War. Instead, they maintained much of their previous policy and came to be seen as backward looking with a small town or rural vision.[71] Backward-looking or not, the Liberals leaned towards support of nationalism and home rule.

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[68] I.G.C. Hutchinson, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 29
[69] Pittock, 103
[70] Hutchinson, 30
[71] Hutchinson, 40

Overall, the Interwar years were powerful for the Tories and it was the first time that the party had been dominant since 1832. They had the most MPs in 4 of the 7 elections.[72] The shift in political strength from Liberalism to Torism had a direct effect on the national institutions of Scotland and as a result on the shape of Scottish nationalism. Scotland's four key national institutions, the Church of Scotland, the law, the educational systems and the press had generally had conservative leanings. These leanings, however, had been counterbalanced, in the 19th century, by the strong presence of liberalism.[73] Of the importance and relevance of these institutions' political leanings I.G.C. Hutchinson writes in his book, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century*: "these had a strong impact in a country which had no parliament of its own: to a degree they represented official Scotland and spoke for the nation."[74] As a result of the political leanings of these powerful national institutions, it is not surprising that it is often said that political nationalism during the Interwar period was inactive. One of the main venues for the support, creation, and protection of institutionalized and/or political nationalism was politically oriented to deny nationalism. For example, Tories dominated the education sector, which was an area "Scots saw as most influential in shaping national characteristics."[75] Therefore, the conservative power in education played an important role in imbedding national characteristics with conservative rhetoric and in turn, denying ardent or political nationalism.

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[72] Hutchinson, 30
[73] Hutchinson, 31
[74] Hutchinson, 31
[75] Hutchinson, 33

Part of the success of the Tory Party was that it was very aware of the major issues influencing politics. Scottish Tories were influential in England and contributed to the intellectual development of Toryism. They had very good organization and they were well off financially, with strong support from conservative clubs in Edinburgh and Glasgow. They used propaganda effectively; in particular, they initiated supplementing the materials coming from London with their own pamphlets dealing with issues particularly pressing to Scots.[76] They dealt with the fact that they were a London based party and tried to show Scots they meant to include Scottish affairs. One of the contributing factors to the popularity of the Tory party was that it was associated with winning the war. This connection to the War was potent in Scottish society. The War was in its own way very popular in Scotland and Scots were very proud of their soldiers. This admiration of soldiers who fought can be seen in the erection of a Scottish National War Memorial. The Memorial to this day continues to be a source of pride. The Tories worked at exploiting the weakness of their political opponents. They tried to take advantage of the internal splits prevalent in the Liberal Party and win over many of the Liberal votes. Very often in local governments, front parties were formed to exclude Labour. This union between Liberals and Tories eventually spilled over into parliamentary elections.[77] They wanted to include the Liberals while still maintaining control over the situation. Additionally, Tories

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[76] Hutchinson, 42
[77] Hutchinson, 46

vehemently opposed socialism and tried to take a progressive stance on the economic and social situations.

The dexterity with which the Tories tried to deal with the currents of society can be seen in how they handled the question of nationalism. They were ideologically opposed to the idea of Scottish nationalism. That is, they opposed the promotion of a separate Scottish identity, which when politically oriented could be dangerous to the preservation of the Union. They tried to downplay nationalism as much as possible, in order to avoid the dangers that nationalism presented. Yet, they understood the power of nationalism and tried to cajole Scots into their views: "[they] stressed the sensitive nature of the Scottish national question, urged party candidates to try to direct Scottish national feelings to the ends of the Empire, and counseled them to use the argument that Scottish Home Rule would close off avenues of career development for ambitious Scots in England."[78] In an attempt to downplay the nationalism question while keeping Liberals happy, the Tory party wrote a pamphlet in 1932 against nationalism, but acknowledged the mood for self-government. The movement, however, could not be totally ignored and the Tory party embraced several concessions to illustrate their understanding of its importance, including raising the office of Scottish Secretary to a full Secretaryship of State.[79] Thus, it can be concluded that the Scottish Tories were well imbedded within a British Parliamentary tradition which focused on British politics. These connections are important in light of

[78] Pittock, 101
[79] Hutchinson, 49

later discussions about Buchan's position as a Tory politician as well as intellectual.

Simultaneous with the growth and development of the political parties in Scotland, national associations were forming, growing, consolidating and collapsing. The Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA), which was formed in 1886, had had some early successes. Gladstone, while touring Scotland, had promised 'Home Rule All Around'. Although this did not occur, a Scottish Grand Committee of Scottish MPs was formed in 1894 to review Scottish legislation. The Conservatives then abolished it but the Liberals were able to re-establish it, permanently in 1906. The abolishment and re-establishment of the committee illustrates the degree to which Scottish political organizations were at the whim of the larger political parties. The SHRA did have some influence in the Liberal Party, but the Liberal Party was not particularly interested in Home Rule ideas except to condemn them.[80] In general, the Party tried to encourage Scottish nationalists as little as possible. This is not to say that the Liberals did not play into nationalist ideas. The Party established a 'Scottish Nationalist' group in 1910 and some individual party members continued to back Home Rule. The issue, however, was not at the forefront of their political agenda.

The strong Scottish support for the Labour Party did put pressure on it to push for Home Rule. This pressure eventually led to the formation of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in Scotland, a branch of the broader Labour Party. One of the main platforms of the ILP was to push for Home Rule.

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[80] Pittock, 97

Essentially, Labour dealt with Scotland by allowing it to branch off in its own direction, while still maintaining an electoral alliance. By the turn of the century, a Pan-Celtic movement, which the ILP supported, was underway. Before the war, there was not a single national party. Instead, the SHRA was surrounded by many smaller organizations, including the Liberal Young Scots Society, the Scottish Patriotic Association, and the Scottish National League (SNL, 1904). The SNL led to further development of other national organizations.

Roland Muirhead, a former Young Scot and member of the Independent Labour Party revived the SHRA in October of 1918. Muirhead believed that the SHRA was in a compromised position prior to the War because of its connections with the Young Scots and Liberal Party. He therefore designed the SHRA to be non-affiliated with any party in order to give it more freedom of action.[81] Attempts were made to bring the Scottish cause into the world's light by trying to attract Woodrow Wilson's attention on the issue of self-determination. This attempt was unsuccessful, as the party/association did not speak for the nation as a whole. The association returned to dealing with the major currents of Scottish nationalism within Britain. Following World War I, the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA) was the largest and most vocal nationalist group. With respect to the Empire, the SHRA saw the Westminster parliament as an imperial parliament, solely concerned with the dealings of the Empire and the foreign affairs of the British state. They did not feel that their Scottish interests had adequate attention. Again, this implies that Scottish parliamentarians were more a

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[81] Finlay (1997), 72

part of the British tradition than trying to push for the Scottish cause. The SHRA, therefore, pushed for the establishment of a Scottish parliament, in which Scottish affairs could be addressed and seen to, without being preoccupied with the larger factors of the Empire. That said, the group felt that foreign and colonial policy, along with the bodies of defense, should remain with the imperial parliament. The period immediately following the War was especially active and controversial with Ireland's push for independence. When Ireland finally reached a settlement with England in 1922, which essentially granted it independence, the SHRA sent a letter of congratulations to the English government and suggested that there was a need for " 'a comprehensive scheme of self-government for the several nations of Great Britain.'" This body was not particularly radical in its demands, and it illustrates an intermediary position between British Unionists and Scottish devolutionists.

During these years, the Scottish National League, based on the earlier 1904 body, was founded (1919-20). This association also showed sympathy towards the Irish cause.[82] While Sinn Fein did not have a strong influence on Scotland in general, it did have some influence on the SNL right.[83] The leaders of the SNL included Ruaridh Erskine, a Celtic Revivalist, and William Gillies, who had openly supported the Easter Rising in Dublin. The differences between the two organizations is highlighted by the events at an SNL rally at the Wallace Monument in 1926, at which the SNL criticized the SHRA for being too

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[82] Pittock, 104
[83] The Sinn Fein is the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, which pushes for a united Catholic Ireland

Westminster-oriented in its request of the British state for a Scottish parliament. The SNL wanted Scottish MPs to " 'pledge not to cross the border at all but to remain in Scotland and legislate for Scotland.'"[84] The SNL advocated for the 'go it alone' strategy, which would separate Scotland from any of its British connections. These statements and opinions illustrate the more radical feeling and action that were present in Scottish politics. They were extreme.

This anti-Britishness was forcefully exhibited by the SNL's anti-imperialist feelings. The SNL felt that the ideas of colonialism had been applied to Scotland and that despite Scotland's role in the Empire, it too was a subject of colonization. They did not see Scotland's role in the creation of the Empire as something to be proud of, they saw it as "the old British Empire…a thing of the past; its annals, like the annals of empires in general, were not so glorious as generally represented. The offspring of fraud and corruption, it grew on its own lusts, and died of its own inherent rottenness. No tears were shed at the passing of this ill-gotten brat."[85] While many argued for the demise of the Empire and believed that with that demise would come the rise of home-rule, the net effect was to further associate the nationalist cause with an anti-British ethos. The more moderate and conservative forces that would be needed for any sort of nationalist success rejected this view.[86]

Contrary to this SNL plan, the SHRA proposed in 1920 the devolution of Scotland of everything but the Crown, foreign policy, services, currency and

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[84] Pittock, 105
[85] *Scots Independent* Dec. 1927 in Finlay (1994), 22
[86] Finlay (1992), 188

weights and measures. Between 1919 and 1923 there were five bills and one devolution motion brought to the Commons but none was successful. When Labour formed its first minority administration in 1923, hopes were high in the SHRA. Labour was considered to be the party of Home Rule but "as the prospect of power drew nearer, 'within the Labour Party the desire for Scottish autonomy declined.'"[87] This decline can be attributed to the Labour Party's ultimate wish to appeal to English politics and be successful in the larger dominant political arena of Westminster. The rejection of the Scottish bills and Labour's support of Home Rule when it would have meant something reflect the power the English based political parties had in controlling what occurred in Scotland. As much as they were aware of Scotland's political life, their main emphasis was not in Scotland. They were able to gain an elected dominance and then use the power given to them by the vote to try to control Scotland.

Splitting off of the SNL in 1926 was the Scottish National Movement (SNM). From the dissatisfied remains of the SHRA, the SNL and the SNM, there evolved the National Party of Scotland (NPS) between 1926-28. In his book, *Scottish Nationality* (2001), Murray Pittock argues that the year 1926 was a "year of flux which arguably inaugurated the beginnings of contemporary political nationalism in Scotland."[88] Soon after its formation, the NPS started to contest elections, something a nationalist group had not done since the Jacobites. In contesting an election, the Party took the first major step of directly politicizing

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[87] Pittock, 105
[88] Pittock, 106

Scottish nationalism. While the previous associations held some influence in larger political parties, they were never directly in control of pushing for a seat in Parliament. They may have had political agendas but they did not have their own candidates to support those agendas. The developments made by the NPS in 1926, however, changed this political role. By 1931, the NPS had about 8000 members.[89]

The National Party attempted to find a middle ground between the SHRA and the SNL, especially regarding their imperialist feelings. It believed that Scotland should not be bound to the British imperial system but instead have independence within the British group of nations, with no limits on the amount of sovereignty the Scottish parliament should have.[90] In *Scottish Nationalism* (1969), N.J. Hanham labels this group of nationalists, "the fundamentalists."[91] This group attempted to give as little commitment to the imperial concerns as possible. In an attempt to avoid the controversy surrounding the subject and bring some unity to the movement, they attempted to avoid the imperial question as much as possible. They believed that the movement towards self-government in Scotland was part of a larger dismantling of the British Empire.[92] By 1934, the NPS had joined with the Scottish Party (SP) led by the Duke of Montrose. The SP was formed in 1932. This party was anti Celt, anti-Irish, and anti-Catholic leaning romanticism and pushed for a Scottish Parliament within Britain and the

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[89] Pittock, 106
[90] Finlay (1992), 189
[91] N.J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*. (London: Farber, 1969), 119-145
[92] Finlay (1992), 190

Empire. Despite these differences, the SP and NPS joined and formed the

Scottish National Party on April 7, 1934.

Overall, the merger was successful. The newly formed party's goals for

Home Rule included "a Scottish Parliament with 'final authority on all Scottish

affairs', sharing the 'rights and responsibilities' of Empire with joint Anglo-

Scottish defense, foreign affairs and customs.[93] It was after some discussion that

an agreement was made to support Scotland as a working partner in the British

Empire, while pushing for more rights of home rule. The disunity of the

nationalists continued to plague this new party. After some early political

success, the SNP began to disintegrate into factions. It was not possible for

members to join other nationalist groups as well. This disintegration was fueled

by events on the European continent and the probability of war. Many Scots

again began to voice their concerns that Scotland's role in the Empire was causing

them to be involved in a war for England's Empire.[94]

Pittock argues that culturally the SNP was not as aware as it could have

been about the cultural dimension of Scottish nationalism.[95] Although this may

be true, the 1930s did see some cultural growth, including the formation of the

National Trust for Scotland (1931), and the Saltire Society (1936). The

eccentricities of many of the culturalists forced them to the outskirts of the Party.

Some, like Hugh MacDiarmid, a radical member and prominent write, tried to

argue that Scotland was " 'on the way back to Gaelic'" or that Bonnie Prince

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[93] Pittock, 107
[94] Finlay (1992), 202
[95] Pittock, 108

Charlie was a " 'symbol of the Gaelic Commonwealth Restored.'" While culturalists were important members to the early Party, they were marginalized and surrounded by tension. Hence, on the spectrum of party politics the intellectuals were placed on the radical side. This separation between culture and politics would remain in the party until the 1980s and even then not as much in the Party. [96] Once the Scottish national parties were able to essentially consolidate into one, they were able to gain a stronger position within British politics. With this more unified position it was easier and more effective to get a message to the Commons about what nationalists wanted for Scotland.

Interwar Period and Nationalism: Cultural

The realization by the Scots of the change in the national condition played a key role in the development of the Scottish Literary Movement in the 1920s and 30s. The movement was first entitled a Renaissance by one of its most influential writers, Hugh MacDiarmid, in the 1920s. The movement arguably began with the newly formed Vernacular Circle of the London Burns Club. The Vernacular Circle had set about the task of reviving the use of Scots language, the 'Doric', for literary purposes. Since Scots had been in a steady decline throughout the 19th century, the club wanted to counteract this decline in order to preserve the writings of Robert Burns. In the minutes from the Annual Meeting of the London Burns Club, the proposal of the Vernacular Circle stated that the circle will "have

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[96] Pittock, 109

for its object the preservation of the language of Lowland Scotland, in which the most important work of Robert Burns is enshrined…If it were necessary to argue the point I think we should in one sentence justify the setting up of the Circle. We should be able to say that something be not done to arrest the decay of the language, Robert Burn's Doric poems and songs will cease to be understood."[97] The club was "concerned with the loss of cultural identity in Scotland, at the loss of customs and traditional ways of life, of knowledge of Scotland's history and literature and, especially, at the loss of language."[98] This viewpoint was representative of the general alarm that existed in Scotland. Its essence was the effort to counteract the deterioration of the Scottish culture that had been occurring in the last century. They were rejecting the idea that Scottish culture and language had disappeared over the course of time. They believed that it was still possible to salvage and if necessary reinvent the nation to claim a separate national identity. The debate became whether or not it was possible to salvage Scottish culture through a literary revival in the Scots language or a literary revival in English.

When the Vernacular Circle made public their wish to revive and preserve the Scots language, a Scottish critic by the name of Christopher Murray Grieve rejected the idea adamantly. Grieve was a Scottish nationalist who had returned from the war eager to develop the Scottish literary tradition and cultivate Scottish

[97] Minutes of the London Burns Club, 7 June 1920 in *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland 1918-1939, Source Documents for the Scottish Renaissance*. Ed. Margery McCulloch (Glasgow, The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2004), 11.
[98] Margery McColloch. "Inter-War Criticism" in *The History of Scottish Literature* ed. Cairns Criag Vol 4 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 121

identity within literature. It seems contradictory that a Scottish nationalist would

object to reviving the Scottish language and preserving one of the country's great

national poets. Yet, Grieve, who was the founder of a small literary criticism

journal, the *Scottish Chapbook*, rejected the aims of the Vernacular Circle in his

journal. Grieve objected that the "trouble with the Doric as a literary language to-

day is that the vast majority of its exponents are hopelessly limited culturally –

and the others only use it for limited purposes."[99] He saw the language as limited,

following weak attempts to write it and centuries of disuse. He saw the legacy of

assimilation that the Union had had. He believed that literary merit should come

first before the revival of an out of date language. By taking this position, Grieve

created room to have a Scottish literary revival in English. He saw the revival as

Scottish writers writing in English but 'it is not English in content.'[100] In defense

of this view, Grieve at one point professed, 'I believe in the future of Scottish

literature just as I believe in the continuance of Scottish nationality.'[101] The

statement illustrates Grieve's and others' premise that it was not necessary to use

Scots in order to assert Scottish literary and cultural ability. They had a "belief"

in Scottish culture. They did not see it as completely annihilated by the years of

assimilation highlighted by the instability of the Depression. In Grieve's case, he

believed that "a modern consciousness cannot fully express itself in the Doric as it

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[99] C.M. Grieve, editor's 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook* 1:3 October 1922 in *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland 1918-1939, Source Documents for the Scottish Renaissance*. Ed. Margery McCulloch (Glasgow, The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2004), 25
[100] McColloch, 121
[101] McColloch, 121

exists."[102] Instead, Grieve pushed 'to bring Scottish literature into closer touch with current European tendencies in technique and ideation.'[103]

For Grieve, having intellectual equality with the rest Europe was more important than reviving the language. Grieve wanted to work with what Scotland already had and promote it within a larger intellectual realm than the British Isles. This view of Grieve's would follow him throughout the Scottish Renaissance. Grieve was arguing for Scotland to write and be a part of the European tradition. By doing this, they would no longer be an appendage of England but would establish their legitimacy as a separate identity. Thus, it was that literature was the driving force of the movement, providing a sense of identity for the Scottish people.

Despite Grieve's publications in the *Scottish Chapbook* opposing the use of Scots, in October of 1922 a poem, "The Watergaw", by the poet named, Hugh MacDiarmid appeared (MacDiarmid was a pseudonym of Grieve's). The poem was accompanied by this statement by Grieve, "one of the objects of "The Scottish Chapbook" is to supplement the campaign of the Vernacular Circle of the London Burns Club for the revival of the Doric…I do not support the campaign for the revival of the Doric where the essential diversity-in-unity is forgotten, nor where the tendencies involved are anti-cultural."[104] This statement and the first publication of MacDiarmid's poetry signaled a marked turnaround in Grieve's opinions. Grieve would become the controversial MacDiarmid, and MacDiarmid

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[102] C.M. Grieve, editor's 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook* 1:3 October 1922
[103] Alexander Scott "MacDiarmid and the Scots Tradition" *Agenda* (Autumn-Winter 1967-8), 50
[104] C.M. Grieve, editor's 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook* 1:3 October 1922

was one of the driving figures of the Scottish Renaissance. MacDiarmid's purpose was to show through the use of the Scots language in poetry that Scottish language and culture was not only separate from England but on a par with Europe. There are several important aspects to MacDiarmid's view on the Scots language. He wanted to circumvent Burns and the sentimental tradition he had arguably started. MacDiarmid wanted, instead, to go back to the Scots of Dunbar, a medieval Scottish poet. His famous cry was 'back to Dunbar.'[105] He realized that "the culture had lost confidence in itself and that what passed for tradition was all too often simply a debased and vulgarized form of a once energetic and homogenous communal life."[106] He believed that the Scottish medievalists had pointed out the potential of Scots and wanted to avoid what Scots had become with the development of the Burns cult and commercialization. By looking past Burns to the Middle Ages, MacDiarmid was adding a sense of historical legitimacy not only to the Scots language but also the Scottish nation. Dunbar represented the greatness, the recognition and the accomplishment of Scottish literature. By stressing Dunbar, MacDiarmid was alluding to a period of time when Scotland was an independent state. It was not tied up in the Union, as the writings of Burns were. Instead, his reference was rooted in the tradition of an independent Scotland. By rooting himself in this tradition, MacDiarmid brought legitimacy and justification to the use of Scots in the Scottish Literary Movement and to the Scottish nation.

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[105] Catherine Kerrigan. "MacDiarmid's Early Poetry" in *The History of Scottish Literature* Vol 4 ed C. Craig
[106] Kerrigan, 76

Once MacDiarmid began to write in Scots he sought to prove that it was possible for Scots to achieve these outward looking, modern achievements of a living and healthy language. In "A Drunk Man Looks at a Thistle", the strong influence that Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Birth of A Tragedy* and Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* had on MacDiarmid can be seen. In "A Drunk Man Looks at a Thistle", he creates a Dionysian hero based on Spengler's and Nietzsche's writings,[107] which established him as a modern poet engaging in intellectual debates while using the Scots language.[108] In other words, for Grieve "at this stage, the Scots language was now able to satisfy both the European orientation of the literary renaissance and the need to explore Scottish identity, both literary and cultural."[109] The Scots language had thrown off the yoke of English assimilation, in this writing.

How did the political developments of the 1920s and 30s react to and encompass these cultural developments? In 1967, MacDiarmid wrote that " 'In all other countries I know of where independence has been gained or regained the necessary impulse came from poets or other artists', it was not until the 1980s that culturalism resumed a major role in the nationalist movement and even then arguably not in the SNP itself."[110] The peculiar path of nationalism that Scotland had embarked on in the 18th and 19th centuries is highlighted by the developments of the Interwar Period. During a time when the political nationalism of the nation

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[107] Spengler and Nietzsche wrote about the dominating culture of Europe as an Apollion culture, while the smaller primitive cultures were Dionysian in character.
[108] Kerrigan, 79
[109] McColloch, 123
[110] Pittock, 109

was finally establishing itself, cultural nationalism continued to be a separate, relatively unconnected entity. While there were some joint political and cultural moves in the 1930s with the founding of the national Trust for Scotland (1931) and the Saltire Society (1936), in the political world of elections the "culturalism espoused by the likes of Ruaridh Erskine and Hugh MacDiarmid was seen as eccentric and marginal."[111] The marginalization of cultural nationalism in Scotland led to a fractured identity within Scottish nationalism. Not only were Scots identified in dual terms, "we Scots are supposed to be dour and hard, but we are also extremely sentimental…We are realist and pragmatists but we are also dreamers"[112] but their nationalism was defined in dual terms. There was no one nationalist movement in the Interwar years. There were the political developments established through the Scottish National Party and its associational precursors, but there was also the literary and cultural renaissance dwelling on the role of the Scots language. This fracture or dual identity in Scottish nationalism speaks to the overwhelming tradition and presence of fracture in Scotland. Scotland is filled with contradiction; highland vs lowland, English vs Scots, Union vs devolution, cultural vs political. Yet, each of these opposing terms are inherently Scottish characteristics, Scottish identities. Moreover, it is entirely possible to have both characteristics exist in one individual at the same time, in the same way that they exist in one nation at the same time.

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[111] Pittock, 108

[112] John Buchan, "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club," John Buchan Papers, 7214, National Library of Scotland, from Queen's University Microfilm: Mf. MSS.312 J.B. Papers Box 16

CHAPTER TWO

"Clio...Stir Our Blood Like Poetry and Song"[113]

While theorists may debate when nationalist movements originated and what ignites them, one factor of nationalism that most theorists would universally agree with is the importance of history in creating a sense of nationhood and national identity. It is in history that nations can assert a sense of who they are, what defines them, and find their justification for being a nation. History is a key tool through which intellectuals create and display their versions of national identity. For the intellectual, John Buchan, the production of history becomes a valuable mechanism to illustrate how he promoted Scottish identity. Through his history, Buchan's understanding of the relationship between Scotland and the Union, Scotland and feelings of nationalism can be examined. In "The Making of Modern Scotland," Buchan illustrates how he sees the Union affecting Scotland. He sees Scotland divided between old and new, between pre-modernization and industrialization. Despite these two versions of Scotland, Buchan sees Scotland

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[113]John Buchan, "The Muse of History." *Homilies and Recreations* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1926), 108

as one nation. His ability to accept the disunited and difficult past of Scotland can be understood through his philosophy of history, which is a product of the many intellectual influences of the 18th and 19th centuries, especially Sir Walter Scott.

Theory, History and Scotland's Peculiarities

Theory on the role of history in nationalism has focused mostly on how history is used by nationalists to promote their understandings and needs. A prime and helpful example of this type of theorizing is the argument presented by Bernard Lewis in *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented* (1975). He addresses the various types and uses of history. He offers a concise overview of the way history is incorporated into a national definition. He divides the use of history into three forms, remembered history, recovered history, and invented history. Remembered history addresses statements about the past from personal statements to living traditions. Essentially, it refers to the collective memory of a group. Recovered history addresses the history of events, people, ideas that have been forgotten by the collective memory but then later rediscovered by academics. Invented history is written "for a purpose, a new purpose differing from previous purposes."[114] The practice of adapting history to a new purpose is not a novel phenomenon; it is a practice dating back to antiquity. These various forms of history are very helpful in understanding the historical developments in Scotland. In the case of Buchan's history of Scotland, it reads like a remembered

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[114] Bernard Lewis. *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 11-13.

history. This assertion is somewhat blurry because Buchan is not dealing with personal statements but neither is it a history forgotten by collective memory. Although Buchan has not personally lived through the history, the history has become a living tradition, which he knows by heart and assumes his readers know by heart. The question becomes why would Buchan assume that the reader already knew this narrative, and where did it develop?

The answer to these questions can be found by looking at the tradition of Scottish history and historiography. The narrative of the Scottish past had its twists and turns throughout the centuries and has experienced any number of interpretations. Most significant in Scottish historiography is the absence of history writing after the Union, especially in the 19th century. Many would argue that there was little new Scottish history of any value written between the Union in 1707 and the revival of Scottish nationalism in the late 20th century.[115] That is to say, Scottish history during this time became assimilated with British history and the influences of the Union. Scottish history has been called introverted and peculiar.[116] Richard Finlay argues in his article, "New Britain, New Scotland, New History?" that "Scotland has no real tradition of a nationalist historiography in the modern era and if anything, has followed its own peculiar historiographical *Sonderweg* which has emphasized the inevitability and durability of the Union

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[115] This viewpoint has been highlighted by numerous scholars including, Stewart J. Brown in "Assimilation and Identity in Modern Scottish History" (1986), Richard J. Finlay in "New Britain, New Scotland, New History? The Impact of Devolution on the Development of Scottish Historiography" (2001) and Allan I. Macinnes in "Early Modern Scotland: the Current State of Play" (1994)
[116] Macinnes, 30 & Finlay (2001), 384

with England."[117] The absence of Scottish history is highlighted by the relatively

limited number of sources dealing with the development of Scottish historical

writing. Recent historians have provided historiographies of present historians

writing on Scotland.[118] Sir Walter Scott was one of the few historians to address

Scotland's national history and even review its historiography. He was one

exception in what Marinell Ash argues in *The Strange Death of Scottish History*

(1980) was a "failure of nerve. It may not have died, but in many senses it went

underground and ceased to occupy the prominent place in the affairs of the

country that it had held under Scott and his successors. Instead, monuments were

raised to meaningless or highly selective images of Scotland's past: "images

which did not endanger the new found freedom from the past of which so many

imperial Scots were proud."[119]

The Scottish Historical Tradition

One of the founding elements of the Scottish historical tradition was the

debate over the origin of Scotland. As with most small nations, the exact origins

of the Scottish nation are debated, confused, and ultimately a matter of opinion.

In 1681, James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair, wrote, 'we do not pretend to be

amongst the great and rich kingdoms of the earth, yet we know not who can claim

preference in antiquity and integrity of being one blood and lineage without any

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[117] Finlay (2001), 384
[118] See footnote 3
[119] Ash (1980), 11

mixture of any other people, and have continued above 2000 years.'[120] The myth

of lineage and descent which Dalrymple spoke of was documented by king lists

which had been kept. They showed that Scotland had been ruled by one lineage

for over one hundred generations, since the migration of Scots from Ireland. This

myth played a particularly important role in the wars of independence. During the

wars of independence against England, a version of history was constructed in

which the Scottish community 'elected' Robert Bruce to the throne in 1306 and

signed the Declaration of Arbroath. This Declaration has been argued to be the

"earliest European expression of a 'nationalist theory of sovereignty.'" [121] Hector

Boece (c.1465-1536), who provided a humanistic history of Scotland, supported

this democratic trend. In his history, Boece included this humanistic and

autonomous viewpoint by listing all the evils that befell any king who became a

tyrant and illustrating the power of the Scottish people over their monarch.[122]

This viewpoint had a very potent influence on other historians, including the

famous Scottish humanist historian George Buchanan (1506-82). In particular,

Buchanan adopted Boece's scheme of Scottish history and his treatment of

politics.[123] Buchanan was able to politicize Boece's harsh treatment for tyrants

into historical justification for resistance to tyrants. This form of ideology came

to be accepted by Scottish Presbyterians.

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[120] Broun, Dauvit. "The Birth of Scottish History" *The Scottish Historical Review* LXXVI, No. 1 (April 1997), 4
[121] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 17.
[122] This view can be seen in his two works, *Vitae Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium* (1522), and *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1527)
[123] Kidd, 19

By the 17th century, Scottish churchmen maintained a national element in their history, which "the Scottish past invoked not only to settle the growing division within the church between Presbyterians and Episcopalians over the nature of Scotland's reformed tradition, but also as a mark of pride in the reformed church." In this history, churchmen tended to celebrate Scotland's early conversion and "independent ecclesiastical antiquity." Ultimately as Colin Kidd argues in *Subverting Scotland's Past* (1993), "for Presbyterians and Episcopalians the need to bind Scotland's religious tradition to an ethnocentric historiography depended less on justification of the nation's original break with Rome at the Reformation than on the later need to fend off the encroachments of the protestant Canterbury."[124] The process of Anglicization after the Union of the Crowns in 1603 contributed to this concern over the Scottish Church. Scottish history was always being defined in reaction to English influences. In this sense, Scottish churchmen needed to be united in order to preserve Scotland's uniqueness and individuality. The apparent contradiction between the movement's unionist tendencies yet continuing support of an independent Scottish Church and ecclesiastical tradition highlights the complexity that union with England represented for many Scots. They were willing to support a union, so long as they continued to have their own independent recognition and spirit. Their histories reflected this.

Following the Union of the Crowns in 1603, new types of ideologies emerged within historiography. One of the main ideologies was the concept of

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[124] Kidd, 23-24.

limitations on the authority of the dual monarchy, much like Boece's theory on tyrants. These limitations would ultimately be a significant cause of the succession crisis in 1703-7 and the break-up of the regal union. During this era, particularism flourished in historical writings because of perceived threats from English imperialists. This particular history focused on a martial past of antiquity, and continuous independence. It was at this time that James Dalrymaple, Viscount Stair, made his great claim about Scotland's two thousand years of history. It is also at this time that two versions of the same historical strain existed: the whig and the royalist. The royalist version was most strongly supported by Sir George Mackenzie (1636-91), who declared that anyone who denied the presence of Scottish kings prior to the fifth or sixth centuries was guilty of treason. The Whig version supported the viewpoint that the church was supreme and that Scottish religious stature was greater than the English. This view of the church supported a view that the Scottish Church had existed prior to the Middle Ages but had been controlled by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. This version of history, Kidd argues, "possessed all the ideological ingredients out of which European intellectuals a century and a half later were to create national movements."[125] These ideological ingredients that Kidd refers to include the ability to interpret history in such a way as to show that an institution or group has always been in existence and merely hidden by some dominating outside force.

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[125] Kidd, 25

It was at this point in Scottish history that historians both in Europe and in Scotland began to question the evidence used to assert certain historical arguments. A Franciscan monk first brought this reevaluation of textual evidence to light in the 1680s. This attempt to study historical texts was systematically adopted by the Catholic Scottish historian, Father Innes. Through his careful study of the texts and the king lists, Innes was able to disprove the great legend of the king lists. He wrote a seminal essay on the topic, in which he had little use for folklore and traditions. While various other forms of national histories and myths would be created, it is important to note that there existed, at a very early time, within Scottish historical tradition the idea of using historical evidence without bias and solely for its own merit. This is a method, which Buchan would inherit and hold dear.

During the 18th century, the Union with England played an extremely important role in shaping Scottish history. In many respects, it was the lack of any attempt by historians to address the changes the Union created which affected how the past was recorded. Following the Union, Scotland was increasingly divided between its main political groups, the Whigs and the Jacobites. The Whigs were proponents of the progress and advancement that the Union represented for Scotland, whereas the Jacobites sought to destroy the Union and return to a completely sovereign nation. These divisions played themselves out in the historical scholarship of the era. Ash argues that, "Not only was history increasingly partisan it was also divisive, between groups within Scotland as well

as between Scotland and England."[126] It was the lack of change among historians that created this partisanship. There was not much attempt between Scottish and English Whig historians to create a 'British' history. Indeed, on the Scottish side there appeared to be little change in the historiographic tradition and historical culture to accommodate for the Union and any "identity trauma" it may have caused.[127] Within historical writing, the traditional issue of the imperial crown continued to be a central issue. Whigs focused on it to be able to show the Scottish pluralism guaranteed by the Union, and Jacobites focused on it to reject the Union. As a whole, 18th century Scottish historiography was characterized by partisanship, not national identity. Kidd points out that legitimacy and allegiance were at the core of Scottish political discourse as well as English. In Scotland, however, "legitimacy was peculiarly grounded in history, and was determined genetically with reference to ancient constitutions, original contracts, significant precedents and the continuity of fundamental principles within the national past."[128] The debates between whigs and Jacobites resulted in intellectual mud slinging, which "did indeed harm the long-term development of the nation's historical consciousness." When the Jacobite threat faded halfway through the 18th century, legitimacy ceased to be a key issue, but in the process Scottish history had become inflexible and largely irrelevant to political discourse.[129]

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[126] Ash, 34
[127] Kidd, 72
[128] Kidd, 77
[129] Kidd, 96

In conjunction with these developments, the thoughts and theories of the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers became the primary intellectual diet of Edinburgh. These intellectuals went about changing and enlightening the intellectual thought of a variety of disciplines, including history. With regards to history, the *philosophes* were 'dominated by a conception of rationalism derived from the (Newtonian) physical sciences…[they] approached the historical field as a ground of cause-effect relationships, the causes in question being generally conceived to be the forces of reason and unreason, the effects of which were generally conceived to be enlightened men on the one hand and superstitious or ignorant men on the other.'[130] This belief in cause-effect relationships had a seminal influence on the study of history. Although trends in 19th century history do not necessarily reflect this influence, large amounts of historical writing were influenced by this view. Buchan's writing was particularly shaped by this view on history. Key to Enlightenment thinkers' views on history was reason: "reason…rather than imagination, was the instrument with which to discover truth. History, which was about real life, was to be discerned through the use of reason; fancy and imagination were to be relegated to the realm of art, not life or history."[131] For the Enlightenment thinkers, everything could be explained and placed within classificatory schemata. Reason and rationality were the backbones of the movement.

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[130] Suny, Ronald Gregor. "History and the Making of Nations" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. 22:1 (1998), 575

[131] Suny, 575

Among the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers who contributed to these theories of intellectualism and history, David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, John Millar, Adam Ferguson, Hugh Blair, John Home, and Alexander Carlyle were the most prominent. These thinkers contributed to a variety of studies. Hume and Smith may arguably be said to have had the largest influence on other European intellectuals, as well as intellectual fame. Ferguson, Blair, Home, Robertson, and Carlyle were all ordained churchman, as well as being men of arts and letters. Their role within the Scottish enlightenment calls into question the process of secularization typically associated with the period. This seeming contradiction can possibly be explained by Richard Sher's argument in *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985), which suggests that this trend of secularization and rejection of the church may have been appropriate in the French case but in the Scottish case the intellectuals did not so much reject the church and Scotland's Calvinist-Presbyterian culture as develop from it.[132] With regards to history, the thinkers saw Scottish history representing progress and highlighted its path since the Union of 1707 as proof. Indeed, "the desire to be at one with England is the key to a great deal of the cultural history of 18th century Scotland."[133]

Scottish historical writing developed a sense of historical progress. In the Enlightenment, Hume's own "conjectural history" on England and as a result Scotland was that "rapid social and economic progress had in fact secured greater

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[132] Sher's arugement is recounted in Stewart Brown, "Assimilation and Identity in Modern Scottish History" *The Journal of British Studies* 25, No 1 (1986), 127
[133] Ash, 34

liberty in England and subsequently Scotland."[134]   Burke added to this a Tory

perspective when he argued in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) that

the strength of the British state lay in its long evolution unbroken by revolution.[135]

Essentially, Enlightenment historians condemned pre-Union history as backward

and feudal and claimed that modernity and progress came with the Union and

England's influence. In the 19th century, whig historians who claimed that the

backwardness made them a strong military nation, which could take advantage of

the Union, adapted this view.[136]   Some of the most prominent supporters of this

history were Macaulay (1849), Cockburn (1852), and Buckle (1861). They

espoused the constitutional, democratic, and economic improvement Scotland had

gained from England and which was brought, via the Empire, to the rest of the

world.[137]   Buchan was influenced by these beliefs, although not a Whig himself.

He understood that the Union had brought about a change in pre-modern

Scotland. As will be shown, what he rejected showing was that this history

illustrated the progression of Scots.

The tension between the ancient Scottish historical tradition and the newly

developing Scottish historical tradition, which looked to England, became

increasingly apparent at the turn of the 19th century. It was at this point that

historians began to realize that the Scotland of old, the pre-industrialized Scotland

did not exist anymore.   John Clerk, an antiquarian, who influenced Sir Walter

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[134] Jonathan Hearn "Narrative, Agency, and Mood: On the Social Construction of National History in Scotland" *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 2002
[135] Hearn, 753
[136] Finlay (2001), 384
[137] Hearn, 753

Scott was the first "post-union historian or antiquary to attempt to come to terms with the essential contradiction of being interested in the past of a state which no longer existed."[138] It was into this tension and dual traditions that Sir Walter Scott wrote his great histories and historical novels. Ash argues, "Scott's own life formed a kind of bridge between the old traditional past of Scotland and its modern British and imperial future. The contradictions and tensions in his own personality reflected many of the contradictions in Scottish society as a whole. That these tensions were irreconcilable led directly to the poetry, the novels, and a new kind of history."[139] Sir Walter Scott was one of the defining historians, not just in Scotland but also throughout Europe. He was one of the key founders of the Romantic Movement, which would shape European thinking throughout the 19th century. Ironically, it would have surprisingly little influence on Scottish thinking.

Scott's role as an originator of the Romantic Movement can be traced in a large part to how Scott wrote about and used history. Ash is not alone when she asserts, "the Romantic revolution in historical writing was born of Walter Scott and Scotland."[140] It has been argued by other scholars, namely Tom Nairn, that although Scott influenced the Romantic Movement he was not a Romantic himself; it would be like calling Marx a Marxist.[141] While Scott was deeply influenced by the Enlightenment thinkers, he also charted his own course in

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[138] Ash, 36
[139] Ash, 9
[140] Ash, 13
[141] Nairn, 114

which history and philosophy were divorced; "instead history created its own philosophical guidelines which were as absolute and impossible of attainment as those of the eighteenth century philosophical historians."[142] Scott was strongly influenced by the historian Alexander Fraser Tytler.[143] For Tytler, and for Scott, their beliefs about history were shaped by studying the evidence as it was, not altered. The Scots law, a legal system that was applied to particular human systems, had a profound effect on shaping Scott's historical understanding.[144] Scott's historical understanding was rooted in the belief that "history was not the present dissolved *back* into the original poetry from whence it came. Instead, the past grew from itself *towards* the present. The present therefore could not (or should not) colour one's vision of the past: the past must speak directly for itself."[145] This interpretation of the past would not become one of the defining elements of Romantic history. Often Romantic history has come to be associated with the presentation of an idealized view of a nation's history in order to support a nationalist argument. In Scotland, however, this interpretation was taken to heart and had a profound influence on Buchan. Buchan nearly one hundred years later would espouse nearly the same philosophy of history.

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[142] Ash, 21

[143] Tytler believed that history should not be subordinated to philosophical impasses but be a "practical school of citizenship." He took Bolingbroke's idea that history was "philosophy teaching by example" and pushed it further to say "history *was* progress." In this view, Tytler had admiration for the British constitution but he also believed, according to Ash that the "pre-union experience of Scotland fitted neatly into his gradualist view of the growth of Tory liberty " (22-24). It must not be forgotten that Scott was apart of this Tory tradition.

[144] Ash, 26

[145] Ash, 14

Despite Scott's influence and the inspiration he gave to nations throughout Europe, he had little influence in his own nation. History writing became uniquely quiet during the 19th century. Many have attributed this absence of history, following Scott's writings, to Scott's backward looking romanticism. Ash, argues, however, that

> the spirit of Scott's historical revolution was deeply utilitarian and initially his revolution fulfilled a national need. But when his conception was no longer useful to the Scots they abandoned it, speaking as usual in terms of liberation and freedom. The Reformation was freedom, the Union was freedom, the Disruption [a schism in the Church of Scotland in 1843] was freedom and the death of Scottish history was freedom.[146]

Thus, in many ways the Scots chose to reject their history, when they were an independent and self-ruled group. Michael Fry, a Scottish historian writing in 1970, once noted that there were no books on Scottish political history because Scottish political history did not exist. In what history that was written, "Unlike other national historians of early 19th century Europe, Scottish historians seldom if ever asked what was the purpose or use of their work. In this they may have been following in the antiquarian tradition of venerating the past for its own sake, but it also meant they were not led into any uncomfortable or irreconcilable questions about the uses of history."[147] The past within Scotland became an accepted and immutable being, in which there were numerous traditions that had to be accounted for and ultimately reconciled. This reconciliation, however, would not encompass the changing of evidence or opinion to suit the wishes of

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[146] Ash, 150
[147] Ash, 36

the historian. Considering most national historians typically constructed the past to prove their views, Buchan's position as an intellectual coming out of this opposite tradition becomes complicated.

A Philosophy of History

Buchan's philosophy of history fits directly into this tradition. While Marinell Ash's argument and description of the Scottish historical tradition is helpful in stating that this tradition of not manipulating the past existed in Scotland and how Sir Walter Scott factored into this tradition, she does not provide an in-depth discussion on why Scottish history developed in this direction. Buchan, however, in the course of several speeches illustrates what this tradition was in reaction to and asserts his own version of it. Although Buchan may not reinterpret the past, his presence as a writer with a Scottish audience indicated that his works were read and influenced others. Thus, this tradition, refusing to prove something through history, becomes a part of the tradition and identity associated with Scottish characteristics. Writing in the early 20th century, Buchan inherited much of the historiography that has already been discussed. In the course of several speeches Buchan, too, lays out his own historiography and through it illustrates what he believes the best philosophy of history to be. Buchan's historiography is focused around the influences of whiggism, positivism, and metaphysics. In order to evaluate Buchan's philosophy of history it is first helpful to have a brief background to these theoretical approaches.

Important to note about Buchan is that for all he is a Scot and this thesis is focused on interpreting his understanding of Scottish history and nationalism. He was also a part of the British and more specifically, English tradition. He was educated at Oxford and lived most of his life in England. Thus, in evaluating the intellectual influences that shaped Buchan it is imperative to look not only at the Scottish influences but also the English influences.

The whig interpretation has already been addressed briefly. At its root, whiggism attempted to show history as progress. It often used an abridged version of the past to prove this point. In Scotland, progress was often represented as the achievements made through the Union. In 1931, Butterfield, an English scholar, published *The Whig Interpretation of History*. This text is seminal in illustrating how whiggism was perceived during Buchan's life and in offering a review of the criticisms that existed of whiggism.

In the essay, Butterfield asserts that whig historians, by attempting to imprint their moral judgments and historical organization of knowledge of the present on an abridged version of a progressive past, present a false version of history. Butterfield not only takes this definition apart step by step illuminating what he sees as its faults but he then also provides definitions of what a proper historian should do. Butterfield addresses the primary assumption of whig historians. At the root of this assumption is the belief that it is possible for historians to enter into minds unlike their own. Butterfield accuses whig historians of studying the past through the lens of the present. That is, he argues

that they interpret the events of the past as causation leading up to the present. In contrast to the whig version of history, Butterfield suggests that the 'real' historian examines the past for the past's sake, that they are looking to see the past through the eyes of another century. The greatest lesson of history, he asserts is the "complexity of human change"[148] yet, whig historians ignore this complexity, leading to assumption and ultimately to fallacy. As Butterfield states, "the most fallacious thing in the world is to organize our historical knowledge upon an assumption without realizing what we are doing, and then to make inferences from that organization and claim that these are the voice of history."[149] This abridgement and organization of history leads to an entirely different story than the one originally told. Ultimately, the whig historian would always be taking new historical research and putting it into his or her own organization of understanding.

This process of applying the present to the past leads to whig historians making past events and thoughts appear more modern than they were. This often leads to an overdramatization, which in turn diverts attention from the real historical process. This misconception can often be found in the whig quest for origins. Essentially, whigs attempt to find an absolute meaning in every event or person, even if it was never willed or is only implicit; they are always concerned with the causation between events. Conversely, he suggests that a better historical process is to look at the moderation between events, the transition; this is the

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[148] H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1950), 21
[149] Butterfield, 24

essence of history and only change is absolute. The aim of the historian is to have a full and complete understanding of a personality or an event through historical research. Furthermore, no man can ever prove these events right in the long run. To achieve this essence and understand this transition, the historian is required to use imaginative sympathy. He or she must have passion and read between the lines. The historian should not be impersonal when it causes them to be indifferent. Nor should the historian stop short of sympathy at a specific point, as whig historians have done. In the process of doing this, the whig historians abridge history and do not address the complexities that are present and deal with the inferences that they present. Butterfield sternly reprimands whig historians for impressing their morals on historical events. He asserts that in doing so they place limits on what history can do. It prevents the historian from actually understanding the people of the past, because they are too busy passing judgment on them. Using moral judgment is beyond the realm of the historian. Butterfield points out that in the whig case, historians impose Protestant ethics on the past, in particularly arguing against a Catholic version of the past. Yet, for Butterfield, this is not the purpose of the historian; the historian is solely present to supply evidence and that this evidence constantly leads to new history.

This discussion of whiggism by Butterfield provides a valuable explanation of the movement from a contemporaries perspective. Butterfield's argument explains why someone like Buchan who came out of the Scottish

tradition of interpreting the past without modernizing it would find the whig interpretation unappealing. It gives justification for interpreting the past as it was.

Whiggism was not the only debate that shaped the discourse of history. The philosophical trends of the 19th century played an important role as well. The philosophy of positivism had an extreme influence on history and Buchan had an extreme reaction against it. While a Europe phenomenon, it was strongly influenced by Scottish enlightenment thinking.

Positivism is a philosophical movement which developed during the 19th century. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was the foremost philosopher of the movement and one of its originators. The philosophy deals solely with scientific systems and the "data of experience" and disregards any metaphysical or a priori speculations.[150] The movement has undergone numerous developments and maturations. At the root of these developments were the two basic tenets of Positivism: (1) that all knowledge of fact is based on the "positive" data of experience, and (2) that beyond fact there is pure logic and pure mathematics.[151] David Hume, a Scottish Empiricist, had already recognized these basic tenants in connection with the 'relation of ideas.' Positivist thought is often connected as much with what it refuted as with what it established. Positivists continually rejected any form of metaphysics, that is, any speculation about reality that went beyond possible evidence; "Positivism is thus worldly, secular, antitheological,

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[150] Encyclopedia Britannica Macromedia, 15th Ed. S.v. "Positivism"
[151] Encyclopedia Britannica Macromedia, 15th Ed. S.v. "Positivism"

and antimetaphysical."[152] The roots of Positivism can be found in the French

Enlightenment and the works of the Encyclopaedists. For Positivism, as a whole,

theories and concepts were "instruments of prediction. From one set of

observable data, theories formed a bridge over which the investigator could pass

to another set of observable data." Facts and data would always remain, despite

the future or changes of theories.[153]

Positivism and its various forms (critical, logical, etc.) had an extremely

important impact on European thought. It not only changed the shape of

philosophical thought but spread to most disciplines, both in the physical sciences

and social sciences. The influence of Positivism on historical thought can best be

seen in R.G. Collingwood's discussion of the movement. R.G. Collingwood was

a historiography and philosopher, who worked in the first part of the 20th century.

In the 1930s, he discussed Positivism in relation to history in his book, *The Idea*

of History. Collingwood suggests that Positivism can best be defined as a

philosophy which acts "in the service of natural science."[154] This definition has

two additional aspects to it. They are that science is first the discovery of facts,

and second the framing of laws. The perception of fact was achieved through

"sensuous perception." Generalizing these facts through induction then formed

laws.[155] Within the study of history, positivist history became focused on the

accumulation of fact. As a result, historical writing often became overburdened

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[152] Encyclopedia Britannica Macromedia, 15th Ed. S.v. "Positivism"
[153] Encyclopedia Britannica Macromedia, 15th Ed. S.v. "Positivism"
[154] R.G. Collingwood. *The Idea of History.* (Oxford: The Claredon Press, 1946.), 126.
[155] Collingwood, 126.

and dry because of this stress on in-depth factual accounts. The writing did little

more than accumulate fact; it did not then make assumptions about laws as

Positivist philosophers believed it should, nor did it attempt to form any strong

opinion or argument, as historians were prone to do. Thus, historical positivism

functioned as a hybrid between the two disciplines of history and philosophy. As

a result, Collingwood argues, historical positivism's legacy was a "combination of

an unprecedented mastery over small-scale problems with unprecedented

weakness in dealing with large scale problems."[156] Often historians focused their

writings on the "microscopic" analysis of facts. This analysis was broken up into

two forms: each fact could be discovered by a separate act of cognition and each

fact is not only independent of other facts but also independent of its knower, thus

eliminating all subjectivity from the historian.[157] One positivist historian,

Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), is a prime example of this argument; he

believed that reporting facts alone was enough.[158]

Studying philosophy during the 1890s in Oxford and Glasgow, Buchan

was no doubt surrounded by these discussions of Positivism and its various forms.

While not very much scholarly literature is written about the influence that

historical trends had on Buchan, his own writings provide the best insight.

Throughout his life, Buchan was active intellectually and often gave speeches

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[156] Collingwood, 131
[157] Collingwood, 131
[158] Ranke (1795-1886) was a leading German historian in the 19th century. As a postivist, the object of his history writing was to describe "how it really was." Although he was not an analyst, his ideas dominated German historiography through World War I. Encyclopedia Britannica Micropedia, 15th Ed. S.v. "Ranke, Leopold Van"

about various historical, literary, or Scottish topics. "The Causal and the Casual in History" given in 1929 at Cambridge University and "The Muse of History" given in 1908 are prime examples of the speeches that he gave in which he elaborated on what he considered the study of history to be, what the various trends had been, and what their faults were, as well as what he considered beyond the study of history. Although he never directly mentions positivism, whiggism or any other theoretical trend either Scottish or English, they are all clearly interwoven and dealt with in the course of the speeches. Because Buchan does not address these various trends systematically in his speech, it is necessary to break the trends apart and address the connections as they appear.

In his opening tributes to Cambridge University and its scholars, Buchan singles out the "fruitful" pronouncements by Professor Bury on the meaning of history. The connection to the works of Professor J.B. Bury provides an example of the complex web of relationships between thoughts present in historians. Bury's work concentrated on the methodology of history; he saw it as "a science—no less no more."[159] This view connects directly to Positivist philosophical thinking. At the same time, Bury's main work, *History of Freedom of Thought* encompassed his belief in "man's rational struggles and progress."[160] His belief in man's progress and the portrayal of this through history connects back to whig views of history. That is, historical representation shows the progress of man. Buchan appears in his speech to accept and honor Professor

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[159] John Buchan. *The Causal and the Casual in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 6.
[160] Encyclopedia Britannica Micropedia. 15th Ed. S.v. "Bury, J.B."

Bury's thoughts on history. Yet, he claims that he will go on to add something further about history. In the course of his discussion, he asserts that he sees history as Clio with a puzzled look on her face, staring at the kaleidoscope of the centuries and laughing at inconsequence, "inconsequence that defies logic."[161] In the course of a sentence, Buchan has not only alluded to both whiggism and Positivism but also rejected both. According to the whigs, history happens for a reason, it shows the progression to modern day. Just as with Positivism, all facts can be reduced to logical reasoning. Yet, Buchan says that there can be elements of history that are inconsequential and illogical.

Buchan's relation with history as a science is not clear-cut. He does accept that history can be a science. Yet, as a science he argues that it is concerned with causation.[162] This presence of causation is what many historians felt had been lacking in Positivist history. As Ranke had suggested, fact alone was enough. For Buchan, however, "history is not content with an accumulation of facts; it seeks to establish relations between facts…it must be synoptic and interpretive."[163] Furthermore, inevitability exists within this causation: "from the point of view of science, it must aim at representing the whole complex of the past as a chain, each link riveted to the other by a causal connection."[164] In this sense, a whig version of history appears to be working together with a Positivist version of history. Buchan appears to be accepting certain aspects of the two

[161] Buchan (1929), 7
[162] Buchan (1929), 7
[163] Buchan (1929), 8
[164] Buchan (1929), 8

theories, while simultaneously rejecting other aspects. By pulling apart these two theories and taking only what he sees as appropriate, Buchan appears to be heading towards developing his own middle ground within much larger theoretical debates.

Before Buchan can arrive at his own opinions, he systematically evaluates what others have said before him. In a somewhat laundry list fashion, he addresses the historical philosophers that he considers to have represented various trends. He talks of metaphysics and the theories of Bolingbroke.[165] He questions Bolingbroke's theory that history is philosophy teaching by examples. For this to be right, Buchan believes that the philosophy must be the most important aspect.[166] In addressing Bolingbroke he is directly addressing elements of Scottish historical tradition. He quickly moves on to Hippolyte Taine, a 19th century French Positivist philosopher and historian. Despite Taine's attempts to show the causation between facts, Buchan dismisses his work as an example of those "who fix their eyes upon the scientific method, and…believe that by means of a number of categories of determinable causes every historical event can be mathematically explained."[167] Thus, Buchan's rejection of Taine's Positivist explanation for the causation between facts implies that not all fact can be reduced to scientific theory and measurement. Similarly, Buchan rejects the use of formulas to understand history. He talks of the Hegelian dialectics, which were

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[165] Bolingbroke was a Tory politician, who took on the role of a political propogandist. He was also widely read as a historian.
[166] Buchan (1929), 9
[167] Buchan (1929), 9

derived from metaphysics. Hegel was able to place everything within a logical formula moving from thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Buchan places what he considers the more simplified formulas of Louis Blanc, a French Utopian Socialist, and Karl Marx's economic interpretation within this category of formula. The formula may go so far as to include viewing the past as a cyclic or spiral process. Buchan also quickly passes over Lord Acton's theory that history was the working of moral law and Bishop Stubb's belief in the revelation of the 'Almighty' in history. In a very quick and pithy fashion, Buchan addressed several historical theories. By doing this, he provides the reader with his own historiography and his views on these representations of history. Through his quick discussion and dismissal of the subjects, Buchan appears to reject these theories of history.

This rejection of past theories of history is stated more clearly in the next section of the text when he addresses the role of philosophers. He states, "philosophers need not trouble us."[168] This denial of philosophers is somewhat curious, considering his training as a philosopher. It can be understood, however, when one looks at how he regards the types of history that he is rejecting. He sees the "awful gambols of metaphysical doctrine…apt now and then to make nonsense of history" citing Hegel's theory on Absolute Will, as an example. Furthermore, he sees the scientific historian as "more dangerous." He picks on the conservative politics of historians Buckle and Francois Guizot for their attempt to establish historical laws to achieve universal validity. As he does this,

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[168] Buchan (1929), 11

he continues to allude to his larger point that causes and effects cannot be understood through a larger rule or formula with any sort of precision.[169]

A sense of moderation and fairness is never far from the surface in Buchan's writing. Despite his rejection of various theories of history, he is quick to accept them in cases where they have been correct. As he says of the scientific historian's quest for order and simplicity, they "are great things, but they must be natural to the subject and not due to the blindness of the historian." He appears to want to value the good qualities of a theory but at the same time, he has little tolerance when he feels they are inappropriately applied. One of the two historians that he mentions with praise in the course of his speech is Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve.[170] He takes a large quotation of Sainte-Beuve's to illustrate his point that there are too many idiosyncrasies within history to apply causes and sources with complete certainty. As Sainte-Beuve states, 'such history is far too logical to be true.'[171] Buchan appears to be directly influenced by this statement. Buchan speaks warmly of Sainte-Beuve, referring to him as one of "our fathers." Moreover, he takes Sainte-Beuve's ideas and adopts them in his own words, stating,

> we are always apt to forget that history cannot give us the
> precise and continuous causal connections which we look for
> in the physical sciences. All that we get are a number of
> causal suggestions, with a good many gaps in them, and if we
> try to get more we shall do violence to historical truth. We

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[169] Buchan (1929), 12

[170] Saint-Beuve (1804-1869) was a French literary critic, who applied historical frames of reference on modern literature. He revolutionized critical method by freeing them from personal prejudice and partisan bias. Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th Ed. S.v. "Sainte-Beuve, Charles-Augustin"

[171] Buchan (1929), 13

shall be in danger of writing history in order to prove
something, and thereby losing that 'disinterested intellectual
curiosity' which is the only avenue to truth.[172]

This statement illustrates the heart of Buchan's speech. The message of his

speech is to warn against misusing theories of history. This statement alludes

most directly to Positivism but also references whiggism and its faults. The

reference to finding causal suggestions from the physical sciences, directly relates

back to the main premise of Positivism. Buchan appears to be speaking out

against the possibility of applying Positivist thinking to history. He claims that

history does not adapt to this type of thinking. It is clear that writing history in

order to prove something is just as bad as finding causation that is not present. In

looking at Buchan's rejection of the various theories that lead to misinterpretation

of history, Buchan appears to be spelling out why Scottish historians like himself

did not participate in re-interpretation. Arguably, Buchan's ability to see the re-

interpretation of history and not fall into it himself stems from the Scottish

tradition which argues for the absence of any need to use history, to prove

something. This is suggesting that history for Buchan is written solely for the

purpose of writing history.

This may be but as will be shown the ideas that permeated Buchan's

history were ones that permeated his larger thoughts on nationalism, when he was

trying to prove something. It must also be pointed out that as much as an author

may ignore his or her audience, they nonetheless have an audience and therefore

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[172] Buchan (1929), 13

spread their ideas. Thus, Buchan may believe he does not write to prove anything

but he does write, with success, and therefore has some influence on his readers.

Yet, at the same time Buchan espouses that, "explanation and

interpretation…are the essence of history."[173] This somewhat contradictory

statement from Buchan illustrates his moderate position. The basic premise of

both Positivism, as a philosophy, and whiggism, as a historical theory, is to find

the connection between facts or events. This basis is something with which

Buchan is comfortable. What Buchan is not comfortable with is when historians

try to "impress our modern whim upon an immutable past, and press out theories

of historical processes too far. We must have these theories, and they explain a

great deal, but they do not explain everything…let us by all means accept the

doctrine of predestination, whether in its metaphysical or theological form."[174]

Buchan is not rejecting theories of history. He sees them as useful. In particular,

he is not rejecting metaphysical or whig versions of history. His allusion to

theological schemes appears to be an address to whiggism. These theories in

moderation are acceptable because "at bottom it [history] is a poetic or religious

conception rather than a scientific. The danger is rather with the pseudo-

scientists, the Buckles and Guizots and Taines and their modern counterparts,

who dogmatize about the details and believe that they can provide a neat

explanation of everything in the past."[175] This differentiation between the types

of theories which he considers logically sound, highlights how Buchan feels about

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[173] Buchan (1929), 17
[174] Buchan (1929), 43
[175] Buchan (1929), 43-4

the trends of his era as well as where he believes history stands. He sees it within a poetic and religious background, that this is where its essence can be understood. Ideally for Buchan, history and historical writing is exemplified by "one of the greatest," Edmund Burke. He ends the speech with a quote from Burke about the need to understand that sometimes only mere chance at the hand of the 'Great Disposer' can explain why things happen a certain way.[176]

The ideas espoused by Buchan in *The Causal and the Casual* are not specifically new to Buchan. He addressed his main argument in an earlier speech, *The Muse of History* (1914). While there are some distinct similarities in the two speeches, specifically in Buchan's treatment of positivism and metaphysics, Buchan addresses the three most important attributes of history writing and how good history is written. These three attributes of history that Buchan believes to be important are science, philosophy, and art, all with varying degrees of importance. He explains their relationship to one another as well as generally commenting on the role of bias and making history come alive. This earlier speech is much more a how to on how to write history than the later. Combined, these two speeches provide an extremely valuable insight into Buchan's philosophy of history and more importantly how that philosophy of history represents Buchan's larger intellectual trends.

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[176] Burke (1729-1797) was a British statesman from Ireland, who championed the conservative cause. He explored the idea of man in natural harmony with the universe. He believed that the "political community acts ideally as a unity" and had a "deep respect for the historical process." These are two ideas that took deep roots in Buchan. Encyclopedia Britannica. 15th Ed. S.v. "Burke, Edmund"

Buchan begins, as he does in *The Causal and the Casual* with a discussion of the muse of history, Clio. He describes the mythology from which she is derived and the various images through which she is associated with history. Moreover, he invokes her name in the dedication of the address: "let these few pages be the plea of a humble votary on behalf of a goddess whose divinity is sometimes forgotten."[177] He goes to tell what has become of Clio's fruits during the current age. He reminds the reader of the memoirs and purported historical writing about the current era that is popular. This type of history he regards as relatively harmless, but he concerns himself with the history that is given to the public that is further removed in date but composed of the same quality and content. At the same time he criticizes the academics and archivists who would make history "a thing of the schools" only.[178] While he does not criticize exact scholarship and research, he does criticize the lack of connections made by these in depth researchers. That is, they do not connect their findings to the record of the past, place it in a continuum, or tell a story with it.

Buchan defines history as "the attempt to write in detail the story of a substantial fragment of the past, so that its life is re-created for us, its moods and forms of thought reconstructed, and its figures strongly represented against a background painted in authentic colours."[179] This definition, therefore, excludes from the discussion memoirs and biographies. For Buchan, the difference between a biographer and a historian is that the biographer deals only with one

[177] Buchan (1926), 93
[178] Buchan (1926), 94
[179] Buchan (1926), 95

piece, a miniature, whereas, the historian works with a "large canvas" and many figures. Scott or Shakespeare are examples of history as Buchan defines it. Within the writing of history, he classifies how it is seen in three different parts: science, philosophy, and art. A historian writing from the scientific perspective would be concerned chiefly with evidence, the philosophical historian would be concerned with the evolution of ideas and movements, and the artistic historian would see only the bright colours and great deeds of the past. Buchan feels, however, that history must incorporate all three aspects: "the truth is, that no more than a drama or a novel can history afford to be only one of these things. It must have science in its structure, and philosophy in its spirit, and art in its presentation."[180] He finds fault with the scientific historian, the same as in *The Causal and the Casual*. He also repeats his discussion of philosophy. His third attribute, art, is something he does not discuss in his later speech. While history uses science and philosophy, the writing of history is for Buchan "indisputably an art."[181] The artistic qualities necessary for perfection in history writing are drama, background, and style. As an art, Buchan means that writing history is like writing a novel or a play. It primary purpose is to tell a story. In this way, a great event does not just appear as an isolated event but as a logical progression of a series of causes. The role of the historian is to show these causes and effects. In showing this the historian is writing a drama: "drama is the keynote. Thucydides, the most perfect historian that ever lived, so ordered his great narrative that with

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[180] Buchan (1926), 95
[181] Buchan (1926), 101

little trouble it could take the form of a play."[182] While history may not be as causal as the physical sciences, it does posses its own "inevitableness." Drama, Buchan argues, can often be achieved by illegitimate means, when, for example, the element of surprise is used and the historian argues against an accepted opinion. When this is falsely and consistently argued, the seriousness of history as an art is degraded. The reason why history is a drama is because the purpose of history is to tell the truth about "the past life of humanity" and human life is dramatic.[183] When the drama of history is overdone it becomes melodramatic. Historians Froude and Macaulay are guilty of this over-dramatization as well as Taine's description of Napoleon.

To fully comprehend the past, Buchan believes the "picture must be complete, with landscape and atmosphere."[184] While necessary to the writing of history, it is very easy to let the background overwhelm the key figures and burden the text. Macaulay and Carlyle are key examples of this tendency. The third most valuable artistic quality is style, which makes the narrative "easy and compact." For Buchan, Thucydides is the finest writers, while Froude is "unsurpassed" among modern historians. The greatness of their style is in their writing's "colour and light." [185] Buchan stereotypes the style of historians based on their partisanship. If they are very biased, then their writing will have fire and speed, whereas, if they are detached and impartial their writing will be flat and

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[182] Buchan (1926), 102
[183] Buchan (1926), 103
[184] Buchan (1926), 104
[185] Buchan (1926), 105

chilly. Buchan acknowledges that to be quality literature, the narrative must fail a

little as history.[186] For this reason, Buchan argues it is

> why a flavour of partisanship seems almost essential in
> the historian, for a perfect bloodless urbanity will almost
> inevitably desiccate the style. Provided the bias be reasonable
> and not too violent, it is perhaps to be welcomed. Let the
> historian present his facts with the impartiality of a judge, and
> there is no harm in his stating his view with the fervour of an
> advocate, for then the reader has the material for forming his
> own opinion and is not bound to agree with the advocate.[187]

The relationship between the three parts of history Buchan classifies as

follows: "the good historian…must have in his composition something of the

scientist, much of the philosopher, and more of the artist."[188] Buchan admits that

the possibility of combining these three elements into a perfect compound is

rather difficult. He argues, however, that Gibbon is the closest to perfect

harmony.[189] Despite Gibbon's limitations of sympathy, he "understood as no

other man has understood the organic continuity of history."[190] Second to Gibbon

is Mommsen[191], and he considers S.R. Gardiner[192] of his own time the best. He

admires Gardiner for pursuing the truth, over forty years, on one of the most

controversial epochs and always treating each side fairly. Buchan lauds him for

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[186] Buchan (1926), 105
[187] Buchan (1926), 105-106
[188] Buchan (1926), 107
[189] Gibbon was an 18th century rationlist historian who is best known for his work *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*
[190] Buchan (1926), 107
[191] Mommsen (1817-1903) was a German historian, known for his work, *The History of Rome* (1854-56).
[192] Gardiner, (1829-1902), was a British historian, known for his work on the English Civil War. His most prominent works included, *History of England from the Accesion of James I to the Outbreak of Civil War, 1603-1642, (10 vols), History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649 (5 vols), History of the Commonwealth to the Protectorate, 1649-1660.*

his psychological insight, his philosophical attempt to chronicle as well as explain, while maintaining the element of drama and a simple, effective style.

Buchan ends the speech by drawing conclusions between the English race and the writing of history. He states, "history is a work in which the talents of the English race have shown at their happiest. We are a history-loving people, desirous of keeping open our communications with the past, and basing our institutions on historical rather than logical grounds." He then ends by warning against following any trend in history to an extreme, suggesting not limiting history to the collection of raw material or to popular sciolism. He ends as he began with the role of Clio: "Clio is still a Muse, with the fire of Zeus in her veins. She is still the mother of Orpheus, and can stir our blood like poetry and song."[193] This statement would suggest that while history is written without false bias it is still written with the purpose of inspiring the reader. After careful examination of the influence, themes, and threads which make up Buchan's philosophy of history, some of the traditions and basic tenets of his thought process are revealed. Buchan was deeply imbedded within the Scottish tradition of history, which is best exemplified by Sir Walter Scott. This tradition argued for the acceptance of the past as it is and rejected any attempt to change it for the betterment of an argument. Buchan expands on this tradition in his speeches about his philosophy of history, in which he points out the evils of strongly biased history. Buchan and the Scottish tradition are firmly planted in a conservative

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[193] Buchan (1926), 108

view of history which limits the manipulation of history to support any nationalist

aims.

Buchan and National History

In addition to understanding Buchan's philosophy of history, it is key to

understand how Buchan comprehended the connection between history and

national identity. His statement about Clio's powers "to stir our blood like poetry

and song" clearly demonstrates that history held the power to ignite the "blood"

of a nation. While he does not say it directly, Buchan understood the connection

between poetry and song and national identity. In a speech given at the Dumfries

Burns' Club (n.d.), Buchan addresses Burns's position as a national poet; "Burns

not only understood these different strains with his mind; he had them all in his

heart and blood. That is why he is in such a complete sense our national

poet…"[194] For Buchan, as for many who understood the manifestations of

nationalism, poetry along with history were key venues through which to illustrate

and define a nation. Furthermore, Buchan saw history not only as a venue

through which to illustrate a nation's identity but also as a source, a driver, of

national identity. In a lecture, "Some Scottish Characteristics," given as part of

series entitled *The Scottish Tongue* (1924) for the Burns Club of London, John

Buchan stated, "It is to our history that we must look for the source of what seem

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[194] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

to me the two master elements in the Scottish character, as we have seen it in history and as we know it to-day. These elements are hard-headedness on the one hand and romance on the other: common sense and sentiment: practicality and poetry: business and idealism."[195] There are several important aspects of this statement by Buchan. First, it implies what Buchan believes the role of history to be. That is, he sees it as a source of illumination on the national character. This belief in national character is the second important element of the statement. Not only does the statement illustrate that Buchan has a firm belief in the existence of a distinct Scottish national character, but it also shows that Buchan believed that the two elemental characteristics of Scottish character were its practicality and sentiment. The third notable feature of this statement is its connection between the past and the present. Buchan shows that he believes that these Scottish characteristics exist in the present as well as the past.

What is most striking about Buchan's understanding of the relationship between Scotland's past and nationalism are the characteristics that he arrives at. These characteristics are emblematic of the larger presence of two versions of Scottish history; the romantic, sentimental, idealized one of pre-industrialized society, and the hard-working, commonsense, practical one of post-Union industrialization. Buchan's philosophy of history indicated he had to accept the narrative of dual identity as it was. By looking at his article "The Making of Modern History," it becomes clear he did follow through on his philosophy of

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[195] John Buchan, J.M. Bulloch, W.A. Craigie, Peter Giles. *The Scottish Tongue: A Series of Lectures on the Vernacular Language of Lowland Scotland*. (London: Cassell & Company, 1924), 58.

history and kept the past as he saw it happening divided between a Scotland of old and a Scotland of new.

In the course of the article, Buchan gives the entire history of Scotland from the 17th century in detail. A consistent theme throughout the piece is Buchan's interpretation that there are two histories that have to be addressed when addressing Scotland's past. After giving a history of the upheaval and religious dissent of 17th century Scotland, Buchan moves on to discuss the transition to 18th century Scotland.

It is at the turn of the 18th century that Buchan sees Scotland having to differentiate and accept two different Scotlands: "The years between 1688 and 1745 saw the end of the old Scotland and the beginning of the new…She had to find some means of bringing a poor and barren land into line with her rich southern neighbour, and at the same time to maintain the individuality of her national character."[196] This statement, by Buchan, suggests how it is that the dual identities that plague Scotland came into existence. Scotland wanted to be a progressive, modern member of the industrializing and developing West, but at the same time had its own history of legend and tradition that did not fit with the modern future. From the very start of the Union, Scotland had to deal with being two things at once; being the history and culture that it knew itself to be but also working towards achieving economic and political power. Thus, two different versions of Scotland progressed. The event that most clearly demarcated the change was the repression of the Highland rebellion in 1745. It was at this point,

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[196] Buchan (1926), 141

Buchan argues, "Jacobitism ended in a sharp and complete cataclysm, as a

mountain stream falling over a high cliff disappears in spray, and with it went the

old national history of Scotland."[197] It was at this point that any chance of

political separation was lost. In many respects, Buchan believed that "the old

Scotland of blind faiths and impossible loyalties was moribund but not yet dead,

and it had to perish utterly before the new Scotland could be born."[198] Buchan is

suggesting that before the Union could work all attempts at political revolt,

characterized by the "blind faiths and impossible loyalties" that had existed in

Scotland, must be done away with. At the same time, the cultural legacy of pre-

Union Scotland must continue to exist: "She had the dual task before her of

hammering the many warring elements in her bounds into some kind of unity, and

at the same time preserving her national distinctiveness."[199] Essentially, the

political oppositions and concerns of pre-Union Scotland had to be overcome and

refocused within the Union, while the cultural identities and individualities had to

be maintained independently. Buchan's argument is synonymous with the basis

of what the Union was; a political union between two separate nations. This

break between political and cultural shaped a large part of Scottish nationalist

ideology. Throughout Buchan and many other nationalists it is the cultural nation

that is distinct and the political nation that is joined with England. Hence, the

origins of the odd development of 19th century nationalism, in which there was no

political nationalism to speak of, only cultural nationalism can be seen. The

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[197] Buchan (1926), 165
[198] Buchan (1926), 159
[199] Buchan (1926), 177

question of political nationalism did not arise until after World War I, when the economic make-up of the political Union did not appear so appealing. In many ways, Buchan is supporting a very traditional and safe version of Scottish nationalist history. Nationalism can and must exist for the maintenance of the Scottish nation but the nation must recognize that it is politically tied to England.

Through Buchan's understanding of the Union and how it affected the changes in Scotland's national identity, it can be shown that Buchan was a cautious, unchallenging national historian. He was accepting the presence of a Scottish nation but in a way that did not overtly challenge the Union or England. This view is justified by his philosophy of history. That is, he did not believe in changing the past for the validation of the present. Despite the sense in Scotland that their national characteristics were dying, Buchan does not change his view of the past. Had he wanted to, he could have recorded a history that tried to assert the power of the older, romanticized Scotland more. His view, however, does not challenge the higher authorities. He attempts to show pride and strength in both sets of characteristics.

The narrative that Buchan is telling is one that has been firmly influenced by the legacy of the Union of 1707. As can be seen by the historiographic trends and Buchan's own history, the Union placed a stress on the identity of Scotland. Not only was Scotland forced to absorb its own internal differences, Highland and Lowland, but it was also forced to absorb a relationship with England. While these forced relationships ultimately created a more unified identity, not only for

Scots but also for the British, the legacy of separation and disunion was extremely hard to overcome. This legacy was perpetually present in Scotland's history. In his own writing, Buchan chose to accept this legacy. While it was common for nationalist historians to invent, recover, and even remember their nations' history in a way that best suited their nationalist aims, Buchan rejects this form of history writing, arguing instead for the past to remain in the past as it was and not let the present dictate how the past should be seen. This philosophy arguably suggests that Buchan is a very safe and sane historian, and therefore safe nationalist.

As an intellectual using history to shape Scottish identity, Buchan is perpetuating a bi-polar identity of Scots. He has shown how their paradoxical characteristics originate from Scotland's past and its history with the Union. While Buchan uses history to encourage pride and recognition of Scottish identity, the identity is grounded in disunion.

CHAPTER THREE

"The Odd Strains Which Make-up Our National Character"[200]

To understand Buchan as an intellectual among an elite attempting to

create and foster Scottish nationalism within Scots, it is necessary to understand

how he understood nationalism. How did he define it? What position did he see

it playing within Scotland? Nationalism, for Buchan, was defined by

conservatism; Scotland had the entitlement to exist with political rights as well as

cultural autonomy, but no nation had the right to use its pride and self-

determination to become aggressive, disruptive, or dangerous. Buchan's wish to

impart these views is, however, complicated by the presence of major tensions

and complexities, which haunted Scottish identity: British politics versus radical

intellectuals, pre-modern versus industrialized, Scotland versus Britain. This

chapter illustrates how these tensions found in Scottish consciousness permeate

Buchan's statements about Scotland. As much as Buchan may try to portray and

argue the presence of a united Scotland, its complexities and disunities were too

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[200] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

strong. The best example of how Buchan embodies these tensions and falls short of his ideal of unity is his preference for the Lowlands of Scotland. The dual identities originating in the Union are present in all aspects of Scottish life, even in the intellectuals who try to shape and embody a strong and unified nation.

John Buchan: A Life

To look at Buchan's representation of Scottish identity it is first necessary to understand Buchan's life, his intellectual and political development, and the major events that shaped his views. Born in 1875 in Perth, Scotland, Buchan grew up on the west coast of Scotland. His father was a Presbyterian minister, who played an influential role in shaping his understanding of religion. In his early teens, Buchan and his family moved to a working-class area of Glasgow. Buchan attended Hutchenson's Grammar school where he "awoke to an interest in the classics."[201] This interest allowed him to win a scholarship that paid for his tuition at Glasgow University. Already an avid writer, Buchan began publishing articles and edited an edition of Francis Bacon's essays for a London publisher. During this time, he worked towards going to Oxford University. He was eventually able to achieve this goal, paying for tuition through scholarships and money from his writing and editing. In 1895, Buchan attended Brasenose College at Oxford, where he excelled in his studies. He continued to publish, making a name for himself with his novels and essays. After reading philosophy, Buchan

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[201] Juanita Kruse, *John Buchan and the Idea of Empire* (Queenston: Edward Mellen Press, 1989.), 5

had the option to stay and teach at Oxford but instead chose to move to London and read for the bar.

During his time in London, Buchan continued publishing, writing articles for political magazines and increasingly writing on the British Empire. This career path shifted somewhat when Buchan accepted an offer from the British High Commissioner for South Africa, Lord Milner. In September 1901, Buchan left England for South Africa as Milner's private secretary. The focus of this position was to assist in the land settlement following the Boer War. Buchan held the position for two years and then returned to London. Upon his return, he continued working in law until his marriage in 1907. He then took on the position as partner in the publishing firm Thomas Nelson and Sons. This profitable job allowed him time to continue his writing and to engage in politics. In 1911, he ran on the Conservative ticket for Peebles, Scotland, an area near where he had grown up. He was defeated, however, in the heavily liberal area. It was also at this time that Buchan became sick with digestive problems that would plague him the rest of his life.

Many of his friends had encouraged Buchan to run for Parliament on either ticket. Buchan's father had been a member of the Tory Party. Although most of Scotland, Peebles included, was dominated by the Liberal Party, the Rev. Buchan and his son seemed to appreciate the minority and chose to stick with the Unionist side. Buchan, himself, disliked the Liberal Party for its self-

righteousness.[202] That said, most of Buchan's personal beliefs held with the Liberal platform. Following a speech during his first parliamentary run in Peebles in 1906, the *Peebles News* wrote an article entitled, 'Is the Candidate a Liberal?' in which it stated, 'Mr John Buchan is rather advanced in his opinions to please some of the more rabid Tories. Part of his programme is stated to be: Abolition of the hereditary principle of the House of Lords, Free Trade, and a scheme of Small Holdings. How the Unionist Tariff Reformers will act with such a programme remains to be seen.' Buchan preferred to call himself a 'conservative with a move on.'[203] He had many liberal friends whom he admired, and he admired many of their views. He was in favor of many of Lloyd George's objectives, including: old age pensions, health and unemployment insurance, and women's suffrage. He was an imperialist but he simultaneously wished for an imperial federation, and was more sympathetic to non-British minority cultures, like the French-Canadian and the Boer. From his start, there was nothing specifically clear cut about Buchan. While his conservative beliefs would always color his understanding, he did not always follow the political party's line. This difference between person and party can be seen in Buchan's treatment of the Scottish nationalism question.

When the War broke out in 1914, he tried to enlist but was unable, as he was confined to his bed with his digestive problems. By 1915, improved health allowed him to go to the Western front, where he served as a correspondent for *The Times*. Then in 1916, he became a member of the Intelligence Corps and was

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[202] Janet-Adam Smith, *John Buchan: A Life*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), 181
[203] Smith, 183

stationed in France. While there, he suffered a severe attack of his digestive

disorder and almost died. He was diagnosed with ulcer problems and agreed to

undergo a risky operation. While this operation may have helped, he refused to

give himself the time he needed to recover with the war going on and returned to

work as Director of the newly created Department of Information. His job was to

sift through the propaganda circulated by the press to construct a factual account

of the War. This department was turned into the Ministry of Information in 1918,

when he Buchan held the title, Director of Intelligence.

Following the War, Buchan retired to the countryside around Oxford. He

gave up his political aspirations and sought quiet solitude. He was by no means

stationary, however. He continued to work for Nelsons and traveled to Canada

and the United States. With time, Buchan's health improved considerably and he

began to become more engaged with his previous political pursuits. This led to

his election to Parliament in 1927 as a Member of the Scottish Universities. He

continued to serve as a Conservative Member of Parliament until 1935. Although

he never achieved the position of cabinet minister, many saw him as the 'powers

behind the throne…It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of that quiet

Scotsman and novelist M.P., Mr. John Buchan. He is the closest friend of Mr.

Baldwin [the Prime Minister], his advisor as regards all his more important

speeches, and his confidant on all occasions.'[204]

In 1929, Buchan resigned his post at Nelsons. He continued in Parliament

and in 1934-35, he had the honor of serving as Lord High Commissioner to the

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[204] "Powers Behind the Thrones" *Sunday Times*, newspaper clipping n.d. Buchan Papers, in Kruse.

General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This position led to the request that

he represent the King as Governor-General of Canada in 1935, and he was raised

to the peerage as Lord Tweedsmuir. He filled the role as Governor-General

enthusiastically, traveling and speaking extensively, and supporting the potential

of the Canadian North.[205] He held this post until his death in 1940. The last two

years of his life were physically painful for Buchan. He was occasionally

bedridden with his ulcer and was in poor health. He died in Ottawa on February

12, 1940.

The National Ideal

Considering Buchan's background, it is now possible to examine

Buchan's questionable position as a Scottish nationalist. His membership in the

Conservative Unionist party suggests he was removed from the nationalist

movements active in Scotland pushing for more autonomy, greater influence,

and/or more cultural awareness. Buchan's actions and words would suggest that

he only supported Scottish nationalism to a certain degree. He had no tolerance

for radical dangerous forms of nationalism. Some scholars would even argue that

Buchan, even in reference to more cultural and typically safe forms of

nationalism, was conservative.[206] Closer examination of Buchan's statements,

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[205] Kruse, 161.

[206] In talking with Richard Finlay, a prominent Scottish scholar focusing on late 19th and early 20th century Scottish politics, about Bucan and his position on nationalism it became clear that Finlay among others did not see Buchan as a nationalist whatsoever. Upon discussing the matter further,

including considerations of where he said them, and how his views changed over the course of his career, suggests, however, that he did possess and exhibit a type of Scottish nationalism. Furthermore, he encouraged Scots to accept his ideas, albeit conservative, for the Scottish nation.

In his speech on the question of Scottish Home Rule, given in Parliament in 1932, Buchan established several important elements of his position on nationalism and its relationship to Scotland. Specifically, the speech provides a clear outline of the manifestation of these views within the political arena and hints at their manifestation within the cultural arena. Buchan states,

> Moreover, I think we have learned to-day as never before the evils of a too narrow nationalism. I believe as firmly as ever that a sane nationalism is necessary for all true peace and prosperity, but I am equally clear, and I think we all agree today, that an artificial nationalism, which manifests itself in a barren separatism and in the manufacture of artificial differences, makes for neither peace nor prosperity.[207]

The idea of "sane nationalism" shapes all of his pronouncements on Scottish nationalism. As we will see, Buchan's strong sense of Scottishness is always tempered by conservatism and almost never exhibits artificial or radical directions. Hence, he accepts Scotland with all of its complexities and tensions. If the strength of Scottish nationalism was compromised by these inconsistencies, so be it. This is the same view that is found in his philosophy of history; conservatism permeated his thought process.

Finlay agreed that Buchan could be seen as a cultural nationalist but even in this position Buchan was limited by his action, everything he did was safe and within the limits of behavior which would be deemed acceptable by the Conservative Party. Richard Finlay in convseration with the author, May 2004

[207] *Parliamentary Debates /PD/* 272 H.C. Deb. 5s., cols. 253-60

World War I and the atrocities that it created were deeply imbedded in Buchan's understanding of the world. He had lost a large number of friends and had personally witnessed the front line, despite his own physical infirmities. His experiences led to a deep apprehension of the evils nationalism could produce, and a perception of the dangers Hitler's rising national socialist movement posed. Additionally, Buchan was aware of the effects the war had had on the British people. Christopher Harvie argues in his article, "John Buchan and *The Northern Muse*" that Buchan's book, *The Island of Sheep* (1919), written with his wife represents a move in Buchan away from "the former imperialist in the direction of the democratic nationalism."[208] Harvie illustrates how Buchan's views on nationalism changed over the course of his life as a result of larger political issues. Even before World War I, Buchan appears to have lost some interest in imperialist nationalism. This nationalism was often characterized by an organic understanding of the nation and its power.[209] Buchan rejects this violent and exclusionary form of nationalism in favor of a unified peaceful world where rivalry, which disrupts the world, the Empire and the nation, is absent. Buchan's rejection of imperialist nationalism illustrates that he did not merely reject nationalism because he associated it with the exclusionary extremist forms on the European continent but that he would even go so far as to reject the nationalism which drove his own country, Great Britain. Buchan was examining all sides of

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[208] Christopher Harvie. "John Buchan and *The Northern Muse*: The Politics of an Anthology," *Scottish Studies Review* 2 No 1 (2001), 68

[209] Nationalisms that believe their nation is deeply imbedded within the history of the land and that the people are born with national characteristics are often referred to as organic nationalisms. Anthony Smith explains this view in *The Nation in Hisotry* (2000).

the issue when he made this transition and he did not temper his views in order to exclude his own nation from criticism.

> I believe that every Scotsman should be a Scottish Nationalist. If it could be proved that a separate Scottish Parliament were desirable, that is to say that the merits were greater than the disadvantages and danger, Scotsmen should support it. I would go further. Even if it were not proved desirable, if it could be proved to be desired by any substantial majority of the Scottish people, then Scotland should be allowed to make the experiment.[210]

This statement addresses the question of political nationalism and the right to self-determination. Sir Reginald Coupland argues in *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism* (1954) that Buchan uses this speech to Parliament as an "occasion to explain how far his cultural nationalism was also political."[211] It suggests Buchan was firmly rooted in the Home Rule camp. This view, however, should be examined within additional contexts. First, Buchan begins by saying, if a separate Parliament "were desirable, that is to say that the merits were greater than the disadvantages and danger. . ." This is a significant proviso. In Buchan's mind, there is a clear disadvantage and danger to Scots having their own Parliament. In giving Scotland its own parliament, Scots would be creating more problems than are currently present:

> …Real as the needs are, to attempt to meet them by creating an elaborate independent legislature would be more than those needs require. Such a top-heavy structure would not cure Scotland's ills; it would intensify them. It would create artificial differences, hinder cooperation, and engender friction if we attempted to split up services which Scotland has in common with England for 200 years.[212]

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[210] *Parliamentary Debates /PD/* 272 H.C. Deb. 5s., cols. 253-60
[211] Sir Reginald Coupland.*Welsh and Scottish Nationalism: A Study.* (London: Collins, 1954), 403
[212] *Parliamentary Debates /PD/* 272 H.C. Deb. 5s., cols. 253-60

Scotland's 'needs' are the concerns that characterized the Interwar years: the

feeling of a dying race, collapsing institutions such as the law and justice,

shrinking industries, the decline of Scots language, literature and culture, and,

most important, that Scotland's "historic individuality" was disappearing. As

Christopher Harvie says in his article about Buchan's Scottish characteristics, this

speech was a "moving plea for recognition of Scottish nationality."[213]

Buchan's ideal form of Scottish nationalism was to create greater

representation within the current parliamentary structure, thus allowing an

independent Scottish nation access to its rights. His support of a Scottish

parliament is clearly conditional on elements that he believes to be nearly

impossible; more government was a move towards bad government. While he

concedes he would accept the idea if a majority of Scots truly wanted it, in

actuality he is making a safe remark. The possibility of a majority of Scots

agreeing on anything related to Scotland, its government and its future would, at

this time, be virtually impossible. The tensions which pulled at Scotland made

achieving a majority consensus on the future of the Scottish government

extremely difficult. Buchan understood that Scotland was deeply divided amongst

itself, with various factions maintaining various agendas.[214]

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[213] Christopher Harvie, "Second Thoughts of a Scotsman on the Make" *The Scottish Historical Review.* Volume LXX, NoL 188, April 1991, 51

[214] The various agendas of the different nationalist movements and political parties has been shown in Chapter One.

Conservative British Parliamentarian or Radical Scottish Nationalist?

As the above question from the speech to Parliament suggests, Buchan holds that the machinery of having an independent Scottish Parliament would be far more trouble than trying to fix the issues present within the Imperial Parliament. In the course of this same speech, Buchan gives a list of suggestions regarding what Parliament could do that would help pacify Scottish Home Rulers. His suggestions include giving Scotland greater control of the issues that affected her, not just "tacking on" clauses to English measures for Scotland, creating more visible signs of the Scottish nation within politics (in part, by the creation of an official Secretary of State building in Edinburgh, in which Scottish affairs could be conducted), and to encourage Scottish members to support Scottish measures in a more unified manner, thus utilizing what power they did have in Parliament more effectively. The premise of this speech for the appeasement of Scottish nationalism was adopted by the Government in 1939, with the opening of the St. Andrews house, which provided a common home for the local departments of the Scottish office in London (i.e. agriculture, education, and health).[215] Buchan's attempt to address and ease Scottish concerns through government, illustrates his effort to navigate between the British parliamentary tradition and the more radical devolutionist positions of some Scottish intellectuals. He is arguably 'sitting on the fence,' attempting to find a solution that would pacify all sides. In the process, his position is complicated. Where exactly does he stand?

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[215] Coupland, 404

The answer to this question is not clear. It depends on what stage of Buchan's career is being discussed. Over the years Buchan's nationalism and position on Scottish politics changed. His early years at Oxford and abroad in the Empire under Lord Milner (1854-1925) shaped him into a staunch imperialist with conservative leanings. His early childhood in Scotland had endowed him with a Scottish identity but his experiences as a young man arguably shaped him into a Conservative Unionist seeking acceptance within the British establishment. Yet, as his political career progressed, Buchan began to focus more on Scotland and its political aspirations. When his hopes for success in Parliament were crushed in 1931, he reacted not by sulking, "but by a redirection of effort towards Scotland."[216] With fewer personal repercussions in the British parliamentary political tradition at stake, he could move towards a more politically radical position. This changing position makes it impossible to label Buchan as a British parliamentarian or Scottish intellectual with more radical political views. Not only does he fall somewhere in the middle but this changeability adds to his complexity and elusiveness.

Buchan's presence in the Scottish literary Renaissance does little to clarify where Buchan falls within this spectrum. He was aware that the language was fading away and that the Scots language used in poetry, diluted over the years, was not the real Scots language of the 17th century. In response, Buchan edited an anthology, *The Northern Muse: An Anthology of Scots Vernacular Poetry,* in which he included what he held to be the best and most representative pieces of

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[216] Harvie (1991), 50

Scottish literary works in the Scottish vernacular. The publication of this well-respected anthology firmly planted Buchan as a member of the Scottish literary renaissance. Again, this positioning highlights Buchan's complexities; he is an MP but also supporter of the politically dubious Scottish Renaissance. Furthermore, it reasserts Buchan's position as an intellectual in Scotland and renews the debate about Scottish nationalism. He was sitting in a position to play an important role in shaping how Scots thought of their nation, both culturally and politically. His intermediary status illustrates, however, that despite his attempts to give Scots a clear idea of how to perceive themselves, he himself was torn by the complexities, which were present in Scotland.

Finding Identity in Antonyms

While Buchan might waver on what degree and how he chose to represent Scottish interests, he had a prescribed doctrine for how he talked about Scotland and its characteristics. Although consistent in what he said, there was nothing simple or direct about these characteristics. He had a habit of presenting them in sets of antonyms: "dour and hard" but "sentimental", "realists and pragmatists" but "dreamers." On closer examination, however, it can be shown that these seemingly disparate, arbitrary characteristics are deeply rooted in Buchan's vision of Scotland's past that was shown in Chapter Two: old pre-modernized Scotland is given a set of characteristics, as is modern industrialized Scotland. These sets

of characteristics are then paired off against one another, such that seemingly opposite ideas come together to represent one identity.

The reason for Buchan's concern and indeed the revival of the Scottish issue and the Home Rule debate was the change in economic and social conditions following World War I. Buchan was very much a part of the concern and debate over the future of Scotland, arguing "There are many things amiss in Scotland today…It is not enough merely to sentimentalize over our history and our traditions. We do not want Scotsmen merely to be distinguished and prosperous up and down the face of the earth; we want Scotland itself, the home of our race, to be healthy and prosperous, and to retain its historic national character."[217] This statement clearly illustrates the tensions that existed between old historic Scotland and new modernizing Scotland. Buchan argues it is not enough that Scots participate in modernization and flourish economically, nor is it enough to merely have a history and tradition. He is suggesting that the two must work together to have a true living Scottish nation. Also hinted at in this statement is the perception of old Scotland as sentimental and modern Scotland as distinguished and prosperous. Not only does Buchan's statement highlight the two ways he believed Scotland should be seen in order to create a living nation but it also indicates why he chose to focus on certain characteristics of Scotland.

In the course of his speeches and writings, Buchan attempts to show Scotland's uniqueness and vibrancy by describing these dual identities. In part,

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[217] John Buchan. "Speech at Manchester Caledonian Club", 30 November, 1932. John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

he does this by exalting the great national writers and poets like Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns, demonstrating not only how they represented and define Scottish characteristics but also presenting them as a bridge to voice his own opinions about critical issues affecting Scotland. They served as a tool of legitimization for Buchan.

Robert Burns represented a multitude of definitions and examples of Scottishness and Scottish characteristics; "he represented in himself all the odd strains which make up our national character, and which dull people consider contradictions." These so-called contradictions include how

> "We Scots are supposed to be dour and hard, but we are also extremely sentimental. We are supposed to be careful about money, and that is true, for we know how hard money is to come by; but in any cause which touches our heart or our imagination we can be quixotically generous. We are realists and pragmatists, but we are also dreamers. We are on the whole a reverent people, but we can make very free with our sacred things."[218]

These characteristics are arguably derived from the dual traditions of pre-modernization and industrialization in Scotland. There is industrialized Scotland, which knows "how hard money is to come by" but at the same time there is traditional Scotland, which is "quixotically generous." These statements illustrate the characteristics that Buchan ascribes to Scots to illustrate the vibrancy of Scotland. When he described what was amiss with Scotland, Buchan does not see them as contradictions but as differences which make up the whole. Burns embodied all of these characteristics and held them close to his "heart and blood.

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[218] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

That is why he is in such a complete sense our national poet, and why his poems have become the Masonic symbols of the Scottish people."[219]

The contradictions Buchan uses to describe the Scottish character are ones he often repeats. This bi-polarism becomes a characteristic in itself. Indeed, these paradoxes form the primary identity of Scots. As Buchan says of Burns, "all the odd strains" create a "national character." Even when Buchan is not using Burns as an example, he returns to this paradoxical composite that gives Scotland its uniqueness. In a speech before the Edinburgh University Association in Newcastle, Jan 29, 1932, Buchan argues that "these universities of ours are almost the most idiomatic thing in Scotland, and being idiomatic they share to the full all the paradoxes of Scottish character. . .We are both cautious and adventurous, both prudent and generous, realistic and critical of folly and at the same time dreamers of dreams."[220] By actually existing within the educational system, typically a source of nationalist indoctrination, it is shown that these characteristics have established themselves as major elements in the Scottish nation.[221] Buchan's reference to these characteristics as paradoxical suggests that he too understood their incongruous nature. In Buchan, they came to exist as their own as identities of Scotland. He uses them without attaching them to anything else and proposes them as the identifying characteristics of Scotland. Thus, in defining Scots by

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[219] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

[220] John Buchan. "Speech at Edinburgh University Association", Newcastle, 29 January, 1932. John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

[221] The educational system played a particularly important role in Scotland, as it was one of the establishments which was left under Scottish control after the Union.

these paradoxical, incongruous descriptions, Buchan is portraying a disunified, bi-polar definition of Scotland.

Scotland is to Britain as Lowland is to Scotland

What is the root of these tensions of modernity and intellectual debates that permeate Scotland? The Union of 1707 created the opportunity for these tensions to develop and reshape Scottish identity. Buchan's portrayal and embodiment of these complexities is, however, not limited to the previously discussed tensions. This Union created even larger structural tensions between Scotland and England, Scotland and Britain, even in Scotland itself between the Highlands and the Lowlands. In his speeches, Buchan addresses Scotland's position within the larger entities of Great Britain and the Empire, as well as the Union's effect on Scotland's internal structure. Scotland existed both as its own entity and as an integral member of the Union. We will see this structure paralleled in Buchan's treatment of the Lowlands.   It is important to note that in talking about Great Britain, it is assumed that its center of power is England. Under this definition and for the purposes of this thesis, the two can therefore be used interchangeably.

While Buchan is elusive in many ways, he appears to have a clear idea on Scotland's position in relation to Great Britain and even the world. In a manner that was common to him, Buchan stated,

> Britain cannot afford, the Empire cannot afford, I do not
> think the world can afford, a denationalized Scotland. In Sir

> Walter Scott's famous words: 'If you un-Scotch us, you will make damned mischievous Englishmen.' We do not want to be, like the Greeks, powerful and prosperous wherever we settle, but with a dead Greece behind us. We do not want to be like the Jews of the Dispersion – a potent force everywhere on the globe but with no Jerusalem.[222]

This statement alludes to several larger trends. The first is that Scots chose to believe that they were influential partners within Britain and more specifically, in the British Empire.[223]   Not only does Scotland have a role within these partnerships but within the world as well. Arguably, Buchan is threatening that Scotland is so integral to these larger systems that if it lost its nationhood it had the power to disrupt their balance. Scotland stands out as a piece of the larger puzzle. The order that Buchan presents these larger systems in is significant; in that, he holds Britain and the British Empire as separate entities and furthermore that he chose to include the world at a time when the British Empire covered much of the world. This implies his belief in Scotland's importance.

The other major trend that this statement reveals is the concern over the future of Scotland, which the economic and social changes of the Interwar years provoked. Buchan implies that changes in the economy put Scotland in jeopardy of loosing its independence in Britain. Buchan's reference to the Greeks and Jews is one he would often make, using the examples to point out that it was possible for a race to grow and be well known throughout the world but not have a homeland. He suggests that it could possibly happen to Scotland; that is, that Scots would and had already spread throughout the globe but that Scotland itself

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[222] *PD,* 272, H.C. Deb. 5s, col. 360
[223] The interplay between Scotland and the British Empire was discussed in Chapter One.

would become "a mere northern province of England."[224] While Buchan may

threaten the power that Scotland had within Britain he is also implying the power

that Britain has over Scotland. As a result of the Union, the two became

interrelated with Scotland struggling in a subordinate position.

In many ways, Scotland's relationship with the Union began a chain of

events, which caused Scotland to see itself in a new and more unified vision. As

was shown in Chapter One, Scotland existed as two separate entities, Highland

and Lowland. Scottish disgruntlement over the Union had found a sanctuary in

the Highlands. It was from these remote hills that the rebellions against England

and the Union were launched. After the Highlanders defeat by the English in

1745, however, they began to slowly come together as one nation with the

Lowlanders. To illustrate this transition, Buchan had a story that he liked to

repeat when he talked about Scotland and Scottish nationalism. It began,

> Do you realize that until a century or two ago the Highland
> and Lowlands were two separate peoples? Though they were
> nominally under the same kind, they had different economic
> interests, different social traditions, and different religious
> creeds. And then, after 1745, with immense difficulty and
> immense suffering, these two separate races were made of one
> nation. To-day that union is complete.[225]

Furthermore, he stated that if he were abroad and he met a man from Badenoch, a

town in the Highlands, and a man from Northumberland, a northern province of

England, he would recognize the first as a kinsman and the second merely as a

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[224] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

[225] John Buchan. "Speech at Manchester Caledonian Club", 30 November, 1932. John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

friend, even though he cannot speak the Highland language of the first and has an

accent similar to the second. In making this statement, Buchan indicates that he

believes Scots are united by something stronger than language. He is suggesting

that the geographic border of Scotland is stronger than minor cultural similarities

with the English. Within the physical border, Scots are united by a single essence

and identity; one true and impermeable Scotland.   Buchan believes that this

unification between the two different races of the Highlands and Lowlands was

possible because of the unifying power of the Scottish race: "I do not believe that

the unifying power of our race is exhausted." This power of unification led to

> the Scots tradition, the Scots character, has become one
> and indivisible. That is the fact, and we too often forget it. It
> is one of the miracles of history. Two hostile peoples, with
> utterly different traditions and with a long record of ill will
> between them, had to wait until a century or two ago, before
> the barriers were broken down. By a happy chance, in their
> mingling they preserved what was best in each tradition.[226]

The Union of Scotland with England played an integral role in breaking down the

barriers of Scotland and uniting it internally. Buchan pinpoints this with his

reference to the 1745 Rebellion. Following the rebellions, Scotland realized that

defeating the English would be nearly impossible at that point in time. In the

process of being treated as a whole and undivided nation, Scotland became whole

and undivided. In discussing the division, which haunted Scottish identity and the

role the Union played, Buchan is illustrating the overwhelming importance of the

Union in shaping Scotland and its complexities. The Union played two roles. It

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[226] John Buchan. "Speech at Manchester Caledonian Club," 30 November, 1932. John Buchan
Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312.
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made Scotland a part of Britain and it made the Lowlands a part of Scotland.

Understood in this manner, the Union truly was a period of multiple unifications.

Buchan's views on the Union, its relationship to Scotland and Scotland's

internal identities is uniquely illustrated through Buchan's understanding of early

anthropological ideals which floated around him and other intellectuals across

Britain during this era. Although Buchan never discusses these anthropological

trends and intellectual discussions, their influence can be traced in him. One

particular influence is that of Sir James Frazer. Frazer is often considered the

founding father of anthropological theory.[227] His major book, *The Golden Bough*

(1890), was a seminal publication during this era and discussed how all cultures

could be traced back to early, prehistoric cultures. One particular aspect that

Frazer focused on was the idea of totems. Totemism was a complex system of

ideas, which was based on kinship between men and natural objects.[228] In a

discussion about Buchan and these influences, Christopher Harvie suggests that

Buchan believed that Scots had their own "democratic intellect," separate from

the English. He believed they had their own *totem*.[229] This suggests that while

Buchan was willing to be a part of the Union, and work with Britain, etc. he held

that Scotland was inherently different. This difference could arguably be grounds

for Scotland to claim self-determination. That Buchan does not choose to use this

belief as grounds to completely breakaway from England and the Union is

[227] Frazer was a folklorist who studied the development of general modes of thought from the magical to the regilious, from the religious to the scientific. He was extremely influential in shaping early social theory. See *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15th Ed. S.v. "Frazer, Sir James"
[228] *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 15th Ed. S.v. Totemism
[229] Harvie (1991), 51

indicative of the larger influence on Buchan, conservatism. Everything for

Buchan, even the totemism of a people, should be dealt with reason and sanity;

aggressive nationalism could therefore never take root. This understanding in

Buchan merely served to ground his view that Scotland was and should be its own

cultural nation separate from England. We will see Buchan's parallel preference

for the Lowlands of Scotland later in this chapter.

The Union was a pervasive and defining element of Scotland. For

Buchan, the Union represented numerous complexities. As a nation, he saw

Scotland as separate and distinct but he also saw it deeply imbedded within the

parliamentary and imperial tradition of Britain. These distinctions can be seen in

his maneuverings as both a politician working for the British parliamentary

tradition and also as an intellectual working with and supporting other forward-

looking nationalists. Moreover, the influence of the Union can be seen in how

Buchan talks about Scottish history and the characteristics which it creates. The

Union was the defining moment for Buchan's classification of old pre-modern

Scotland and new industrialized Scotland. This Scotland, whether old or new,

deserved the right to maintain itself as an independent member of the world and

Empire. Although Buchan may waver on many issues related to the Union, his

position on the Scottish nation was not one which he complicated. Its degree of

autonomy and representation might vary but never its right to exist as a nation.

This being said, the question of Scotland's structure was affected by the Union.

Prior to 1707 and the events that followed, Scotland was severely divided

between Highland and Lowland. Buchan argues, however, that this changed with time. Through the process of being joined with England, Scotland became one united nation.

The Great United Nation of Scotland

The characteristic of unity is a driving issue in Buchan's discourse about Scotland. Despite the complexities that Buchan recognizes as present in Scotland, he attempts to show that Scotland has overcome them and become one united nation. It is unique and strong because it embodies all of these complexities. Unity is Scotland's greatest characteristic. One of the tools which Buchan uses to show this thinking is to portray Robert Burns as an exemplification of this characteristic. This use of Burns as an exemplifier of Scottish unity serves as a springboard from which Buchan launches into greater ideas about the need for unity in the world.

Buchan describes Burns as a "unifying genius." In the case of Scotland and the British Empire, Burns is able to balance being Scottish but also interested in the "wider unit" of Britain. As a unifier,

> He helped to blend the warring opposites of his land into one great tradition. As a nation I think we have always had that unifying power and from a long and bitter experience we learned the folly of disunion. For centuries we infuriated [was originally "degraded" but crossed out] ourselves fighting England, until by a fortunate chance we were able to set a Scotsman on the British throne. More remarkable still, we managed some time during the Eighteenth century to bring highland and lowlands – two different societies, with different creeds, different economics, different social traditions, and a

> long tradition of hostility behind them – we made Highlands
> and Lowlands one people. [230]

Buchan clearly sees the process of unification as an extremely important aspect of Scotland's history and character. This importance is best illustrated by Buchan's belief that Scots have always "had that unifying power." In stating this, Buchan is implying that unity is an organic characteristic of Scots. In suggesting the organicism of unity, the implication is made that Buchan sees unity as a very safe idea that can be used reasonably. The next few sentences in the statement explain why he appreciates unity: it prevents hostility. By suggesting that unity runs in the blood of Scots, Buchan is suggesting that it was at their discretion to join with England and internally unite; as it was their natural inclination, they held the power to decide. This implies a certain degree of autonomy in Scots.

Buchan's assertion that a driving characteristic of Scotland is its ability to unify is somewhat questionable. As has been shown throughout this thesis, Scotland was torn apart by disunities. The Union had created tensions between Scots and the British, within Scotland itself, and within Scottish characteristics; it did not create unity. Buchan argues, however, that this disunity had been overcome:

> …We are a people with a rich and varied history – a
> strong people made up of many diverse types – with a
> generous tradition behind us, containing many things which
> dull folk consider contradictions. We had a quixotery in our
> blood as well as prudence, poetry as well as prose. The man
> who tries to whittle down our heritage, to narrow our tradition,

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[230] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

to select capriciously from out national life, is no lover of the
broad Scots. [231]

These "varied histories" and "generous traditions" make Scotland "rich." They

represent Scotland's national life and suggest that in Scotland's multiple

characteristics strength can be found. This strength is represented by Scotland's

ability to unite all of these characteristics into one larger identity.

Burns plays a particularly important role for Buchan in representing this

characteristic. Buchan asserts that it was "by virtue of the power of his

imagination and the infinite human sympathy of his heart he interpreted Scotsmen

to each other, he interpreted Scotland to England and in no small degree England

to Scotland."[232] Burns serves as a role model for Buchan. Through Burns,

Buchan is able to make and justify larger arguments about Scotland. This use of

Burns is particularly ironic in light of recent criticism on Burns' role in Scottish

nationalism. While Burns is regarded as a "national hero" who represented an

"untroubled image of Scotland; his work draws attention to the acts of imagining

that are necessary in order to forge…a nation."[233] In the course of her article,

"Re-Presenting Scotia," Leith Davis, argues that Burns's writing was not only

torn between the heterogeneity between Scotland and England but also "his

position on the margins of the dominant economic and cultural hegemony gave

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[231] John Buchan. "Speech at Manchester Caledonian Club" 30 November 1932. John Buchan
Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312.
J.B.Papers Box 16
[232] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers
7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers
Box 16
[233] Leith Davis. "Re-presenting Scotia: Robert Burns and the Imagined Community of Scotland."
In ed. Carol McGuirk, *Critical Essays on Robert Burns.* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1998), 63.

him insight into the acts of invention that are necessary in the creation of any nation…and that his poetry reflects the ambiguities that existed in the Scottish nation as well. Burns's poetry raises questions about the Scottish nation as a 'holistic cultural entity.'"[234] This depiction of Burns suggests that he, like Buchan, appears to be an example of unity and homogeneity, but on closer examination is representative of the larger complexities present in Scotland. That Buchan uses Burns to legitimize his own arguments for Scottish unity illustrates the depth of complexity present and the success of the 'forgery' Davis describes.

The idea of unity is not limited to Scotland. Buchan holds this ideal in a much larger plan for the world. As his transition to 'democratic nationalism' would suggest, Buchan was moving toward finding ideas which promoted peace and prosperity. His focus on unity is a perfect example of how he attempted to promote this view. Buchan states:

> I do not believe that the unifying power of our race is yet exhausted. Unity instead of strife, co-operation instead of rivalry – these are the prime needs of every people. We need a union of classes, we need a more closely united Empire, we need above all things a union of nations in a league of peace. …As a race we know from bitter experience the folly of division. As a race we have already achieved miracles of comprehension. Surely in the still greater problems of the future we may make our Scottish tradition an inspiration and an example.

Clearly, for Buchan, the process of unification is a venue through which Scotland can interact with the rest of the world. Its great national characteristic gives Scotland an immediacy and role within the larger currents of world politics. It gives Scotland the opportunity to shine, not through its position in Great Britain

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[234] Davis, 67

and the Empire but on its own, as a separate nation, which has maintained its own national character. In its struggle and assimilation, it becomes a role model.

Buchan's argument that the greatness of Scotland is found in its unity arguably appears as a way to explain Scotland's acceptance of the Union and the consequences that it had on Scottish identity. It also works with Buchan's conservative views. Buchan did not believe in changing the past to agree with the present, nor did he believe in changing nationalist understanding. He believed that this type of artificialness would create aggressive and radical forms of nationalism. He, therefore, would have to argue for accepting the nation as it is. The Scottish nation was shaped by the Union, the complexities that it caused and a tradition of being joined with England. Arguably, the only way to make all these differences and disunions appear as a positive in the language of nationalism was to show that in diversity there is strength, in strength there is unity.   This rhetoric spoke the language of nationalism and asserted the Scottish identity that Buchan wanted to espouse within the conservative ideals he embodied.

Ironically, even in the characteristics of unity and sanity, the process of individualization and separatism that nationalism is known and often disliked for can be seen in Buchan. Such that when he says, "heaven forbid that I should attempt to dogmatize on what 'Scottishness' means. Our tradition is far too rich and various to be contracted into a formula"[235] one might well imagine that Buchan held Scots above all other peoples. While Buchan may think he is safe

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[235] John Buchan. *Andrew Lang and the Border.* (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 1933), 18

from the dangers of separatism that commonly result from nationalism, his statements suggest that he can as much as any other nationalist can fall into the same trap of promoting his nation to the detriment of another.

A Divided Border?

While Buchan might have tried to represent and spread a neatly contained identity, he too embodied the incongruities, which he tried to obscure. This personification of the paradoxes of Scottish identity can best be seen in his treatment of the Lowlands. While it has been shown how complexities pervaded Buchan, this section looks to illustrate the extent to which Buchan himself exemplifies the disunity of Scotland.

In the course of one speech, Buchan can address the distinct character of the Borders of Lowland Scotland while simultaneously marveling at the ability of Highland and Lowland Scotland to unite their individualities into one nation. To understand how Buchan can hold the Borders in higher esteem than Scotland as a whole, it is first necessary to look at what the Borders of Lowland Scotland stood for in Buchan. In particular, Sir Walter Scott stands as a prime example of the wonders of the Borderland. Just as Burns was influential in Buchan's belief in Scottish unity so too does Buchan invoke Scott's belief to justify the uniqueness of the Borders. Additionally, Buchan places Andrew Lang in the intellectual legacy Scott creates. Buchan lauds certain Border characteristics as being distinctive of Sir Walter Scott. What then does it mean when Buchan says "true

to one great Scottish tradition, the tradition of the Border and of Sir Walter Scott?"[236]

On every acceptable occasion, Buchan spoke gloriously of the Borders. In a speech given at the Dumfries Burns Club (n.a.), Buchan states, "Sir Walter was one type of Scot, a very clean-cut type, the best Border type, which, if I may say it in confidence, as a Borderer to other Borderers, is probably the best gift of Scotland to the world."[237] Such statements recur in Buchan's speeches. The question is, however, what exactly does Buchan mean? What is this Border type? In several of his works and speeches, Buchan alludes to how the Border type originated and was perpetuated. He saw the Border identity as being created in its history and perpetuated and expanded upon by the actual physicality of the Borderlands.

In his biography of *Sir Walter Scott* (1932), whose first chapter is devoted to the "Antecedents" of Scott's life and time, Buchan describes 'The Border,' its history and how this history eventually molded the Border characteristics. He describes it as,

> The Border, where Scotland touched the soil of her ancient adversary, had always cherished in its extremist form the national idiom in mind and manners. It had been the cockpit where most of the lesser battles of her independence had been fought; for generations it had been emptied from vessel to vessel; its sons had been the keepers of the gate and had spoken effectively therein with their enemies. The result was the survival of the fittest, a people conscious of a stalwart ancestry and a long tradition of adventure and self-reliance.[238]

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[236] Buchan. (1933), 20

[237] John Buchan. "Speech at Dumfries Burns Club", (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

[238] John Buchan. *Sir Walter Scott* (London: Cassell and Company, 1932), 17

Buchan's description of the Border alludes to why he found it so exceptional. It is a land of "gate keepers" that has had to battle constantly for survival against the English and even the infringements of the Highlanders. Buchan's application of Darwinian theory suggests his belief that the Borderers are a distinguished group, which arose out of the challenges they faced. Borderers had to survive and in surviving, they became unique. They are a solitary land and self-reliant, not dependent on their northern neighbour and always in conflict with their southern neighbour. This independence distinguishes

> The Borderer…in certain ways from the rest of his countrymen. He lived in an enclave of his own, for, though on the main track of marching armies, he was a little remote from the centers of national life. His eyes did not turn north to the capital, but south to the English frontier, where danger lay, and around him to his urgent local concerns. He lived under a clan system, different from that of the Highlands…[239]

Buchan, therefore, sees the Border history as a contested field that required the Border people to grow and mature on their own, surrounded by hostilities and separated from the national symbols and heart of Scotland. The presence of yet another disunity can be seen in Buchan.

According to Buchan, this independence and separation from the rest of Scotland led to an "absorption in special interests, [this] kept the Borderer, gentle and simple, from sharing largely in those national movements which had their origin in the Scottish midlands and the eastern littoral…It [the Border] was damp tinder for the fires of either reaction or revolution."[240] In stating this, Buchan

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[239] Buchan (1932), 18
[240] Buchan (1932), 18

suggests that the history of the Borders as a separate, removed entity within Scotland gave it the character of being "gentle and simple." Essentially, Buchan is asserting that the history of the Borders has dictated a separate character from the Highlands and even a united Scotland. This, of course, begs the question of evidence: how might Buchan seek to demonstrate this difference? Indeed, as will be shown, Buchan's interpretation of one of the great Borderers, Andrew Lang, does not indicate the existence of separate characteristics but instead, characteristics he associates with Scotland at large.

The intellectual legacy of the Border tradition and its landscape can also be seen in Buchan's treatment of Andrew Lang.[241] In a speech on Andrew Lang, at St Andrews University in 1933, Buchan highlights the role the landscape of the Borders played in shaping Lang.[242] Being himself a Borderers, Buchan assumes the right to talk with authority about Lang, who was thirty years his senior and a well respected and studied scholar. Buchan claims his authority in

> one distinguished advantage…like Andrew Lang, I am a Borderer, and,…our upbringing was the same. So it seemed to me that in this year of the centenary of the death of Sir Walter Scott, the man to whom above all others his allegiance was vowed, I might say something of the country which lies between the Moorfoots and the Cheviots and its formative influence upon his mind and character.[243]

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[241] Andrew Lang was an intellectual of many pursuits including in classics, religion, Scottish history and folklore. In his "History of Modern Scotland," Buchan is reliant on Lang's history of Scotland. Similarly, in his speech on Lang and the Borders, he is drawn to Lang's familiarity with the ballads and legends of the Borders.
[242] Buchan also includes two other Border characteristics that he says shape Lang's interests, the presence of legend and ballads in the Borders and the dual identity in the Border of fancy and fact, dream and business.
[243] Buchan (1933), 3

Buchan here links the role Scott played in this tradition of Border identity to Lang. The chain of influence between them is undeniable. In fact, all those following Scott who embrace the Borders, like Lang (and certainly Buchan himself) embody a "Scott Border" tradition. In many ways, the similarities between Buchan and Scott stand out as so similar that it might appear that Buchan mimics Scott, in his understanding of history, Scotland and most particularly the Borders. The Borders standout with a specific type of intellectual tradition and legacy.

In this area between the Moorfoots and the Cheviots, Buchan finds his kinship with Scotland's greatest heroes. It

> has always seemed to me that in that landscape there is something of the grace which we call classic. Though highland in character it had valleys of a lowland richness. Its hills are for the most part green and gracious, and there is an urbanity in it which softens the stern gothic of Scotland. It has…the union of the sown and the desert, the savage and the habitable – pastoral in the strict classical sense…such a landscape combined with an old humane tradition among the people, was apt for the production of a classical scholar. But it must be scholarship of a special kind, not an arid, philological or antiquarian quest but an interpretation of life.[244]

Not only does the Border have a "humane tradition" but also this, combined with the classical richness of the landscape, leads to the cultivation of a mind, such as Lang's. The characteristics of the Border are not only generated in the past and handed down through the great thinkers and legends of the Border, like Scott, but in the landscape itself; the physical nature of the area contributes to the formation of a Borderer. This degree of partiality that Buchan holds for the Borders, is

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[244] Buchan (1933), 7&8

uniquely expressed in this statement on the Border landscape. The way the hills roll give substance not only to a person but forms a people's identity.[245]

In his speech on Lang, Buchan talks further about another characteristic of the Border, its tendency to embrace contraries. This is in direct contrast to the characteristics of "gentleness and simplicity" which he tries to ascribe when describing the Border history. Buchan sees a common characteristic shaping Lang's character as well as that of all Borderers' "equal appetite for the fancy and the fact, for the dream and for the business." While the Borderer may enjoy legend and ballad, poetry and imagination, the Borderer is also, "a realist." Buchan asserts that "Platonism has been defined as the love of the real and the eternal possessed by those who rejoice in the seen and the temporal; and in this sense the Border was always Platonist. No race ever had a stronger instinct for facts or a firmer grip on life."[246] In saying this, Buchan is suggesting that the Borders are defined by the paradoxical characteristics, which define Scotland at large.

This overlap in attributions of characteristics suggests that the driving force behind these characteristics, namely the effect of the Union, is indeed the driving characteristic of how Buchan understands Scotland. The Union shapes both Scotland's characteristics to the core and it shapes Buchan to the core. What is exceptional about Buchan is that he chooses to continue to see the Borders as a

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[245] Many scholars, most particularly Christopher Harive, have noted that Buchan's landscape descriptions in his novels are exceptional and that it is one way in which his Scottish nationalism plays out in his writing.
[246] Buchan (1933), 10

separate entity from the whole of Scotland. The distinction can arguably be

accredited to the intellectual legacy that he believes is present in the ideas of Scott

and Lang.

CONCLUSION

In a speech given to the Edinburgh University Unionist Association,

Buchan gives his definition of being a Conservative Unionist Tory in Scotland:

> In the first place we are Unionists. We believe that the
> Union makes strength, that co-operation is the seed of
> success…In the second place, we are Tories…I take the word
> Tory to imply especially that critical and questioning attitude
> of mind which refuses to take things on hearsay…In the last
> place, we are Conservatives; that is to say, we wish to preserve
> the continuity of history…. We are the creators of the past and
> must walk in accordance with the laws which have descended
> to us. If we are to build anything enduring it must be erected
> on the foundation laid by those who have gone before us.[247]

This statement epitomizes Buchan's intellectual character and helps explain his

equivocal position on Scottish nationalism. As this statement suggests, Buchan

was not one to define his ideas in hard-set guidelines, preferring instead the

ambiguity offered by broad definitions. Buchan's definitions in this statement

create the opportunity to portray himself and his ideas in a wide variety of ways

and still consider himself a member of conservative political ideology. In

positioning himself in this manner, it becomes possible to understand how it was

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[247] John Buchan. "Speech at Edinburgh University Unionist Association, " (n.d. ca. 1903-1935). John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 312. J.B.Papers Box 16

Buchan embodied the major tensions and complexities of Scottish nationalism while still existing within the staunchly British-oriented ideology of conservatism.

The first definition Buchan gives is Unionism, which speaks to his broader ideas about unity that were seen in Chapter Three. Unionism is not just about the joining of Scotland and England but that "cooperation is the seed of success." Buchan, significantly, makes no mention of Scotland or England, but merely suggests that success comes when people and ideas come together. When they do this, they are strong. Buchan does not care about their differences or in what manner they come together. This idea permeates Buchan's thinking about Scotland as well as his views on how to breed success throughout the world.

Secondly, Buchan's definition of Tories explains why he might consider it a "duty" to question the ideas and events around him, including those of his own party and people. As has been shown, Buchan was never one to accept one idea and allow that to be the only idea that shaped his thoughts. He was a composite of multiple ideas and influences about which he has thought critically and formed his own opinions. Whether positivist history or world peace, Buchan has thought about the issue, the ideas that drive it and formed his own independent philosophical synthesis. Thus, Buchan's acceptance of this amalgam of ideas and complexities along with the past, Scottish history, and current events, permeates his unique understanding of Scottish nationalism.

Thirdly, Buchan's definition of Conservatism illustrates the driving philosophy of his approach to the present as a wholesale continuation of the past.

The present must build upon the events and trajectories that have already been started. This view explains Buchan's philosophy of history and more broadly his view on Scotland's future: it must continue to build upon the path already taken. Although this view is described as conservative, in actuality it gives Buchan a large amount of maneuvering room to support any new ideas he wants to entertain as long as he can prove they support some form of organic continuum with Scotland's past. Hence Buchan believes his acceptance of Scottish nationalism in specific forms can be justified and supported on the basis of this incorporating view of the past.

The vagueness of these definitions is emblematic. Buchan enjoyed the freedom of being indefinite. In speaking of nationalism in nebulous ways and with limited political concepts, Buchan gives himself the freedom to move, stay flexible, reposition himself and develop new ideas. Though Buchan has been described as a very closed-minded, static character, as these definitions suggest there is more to him than just labels. Beneath the surface Buchan appears to be much more than a nationalist or a British politician. He does not offer just one view of Scottish history but two, and attempts to make the resulting dichotomies representative of a single identity. Nor can he agree on how exactly he wants to see Scotland and its relationship to Britain and its relationship to itself. While it might be one united nation, Scotland is also the home of the great Borderland that he holds so dear.

Despite the conservative clothes that he wears, Buchan's ability to accept these diverse tensions in a larger unified whole and to accept gray areas, identifies him with progressive thinkers. Buchan had realized the profound dangers of nationalism long before most of Europe did. While in Canada in 1937, he wrote to Franklin D. Roosevelt that he was concerned about Hitler and the developments in Germany.[248] Even while abroad, and honored by being picked to serve under Lord Milner, Buchan could question the accepted imperial ideals of colonialism and the ways imperialist nationalism played out in the colonies. Within his own nation, Buchan understood the subtleties of nationalism. While he pushed for a greater awareness of Scottish interests in the British Parliament and wanted Scotland to maintain its presence as a nation, Buchan believed that in granting Scotland more government at home the real issues facing the country would not be solved. Buchan also rejected more government because he understood that there would still be minorities wanting better representation.[249] When nation-states were being created across Europe, Buchan's ability to see the consequences of simplistic nationalist agenda speaks to his foresight.

This forward thinking in Buchan establishes him as a transitory thinker on questions of nationalism. His is clearly aware of and engaging in discourse whose rationale would not become apparent for some time; but at the same instance, he could embody the traditions and legends of Scotland that had given it its national

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[248] John Buchan. "Letters, 8 April 1937, Private and Confidential to Franklin D. Roosevelt." John Buchan Papers 7214, National Library of Scotland from Queens University Microfilm, Mf. MSS. 311

[249] *Parliamentary Debates /PD/* 272 H.C. Deb. 5s., cols. 253-60

identity. Buchan's affinity for Sir Walter Scott and the ballads of the Borderlands suggests that he would always remain strongly tied to the tradition and to romanticized 19th century views of Scotland. Just as the Scotland that he describes and loves, he could picture himself both at the forefront of modernity and intellectual thought while simultaneously rooted in and molded from the traditions of the land.

As these ambiguities illustrate, Buchan was not a pure essential embodiment of a Scottish identity; there was no such thing. Although he tried to construct a unified identity for Scotland, he fails to fulfill the description that he sets forth. While he understands Scotland as one united entity between the Highlands and Lowlands, he also understands Scotland through the uniqueness of the Borders. His internal divisions illustrate that the perception of educated elites as quintessential examples of the identity they are trying to create is not always true. Although they have the privilege of education and the power of intellect, they are representatives of the people. These elites are just as complicated and complex as the people that they represent. Their role is the construction of national identity. Construction by its very nature implies the absence of the object being created. Thus, as Buchan illustrates, is it impossible for an intellectual to construct an identity and personify it at the same time; there is no one pure essence. Although Buchan and the complexities of Scotland are but one example, the questions proposed in this thesis have the potential of illustrating the

multifarious nature of nation-building intelligentsia in nationalist movements

across Europe and around the world.

ABBREVIATIONS

Independent Labour Party	ILP
National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights	NAVSR
National Party of Scotland	NPS
Scottish Home Rule Association	SHRA
Scottish National League	SNL
Scottish National Movement	SNM
Scottish National Party	SNP
Scottish Party	SP

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