

# "The Twa Corbies": A Comparative Study of Celtic Nationalism in the Aftermath of the Scottish Independence Referendum.



—Engraving by C.O. Murray

A Bloomsday Lecture by Bruce Stewart  
UFRN / Sept. 2014

# British Isles/Atlantic Archepelago



Great Britain (R) and Ireland (L)



Scotland



Crosses of St. George (England),  
St Andrew (Scotland), St. Patrick  
(Ireland) = The Union Jack.



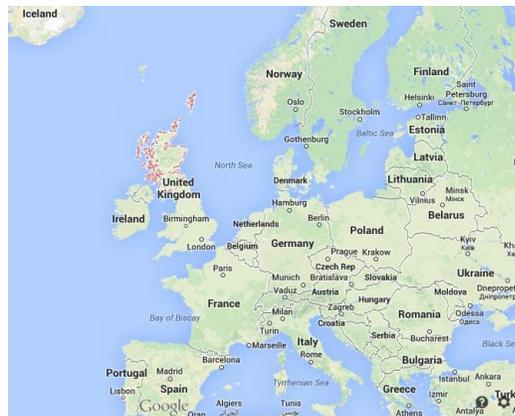
Scottish "Saltire"  
(cross)



Ireland

N. Ireland

Republic of Ireland  
(tricolour)



EUROPE

The Union Jack dates from the Union of Ireland with England and Scotland in 1800. England and Scotland were united in 1707. (Wales was a principality, not a kingdom.)



Wales

# The Case of Ireland

THE  
C A S E  
OF  
I R E L A N D  
BEING BOUND BY  
ACTS OF PARLIAMENT  
IN  
E N G L A N D,  
S T A T E D.

BY WILLIAM MOLLYNEUX OF DUBLIN, ESQ;  
WITH A NEW PREFACE.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. ALMON, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-  
HOUSE IN PICCADILLY, AND M. HINGESTON IN THE  
STRAND, NEAR TEMPLE-BAR.

MDCCLXX.

THE  
C A S E  
OF

I R E L A N D'S BEING BOUND BY ACT  
OF PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND,  
S T A T E D.

I Have ever been so fully persuaded of the strict Justice of the Parliament of ENGLAND, that I could never think that any of their Proceedings, which might seem to have the least Tendency to Hardship on their Neighbours, could arise from any thing but want of due Information, and a right State of the Business under their Consideration. The want of which, in Matters wherein another People are chiefly concerned, is no Defect in the Parliament of *England*, but it is highly blameable in the Persons whose Affair is transacting, and who permit that illustrious Body of Senators to be misinformed, without giving them that Light that might rectify them.

B I could



William Molyneux, Esq.

*The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated, by William Molyneux of Dublin Esq., with a new preface (1698; London: J. Almon 1770)*



'The Parliament House, Dublin',  
by James Malton c. 1793.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Anglo-Irish "Ascendancy" build a neo-classical capital city in Dublin raised on foundations already laid by the Duke of Ormond after the Restoration (1660). In 1698 William Molyneux, a natural philosopher, published *The Case of Ireland* [... &c.] in which he contested the right of the Westminster Parliament and the English Government to rule over Ireland. The book was suppressed by the government but became a touchstone for Protestant nationalism. In 1775 the Irish Parliament won Legislative Independence from Westminster but this was quashed by the Act of Union in 1801.

# Causes of rebellion in Ireland



1641 – The Ulster Plantation



1688 – Dynasty and Religion



1867 – Agrarian grievances



1798 – French Republicanism



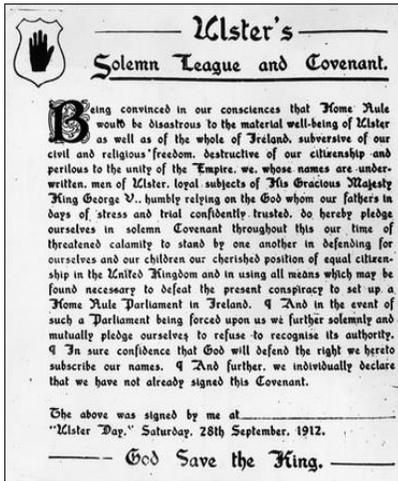
1848 – The Irish Famine

Irish rebellions against English rule involved a cocktail of grievances - variously connected with land ownership, religious belief, cultural identity, political ideology, social class, and romantic idealism

The Irish leaders of 1641 and 1688 were monarchists. Republicanism was the dominant ideology of the revolutionaries in 1798. The struggle between Constitutional Nationalism and Physical-force Nationalism swayed back and forth in modern times.



1916 – Cultural & political nationalism



Ulster Covenant, 1912



Home Rule, 1914



Dublin Lock-Out Strike, 1913

## Preface to Irish Independence: Formative events 1912-21



The Great War, 1914-18



Irish Volunteers, 1913



Easter Rising, 1916



Anglo-Irish Treaty, Dec. 1921

# Imagining Ireland ...



Commemoration



Industrialisation



Defence Forces



Gaelic ...

& Modern



Irish Catholicism



Education



Anglo-Ireland



British Legacy



Epic literature



International relations



Archaeology

# The Language Question

Nothing served better to unite resistance to English rule in Ireland than the idea of a separate Irish language – redeemed from near extinction by a new generation of Irish nationalists in the 1890s. The Gaelic League founded by Douglas Hyde and others in 1893 began a vigorous movement for cultural nationalism which ultimately joined forces with the revolutionary nationalism when the ‘aspiration’ toward national separation became part of the Constitution of the Gaelic League in 1913. It would not remain a mere ‘aspiration’ for very long ...



The Gaelic League broadly promoted the idea that the “real” identity of Ireland was Gaelic and Catholic and that other ethnicities and religious denominations should acknowledge this – those being chiefly English and Scottish (both Protestant.) While this thinking contains elements of racism, it chiefly aimed to distinguish between Irish (or “Irish-Irish”) and Anglo-Irish in the prevailing conditions of post-colonial Ireland at the dawn of the twentieth century. “Eire” in the poster is the Gaelic for “Ireland, and “West Britain” is the name for any element in Irish life that looked to England as the dominant polity and culture.

# Queen Elizabeth's State Visits to Ireland (2011 & 2014)



Queen Elizabeth in Dublin: “shared values ... that make us so much more than just neighbours .. firm friends .. and equal partners ...”



Queen Elizabeth visits the English Market in Cork, 2011

The Queen's visit to Ireland in 2011 was marked by the great warmth with only a few organised protesters from a hard-core Republican movement. Her visit to Northern Ireland in 2014 included a handshake with Martin McGuinness, former Chief-of-Staff of the IRA and latterly Second Minister of Northern Ireland.

The period of English 'rule' in Ireland extending from 1172 to 1922 – whether by force of arms or by constitutional means under the Act of Union – was often called the '800 years'. During this time, Ireland was formally assimilated to the English way of life but retained marked characteristics of the Gaelic wa of life.

The assertion of 'Irishness' was a key factor in the cultural revivalism of the 1890s and the efforts of the new state after 1922 to embody it in daily life were often paramount in the thinking of the leaders. This was a psychological necessity of the time but it was also a source of tension later on when Ireland and Britain found themselves embroiled in the unsolved problem of Northern Ireland. When political solutions emerged there after 1998, diplomatic accommodation with the Crown were sure to follow.



The Queen honours the Irish Leaders who conducted the 1916 Rising in Dublin ... and shakes hands with a former IRA leader in Belfast.



Minority Protest

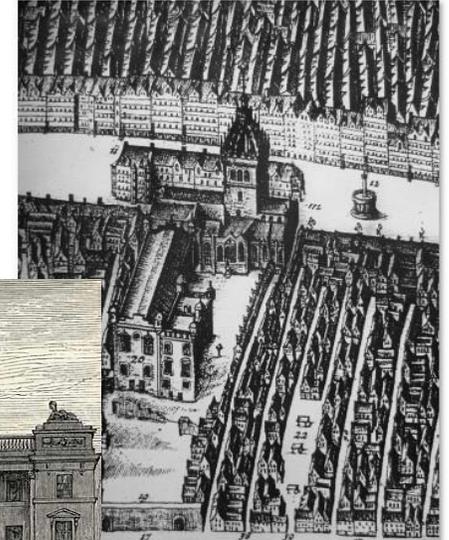
# The Case of Scotland

*My Lord Chancellor,*  
**W**HEN I consider this affair of an union betwixt the two nations, as it is express'd in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time; I find my mind crouded with variety of very melancholy thoughts, and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before, and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

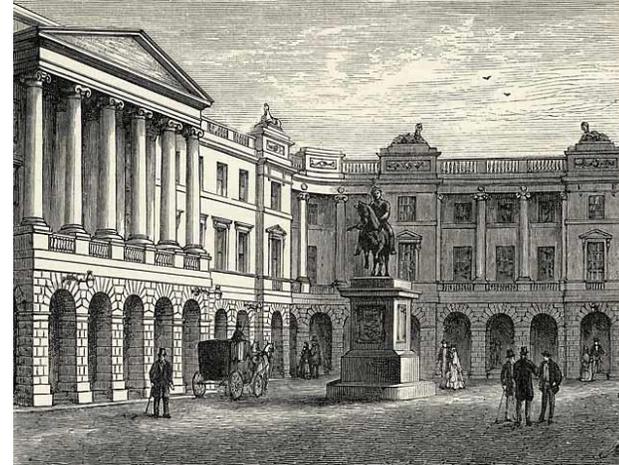
I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that, which all the world hath been fighting for, since the days of *Nimrod*; yea, that for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of *Europe*, are at this very time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were; to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other.

*Lord Belhaven's Speech in the Scottish Parliament, 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1706 (1706).* Belhaven – who fought for Charles I in the Civil War – opposed the Union with the words, 'Patricide is a greater Crime than Parricide, all the World over.'

"... bought and sold for English gold" (Burns)



Scottish Parliament, c.1647



Parliament House (1803 façade)

From the 13<sup>th</sup> century up to 1707 - when it voted itself out of existence to form the British Union - the Scottish Parliament (or "Estates") functioned continuously excepting during 1651-60, when it was united with the English Parliament under Cromwell. Its extinction was associated with widespread unpopularity and government bribery but was also seen as a politic necessity in view of the Stuart dynastic threat and the growing influence of the English market in the wider Empire context. Parliament House became the centre of Scottish Law and still contains Courts and Advocates' Library. The equestrian figure is Charles II and dates from 1685.

# Scottish Independence Referendum – 18<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2014

## Result: 44.7% - Yes; 55.3% No.

### Alex Salmond

Leader of Scottish Nationalist Party; First Minister of Scotland.



“I accept that verdict of the people and I call on all of Scotland to follow suit in accepting the democratic verdict of the people of Scotland.”

### David Cameron

Leader of Conservative and Unionist Party; Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.



“The people of Scotland have spoken and it is a clear result. ... They have kept our country of four nations together. ... So now it is time for our united kingdom to come together and to move forward.”

20 September 2014 Last updated at 18:47



## Scottish referendum: Gordon Brown vows 'powers will be delivered'

COMMENTS (1392)



Gordon Brown: "Time for Scotland to unite"

Gordon Brown has said promises made by the "No" parties ahead of the Scottish independence referendum on change and further devolution will be delivered.

Scotland Decides

Gordon Brown was Prime Minister when the Labour Party lost office to the Conservatives in 2010. During the Referendum of September 2014, he offered Scottish voters greater devolutionary powers than ever if the "No" side won. In doing so he spoke for an *ad hoc* Labour-Conservative Coalition, united against the Scottish National Party and Independence. During the General Election of May 2015, his successor David Miliband swore *never* to enter a coalition with the SNP. Labour found its Scottish support wiped out when the SNP took 56 seats in Westminster.

"... a nation [once] again."

Speaking to an audience of No campaigners in Fife, Gordon Brown described himself as a "promise keeper" and said the leaders of the three main UK parties were "promise makers" and would not be "promise breakers".

He also moved to quash any suggestions that he planned to return to frontline politics. He said he was "too old to be the comeback kid" and "too young to be an elder statesman".

Mr Brown said the eyes of the world had been on Scotland over the past week and he called for unity.

He said: "There is a time to fight but there is a time to unite. This is the time for Scotland to unite.

"I am sure sure we can find ways to unify against the odds. "

He added: "Let us think of ourselves not as Yes Scots or No Scots - but let us think of ourselves, all of us, simply as Scots and united let us be a nation again."

# A nation once again – but *which* nation?

"No one has mentioned Braveheart or William Wallace or talked about Romanticism. The debate in this referendum has been very hard-headed ..."  
(Tom Devine, Scottish historian - BBC4, 18 Sept. 2014.)



The Scone Stone



Mary, Queen of Scots



Wallace Memorial, Stirling

Scotland embraces a Gaelic and Catholic history as well as a Protestant civic tradition of which Frances Hutcheson – famous for the phrase “enlightened self-interest” – is but one example.



Bonnie Prince Charles  
The Stuart Pretender



Frances Hutcheson  
1694-1746



Mel Gibson's *Braveheart*



“Athens of the North”



The Royal Mail

# Why the Scots Voted “No” ...



## O porque da vitória do “nao”

A campanha do “sim” à independência da Escócia parecia bem encaminhada. Eis senão quando correu o rumor de que a duquesa de Alba poderia, como última na linha de sucessão da dinastia dos Stuart, ser rainha. Portanto, é fácil de perceber: com um susto destes, os escoceses foram votar não.

—Correio da Manhã (Lisboa, 21.9.2014)



Excm. Sr.ª D.ª María del Rosario Fitz-James Stuart y de Silva, 18th Duchess of Alba de Tormes\*

“... Rumours that the Duchess of Alba , the last descendent of the Stuarts fancied her chances of becoming Queen of Scotland may have been reason enough for Scots to vote “No” to Independence.”

# ITV Leaders' Debate during the General Election Campaign, April 2015

Nicola Sturgeon (MSP), leader of the Scottish National Party and First Minister in the Scottish Parliament (Edinburgh), challenged the Monetarism of the Conservative Party leader David Cameron and stepped forward as the defender of the less-well-off in Britain as well as Scotland when she accused him of delivering 'austerity' for the disadvantaged and tax-relief for the rich.

The SNP won 56 out of 60 available seats in Scotland, wiping 40 seats off the Labour holdings in that part of Great Britain – thus reducing them to one seat, on part with the Conservative tally.

The Conservative and Labour Members of Parliament for Scotland are now respectively the Secretary of State for and the Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vc6YH4-IHME>

*"I grew up in a working-class family I would not be standing here without the free education I had access to. As a politician I have no right to take that same entitlement away from the next generation of young people ... It is shameful for any politician who has benefitted from free education to take it away from others .. always support the principle that your access to education as a young person should always be based entirely on your ability to learn and never, never on your ability to pay." (Nicola Sturgeon, Leaders' Debate, 2 April 2015.)*

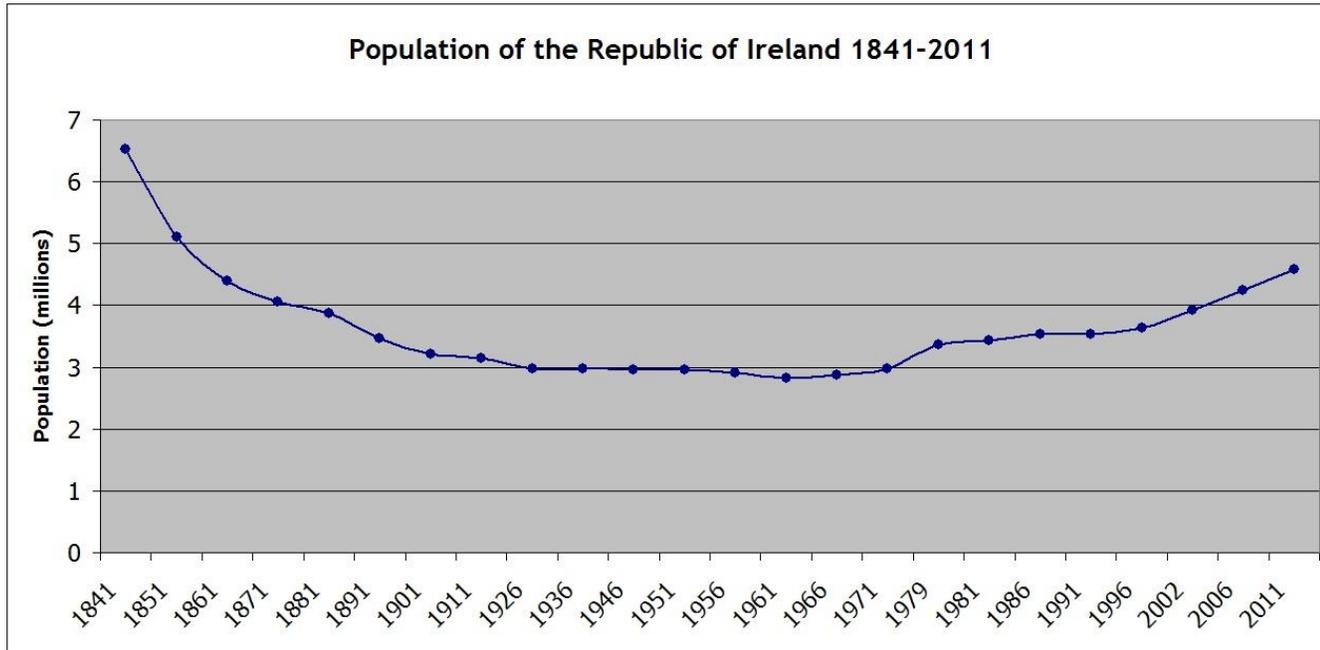
# Mhairi Black's Maiden Speech at Westminster



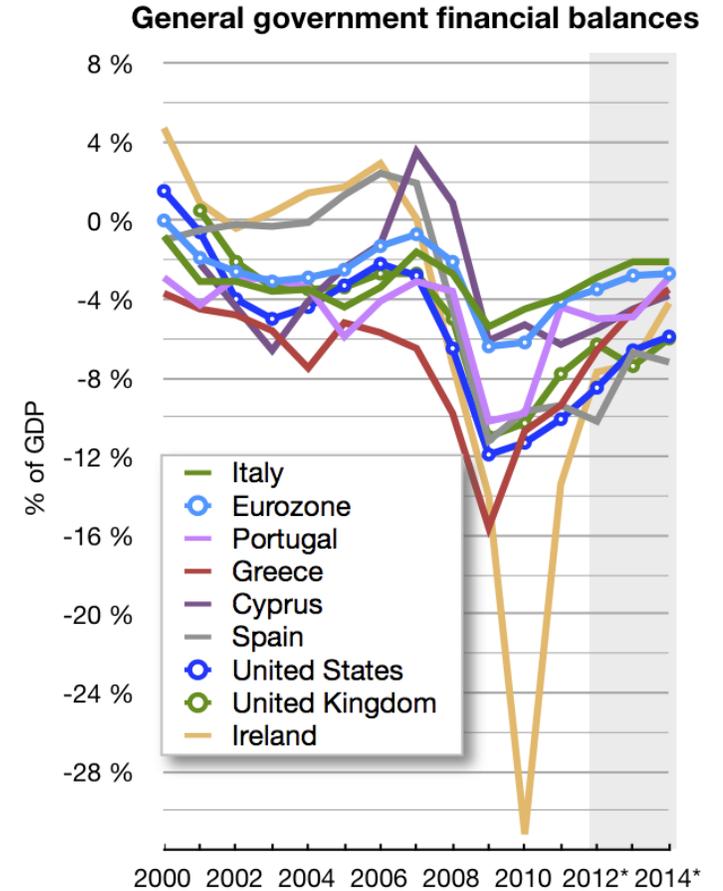
Mhairi Black (20) is the youngest member of Parliament for 400 years – having comfortably beaten out-going Labour candidate Douglas Alexander to his seat for Paisley & Renfrewshire in Scotland. Her maiden speech at Westminster created a sensation when she asserted that she had not left the Labour Party, the Labour Party had left her. To the Labour Members of Parliament present, she said, that the Scottish National Party's landslide victory in the General Election – with 56 of 60 Scottish seats in its control – was the product of their failure to hold to the socialist principles on which they were founded, and the capacity of the SNP to inspire hope in voters seeking social equality in Scotland. More than that, she said that “nationalism has got nothing to do with what happened in Scotland” in the General Election ...

*“I have listened to multiple speeches from Labour benches talk[ing] about the worrying rise of nationalism in Scotland ... all these speeches have served to do is to show how deep the lack of understanding about Scotland is among the Labour Party ... I have never been quiet in my assertion that it is the Labour Party that left me and not the other way around. The SNP did not triumph on a wave of nationalism, in fact nationalism has got nothing to do with what happened in Scotland ... we triumphed on a wave of hope .. that there is something better to the Thatcherite neo-liberal polities [that] are produced from this chamber ...” (Mhairi Black, Maiden Speech at Westminster – 14 July 2015.)*

# Statistics from the Irish Republic ...



The first chart shows a sharp fall in the Irish population in the decades after the Irish Famine of 1845-47 - when the pattern of mass-emigration began. The fall virtually ceased in 1901-1912 when remedial investment from Westminster came on stream. Disappointingly, it failed to rise with Independence in 1922 and actually fell below the 3-million mark in the mid-century. After 1973, when Ireland joined the European Union, benefits from both EU funding and inward American investment aimed at the European market brought about a steep rise in population. At the latest count (in June 2015), less than half of 'live births' were due to the indigenous birth-rate and the rest to children of migrants to Ireland - chiefly from Eastern European countries starting families on arrival.



Source: Eurostat and OECD

\* 2012-2014 Eurostat estimates from January 2013

The second chart shows that the Irish economy suffered a sharper decline – and a wider range – than the Portuguese or Greek economies in the post-2007 recession/crisis. EU bail-out and domestic austerity measures account for the Irish recovery to the -4% level which was Greece's starting point.