Table of Contents

Editorial 2
Referendum Results 4
Comments on these Results
– Stefanie Brenneisen, "About Freedom and Taking a Stand" 5
– Romina Meffe, "A 'Naw' for Scottish Independence – How a Foreigner Experienced the Referendum" 6
– Andrea Schlotthauer, "Scotland Said No. Federalism Instead of Dissolution?" 7
– Melanie Sommer, "Which Way To Go, UK?" 9
– Ilka Schwittlinsky, "A Chance for the Entire UK" 10
– Miriam Schröder, "A Referendum for Europe" 11
– Ron Walker, "A Stark and Unsettling Choice" 12
– J. M. Y. Simpson, "Rational Difficulty" 13
– Ian Campbell, "Beautiful Country. But You Have a Problem!" 13
– Ian Duncan, "The Nation without Nationalism" 14
– Gerard Carruthers, "The '45 and Now What?" 15
– Deirdre Forsyth, "How How Do I Feel About the Result?" 15
Deirdre Forsyth, "Edinburgh Festival in Referendum Year 2014" 15
Alan Bissett, "Vote Britain" 17
Comments on Bissett's Text
– Katharina Leible, "Does the End Justify the Means? – Yes Vote: Key to Self-Determination?" 19
– Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer, "Scottish Independence in the Political Game" 21
David Greig, "To a Yesser" 23
Klaus Peter Müller, "What an Achievement! Now Change Is Due – Fast and Essential Change, or: Let's Support a Common Weal Scotland" 24
Martin Shovel, "David Cameron vows…" 33
David Schneider, "A British Bill of Rights" 34
New Scottish Poetry: Vicki Husband 35
(New) Media on Scotland 36
Education Scotland 61
Dear Readers,

Now we know what the Scottish people, i.e. those allowed to take part in the 2014 referendum, think about whether Scotland should be independent or not. This edition of the Newsletter will, therefore, have a special focus on this result. You'll find foreigners' comments on the outcome by some of our students, Stefanie Brenneisen, Romina Meffe, Andrea Schlotthauer, and Melanie Sommer as well as by some of our staff, Ilka Schwittlinsky, Miriam Schröder, and the editors. Ron Walker, of course, is not a foreigner, he is Scottish, but could also not vote, as he lives here in Germersheim. Ian Duncan provides a US-American opinion, whereas J. M. Y. Simpson, Ian Campbell, Gerard Carruthers, and Deirdre Forsyth speak from Scotland itself.

There are two more Scottish voices on the referendum in this issue, very important ones: Alan Bissett's 'Vote Britain', written some time before 18 September, and David Greig's 'To a Yesser', created a few days after the result. Both creative writers have kindly allowed us to reprint their texts on this occasion. Two further students, Katharina Leible and Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer, have written comments on 'Vote Britain', expressing their different opinions about this text, where Katharina Leible speaks as a Bavarian (which is an outsider's opinion in Germany, but for Bavarians all Germans are outsiders, sometimes almost foreigners, too), and Ishak Abadeer writes as a person now living in Germersheim, but originally coming from Egypt.

There are two equally important and intriguing voices from England, providing views on an unexpected but vital issue resulting from the referendum and its consequences: the threat of the abolition of human rights in the UK. The cartoonist Martin Shovel and the actor and comedian David Schneider have generously granted us permission to reprint their creations in this Newsletter, and we are particularly grateful for this, as they not only highlight an essential current problem but do this in a medium we have so far not yet been able to employ.

In this way, we have a great variety of voices and opinions, and the discursive discussions of the referendum result are highlighted by four texts expressing the views, ideas, and emotions of four well-known creative people with regard to this enormously relevant event in Scottish history. We are grateful for the generosity of Alan Bissett, David Greig, Martin Shovel, and David Schneider, and see their contributions as wonderful examples of what has developed in Scotland during the referendum campaigns: more and more people working together in creating a more humane and equal society, everyone contributing as best as they can. The political awareness and involvement of the people have evidently increased significantly.

What has happened in Scotland and is still taking place there possesses an enormous relevance beyond that nation's borders and once more concerns not only Britain but all of Europe, even the rest of the world. Some of the key questions that have been asked and need to be answered are: will Britain become more federal, more democratic, too, or will it dissolve in a few years' time after all, perhaps precisely because it has been clinging to its past for too long and in a too narrow-minded way? That a fairly strong movement called 'The Common Weal' has developed in Scotland is, of course, partly connected with that country's religious and social past. But it reflects ideas and desires shared by many people around the globe today, the yearning for greater freedom, more democ-
racy, i.e. the concrete involvement of the people and not just politicians in all decisions, the creation of a more open, transparent society. These have been key elements of the development in Scotland, brought into the limelight not by politicians but by the people themselves.

There is more information on all of this in the '(New) Media on Scotland' section, where we have some particularly intriguing sub-sections, especially the one expressing the ideas of intellectuals, artists, journalists, and scholars on Scottish independence. You'll find stimulating ideas there by very different people, such as Noam Chomsky, David Hare, David Greig again, Irvine Welsh, Neal Ascherson, Ian Bell, and Seumas Milne, two of Peter Müller's favourite journalists, as well as the one he has not quite sifted yet, Simon Jenkins, but who has very sound opinions in his texts mentioned there.

Whenever possible, we have made the names of the authors in this section explicit, as they are, of course, pretty relevant. We briefly thought about arranging this information alphabetically, but then left the chronological order that normally determines these sections. In all of the cases, it is interesting to keep in mind 18 September as the day of the referendum, in order to compare opinions and ideas expressed before with those after this day.

Directly following the sub-section by intellectuals, artists, etc. is the one with the financial sector speaking about independence and its attitude to it. The contrast between these two groups is very illuminating and simply confirms Noam Chomsky's immediate response to what he thinks about Scottish independence: "Capitalism won't like it." Do you have any good reasons for this? Is it perhaps connected with what the Common Weal and many other grass root organisations stand for? Just the fear on the part of business and finance of too much transparency and democracy? You'll certainly have better answers. Tell us what they are.

The cut-off date for including material in '(New) Media on Scotland' was 31-9-14. It is, however, very intriguing to see how fervently the discussions go on and on. For excellent reasons, of course: nothing has been solved with the referendum result, which is why Peter Müller claims the need for fast and essential changes in his comment. Seumas Milne, one of the really good journalists mentioned in 'Intellectuals, artists…' has illuminatingly described the enormous danger England is now in: "Cameron's Conservatives are replaying Thatcher and Blair. But it's a past we need to escape from" (Guardian 2-10-14, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/02/tory-tax-cuts-war-iraq-cameron-thatcher-blair). He is absolutely right. The 1.6 million Scots who voted Yes and many more in Scotland, even many saying No, as well as millions of people in many other places (Hong Kong and Germersheim are just two small examples) have rejected a nostalgic and distorted view of the past and have a better future in mind. The forces against creating this future are, however, enormously strong. But didn't little David do something big, great even, against an overpowering Goliath? This requires a strong will, pertinacity, and endless struggles, but the objectives are worth it. And Scotland has been setting a wonderful example.

In this ongoing discussion, Iain Macwhirter, the columnist, writer, and Rector of Edinburgh University from 2009-2012, is as good in his descriptions of the current situation as Milne etc. He repeats David Hume's warning "We can't leave Scotland's future in the hands of the politicians" in the Herald article on 28-9-14 mentioned below, and he is sometimes as forthright as is necessary in these struggles: "The F word can achieve a lot of good in powers battle" (Herald 2-10-14, http://www.heraldscotland.com/comment/columnists/the-f-word-can-achieve-a-lot-of-good-in-powers-battle.1412238401). See also his posts at http://iainmacwhirter.wordpress.com/. He describes how the Tories, Labour, and Liberals are already reneging on the promises they made, "politicians who promised a qualitative change in Scotland's relations with the UK; home rule, not just the phasing out of the Barnett Formula and its replacement with income tax." This will not be tolerated in Scotland, where "Public discontent is very real and should not be ignored. If the political parties do not deliver on the spirit, as well as the letter, of their vow to the Scottish people then they will be seen as betraying the democratic process. And we all know where that leads. Scottish voters in their tens of thousands are voting with their party cards. Public discontent is very real and should not be ignored." Precisely. This is why the discussions are definitely not over, and the Newsletter will con-
stantly observe and record what is going on. For this, we need your support, so send in your contributions.

The Newsletter has the usual sections, too: book reviews by David Broun and Cathryn Spence; New Poetry, featuring a poem by Vicki Husband; new publications on Scottish issues; the Scottish Awards; and conference announcements. In addition to all this, Miriam Schröder has written an extensive report on the 'The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures', which took place in Glasgow this summer, and which has been another excellent example of how things are moving forward in Scotland without neglecting the past, but with enormous improvements for today and the future.

Do contribute to this, get involved, too, send us your comments on the situation in Scotland, in the area you are from, discuss the issues you find relevant, and in this way help improve the quality of the Newsletter and our understanding of Scotland and the world.

The Editors
Lothar Görke – Prof. Dr. Klaus Peter Müller – Ron Walker
Germersheim, October 2014

Scottish Independence Referendum 2014
– Results by area –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Ballots for</th>
<th>Ballots against</th>
<th>For (%)</th>
<th>Against (%)</th>
<th>Lead</th>
<th>Valid ballots</th>
<th>Turnout (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen City</td>
<td>59,390</td>
<td>84,094</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>143,484</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>71,377</td>
<td>108,606</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>179,943</td>
<td>87.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus</td>
<td>35,044</td>
<td>45,192</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>80,236</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyll and Bute</td>
<td>26,324</td>
<td>37,143</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>63,467</td>
<td>88.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clackmannanshire</td>
<td>16,350</td>
<td>19,036</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>35,386</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumfries and Galloway</td>
<td>36,614</td>
<td>70,039</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>106,653</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>53,620</td>
<td>39,880</td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>93,500</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Ayrshire</td>
<td>39,762</td>
<td>44,442</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>84,204</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Dunbartonshire</td>
<td>30,624</td>
<td>48,314</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>78,938</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Lothian</td>
<td>24,287</td>
<td>41,583</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>61.7%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>71,750</td>
<td>87.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Renfrewshire</td>
<td>123,927</td>
<td>194,638</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>318,565</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>9,195</td>
<td>10,544</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>19,739</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean Siar</td>
<td>50,489</td>
<td>58,030</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>108,519</td>
<td>87.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falkirk</td>
<td>114,148</td>
<td>139,788</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>253,936</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fife</td>
<td>194,779</td>
<td>169,347</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>364,126</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland</td>
<td>78,069</td>
<td>87,739</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>165,808</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverclyde</td>
<td>27,243</td>
<td>37,329</td>
<td>49.9%</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>54,572</td>
<td>87.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlothian</td>
<td>26,370</td>
<td>33,972</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>60,342</td>
<td>86.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moray</td>
<td>27,232</td>
<td>36,935</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>64,167</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Ayrshire</td>
<td>47,072</td>
<td>49,016</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>96,088</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Lanarkshire</td>
<td>115,783</td>
<td>110,922</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>226,705</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney Islands</td>
<td>4,883</td>
<td>10,004</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>14,887</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth and Kinross</td>
<td>41,475</td>
<td>62,714</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>104,189</td>
<td>86.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renfrewshire</td>
<td>55,466</td>
<td>62,067</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>117,533</td>
<td>87.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Borders</td>
<td>27,906</td>
<td>55,553</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>83,459</td>
<td>87.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shetland Islands</td>
<td>5,669</td>
<td>9,951</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
<td>15,620</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>% Valid</td>
<td>% Invalid</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Ayrshire</td>
<td>47,247</td>
<td>34,402</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>81,649</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Lanarkshire</td>
<td>121,800</td>
<td>100,990</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>222,790</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>37,153</td>
<td>25,010</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>62,163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Dunbartonshire</td>
<td>28,776</td>
<td>33,720</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>62,396</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lothian</td>
<td>65,682</td>
<td>53,342</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>119,024</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOTLAND</td>
<td>2,001,926</td>
<td>1,617,989</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>3,619,915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Totals -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2,001,926</td>
<td>55.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1,617,989</td>
<td>44.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid votes</td>
<td>3,619,915</td>
<td>99.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid or blank votes</td>
<td>3,429</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total votes</td>
<td>3,623,344</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The source for these figures is BBC News (http://www.bbc.com/news/events/scotland-decides/results).

There is an intriguing prediction / poll result on James Kelly's pro-independence blog 'SCOT goes POP!' (http://scotgoespop.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/snp-extend-lead-to-103-in-scot-goes-pop.html), "which takes account of all subsamples from the last seven days (four from YouGov, one from ComRes, one from Populus and one from Ashcroft)":

Scottish voting intentions for the May 2015 UK general election:
- SNP 38.4% (-1.5)
- Labour 28.1% (-2.2)
- Conservatives 17.1% (+1.5)
- Liberal Democrats 7.1% (+0.3)
- UKIP 4.9% (+0.5)
- Greens 2.7% (+0.3)

The referendum result is clearly not final. But then we've always known that Scotland – like all human nature, and that includes societies, too – is naturally involved in the process of evolution.

**About Freedom and Taking a Stand**
Stefanie Brenneisen (Mainz/Germersheim)

I can't say I'm not disappointed by the result of the independence referendum in Scotland. I am neither Scottish nor do I live in Scotland, yet the vote for independence was something that interested me greatly. It's not just because of my course of studies but because the topic of independence and freedom concerns us all. The turnout of this election gives me hope that people do care about politics and are aware that they have a voice/vote to express their opinion. I think a lot of people don't realise how lucky they are to even have the chance to vote on something like independence. The
freedom to vote is something that people in privileged countries seem to almost take for granted, and some even choose not to vote because they think their vote does not matter or because they simply don't care. And that is what disgusts me the most: not caring. In my opinion, if you don't vote you don't have the right to complain about politics. You get upset when things like tax increases are decided by your government, because to you it feels like that concerns you directly as you will definitely notice that you have less money in your bank account each month. But what about things like the TTIP? Sounds complicated, so you probably don't want to waste your time on it. Either way, the politicians will decide about these issues and they certainly won't ask you. You have to make your voice heard, even if your government does not want to listen to you. The politicians are only few, so if more people cared about those things, we could change a lot more in our countries. Make the voices of the people be heard with demonstrations, signature campaigns, and referendums like the one in Scotland.

I find it sad that here in Germany we don't have referendums on important things that concern everyone living in Germany. Why let only a few politicians decide? Politicians that are by no means more qualified to make those decisions than you and I are, politicians that are influenced by lobbyists – just like we are daily via the media – and more interested in money and power than in representing the opinion of the people. We are educated people and we can make our own decisions – or at least we like to think we can and we are made to believe that – so why are we not given the chance to decide on politics in a more direct way? Because people who are in power like to remain in power and if we could make the decisions, their power would be diminished greatly and a lot of things would go differently in this country or at least I would like to believe so.

I would have liked to see an independent Scotland showing the rest of the world that change can be a good thing. So why did the Scots vote "no"? Is it the Stockholm syndrome? Have they been ruled so long by the English that they have come to like them? The Scottish people of today were born in a country ruled and also protected by the United Kingdom. Is it this protection that makes most of the Scots want to stay in the UK? I think it is. Security and protection are something we all want and are rather reluctant to risk. We live by society's rules without questioning this much because everyone does it and it has always been this way. If you dare to defy society's expectations you will have to pay a price and you will stick out like a sore thumb. Ask yourself this: Are you truly free? I don't think we can be truly free, we are influenced by the media, politicians, society and our upbringing. In order to be truly free you would have to cut off all ties with society, your family and live like a tramp. Actually you would also have to erase your memories because you have already been conditioned by society. That seems a little extreme and probably not what you want to do with your life, when you consider that you would have to give up all commodities that society has brought you. There is something you can do, though, and that is to be involved in your personal and in political decisions, and to question what others tell you (especially politicians and the media). Don't let others decide for you.

The Scots were promised more powers by Westminster after a "no" vote on independence which may have contributed to some people's decision to vote "no". Staying in the UK and getting more powers – sounds like a great deal, but is it? Let's say the UK were a prison, a really good prison, with health service, food, windows, day parole and safety guaranteed for the prisoners. So you have the chance to get out of prison but you don't know what is waiting for you outside. What will you eat, what will you do if you get sick, how will you earn money, etc.? And then the prison governor says: well if you decide to stay, we will give you more privileges, you will get more windows, you can make more decisions, all you have to do is stay. So what do you do? Scotland has decided to stay.

(Stefanie Brenneisen is a student of English and Italian at Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Faculty of Translation Studies, Linguistics and Cultural Studies in Germersheim and would be pleased to get your comments at brennes@students.uni-mainz.de.)
A "Naw" for Scottish Independence – How a Foreigner Experienced the Referendum
Romina Meffe (Germersheim/Mainz)

The 18th September 2014 was a fundamental day for Scotland – the decision whether the country would remain a part of the Union or become an independent state. The referenda in 1979 and 1997 had done their work, and as the positive results were a good start, the Scottish National Party wanted more. Scotland should become a sovereign state. And even though the foreign media did not pay too much attention to what was happening in Scotland, the campaigns in the country were strong and insistent. Long and promising speeches, manifestos, and campaigners who went door to door to convince the Scottish people. A divided nation.

Edinburgh on 17th September: Everything seems to be as usual in the streets of Scotland's capital, where I had lived for a year and was on a visit again. Me, right in the middle of everything, a potential YES voter (if only I had stayed here), trying to figure out what the Scottish nation wants. Busy people on their way to work, children in their school uniforms, everything just as on every other day. Only a few things may lead to the assumption that something unusual might be happening. Big and small "YES" or "NO, THANKS" stickers in the windows, on lamp posts or walls. People wearing badges stating their opinion. Scottish flags with YES or NO written on them hanging out of windows. And many little groups of people everywhere that stop pedestrians on their way. "Will you say YES tomorrow?" or "Do you know why you should vote YES?" or "Vote YES for a better future for Scotland!" And next to every YES-group there is also a NO-group. "We are better together – vote NO!" and "Love Scotland – vote NO" were the most prominent slogans. And while most people thank them telling that they already know their answer, many of the groups forget about their task of convincing people of 'their' answer as they start to argue with each other. And on almost every TV channel you see Alexander Salmond or Alistair Darling holding a speech. Scotland before the big day.

Edinburgh on 18th September: THE day. Everybody appears to be up earlier than usual. The city seems to be in a hurry. Polling stations open their doors to welcome the voters and the campaigners make sure that no station gets left behind. Huge YES- and NO-groups mark the entrance of every polling station in the city giving out balloons and badges and with that their last piece of advice to the citizens. Everybody coming out of the station seems to be relieved. The duty is done, now it is time to wait and see. All day people hurry to give their answer to the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?', and by the time the stations close at 10pm, 84.59% of all Scots eligible to vote have made their decision. But the day is not over yet. The count begins and with it a long night in many Scottish living rooms.

Edinburgh on 19th September: Just after midnight, and many Scots seem to be wide awake following the count. Clackmannanshire is the first electorate to announce their answer at 1.29am and is followed by the Orkneys at 2.01am (both with a NO). More and more electorates follow with the same answer, until Dundee brings back a little hope to the supporters of YES at 3.55am, together with West Dunbartonshire at 4.06am. More NOs follow, but Glasgow as the biggest electorate votes YES at 4.53am. Still uncertainty. Only at 6.03am with the NO vote from Fife it is all clear and over. With 55.3% on the NO side Scotland remains part of the Union. It was an exciting eventful night, but the people in Edinburgh seem to prefer a silent victory. No parties on the street, no cries of joy, just happy, quiet British citizens. On TV Cameron makes promises to Scotland and Alexander Salmond announces his resignation. The NO stickers in the windows disappear (the YES voters keep them up, still proud of their decision), a discussion about the future can be heard here and there, and some sad supporters of Scottish independence can be seen on the streets still wearing their badges. And then everything goes back to normal. A usual day in the usual Scotland.

(Romina Meffe is a student of English and Italian at Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Faculty of Translation Studies, Linguistics and Cultural Studies in Germersheim, and would be pleased to get your comments at rmeffe@students.uni-mainz.de.)
Scotland Said No. Federalism Instead of Dissolution?
Andrea Schlotthauer (Mainz/Germersheim)

The defeat of the proponents of independence is not surprising, as opinion polls have been indicating this outcome ever since the signing of the Edinburgh agreement in October 2012. However, it was a close-run thing – the Yes Scotland campaigners were successful in encouraging many people to go to the booths and vote for an independent Scotland. Although they didn't achieve their ultimate goal, the Nationalists have gained enough support to enforce a reform of the kingdom. In the long term, some compromise has to be found to ameliorate a growing discontent with the UK government north and south of the border.

During the months before the referendum, the Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond, led an enthusiastic and optimistic campaign to win voters over to the Yes side. In order to alleviate fears of radical change, he promised that close ties to England would be preserved and cultural institutions like the BBC continue to be shared as well as the monarchy and the currency. He argued that a Yes vote would even be beneficial for the Scottish-English relationship, as it would "foster mutual respect".1

He also pointed out that Scotland needed to become independent in order to "take its rightful place as a responsible member of the world community" (ibid.). This argument refers to the fact that Scotland is, on an international level, seen as a part of Britain and Britain is used as synonym for England. Even within the UK, Scotland is treated like a region. Scottishness often simply disappears behind the label 'Great Britain'.

Furthermore, Salmond stated that Scotland and England didn't share common values any longer, as England's course of privatisation and centralisation wasn't something the Scots could identify with. In the case of a Yes vote, Salmond promised to strengthen social-democratic principles. Another point of divergence which he highlighted was EU membership: while the Eurosceptic party UKIP enjoys broad support in England and a withdrawal of the UK from the EU seems possible, Scotland is in favour of the European Union, and not only because Scottish farmers receive EU subsidies. If the Scots were freed from the centralistic restrictions imposed by Westminster, Salmond argued, they could finally unlock their full potential and creativity and improve the living standard of the people.

His arguments sound reasonable: Scotland is a country with a distinctive history, culture, and national identity; London doesn't make the best decisions for Scotland's needs; Scotland suffers from restrictions, while profits from the Union have decreased during the last 70 years. Why shouldn't Scotland leave the UK and determine her own fate?

The Better Together advocates have argued that, in a globalized world, nationalism is inappropriate and that England as well as Scotland would lose their international significance after a separation. This argument is, however, not supported by the facts. It was affirmed before the referendum that the so-called 'residual UK' would keep its seat in NATO and the UNO and that five million fewer inhabitants wouldn't make a great difference. As to Scotland, the country has so far not even played any role on the international stage and, therefore, could only gain from an opportunity to do so. For instance, had they voted for independence, the Scots would have taken on the role of a "beacon of progressive opinion", as Salmond emphasized (ibid.). They'd have served as an example for other areas with separatist tendencies, like Catalonia.

In order to convince the voters to stay in the Union, the British Prime Minister David Cameron chose the emotional approach. On his visit to Scotland, he claimed that Scotland and England had a long history, that they were like a big family, and that it would be wrong to break those old bonds. He even said, pathetically, that he would be "heartbroken" in the case of a Scottish Yes vote.2 Considering the social and political implications of the issue, that argument is not substantial.

---

1 Salmond in his Hugo Young lecture in January 2012, available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3X3PaFB1JE.
2 Cameron during his visit to Scottish Widows offices in Edinburgh on 10 September 2014, available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zslGvfS9oU.
Moreover, the parties opposing independence promised, in the case of a No vote, more decision-making powers for Scotland within the secure and stable framework of the successful and long-established Union. The Unionists argued that the UK needed a slow and careful change, as a violent rupture would be damaging to both sides. In that context, they especially referred to the economic situation and the fact that Scotland receives a high level of social expenditure from the UK government.

The latter is perhaps the argument that prompted the majority of Scots to say no. They feared financial loss, instability, chaos and an insecure future. The Scots are, seen from that perspective, not exactly the nation of 'Bravehearts' as the cliché would have it. Their decision rather confirms a lack of self-confidence. They sacrificed self-determination and the chance to improve their situation for fear of not being capable of doing so.

That's the Scottish dilemma. They are unsatisfied with the situation as it is, they would favour change, but they are scared. The English population also has an ambivalent attitude. Despite the majority claiming they'd prefer Scotland to stay, they are not in a very accommodating mood.

For instance, the Future of England Survey 2014 found out that English people want the UK government to reduce public spending in Scotland to the average UK level. Furthermore, the majority believes that Scottish MPs should be prevented from voting on English laws in the future. This second issue has been dubbed the 'West Lothian Question' and concerns the structural asymmetry caused by devolution: while Scottish MPs in Westminster can vote on English politics, the English have no influence on issues discussed in Holyrood.

Summed up, neither Scotland nor England is willing to continue as before. Change is inevitable, and there are two reasonable long-term solutions: one is the dissolution of the kingdom, with Scotland declaring herself an independent country. Political activity so far has been directed to this end. But now, a slight majority of Scots have refused this option as their new political reality.

The second option is the reform of the Union into a federal state. To achieve this, each member state would need its own parliament which decides on national affairs. Currently, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland have their own regional parliaments, but England does not. Westminster could continue to serve as the central UK government and decide on supranational issues. This system would ensure equal power relations between the countries. So far, this possibility has not been discussed with much fervour in political circles. Before the referendum, Cameron only promised more devolution and more decision-making powers for the Scottish parliament. This, however, wouldn't solve the problem of the West Lothian Question.

The future of the UK remains uncertain. It will be difficult to find a solution that is satisfactory to both England and Scotland. If no acceptable compromise is found, it is even possible that the SNP may succeed in re-activating the campaign for independence and there will, eventually, be another referendum. After all, it took the Scots two attempts to make up their minds on devolution as well. It will be interesting to see how things develop.

(Andrea Schlotthauer is a BA student of English and Spanish at Mainz University, Faculty 06 in Germersheim. In case you want to respond to her text, you may write to her at aschlott@students.uni-mainz.de.)

Which Way To Go, UK?
Melanie Sommer (Mainz/Germersheim)

So they have decided. On September 18th, over 3.6 million Scots went to the polls and answered the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'. We all know the outcome of the referendum and have heard the arguments made for and against Scottish independence over the last two years. There is no point in musing over whether Scotland would eventually have been better off as an independent state. The more interesting question is what is going to happen to the UK now, as one thing is certain: irrespective of its outcome, the referendum on Scottish independence has facilitated and stimulated a much needed debate on the future of the UK as a whole.
On the eve of the referendum, the leaders of the country's three major parties, David Cameron, Ed Miliband, and Nick Clegg, jointly signed and published a pledge for devolving more powers to Scotland. Whether one perceives this action as dupery or as a sincere promise, it is generally believed that it spurred No-votes, as several crucial issues were addressed, such as a legal guarantee for the Scottish government's independence and sovereignty over Scottish welfare spending. For many Scots, this promise constituted a less radical and probably more secure way of gathering more decisive powers for their government without the unpredictable challenges that would have come along with independence.

The promised Scottish devolution, however, trails several crucial questions that will likely have significant effects on the political structure of the UK as a whole. Up front is the so called 'West Lothian Question', the issue of the unfairness of a system that allows Scottish MPs the right to decide over English matters in Westminster, while denying their English counterparts the same right in the Scottish Parliament. David Cameron and the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, are only two of many political heavy weights supporting and claiming 'English votes for English laws' as a consequence of the referendum. Two possible scenarios are put forward, one being the suggestion that Scottish MPs in Westminster are not allowed to vote on matters concerning England any more, thus creating a quasi-English parliament within the UK parliament. The other suggestion is to establish devolved English government, which currently does not exist in the political structure of the UK. While the Welsh and Northern Irish independence movements have negligibly little support, with the Scottish government gaining more devolved powers, the calls for an equal devolution in Wales and Northern Ireland will certainly intensify.

It is evident, that the Scottish decision to stay in the union is by no means an outcome that consolidates the status quo. Further devolution is certainly the plan of the day, but it might not stop there. Welsh First Minister Carwyn Jones is a prominent supporter of a federalist UK, an idea, which is gaining momentum, as it would see the regional governments not depending on the mercy of Westminster to obtain more powers. A then necessary written constitution would also consolidate and clarify the respective jurisdictions once and for all, preventing the possible withdrawal of devolved powers under the current un-codified constitutional law.

(Melanie Sommer is a MA student of English and Spanish at Mainz University, Faculty 06 in Germersheim. In case you want to respond to her text, you may write to her at mesommer@students.uni-mainz.de.)

A Chance for the Entire UK
Ilka Schwittinsky (Mainz/Germersheim)

After many months of campaigning, the Scottish Independence Referendum has finally taken place. For me as an outside observer the most astonishing aspect of the referendum was the massive turnout on election day. Participation rates of upwards of 80%, in some parts of the country even 90%, are something we in Germany can only dream of. The number of young voters or voters who hadn't taken part in an election in years but voted in this election or actively participated in one of the two campaigns was incredible. The next few weeks and months will show whether this level of engagement in the political debate can be sustained, now that the referendum is over, and whether Scottish and British politicians will manage to involve the broad bases of both campaigns in the discussion over the additional powers that were promised to the Scottish Parliament after a 'no' vote. But the referendum campaign, just like the first Obama campaign in 2008, is for me a very positive sign. Something finally seems to be happening; the people seem to be waking up to the fact that not voting does not change anything and doesn't hurt the politicians and political parties that they object to either. So in this, at the very least, the Scottish referendum was a resounding success.

As well as sustaining the people's interest, another challenge facing Scotland in the coming weeks will be to heal the rift in the population. As tends to happen with yes/no-decisions, the campaigns have created two big and opposing groups within the population. In this case the situation is
aggravated by the broad support for both camps and the close result of the referendum. In order to
move forward and get those further powers promised, the debate, in my opinion, needs to move
beyond winners and losers and arguments over who said or did what during the campaign and focus
on what the referendum has actually achieved, namely making Westminster politicians so afraid of
losing Scotland that they made sweeping promises to the country just to keep it in the union.

I don't want to judge whether the Scottish people made the right or wrong choice. Nevertheless,
I think the outcome of the referendum – with the promise of more powers not only for Scotland, but
also for Northern Ireland, Wales and England – even if it is not full independence for Scotland, is a
big chance for the whole of the UK. The discussion about the kind of state that people want to live
in that has been going on in Scotland for the last year and more should now become a nationwide
discussion, everywhere in the UK, if people don't want this chance to pass them by. I think most
people would agree that the UK system of government is far from perfect, but now that the option
of change, of more powers for the different countries within the union, is on the table, there is a
very real opportunity for positive change. The 'no' in the Scottish referendum therefore isn't the end
to me; it's the beginning of a whole new process, one that would never have occurred without the
SNP pushing for Scottish independence and forcing the Westminster government to agree to a ref-
erendum.

A Referendum for Europe
Miriam Schröder (Mainz/Germersheim)

So now it's over. The referendum that has occupied so much of our thoughts and emotions has fi-
nally taken place. The people of Scotland have looked into their hearts and minds and decided that
the nation should remain a part of the UK. Has the chance of a lifetime come and gone? Perhaps.
Was this referendum a success even if it has not brought about Scottish independence? Definitely.
Whether or not Scotland would have been better off as an independent country we will now never
know. But the referendum, and by that I mean not only the actual vote but more importantly the
debates that have taken place during the campaigns, has set crucial processes in motion. The people
in Scotland were forced to think about what they believe would be best for the future of their nation,
and the referendum has hence induced debates about the future of the UK as a state in which power
is very unevenly distributed and in which, consequently, the concept of 'representation of the peo-
ple' needs to be reconsidered.

This has relevance beyond the borders of Scotland and the UK. As we have seen, the referen-
dum sparked numerous declarations of sympathy in other European regions, most prominently in
Catalonia but also in the Basque country, Bavaria, Flanders or northern Italy. To varying degrees,
these European regions, amongst others, are also demanding independence or more autonomy.
What all of these claims have in common is a deeply felt discontent regarding the ways in which the
people are governed. People feel they are the sport of geographically and emotionally remote politi-
cians who care more about the well-being of banks and corporations than they do about the well-
being of the people whose vote put them into power. If this is a problem within countries such as
the UK or Germany, it is only intensified on a European level, where the centralised European in-
stitutions remain, at best, abstract if not irrelevant organisations to many European citizens. At this
point in time, we do not see a 'Europe of the Regions'.

In this respect, the referendum was as important for the rest of Europe as it was for Scotland.
This is because Scots are not the only ones who need to think about the future of the state or nation
in which they live and try to change it for the better. It should be a quotidian endeavour for all of us.
The overwhelming turnout in the Scottish referendum tells us that voters do care about politics if
they feel that their vote can make a difference. This should tell us something about the low turnouts
in other elections. At the same time, the European ideal is to unite the people, to overcome differ-
ences, to bring together cultures despite their diversity, in order to ensure peace for future genera-
tions. While it is unsure whether another border within Europe would have helped that ideal, the rift
within the UK and Scotland continues to exist, intensified by the YES and NO campaigns. Consid-
ering repeated reports about Scots having been verbally and physically attacked prior to the referendum because of their political opinions and also considering the fact that still almost half of all Scots are not represented by the outcome of the referendum, it seems that the European ideal matters to Scotland now more than ever. Before the nation can set its course for the future within the UK, it first needs to heal this rift. Scotland has helped Europe in pointing out the importance of adequate representation and self-determination on all kinds of administrative and governmental levels. Perhaps the European ideal can now help Scotland on its way into the future.

(Miriam Schröder is a research assistant and lecturer at Mainz University, Faculty 06 in Germersheim. In case you want to respond to her text, you may write to her at schroedm@uni-mainz.de.)

A Victory for Grass-Roots Democracy, Civic Participation, and Self-Determination

Lothar Görke (Mainz/Germersheim)

'Should Scotland be an independent country?' was the question that a total of almost 4.3 million Scots aged over 16 answered in a referendum held on 18 September, 2014, a referendum that will change the political landscape in GB, even though the Yes Scotland pro-independence campaign missed its target by an unexpectedly large margin of about 10% against the Better Together pro-Union campaign.

Not completely unexpected, but so much the more pleasing – and encouraging – was the turnout of 84.6% which was unusually high for a ballot in the United Kingdom, a real lesson in democracy for all other democracies on this planet – and maybe the most important and far-reaching long-term result of this referendum: its democratic awareness-raising effect – not only in Scotland, but Europe– and worldwide, i.e. in Spain (Catalonia and the Basque country), Belgium (Flanders), Italy (Veneto, South Tyrol), Tibet – and, most recently, even in the former British colony Hong Kong – where the people do not want to be patronized by anyone any longer.

From both points of view, this referendum was the biggest milestone in recent European history since the fall of the Iron Curtain 25 years ago that finally lead to German reunification.

To put it in a nutshell: since it was 10% of the Scottish electorate that were still undecided and / or tipped the balance in favour of Better Together – a full 35 years after the last failed referendum in 1979 – one can only conclude that the Scots are still not ready for complete independence – or will never be ready for it at all. So, one can only hope that Westminster will keep all their panic promises without delay – and that it will not take another 35 years (or, in Cameron’s words: a generation) until the next referendum.

(Lothar Görke is a lecturer at Mainz University, Faculty 06 in Germersheim. In case you want to respond to his text, feel free to write to him at lgoerke@uni-mainz.de.)

A Stark and Unsettling Choice

Ron Walker (Mainz/Germersheim)

My personal reaction to the Referendum can be summed up as surprising; surprising to myself, that is. Long before the day itself arrived, the dominant emotion for me was weariness; a satiated, jaded feeling caused by a surfeit of the usual political ingredients: endless empty rhetoric, hollow promises, cynicism and arrogant disregard – all of it leaving a disagreeable aftertaste of apathy.

Of course, this might just have been me. The significance of what was about to happen was something I had of course been aware of, intellectually at least, for some time. But did the fact that I live away from my home country, in Germany, and have done for more than twenty years, mean that apathy was in play? Was the fact that I could not vote enough to make me content to watch, cynically and disinterestedly, from afar?

As referendum day came closer, it became very evident that this was definitely not the case. This thing that was about to happen was a big deal; a momentous decision was about to be made,
and the potential consequences, whatever way the vote went, were beginning to affect me in ways that I had not expected. Cynicism was still there of course; the unseemly last-minute rush to the north of the three main party leaders saw to that, as did the threats of dire consequences liberally strewn between their declarations of love and affection for their neighbours. Then again, there was also the slightly intimidating in-your-face, rabble-rousing, flag-waving of a minority of nationalists. But, for me, beyond the cynicism, something very different, and very unsettling, was taking over. In spite of (or maybe because of) the long term nature of the campaign, the end came suddenly, and I believe the starkness of the choice did unsettle. I suspect that there were many people who felt this, who, undecided what to do, agonised over the enormity of the choice until the very last minute. Now that the dust has settled, the outcome may prove to have been the best for all concerned.

Such a conclusion admittedly demands liberal application of optimism. But it seems, for the time being at least, that Scotland has been infused with a new sense of political engagement, a meaningful debate has been engendered, and people made to feel that something significant has happened. Politics, in spite of the rhetoric, may in fact have taken on a new quality. But, and it is a big but, will it last beyond the moment – Yes or No?

Rational Difficulty
J.M.Y. Simpson (Honorary Research Fellow University of Aberdeen)

The difficulty with me, as I suspect for many others, is that this referendum has been so emotional that I can't feel that it is a case that can be argued rationally. For the past 70-odd years I have been convinced that Scotland ought to be an independent country but cannot produce any facts in support of this feeling. I suspect that such is the case with supporters of both Yes and No sides. What kind of facts 'could' be produced? Politicians and economists produce predictions in favour of their particular point of view, but these predictions are contradictory: they remain only predictions or, perhaps, hopeful guesses.

The campaign has been praised in some quarters for being conducted in a civilised way. However, I have to say that I find some of the utterances on both sides somewhat distasteful. What also strikes me is how ignorant UK media and English politicians are about Scotland. But, of course, on pointing this out, I myself could be accused of bias.

"Beautiful Country. But You Have a Problem!"
Ian Campbell (Edinburgh)

"Beautiful country. But you have a problem!" was the refrain last week in Italy when people found out I was Scottish. Interesting, because the media in the Veneto were alert to what was going on in Scotland, and the First Minister's face looked out from the newspapers in the morning. Separation and local independence are hot topics in northern Italy – to say nothing of Catalonia which was much mentioned – and though I was not in Scotland for the Big Event, having voted beforehand, I was given an insight into the importance people out of Scotland attached to it.

In the event, we are still a United Kingdom, and I think this reflects interestingly on Scottish Studies, and on this journal which has consistently offered an informed outsider's perspective. For decades I (like many others) have taught Scottish literature from within an English department, a deliberate decision in Edinburgh, and one which resulted in several positives. One was that the people who taught Scottish literature were also indispensable in English, Canadian teaching, in drama, in theory. Another was they were likely to create courses which interpenetrated different literatures, particularly in contemporary studies, though they also shaped views of Romanticism or Enlightenment or Medieval / Renaissance which made clear the indispensable presence of Scottish authors alongside English ones. The idea of teaching Romanticism without Scott became absurd. The idea
of teaching Carlyle as 'Scottish' or 'English' likewise. Courses at every level could be, and were, offered where Scottish authors appeared alongside non-Scottish.

From the point of view of teaching literature, the outcome of the referendum should be to strengthen this trend in Scottish Studies, to contextualise them against the rest of the UK and against other literatures, to normalise the idea that knowledge of a country's own literature is a right and a necessity – while normalising also the provision of the means to measure a country's own literature against neighbours and contemporaries, to provide the knowledge to enable a critical measurement. If Scotland remains part of the larger fabric of the UK, then the need to make its literature known, taught, read applies to that larger fabric and carries implication for the broadcast and print and internet media. And beyond Britain, the world. 2014 has been the year of a world congress of Scottish literatures, as well as the year of Waverley, and Scott celebrations continue. Post-referendum, Scotland's literatures are as vital as ever, and not just in Scotland.

The Nation without Nationalism
Ian Duncan (Berkeley)

Ten days before the Independence Referendum, on 8 September 2014, The Daily Mail began the drumbeat: "10 Days to Save Britain!" The ensuing week saw a flurry of broadsheet editorials, almost all exhorting us we were Better Together, and a northward stampede of senior politicians – Prime Minister David Cameron, Nick Clegg, former Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown, opposition leader Ed Miliband, and even (for superfluous bathos) UK Independence Party leader Nigel Farage. The Prime Minister sounded a plaintive, not to say masochistic, note in his plea for Union (10 September): "If you're fed up with the effing Tories give them a kick, and then maybe we will think again. This is totally different." Totally different? (And has anyone given him a kick yet?) The Guardian editorial (12 September) appeared to agree: "Nationalism is not the answer to social injustice." But if nationalism isn't, or wasn't, the answer to social injustice, it seemed at least for a while as though the nation might be. For in some ways the Independence Referendum was only incidentally, contingently, about Scotland. Scotland was the mask – vivid, expressive, somber, or joyous, or fierce as the occasion invited – rather than the bare face of this remarkable event. Early in the campaign, many of us applauded the SNP's strategic insistence on a civic rather than an ethnic conception of nationality – on the 'nation without nationalism', as Julia Kristeva put it back in 1993. No Braveheart, no 'Wha's like us', but social justice and civil rights. Irrespective of their origins, people living in Scotland – paying rates and taxes, voting for local councils, attending local schools, with a practical stake in life there – were the ones who got to vote: not Scots by blood, and certainly not the Scottish diaspora. I want to think, with others, that what was at stake was a popular defence of social democratic governance, founded with the postwar welfare state, against the neoliberal oligarchy camped at Westminster (or rather, in the City of London). The contest was over forms of polity, more than race or culture, and it was poignant to see that supposedly archaic edifice, the nation, raised again as a bulwark against the deluge of algorithm-driven finance capital that is everywhere inundating human forms of political and social life.

I like to think I would have voted 'Yes' had I been resident in Scotland, while keenly aware of how easy it is for me to say that – to strike what may be largely a sentimental pose – from the other side of the planet. Living and working in Scotland, I might have been more risk averse, and worried more about the hard issues of currency, borders, EU membership, and so on. But risk must accompany real change, and we need to grasp the means of delivering ourselves from the actual chaos that increasingly constitutes the global status quo. In any event 'Yes' fell to 'No': who can say what event or revelation might have produced a different outcome? I wish at least the margin of defeat had been narrower, to strengthen the drive for change in the deliberations over British statehood that must surely follow. Meanwhile, to be sure, we can all take heart at the democratic awakening the referendum inspired – 97% of the population of Scotland registered to vote and 84.6% voted, statistics unheard of in this supposedly disenchanted late epoch of the Free World. Alex Salmond himself
said it was more important that so many voted than whether they voted yes or no; it would be encouraging to think so. All depends on what happens next. We may hope that democratic awakening will spread to the rest of the British Isles, that England shake itself up and become something better than the quiescent hinterland of an extraterritorial stronghold of corporate finance on the Thames. And we will see what other masks a reawakened democracy may put on: old masks that bear a still potent magic, like 'Scotland', or ones we haven't imagined yet.

'The 45' and Now What?
Gerard Carruthers (Glasgow)

Following Scotland's referendum, a new label has been minted: 'The 45', with lyrical resonance from an older rebellion, is a badge defiantly proud of the defeated 'Yes' showing in the ballot. A year ago many nationalists hoped that they could achieve above 40 per cent and this was comfortably achieved; anything smaller effectively would have killed nationalist aspirations for several generations at least. The smart money was always on 'No', probably at an even higher percentage than its eventual 55 percent.

In panic, in the final week before the poll, the unionist parties promised increased powers to the Scottish parliament. The precise formation of these powers remains to be seen. The Prime Minister wants to align greater devolution for the Scots with similar developments in England and runs the risk of alienating some elements of the Conservative Party as well as encouraging the continued rise of UKIP. Labour suspect David Cameron's yoking of Scottish and English powers is an attempt to dis-empower its (Scottish heavy) parliamentary power in Westminster. The insipid Liberal Democrats may well soon be a complete irrelevance throughout the United Kingdom, even as – ironically – their long-held dream of a more federalist constitutional structure might actually come to pass. But nothing has quite changed as yet on the British political scene and all we've had recently, perhaps (and for the foreseeable future), is the continuing skilful management of a ferment that has been perennial within and around the British Union for at least the past thirty years.

What all the above means is that – once again – Scottish nationalism swells with pride but not (for the moment) any greater power. What effect does all the brittle political uncertainty that one may project over the next several years have to do with culture and literature? Probably not very much other than to give Scots plenty to write about. They've never lacked such material in the past in any case. Business as usual?

How Do I Feel About the Result?
Deirdre Forsyth (Glasgow)

How do I feel about the result?
Gutted; sad; disappointed; proud of Glasgow and the turnout.

Angry about the intervention of Gordon Brown, whose comments about the NHS have since been discredited by the Labour Party (vote Labour to save the NHS).

Angry about the promises of the three leaders of the main UK parties which do not seem to be worth the paper they weren't written on.

Angry that the so-called Scottish banks have threatened to move to London, even though they are there already.

And really hopeful for the future.
Edinburgh Festival in Referendum Year 2014
Deirdre Forsyth (Glasgow)

Going to the Edinburgh Festival this year, I decided to visit as many of the Scottish plays related to the referendum as I could cope with, and here is my diary with impressions and opinions gained in August.

4 August: I went to the opening day of All Back To Bowie's in the tent in St Andrew's Square. This was an hour long talk show hosted by David Greig, with an interview, a polemic, some music, and a comedian. We were lucky to have Nicola Sturgeon, who is such a good speaker. The main memory I have is her comment that all of life is uncertain, including marriage, a new house, and, of course, voting.

I have quoted that often since.1
But maybe the best was former chief superintendent of police John Carnochan. He was talking about male violence. He had been involved with the setup of the Violence Reduction Unit for Strathclyde Police force. He was modest, yet so impressive. I could have listened to his speech all day.

We also had music from a duo called White and McKay!, and a funny woman as well, and all in an hour.

Then we went along to Alan Bissett's play, The Pure, The Dead and The Brilliant.2 This play lasted an hour and was about four imaginary beings (or are they): the bogle, the selkie, and the banshee, and their leader (maybe) Black Donald. He argued that if they did not vote No they would disappear in an independent Scotland. This scenario enabled the four of them to rehearse the arguments for and against. In the end they voted Yes (well 3 of them did), and lo and behold they did not disappear, but actually became human. It was funny, and most of the audience voted Yes at the end.

On Thursday 14th, I went to The Pitiless Storm, a one man play performed by David Hayman. He was a trade unionist from Glasgow rehearsing his speech in thanks for the award of an OBE. He starts as a No, and during the course of his thoughts and memories he gets visibly upset and much of his private life is revealed. So during this process he ends up changing his speech and decides that he will vote Yes. It was a super performance, and he said in the wee talk afterwards that its inspiration had come from his own knowledge of those men whose whole lives had been altered by the economic policies of UK governments over the last 40 years.3

Then on Saturday 16th, it was the marathon – Rona Munro's trilogy The James Plays, starting at noon and ending at 10.45 pm. I liked James the First best.4 It started with James in prison in England as a contemporary of Henry 5th. He had been there for 18 years.

When he gets back to Scotland with his English bride whom he had seen from his prison walls and composed poetry for, he finds hostility from the Stewart cousins who had been ruling for all that time. Blythe Duff very good as regent consort, especially hated him, and the more so when he

2 You can watch it at https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=TeQw4k5RMMA.
4 Cf. http://www.eif.co.uk/jamesplays/#.VCU73VdZTgk; http://www.eif.co.uk/news/2014/james-plays#.VCU76VdZTgk; and for the first play http://www.nationaltheatrescotland.com/content/default.asp.
executed her sons and husband, although he had promised not to. Anyway, James I became a king who wanted the best for his country and started it on a route of more democracy.

James II was a troubled person from his childhood, when he was hidden to keep him safe and had nightmares, which were enacted with puppets. It was clever, but a bit long.

James III’s story began with him as the father of teenage boys and with his marriage to his Danish wife, played by Sophie Grabol. He seemed to be more interested in his favourites (maybe a euphemism for male lovers) than in his sons, and eventually the Queen really took over ruling, although she pretended he was still involved.

There were very strong roles for women in all three plays. The writer, Rona Munro, says that it is a period of history that is virtually unknown, so this is a drama and has been written as human stories which balance contemporary and modern themes.

I really enjoyed the day, but it was long, and I did not get home till 2am!5

Then on Sunday 24th, the last day of the Fringe, I went to two shows which had relevance to current affairs in Scotland. The first of these was *The Fair Intellectual Club* by Lucy Porter about a trio of young women in Edinburgh in 1717, who started a club to encourage the development of their intellectual powers, and published a pamphlet with its rules and constitution. This play was funny and gripping. We loved it, and so wanted these young women to carry on learning and interacting even when (shock) they got married.6

Then later that day I went to *3000 Trees*, a play by George Gunn. This is his idea about the last few hours in the life of Willie Macrae, whose suicide / murder is a mystery still. This play suggests the involvement of M15/6, something always supposed, but who knows. It was good and, of course, provided no answers.7

An analogy for the referendum? Who can give answers until we are there and trying to get the country we really want.

**Vote Britain**

Alan Bissett

People of Scotland, vote with your heart.

Vote with your love for the Queen who nurtured you, cradle to grave,
Who protects you and cares, her most darling subjects, to whom you gave
the glens she adores to roam freely through, the stags her children so dearly enjoy killing.

First into battle, loyal and true. The enemy's scared of you.

---


That's why we send you over the top with your och-aye-the-noo Mactivish there's been a murrdderr jings! crivvens! Deepfriedfuckinmarsbar wee wee dram of whisky hoots mon there's a moose loose aboot this smackaddict

Vote with those notes we scrutinise in our shops.  
(might be legal tender but looks dodgy to me)

Vote for the Highland Clearances. Baaaaaaaama.
Vote for nuclear submarines in your water.
Vote for the Olympic Games you didn't vote for  
(but you'll pay for it, you'll pay for it).

Vote with the chip on your shoulder.
(Get back in line, Scottish Labour, HQ in Solihull will issue their commands shortly,  
Just keep the vote coming in from up there thanks goodbye,  
Subsidy junkie).

Vote for any argument you construct in your defence being 'anti-English'.
Vote for Scots who make their career in Scotland being 'unambitious'.
Vote for enjoying your own culture being sooooooo parochial.
Vote God Save the Queen and that bit about us crushing you all.
Hush. There there.

Vote for Scotland being refered to as a 'region', like, say, Yorkshire? Or East Anglia?
Vote for our voices dominating your media, but in no way telling you what to think.
Take a drink. Go on, son, take a drink.

Vote for oil revenue, which we ensure flows directly from us into you.
Vote for being told you're the only country in the world that could not possibly survive and that without us you'd fall to pieces like children abandoned in the wild, caked in faeces.

Vote Daily Mail and Rupert Murdoch and ilegalimmigrantskilledPrincessDiana and  
London London London most exciting city in the world darling  
(Glasgow is a very violent place, is it not. Do you have art?)

Vote with your heart. Vote Empire. Vote tradition.
Vote for our proud shared history of  
enslavingothernationsandstealingtheirnaturalresources  
Bringing Wealth and Prosperity to the World!  
being on the right side just once and that's only because it was against yer actual fucking Hitler

Vote for the #ScottishConspiracy at Westminster  
(who really runs the show here eh – Blair, Brown – got your own in that time, we aren't allowed to vote in Holyrood but there's Archie McPhee pulling wee strings in our parliament when we wouldn't even think about interfering in how you run your own affairs but while we're at it, this referendum eh? A so-called referendum, is it? Have it now, make sure it looks like this)
Vote for very, very, very rich people patronising you.
Vote for Glasgow having the highest knife-crime rate and lowest life expectancy in Europe due to our generosity. You may thank us at your leisure. Vote for the absence of your history in our schools. All Brits together.

Vote for our shock at your ingratitude! Vote for us saying 'Eh? Eh?' when you open up your porridge mooth. Vote for bafflement about why you want the England football team to lose. We always want the Scots to win (except in referenda).

Vote for psychopathic villains with your accent in a soap opera. Vote for tuition fees and student loans, ensuring that the brightest of your working-class (since you still insist upon the term, although Our Leaders had it banned) will one day rise and take their place in this great land.

Vote for us deploying strategic references to Braveheart to dismiss you all. Vote for Robert Burns being called by Paxman 'sentimental doggerel'. Vote for The Iron Lady. Such a strong leader, gave this country backbone (you didn't really want the unions, industries or council homes, just made the place look tatty)

Vote for a deregulated banking class, lionising of the hardworking wealth generating job-creating entrepreneurs who you will in no way refer to as 'greedy, selfish bastards'. Give them your taxes.

Vote for foreign wars. Yes, sadly, some of you will die. But you will return to a hero's welcome Jock the Union Jack, proud symbol of integrity and honour, draped across your coffin while your mother, dabbing at her eyes, recalls the words she learned in school in Kircudbright 'There is some corner of a foreign field that is forever England.'

Vote with your heart. (Courtesy of Alan Bissett, 'Vote Britain', 13-01-2012, his "contribution to the debate on Scottish independence", http://alanbissett.com/2012/01/13/my-contribution-to-the-debate-on-scottish-independence/.)

**Does the End Justify the Means? – Yes Vote: Key to Self-Determination?**

Katharina Leible (Mainz/Germersheim)

The first reading of Alan Bissett's poem 'Vote Britain' evokes many overwhelming impressions. His mastery of stylistic and rhetorical devices and his ability to convey deep convictions is impressive. However readers tend to be divided; either one feels a strong passion and understanding for the poem's objective which is, in this case, to motivate readers towards a Yes vote for an independent Scotland, or one rejects this aim and is offended.

Thinking about 'Vote Britain', I wanted to look behind its irony and conviction, in order to work with the text on a rational level. In my opinion, Alan Bissett's methods of convincing the voters to vote Yes in this poem are contradictory to his own statements about why a No vote would be wrong.

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
The referendum on independence in Scotland surely is a matter of strong emotions. First of all, however, it is a crucial political decision that should be made on the basis of an individual interpretation of facts. This opinion must certainly be derived from feelings about these facts, but such feelings are based on personal experiences and attitudes, they should not be based purely on the reading of emotionally exciting texts. As already mentioned, Alan Bissett’s words capture his feelings about the referendum. They are the feelings of a talented writer, but such emotional conviction may also result in readers blindly believing these words.

The facts alluded to in the poem are used for impressionistic effect. Its message is not spelled out directly. The poem works emotionally, and its major effect happens in the subconscious.

The Highland Clearances were not carried out exclusively by the English. Many of the landowners who enclosed what had once been common lands were Scottish. Due to the Curriculum for Excellence, Scottish history is on its way back into Scottish school teaching (Duncan 2009), and Gaelic is now recognised as a mainstream subject of the curriculum which "provides young people with valuable resources to develop a sense for Scotland's culture and identity." (Scottish Government 2014) In the case of independence, Scotland would still be a small country dependent on the big ones. Memberships in the EU and NATO probably wouldn't be as negotiable as it appears with regard to the "nuclear submarines in your water", given that NATO's approval of any application for membership by an independent Scotland is not guaranteed, especially if Scotland "takes steps that disrupt NATO's nuclear strategy." (Vandiver 2014)

I personally, as someone who grew up in Bavaria, accompanied by lifelong, old traditionalist discussions about independence – undoubtedly sometimes expressed just for the sake of reminding others of how different Bavarians are – support the wish for independence and self-determination. "Self-determination" is a key term, often used by Alan Bissett. In an interview, when asked what might happen to the Scottish identity should Scots vote Yes on independence, he said: "If we're responsible for our own successes and our own failures, we've got nobody to blame but ourselves so it will force us to grow up as a nation." (Borowiec 2014). How can a country be self-determined if the voters are not?

With this poem Alan Bissett wanted to stir up the conscience of the people. He wanted them to take the chip off their shoulder. He wanted them to stand up for a Yes vote. This is for me a contradiction, as the poem leaves the impression that a Yes vote is the key to self-determination.

Self-determination, however, starts with a decision made in spite of the certain knowledge of risks and based on the willingness to accept the consequences. Without the voters' self-determination, the nation would not have it either as there would still be enough institutions left to blame for failures, even if they were then Scottish. As already mentioned, many emotions can be released while reading this poem. It provokes discussions about the necessity of remembering that stereotypes and their relation to historical events, is something that is always going to charge the debate with strong emotions. But such stereotypes do not trigger the desire to get answers to open questions and to form an opinion based on facts – in other words, to make a self-determined decision.

Therefore "Vote with the chip on your shoulder" is contradictory for me. "A turnout of 84.5% as a whole and a new record for any election held in the UK since the introduction of universal suffrage in 1918" ("Astonishing' Turnout" 2014) indicates that the Scots have already taken the chip off their shoulders. Self-determination will not necessarily be derived from a Yes vote; it may well be derived from the desire to vote.

Undoubtedly, Alan Bissett wanted to provoke attention with this poem as well as with his satirical play The Pure, The Dead and the Brilliant. He wanted to make the Scots think about their fear of standing up for themselves. The well-written and creative drama about bogles, banshees, demons and selkies who are involved in the independence referendum debate and become real after a Yes vote, further supports my point of view about the poem's relevance to the political stage. For me, the emotional level is not enough.

This poem is meant to be an appeal for self-determination and political engagement. When he writes "Vote with your heart", Alan Bissett is right, but he forgets one essential detail that is necessary to achieve the heart’s desire. He forgets the head.
Let's face it: politics is a game and it is all about playing it right. I grew up in a dictatorship and a country that has been unstable for four years due to many political movements, which gave me an opportunity to deal with politics intensively and observe it at a close range. Thus I have learned never to trust politicians. And while many people in my country (Egypt) believe the West is a perfect prototype of democracy, I see that this is an illusion. Everywhere there is nothing but the illusion of true freedom; although – to be honest – people's votes in so-called 'democracies' do get them the government they choose or, more specifically, the one the majority chooses, and this forces the government to be considerate of the nation (to a certain extent). But one must understand that the story does not start here. There is a whole process that happens to direct – more specifically manipulate – this choice in a certain way. Even serving the country and fulfilling the national duty can be used to gain power, as it results in a strong economy and re-election. So has the world really changed? There are no more colonies, but powerful countries intervene in the political affairs of the others. There are organizations like NATO, the UN and the EU, yet in the end no one dares do something certain countries oppose. It is the same old game, yet it is dressed in the beautiful and nevertheless fake cape of democracy. And what is underneath stays underneath.

One of the most important political movements this year is Scottish independence. I have never been to Scotland, nor have I ever known a lot about Scotland except in the last 2 years of my life during the independence debate. A very interesting piece of art concerning the debate is Alan Bissett's controversial contribution to the independence debate. A piece where he, by his own admission, expresses his anger against British rule.

This angry tone seems to have struck quite a lot of people leading to the classic allegation against separatists, namely nationalism. Bissett promotes pride and the Scots' sense of identity by challenging "how the Scots see themselves BY challenging how others see [them]" (http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2012/06/08/a-short-dialogue-concerning-vote-britain-a-poem-by-alan-bissett/). So beware of nationalism. Don't you ever read history? The world has learned its lesson in World Wars II and I, taught at a German school, learned almost nothing else in history classes but the shame nationalism has brought upon the country.

Scottish Independence in the Political Game
Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer (Mainz/Germersheim)
So what exactly is nationalism? Nationalism is commonly understood as another form of pride, and pride estranges people in a world that is (seemingly, at least) coming more and more together. In a video Bissett states: "This is not a nationalist movement. This is a movement for self-determination. Scottish nationalism, as we understand it, is bound up with that one thing: the right of the Scottish people to make their own decisions." (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INrCdlyjycQI)

Thinking deeper about the essence of nationalism, I came to the following conclusion: a country determining its own destiny is not a bad thing. Nationalism is not a country asking to be independent. It is when a nation starts claiming superiority. That is why, the way I see it, the world is actually drifting apart. Yes, it is true that communication is now easier. The world shares certain ground rules. Negotiations happen more often. But looking at this cultural and political closeness from a political perspective, I see that it is not happening for the sake of peace and international understanding, but for the sake of the economy and hegemonic rule. Hence the one pole of the world, the dominant countries, is getting stronger and the other weaker, proving that hierarchy is still there. It just does not reveal itself in the direct way it used to.

And the truth is, England and Scotland are not equivalent. It is worth mentioning that Scotland has been allowed more devolution in the last years than it had had for centuries. But although in comparison to earlier times the circumstances have improved, I find myself using the word 'allowed', highlighting the relationship between England and Scotland again. So, as it turns out, it is nationalism that makes a country like England claim it can rule other countries better than they could. And what I am trying to do here is not picturing the Scots as pure innocent victims, since I cannot guarantee that no separatist feels any kind of supremacy or hatred towards England. I am merely pointing out how common notions can be misleading, especially when it comes to notions about political groups.

This is a point where I can give advice based on my own experience: hopeful people striving for change, whether good or bad, are dangerous in the eyes of those in power. Where I come from, the voice of the young ones who wanted to change the country for the better is despised now: a success after four years of hard work against them. Of course this is not the same situation, but some rules of the game are shared by the players and are not up to the individuals. If I had been a Scottish separatist, I would have been careful of how they would try to gradually kill my vision.

What I found very interesting and also kind of funny about the debate was how the phrase "independence would cause uncertainty about..." was used to scare people. I find myself asking: what do people expect? The country would go through such a major transformation like independence and everything would be just fine? This reminded me of a novel I read years ago by Kevin Brooks (Lucas 2002), where he says that "[people would] rather have a monster they know than a mystery they don't". Of course independence would cause uncertainty! Such a change is huge and destabilizing, for a while at least. The question is whether it is worth it or not. That is another thing I like about Bissett's text. It tells people why independence is worth every effort, but not by drawing a picture of a perfect future as some politicians on both sides did, and not by making promises, but by reminding them of everything they do not want to be, thus indirectly implying what they do want to be. And if they want that, it is worth it, in his opinion, and in mine, too.

"Vote for our voices dominating your media, but in no way telling you what to think" is one of the reasons for independence Bissett mentions in his poem. This is the most questionable verse to me and the one that drew my attention the first time I read the poem. I started thinking whether independence would get Scottish voices to be heard. Are the media actually the voice of the public? Here is a point where I think that independence is about limiting control to the country's own authorities because it is better than being used by someone else, the least of two evils in other words. Because the truth is that had not Scotland been of some kind of use to England, they would have just let it go. No nation wants to be dragged down just to avoid being 'heartbroken'. So I am not denying the fact that Scotland has been used by England, but that does not mean that an independent Scotland would not be used, too. And that is not because Scottish politicians are bad, but because this is, regretfully, how things work.

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
So what would an independent Scotland look like? It might become more powerful and wealthy, which would of course be a huge step towards success. But in the end, it would join the countless countries playing this game, living the illusion of democracy and craving for the true one – the daydream.

(Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer is a student of German and English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 and would be pleased to get your comments at sishakab@students.uni-mainz.de.)

To a Yesser
(After Hopkins)
David Greig

Yesser are you grieving
Over all the media leaving
The news, that thing of man, you
With your fresh thoughts dazzled, can you?
Ah! As the activist grows older
We come to such sights colder
By and by, nor spare a sigh
Though piles of mulched white papers lie;
And yet, I will weep, know why:
Though no longer referending:
The national question's never ending,
But no leaflet caught, nor tweet expressed,
What your heart made of it, that moment
'Yes!'.
It was the moment you were born for
It is that passing that I mourn for.

(Courtesy of David Greig, 'To a Yesser', 23-9-14, http://www.front-step.co.uk/).
What an Achievement! Now Change Is Due – Fast and Essential Change, or: Let’s Support a Common Weal Scotland
Klaus Peter Müller (Mainz)

The Scottish referendum seemed to have ended with a disappointing, even though actually predictable result. Nobody could really expect a Yes vote from the majority of the Scottish people. Not yet, anyway. Scots have usually waited long, thought long, and suffered even longer before eventually beginning to act, and then to fight not for something abstract and political, like independence, but rather for their concrete and practical freedom. Walter Scott gave one important explanation why things always take rather long in Scotland: "the Scotch are not a people who speedily admit innovation, even when it comes in the shape of improvement."1

The improvement an independent Scotland could be for its people will, therefore, still take some time to materialise. It has now, however, become a conscious project in many people’s minds, developed in connection with the referendum. One of the key results of this entire process has been the enormously important awareness that the referendum has in fact been about direct personal things, not something of relevance to people in high, far away positions, who have in their majority rather been against Scottish independence. National and even more so international media have been full of praise for what the Scottish people have achieved, the high degree of political awareness that has been accomplished, and the vast insight into the enormous number of key problems that need to be faced now.2

It is absolutely certain that momentous changes will take place in the UK, not only in Scotland. David Cameron’s first public speech on 19 September committed him and the current Westminster government to such changes, the consequences of which nobody can actually predict. One of his several promises was to give an answer to the West Lothian question, and everybody who knows its dimension is instantly aware of the fact that such an answer requires fundamental structural and constitutional changes. An answer will put an end to the Britain we have known since 1707.

Can this be achieved before the next general election in 2015? Definitely not. So will politicians not do what they have always done, namely forget about difficulties, and try to return back to business? Definitely. Only – the public will not allow them to do so. The Scottish public is already alerted to the possibility that the Tories will want to renege on their promises. There were even rumours that the votes had been tampered with, but Douglas Daniel has written a convincing rejection of this idea and rightly pointed out that many more important things need to be dealt with now.3

What these things and key current problems are, what the indyref has revealed, what has become very evident during and after the referendum will be dealt with here in this text addressing ten key results, consequences, and problematic issues of the referendum, essentially connected with it, and which need to be dealt with now.4 There are certainly more, but these are enough at the moment. They are also all of them intricately connected with each other, which one should keep in mind.

The first essential issue is that 1) (big) business, the oligarchy, and the establishment have clearly been in support of keeping the Union.4 This group has been confronted with a great number

---

1 It was, of course, not really Scott who said this, but his narrator Frank Osbaldistone in Rob Roy (in Ian Duncan’s Oxford World's Classics edition 1998, 344). Honest, though often also ignorant and impetuous young Frank may, however, express here something very close to Scott’s own idea of Scotland, many of whose novels after all show precisely how long it had taken until Scotland was in the shape Scott liked and represented.


of 2) artists, creative writers, scholars, and intellectuals who have been in favour of independ-
ence. You'll find many examples of their positions in the 'NEW Media on Scotland' section of this 
Newsletter. Why is there this division and divergence of opinions? Simply because the people in the 
second group know nothing about money and the economy? Clearly not. Everybody in charge of a 
household, his or her own purse, knows very well what is economically sound and what not. And 
what economists and the financial world understand of what they are doing and how well they can 
predict the consequences of their activities became clearly evident to everybody in 2008, the finan-
cial disaster.

One important result of that calamity which we are still struggling with and which must also be 
seen in connection with the Scottish referendum is the enormous amount of 3) the national debt. 
This is a disaster not only in Greece or far away countries in Africa etc., but in the UK and Ger-
many, too. It is something that has been produced by both the financial world, the bankers, and the 
politicians who irresponsibly keep on spending more money than they actually have. In order to 
stop this, we require financial and political systems that are aware of their responsibility to the 
world they live in, their local communities, and that act accordingly.5

The financial world regarded the Scottish referendum as useful for 'financial gambling'.6 Its 
digital technology has often turned an at least partly serious business into a casino, where much 
depends on bets and mere chance. Much more, however, depends on a disgusting degree of criminal 
activity. Criminal? You don't believe this? Have you already forgotten the financial crisis of 2008, 
or the Libor scandal, the manipulation of the London Interbank Offered Rate? These events should 
have made everybody aware of the state of this world and that controlling it is absolutely necessary. 
Yes, banks have paid some 6 billion dollars in fines for this, but how much more have they gained? 
And they have not stopped their criminal activities either: Barclays, Citigroup, HSBC, JP Morgan 
Chase, the Royal Bank of Scotland, the Swiss bank UBS, the Dutch Rabobank, and the Deutsche 
Bank are now accused of having manipulated the exchange rates for years. Can you imagine what 
that means? I must admit, I have only a vague idea, and even the explicit figure of 5.3 billion US 
dollars turnover every day in this market is beyond what I am familiar with. But that is precisely the 
problem, our lack of understanding, where even so-called experts often don't get what is going on.

This whole new affair is quite evidently another disaster. Especially as it is once again taking 
place without many people becoming aware of it and without any competent and efficient control. 
Just five banks hold 60% of the exchange rate trade. Many of them are already negotiating their 
fines with the British control system, the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA). Fines are not enough,

5 "The UK national debt grows at a rate of £5,170 per second!" (http://www.nationaldebtclock.co.uk/) Even 
the conservative Telegraph 22-07-14 is aware of this problem: "Our rocketing national debt pile is the Brit-

ish economy's Achilles' Heel" (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/financelconomics/10984230/Our-rocketing- 
national-debt-pile-is-the-British-economys-Achilles-Heel.html), and the situation was worse again on 24-
09-14, when "the UK [was brought] in line with European accounting standards" (http://www.telegraph.co. 
uk/finance/economics/1117335/Just-how-big-is-Britains-debt-mountain.html). The BBC made things 
pretty clear: "In a party political broadcast last year, David Cameron claimed that we are paying down 
Britain's debts.' As you will soon see, we most certainly are not." (http://www.bbc.com/news/business-
25944653). One way of confusing people is "that politicians may say the budget deficit is coming down. 
But, at the same time, national debt is rising." (http://www.economicshelp.org/blog/334/uk-economy/uk-
national-debt/). Cf. UK Government debt in comparison to other countries (http://www.tradingeconomics. 
com/united-kingdom/government-debt-to-gdp). That debts are decreasing is a myth nourished by finance 
and politics, but it's not true, says Neue Zürcher Zeitung (from now on NZZ) 06-10-14, "Der Mythos der 
Another myth = lie the Tories like to spread is that Labour always borrows more than they do (http://www. 
taxresearch.org.uk/blog/2014/10/09/labour-borrowed-371-billion-in-five-years-to-2010-the-coalition-will-
borrow-572-billion-by-2015/).

6 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (from now on abbreviated as FAZ) 15-09-14 "Zocken um die Schottland-
Frage" (http://www.faz.net/-i27-7twwe).
though. And state control often does not work, as the US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) as well as European agencies have repeatedly shown.\(^7\) Things are so disastrously and outrageously bad that the financial system has in fact always profited even from the crises it has been responsible for. This is totally unbelievable, but absolutely true. This happened after 2008 and is happening now. The \textit{Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung}, which is very far from being a progressive left-wing paper, has succinctly described what we have had for far too long: "Banken kassieren ihre Retter ab" ('Banks make a killing of their saviours').\(^8\)

Neither fines nor the institutions meant to control the financial sector have improved this system, where a fundamental change is absolutely necessary. Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank, has such a low opinion of his Bank that he has already assigned the US financial services company Blackrock with the task of buying Asset Backed Securities (often called 'junk bonds') from other banks, and he intends to give the French BNP Paribas and the Deutsche Bank the same assignment. So he is setting foxes to catch a thief. The enormously vital change that is necessary here as well as in all other areas of our society and that has become evident in connection with the Scottish referendum is precisely what this article is addressing.\(^9\)

The difference between the two groups represented by finance and art is determined by their values, and the values of the second group are those that do not count much or even not at all in the first, but are precisely what the media have praised the Scottish public and in particular the independence movement for, namely concern for other people, the community in which one lives, democracy, i.e. active participation of everybody in relevant decisions, political, economic, social, educational, or of any other kind.\(^10\)


\(^8\) "Banken kassieren ihre Retter ab", \textit{Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung} 12-10-14, 31, and at (http://www.faz.net/~gv6-7uzr1). Draghi is also criticised in "Europäische Zentralbank kauft zwei Jahre lang Bankkredite", \textit{FAZ} 02-10-14 (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/eurokrise/ezb-kauft-abs-und-covered-bonds-13186548.html), in Switzerland and Germany ('Draghi endangers Greek reforms' http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/draghi-gefaehrdet-griechenlands-reformen-1.18397718) and (http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/standpunkt/die-strategie-der-europaeischen-zentralbank-ist-abenteuerlich-1.18397722), where Hans-Werner Sinn, the renowned head of IFO, the Munich institute of economic research (http://www.cesifo-group.de/ifoHome/CESifo-Group/ifo/ifo-Mitarbeiter/cvifo-sinn-hw.html), says 'The ECB strategy is hazardous'. Cf. also \textit{Financial Times} 10-10-14 (http://ftalphaville.ft.com/2014/10/10/2002862/draghis-true-alternatives/). The \textit{FAZ} 07-10-14 even set up a 'banking fines feed' showing how much which banks have been fined on various occasions: "Bankenstrafen-Ticker. Amerika macht Druck auf die Deutsche Bank" (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/unternehmen/bankenstrafen-die-groessten-zahlungen-im-ueberblick-12852517.html). Moyers give a good short description of the fraud tradition (http://billmoyers.com/content/bill-black/).\(^9\)

\(^9\) Draghi is also criticised in "Europäische Zentralbank kauft zwei Jahre lang Bankkredite", \textit{FAZ} 02-10-14 (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/eurokrise/ezb-kauft-abs-und-covered-bonds-13186548.html), in Switzerland and Germany ('Draghi endangers Greek reforms' http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/draghi-gefaehrdet-griechenlands-reformen-1.18397718) and (http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/standpunkt/die-strategie-der-europaeischen-zentralbank-ist-abenteuerlich-1.18397722), where Hans-Werner Sinn, the renowned head of IFO, the Munich institute of economic research (http://www.cesifo-group.de/ifoHome/CESifo-Group/ifo/ifo-Mitarbeiter/cvifo-sinn-hw.html), says 'The ECB strategy is hazardous'. Cf. also \textit{Financial Times} 10-10-14 (http://ftalphaville.ft.com/2014/10/10/2002862/draghis-true-alternatives/?). The \textit{FAZ} 07-10-14 even set up a 'banking fines feed' showing how much which banks have been fined on various occasions: "Bankenstrafen-Ticker. Amerika macht Druck auf die Deutsche Bank" (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/unternehmen/bankenstrafen-die-groessten-zahlungen-im-ueberblick-12852517.html). Moyers give a good short description of the fraud tradition (http://billmoyers.com/content/bill-black/).\(^10\)

\(^10\) Cf. e.g. \textit{NZZ}, 19-09-14: "Erfolg auch im Scheitern" about the Scottish success in spite of the failure of the Yes campaign. The values of business are evident in its response to the referendum result: "Erleichterung an den Finanzmärkten", \textit{FAZ} 19-09-14 (http://www.nzz.ch/wirtschaft/erleichterung-an-den-finanzmaerkten-1.18386817) ('Relief on the financial market'). Liz Murray has a forthright comment: "Big business bypassed democracy in the Scottish referendum", \textit{Our Kingdom power & liberty in Britain} 03-10-14 (https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/liz-murray/big-business-bypassed-democracy-in-scottish-referendum), and Martin Rowson a wonderful cartoon 'A nation... um... reborn?', \textit{Guardian} 19-09-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cartoon/2014/sep/19/martin-rowson-cartoon-scottish-independence-result-david-cameron), showing a business man victoriously waving the English flag with the inscription 'English Laws for Global Corporations'.
4) The parties and 5) the people create key issues as well, because they live in different worlds, too. These are – not surprisingly – the worlds already distinguishing business and art or scholarly people. The public have disliked, despised, and even hated politicians since the expenses scandal, but they now see even more clearly how far away from common values, common sense, and ordinary behaviour politicians are. The Tories, hardly ever much liked in Scotland, now deservedly represent everything people despise. Cameron's suggestion that the West Lothian question needs an answer fast has been called a "kneejerk absurdity", as the question is simply too complex. Very sensible suggestions and comments have been made by the public on this topic, emphasising that what is really required now is local government with responsibilities to deal with all matters in the respective areas.11

This, however, will not be easily achieved. The Labour party is as much against this as the Tories, and Labour now are clearly behind the SNP in public opinion as well as in membership figures in Scotland.12 When will Ed Miliband at last step down? Ian Fraser (@IanFraser), the author of the excellent book Shredded: Inside RBS, the Bank that Broke Britain, Birlinn 2014 (cf. the New Publications section below), pointed out in a short tweet on 24-9-14 what the climax of Ed Miliband's address at the party conference in Manchester had been: "'Let's make it happen, together.' Oh dear; Ed Miliband closed his speech with former RSB slogan." Indeed, the party, which a year ago created the slogan 'One Nation' without being aware that there are at least four nations in the United Kingdom, has not yet woken up to any of the enormous changes that are now due and that the Scottish referendum has brought to the fore. That is why the Neue Zürcher Zeitung spoke of an extremely weak party conference in Manchester, "Labour ohne Leidenschaft", i.e. Labour without any passion, an impression confirmed by several British papers.13

Labour's problem is not just Miliband, of course, but the entire party's ideology. Alan McGee (in fn. 12) expresses the people's opinion succinctly when he says that "Labour are seen as traitors because they stood shoulder to shoulder with the Conservatives", and Labour supporters are now "burning their cards". Labour will get support again only when they remember for what and whom the party had been established. Clearly not for neo-liberal or even backward-minded conservative politics. But Labour must not repeat their out-dated slogans and ideas of former times either. They must speak, think, and act with the people today.

The Liberal Democrats (with 43,451 members in July 2014) actually do not deserve any comments at all, as nobody has helped the Conservatives more than they have. The UK Independence Party (with some estimated 48,000 members14) deserve even less attention, but they are successful and, therefore, also dangerous. Nigel Farage, however, is even completely right in his evaluation of the Westminster parties when he says that "the Westminster class would not be able to

---

11 For the "kneejerk absurdity", cf. (http://gu.com/p/4xp9I). The public comments deserve close attention. You can find them, too, in the section '(New) Media on Scotland' under 'Intellectuals, artists, scholars, selected journalists'.

12 The SNP now is the third biggest British party after Labour with 189,531 and the Conservatives with 174,000 members (http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/07/exclusive-tories-announce-tens-thousands-increase-membership-party-conference). Cf. Alan McGee, "SNP Membership Now at 100,000 Members!", Huffington Post 05-10-14 (http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/alan/snp-membership-now-at-100000-members-b_5935416.html): "The SNP membership is up by 75,000 since the vote and already people across Scotland are planning for how we can obtain independence as quickly as possible. When 71% of teenagers vote yes, it is only a matter of time... and how. If anyone seriously believes this matter is finished, it isn't, far from it. The yes camp are more energised than ever and will make this happen with the help of the Tories down south who seem hell bent on helping us." See also Kevin McKenna, "Labour in Scotland is dying. Does anybody care?", Guardian 27-09-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/27/labour-in-scotland-dying-does-anyone-care?CMP=twt_gu).


14 Ukip MEP Amjad Bashir in his 2014 national conference speech (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uyCAiRisX_E).
recover. [...] We have a career political class of college kids who have never had jobs in their lives with absolutely no connection to ordinary people and how they are struggling. We need new people. We need change, real change."¹⁵ We do indeed, but Ukip's change is as backward as that of the Tories.

The most recent opinion poll about the Scottish results expected in the general election in May 2015 is relevant in this context, as it again reveals the effects and repercussions of the independence referendum:

### Scottish voting intentions for the May 2015 UK general election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>41.0% (+5.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>27.4% (-4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatives</td>
<td>17.6% (-0.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>7.2% (+2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKIP</td>
<td>3.4% (-2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have not yet found this on YouGov, only detected a strong British = English centred-ness there.¹⁶ The chart, however, indeed reveals the result to be expected next year: Labour losing and the SNP winning even more support. Some of those who voted No in the referendum will still support the Conservatives, but how many will actually stay with them after the abyss Cameron has opened up? And how many will try to support the general public, the people, Scotland as a whole?

For there is one other thing that is certain: 6) the division between business and creative people, between politicians and the public, between Yes and No voters cannot and must not persist. All of these groups will have to determine what is best not only for themselves individually, but for everybody and the nation at large. 7) The Common Weal must be taken into account, and this is much more than the organisation of the same name, speaking of itself also as 'all of us first' (www.allofusfirst.org). This is a wonderful idea, with origins in Scripture, the Reformation, and thus with a strong Christian background. The idea, however, is of importance today quite regardless of people's religion and expresses a yearning for overcoming the selfishness of contemporary business and cultures and putting a new emphasis on a humane society with freedom, equality, and democracy as key values. The Common Weal has a nice emblem for this:

![Common Weal](http://www.commonweal.org)

Information on 'The Common Weal' is provided by Ash Regan-Denham in conversation with Referendum TV ([http://www.referendumtv.net/reftv-in-conversation-with-ash-regan-denham/](http://www.referendumtv.net/reftv-in-conversation-with-ash-regan-denham/)), the station that intends to launch as Broadcasting Scotland on St Andrew's Night. It sees itself as part of the grass roots movements demanding more voices being heard and directly involved in media, politics, and further action to manage the consequences of the independence vote.

---


politics, and all areas of social life. These movements deserve to be strengthened by us, and I mean them, the common people, when I say let's support a common weal Scotland.

The key ideas and intentions of the 'Common Weal' organisation are presented here [http://allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/], and it is also eloquently described by Robin McAlpine at [http://vimeo.com/107370979]. One can only hope that they will succeed and improve people's lives significantly and efficiently. My first direct encounter with them was somewhat odd: I just wanted to order some of their stickers, bags, etc., in order to show my support in this way, too. But when I then gave them 'Germany' as my address, they said 'we don't ship to Germany'. They charge £10 for shipping and evidently don't know that this would also pay for a parcel to Germany. They wouldn't need a new mail service either, the Royal Mail would do, even though it has been privatised and not become any better or cheaper. They'd just have to write Germany instead of England (where I eventually had it sent) onto the parcel. Where do they think Scotland is? On the moon? This is such a stupid, parochial behaviour that one can only tell them to drop it quickly and start becoming really productive of effects. They have exciting plans, but they need to be very careful, intelligent, down to earth, and, yes, very efficient.

A Common Weal Scotland would be a society in balance, fair, just, democratic. Not without strife, but with much more tolerance for different opinions than we have had so far. Yes, "Another Scotland Is Possible" ([http://www.mixcloud.com/Barrastinian/another-scotland-is-possible/]), and it is absolutely necessary to create it. Scotland could set a wonderful example for all other countries in the world. More and more people will inevitably become aware of this, but they should also be conscious of the fact that the forces against it are enormous. Which is why the Common Weal project must be very careful to avoid the traps the establishment and big business will set up for them. The people in power will definitely want it to fail. Which is why it needs and deserves everybody else's support.

"Now is the time to act (again)", says James Kelly, thinking of people submitting ideas to the Smith Commission that was established to discuss the new powers to be devolved to Scotland. And this is indeed the eighth certainty, conclusion, and problematic issue: 8) Now is the time to act. Peter Arnott, "First thoughts on the Smith Commission (that's your future, by the way)", agrees and thinks the key question is once again "Do you devolve power down from the crown, or up from the people?" The answer by the people in power is clear, "hence the apparent unthinking and terribly British assumed authority and mandate for Lord Smith and the Unco Guid." The people, however, "still feel sovereign […], we still feel that our future is up to us." The conclusion Arnott draws is evident, evidently true, and unavoidable: "Just as the 'English votes for English laws' debate fundamentally undermines the principles of Union, so the top down committee to decide Scotland's future decides no such thing. It is yet another titled, bureaucratic caricature of the unsustainable present. […] The greatest reality is that Scotland has already changed forever." That is why the people should "treat these talks [in the Smith Commission] primarily as a rehearsal for the real thing. A lot of interesting stuff will come up…and we will need to be talking about it. That's our role in the new Scotland, after all." A complete constitutional change is unavoidable, and "while we may be less than confident in that reality being recognised and coped with by his Lordship and the assembled wisdom of Scotland's politeratti, we do know that reality wins eventually."

Arnott is right in almost everything he says here, but this last point is simply not true, because eventually only that reality wins that people fight for. Otherwise the silent majority will get the reality other people construct for them. And the reality the current UK government is trying to estab-

---


18 For those who do not know this Scots expression, cf. ([http://www.britannia.org/scotland/scotsdictionary/u.shtml]) and read the Burns poem mentioned there.

19 Peter Arnott, "First thoughts on the Smith Commission (that's your future, by the way)", Bella Caledonia 08-10-14 ([http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/10/08/first-thoughts-on-the-smith-commission-thats-your-future-by-the-way/]).
lish has got one further significant element as a result of the referendum: 9) **the threat of the abolition of human rights.** I have sincere hopes that this will wake up many No voters to what the Tories are actually doing to the people. Yes, Kevin McKenna is right: "If Scotland declines, we can only blame ourselves. The Tory party conference exposed all the malign policies Scotland could have escaped from with a yes vote".20

But, he continues, we have now lost the opportunity to blame the Tories for the evils around us, now we indeed have to act ourselves and change the world we live in. What is at stake should be evident to everybody today, and for those who still don't see the dangers, Nick Cohen makes them obvious: "Tory wreckers out to destroy their own human rights. [...] The Conservatives' threat to scrap the Human Rights Act emphasises how extreme the party has become. [...] The conservative party is a dangerous party. Driven by the raging cultural warriors of the right, half out of its mind with fear of Nigel Farage, it no longer conserves but destroys with as little thought for the consequences as a brattish public schoolboy trashing a restaurant." This is an entirely fitting image and an appropriate description of the Tories, the current UK government.21

Even the former conservative justice secretary "Kenneth Clarke lambasts Conservatives' human rights plan", as does "Simon Hughes, the Liberal Democrat justice minister, [who] said: 'The Conservatives don't care about the rights of British citizens – they care about losing to Ukip. These plans make no sense: you can't protect the human rights of Brits and pull out of the system that protects them."22

Vince Cable, the current business secretary of the Liberal Democrats, also says that the Tories lie, and he in particular accuses Tory chancellor George Osborne "of lying to the British people by claiming that a future Tory government could deliver an overall budget surplus in the next parliament without raising taxes. [...] Business secretary accuses chancellor of dishonesty and says Tories are obsessed by spending cuts".23 What Cable is saying here is not only that the Tories lie, which is not really new, but that their politics are driven by passion, by obsessions even. Which is also not new, but people often forget this, especially those who think that the Tories are good because of their 'rational' economics. There is nothing rational about them, just the obsession to stay in power. Which is just one more good reason to support the Scottish passion for equality, justice, more democracy, especially as it also has a great rational basis. Yes, I am aware of my optimism and idealism in this respect, but not to support this movement would mean to give up all human values and the desire to create a humane society.

So this is the situation Scotland, the UK as well as Europe, and the world are now in. Pretty challenging, you could say, or simply agree with the responses made by Amnesty International or

---

20 McKenna in the Observer 05-10-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/05/scotland-declines-only-blame-ourselves?CMP=twt_gu). This is another important text, so, please, read it.
23 "Tory pledge to balance budget without raising taxes is a lie", Guardian 06-10-14 (http://gu.com/p/427bf).
You could also ask "Human Rights: What have they ever done for you?" Or you could be as outspoken and apposite as John Wight, who plainly sees that "The Tories Have Declared War on Society – Now Society Must Declare War on Them". Do read this text, it is so true, and it reminds people once again of how long the Tories have been allowed to pursue their disgusting, totally inhuman politics. Nye Bevan, the former Labour minister for health said in 1948 that "no amount of cajolery, and no attempts at ethical or social seduction, can eradicate from my heart a deep burning hatred for the Tory Party that inflicted those bitter experiences on me. So far as I am concerned they are lower than vermin." Wight then continues with his description of Britain in 2014: "The reality of Britain in 2014 is as stark as it gets. We are now a society that has been dragged back to the nineteenth century in service to a political creed which stands as living proof that not all sociopaths are behind bars. The relentless assault on people guilty of the 'crimes' of unemployment and poverty is something that social historians will record years hence in horror that such a level of injustice could even be imagined, much less countenanced.

When it comes to the proposal to scrap the Human Rights Act, it is chilling to consider that Nuremberg in the 1930s was probably the last time an audience in Europe cheered a leader's pledge to remove human rights protections. Such historical parallels are lost on those for whom human rights legislation is an inconvenience rather than a necessary check on untrammelled political power, however.

It must now be evident what is at stake in our time and that our political awareness and active involvement are necessary. It is not enough to just 'Mock the Week' or indulge in any other forms of popular entertainment that the BBC and all other mass media offer, because things really are as Noam Chomsky already described them in 2011 when he asked 'Who Owns the World?' – and remember here also what Bevan said about cajolery and social seduction in 1948: "As long as the general population is passive, apathetic, diverted to consumerism or hatred of the vulnerable, then the powerful can do as they please, and those who survive will be left to contemplate the outcome."

Yes, it is up to you to decide who owns the world, who or what determines your life. It's your life, you've got only one. So make the most of it, and don't allow greedy, selfish people to decide what it is like. In this context, Scotland has the potential of setting an excellent, valuable example. My edition of Scotland 2014 and Beyond – Coming of Age and Loss of Innocence?, Frankfurt: Lang 2014 (Scottish Studies International vol. 39) will be out soon and highlight Scotland's relevance and prospects in greater detail.


Now it is time to move on to two English voices expressing their views on where Britain stands. Martin Shovel is a cartoonist living in Bristol, a creative mind with his special understanding of what to make of 'David Cameron vows…'. 29 David Schneider is an actor, writer, and comedian, born in London, with his own IMDB site, and a typical (?) 'Scotland's Facebook Movie' on his homepage, who has created an equally typical and expressive 'British Bill of Rights'. 30 No further comments required, only serious or, as in the following texts, seriously funny activities.

I was about to end here, but that would have been too much of a 'Mock the Week' ending and would have let people too easily off with a laughter, and nothing else. What one should be aware of when one speaks out in support of a Common Weal Scotland, however, is that this means much more than replacing some people by some others. It would be no help for Labour at all to have Miliband's deputy Harriet Harman in his shoes. Not only does she have all the negative characteristics of today's politicians, but also would the shoes be the same. One last thing must be clear now: the changes we have been talking about require to 10) change the whole system. A Common Weal Scotland would be something completely new, something that has not yet been created. 31 Which is why it requires so much intelligence, creativity, ingenuity, strength, persistence, resilience, and constant humane activity, and why Scotland could become so important.


31 John Burnside, the Scottish poet and novelist, a harsh critic of the SNP, not a wholehearted supporter of a Yes vote, who also does not mention the Common Weal, has nevertheless expressed this very clearly: "Schottland braucht, was jedes Volk braucht: ein neues System, nicht eine heroische Illusion, die die hässliche Mechanik des 'Business as usual' theatralisch verdeckt", FAZ 25-09-14 (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/burnside-schottland-braucht-politischen-wandel-13171630.html). ('Scotland needs what every other country needs: a new system, not an heroic illusion simply providing a theatrical masque for the ugly mechanics of 'business as usual'.) Cf. him also in the Guardian 19-7-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jul/19/scottish-referendum-independence-uk-how-writers-vote), and in the London Review of Books 11-09-14 (http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n17/lrb-scotland/reflections-on-the-independence-referendum) with many other intriguing voices.
Martin Shovel cartoon 'David Cameron vows...'

(Courtesy of Martin Shovel from https://twitter.com/MartinShovel/status/518497248733585408/photo/1. Cf. @MartinShovel on Twitter and http://www.shovel.co.uk/.)
A BRITISH BILL OF RIGHTS

1) We recognise that the primary human right is the right of the Conservative party to do whatever it takes to win an election.
2) We therefore recognise the right to bang on about the sovereignty of parliament even though it has sovereignty anyway otherwise prisoners would have the vote. Which, to be honest, they'd have if they were likely to vote Tory.
3) We recognise the right of the Daily Mail to dictate all our policies.
4) We hold as inviolable the right to shaft the rule of law and undo 50 years of protection for the weakest in society in order to appear UKIPer-than-thou.
5) We recognise the right to leave the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) because we're Better Together with the virtual dictatorship that is Belarus. #bettertogether
6) We acknowledge the right to encourage Putin to do what the hell he wants because if we don't give a stuff about ECHR, why should he?
7) Though we grudgingly admit that the rights to life and not to be tortured should be universal, all other rights (fair trial, freedom of expression, freedom of religion etc) will be “qualified” rights, only available to those who “fulfil their responsibilities to society”, i.e. vote Conservative. Everyone else can go screw themselves. In Strasbourg.
8) Have we mentioned we’re also going to give everyone a big tax cut?

(Courtesy of David Schneider
(https://twitter.com/davidschneider/status/518395363422912512/photo/1).
Cf. @davidschneider on Twitter and http://daveschneider.co.uk.)
New Scottish Poetry

Vicki Husband's poems have been widely published in literary magazines including *Gutter, Magma, Northwords Now, Iota, The Rialto* and *The SHOp*, and have won prizes in the *Mslexia poetry competition*, the *Edwin Morgan international poetry prize* and the *Pighog / Poetry School pamphlet prize*. Born in Edinburgh, Husband completed a MLitt at Glasgow University in 2010, and went on to be mentored by Alexander Hutchison on the *Clydebuilt poetry apprenticeship scheme*. She is a member of the St. Mungo's Mirrorball network of Glasgow poets. She blogs at *vickihusband.wordpress.com*.

Jean's Theory of Everything

She asks them to leave the door open and from her bed calls the garden in. A brash wind is the first guest bringing a party of others: soil, leaves that frill the skirting, smells and rubbish make themselves at home. The roof gives up, lets the rain join in and through frail panes the sun sits a while, empty handed.

Slugs traipse all night across her floor. She thinks they're fat and what a waste of time making a marathon trip only to be burst by the beaks of birds, to slouch to sticky puddles. Seeds scatter themselves like poor punctuation, taking root in the rug. Soon green shoots poke through, and worms doing morning yoga.

By winter the lens of her eye has a coating of ice, giving her a convex gaze. Now she can see the microcosm of things: parasites living on the hairs of mice, and the architecture of skin. Nature is a grafter, she grants it that; its work cut out just keeping tabs on all those leptons and quarks.

She feels much better when gravity lifts, like a hospital blanket it was too heavy and not very warm. On discovering she is curled around other dimensions, her vertigo disappears and it explains that recent trouble with word search. She's also comforted to learn her tinnitus was actually Cosmic Microwave Background Radiation.

Jean networks with dark matter and finds him to be a nice chap holding down a job. She has yet to meet dark energy but no wonder, the expansion of the universe is a thankless task. She can empathise with this as she moved house many times before her fifth child was born. Then Jim had the op and the extension was built.

Now she's on the Nomenclature Committee, as the physicists lacked an adult approach. She feels like the Queen every time a quantum discovery sails off with the title she gives it. Inspirations include martial arts and founding members of the W.I. She considers her other poor selves working dead-end jobs in alternate universes.

At night she could watch the nebulae for hours. She prefers them to soaps and feigns shock as they sow their stellar seed into space as if it never happened in her day. Constellations flick past like an album.
of old photographs; she reminisces about light when it was young. It is around this time Jean conceives her Theory of Everything.

[With thanks to Colin Waters of the Scottish Poetry Library]

Have Your Say …
Forward poetry prize judge Jeremy Paxman caused something of a stir recently by claiming that poetry has "rather connived at its own irrelevance". Today, he claimed, poets talk to one another rather than the public. Read the full article: Jeremy Paxman says poets must start engaging with ordinary people.

We would very much like to have readers' thoughts on this. What do you think of the opinions expressed? Why not broaden it out and let us know what you think about poetry today, in general, or Scottish poetry in particular.

Can poetry or literature in general still be the solace of humankind? (Cf. the intriguing series on BBC Radio Scotland 'A History of Scottish Literature', with the third episode called 'The Solace of Mankind', where you'll "hear how Burns took up the Scots tradition and gave birth to a world wide cult - the American writer Ralph Waldo Emmerson saying that his songs were 'the property and solace of mankind'." (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04l3s56).

Send your thoughts on this to Ron Walker: walkerro@uni-mainz.de.
A selection of your responses will be featured in our next issue.

(New) Media on Scotland
(compiled by Stefanie Brenneisen, Nora Goepel, Sherry Ishak Abadeer, Katharina Leible & Melanie Schrandt)

Subsections:
- The referendum / independence issue (general issues & questions answered by BBC correspondents & BBC referendum round-ups)
- Intellectuals, artists, scholars, selected journalists on independence
- The financial sector on independence (and financial issues)
- Politicians on independence
- Comments on Alex Salmond's resignation
- As Others See Scotland
- Creative Scotland
- Other topics

Reports in chronological order (beginning with the most recent articles).

The referendum / independence issue

"Nicola Sturgeon launches campaign to succeed Alex Salmond", Guardian 24-09-14: "SNP deputy first minister vows to work in good faith with pro-union parties on delivering new powers for Scottish parliament."

"Scottish referendum: It's unlikely the yes vote was ever in the lead", Guardian 24-09-14: "Despite the sensational YouGov poll that gave Alex Salmond a two-point lead 10 days before the vote, Scottish opinion on the day proved yet again that poll results are never a sure thing."

"SNP becomes UK's third biggest party in wake of indyref defeat", Herald 23-09-14
"Scottish independence: Leaders at war over powers", Scotsman 22-09-14:  
"A cross-party consensus on devolving further powers to Holyrood has been rocked by a row between the three main UK party leaders."

"The Yes Scotland pro-independence aftermath", Scotsman 21-09-14

"The Better Together No vote aftermath", Scotsman 21-09-14

"Nicola Sturgeon expected to champion maximum devolution in the UK", Guardian 21-09-14:  
"Senior SNP figures believe deputy first minister will reverse Alex Salmond's strategy of refusing to cooperate on home rule."

"Labour warns of 'two classes of MP' if England-only votes go ahead", BBC News 20-09-14:  
"Labour has warned against creating 'two classes of MP', as parties continue to clash over how to deal with Scottish voters' rejection of independence."

"Women and over-65 voters help deliver No victory", Scotsman 20-09-14

"Young Scots voters tell of their experience", Scotsman 20-09-14:  
"For those taking their first steps into adulthood, the independence referendum offered an unprecedented opportunity to help decide Scotland's future."

"The Nicola Sturgeon story", BBC News 19-09-14

"Scottish referendum: Scotland votes 'No' to independence", BBC News 19-09-14

"Scottish independence referendum: final results in full", Guardian 19-09-14

"Scottish independence: Turnout record as 84% vote", Scotsman 19-09-14

"Scottish independence: Final message from Yes camp", Scotsman 18-09-14:  
"Scotland can – beyond any doubt – be a success as an independent nation."

"Scottish independence: Final message from No camp", Scotsman 18-09-14:  
"Why a No vote can bring change to Scotland, without taking a leap into the unknown."

"Scottish independence: Mass rallies mark referendum climax", BBC News 17-09-14:  "Both sides in the Scottish referendum campaign have held rallies as they make their final efforts to win over undecided voters."

"Scottish independence: Youth vote key battleground", Scotsman 14-09-14:  
"Lowering the voting age has made Scotland's youth one of the fiercest battlegrounds for independence."

"Scottish independence: unionists' big guns fail to halt yes bandwagon", Guardian 12-09-14:  "Scottish referendum still too close to call, as ICM poll finds the yes vote just two percentage points behind no campaign."

"Scottish referendum too close to call, says ICM poll", Guardian 12-09-14:  "Guardian/ICM poll finds support for no campaign on 51% and yes on 49% with less than a week to go, but 17% of voters say they have yet to make up their mind."
"Scottish independence: Poll puts Yes in lead", Scotsman 07-09-14

"Scottish independence: £500m needed to join Nato", Scotsman 06-09-14: 
"An independent Scotland will not be allowed into Nato unless the Scottish Government agrees to reverse its defence cut pledge."

"Nicola Sturgeon: Salmond's deputy is on the brink of unprecedented power", Guardian 05-09-14: 
"Whatever the result in Scotland's independence referendum, she is poised to take over the leadership from her long-time ally."

"New poll: support for Yes is up eight points in a month", Herald 01-09-14: 
"Support for Scottish independence has risen eight points in a month, according to a new poll."

"TV review: imagine an indyref campaign without politicians, trolls or eggs", Herald 01-09-14: 
"Mibbes Aye, Mibbes Naw (BBC1) confirmed an indyref truism: the country may be divided on yes or no but there's one thing upon which we all agree: John Barrowman in soft lilac tartan is annoying."

"Leaders: Global context shifts indy debate", Scotsman 31-08-14: 
"Independence for Scotland has to be viewed in the context of the world in which an independent Scotland would have to operate."

"Police to investigate attempts to sell votes", Herald 29-08-14: 
"Police have launched an investigation after a number of people apparently attempted to sell their votes in the independence referendum on a popular website."

"Scottish independence: Carmichael to quit if Yes", Scotsman 27-08-14: 
"Alistair Carmichael would resign from the coalition government in case of a Yes vote and join Alex Salmond's Team to negotiate the terms of independence."

"Female indy supporters: new BT ad was patronising to women", Herald 27-08-14: 
"Female nationalists have criticised an 'insulting' Better Together campaign video which they claim depicts Scottish women as 'daft ditherers' who do not understand enough about the independence referendum."

"Scottish independence: Alex Salmond wins debate", Scotsman 26-08-14: 
"Mr Salmond insisted he had three Plan Bs for Scotland's currency after independence but he again refused to set out his preferred option."

"Scottish independence can 'recast' role of women", Scotsman 21-08-14: 
"An independent Scotland can create a more 'progressive and equal' society, a new report has found."

"Purdah's welcome relief (for some)", BBC News 21-08-14: 
"Political purdah means different things for different people."

"The English favour a hard line with Scotland – whatever the result of the Independence Referendum", Cardiff 20-08-14: "New research shows that people in England want a hard line to be taken with Scotland, whatever the outcome of the independence referendum on 18th September."
"Lord Birt says Scotland would lose many BBC services after yes vote", Guardian 19-08-14: "Former director general rubbishes claims independent nation would receive same TV, radio and online output."

"Scottish Independence: A matter for the head or the heart?", BBC News 18-08-14: "Political scientists are increasingly adapting techniques from psychology and neurology to understand how we make political decisions."

"Yes vote advancing despite currency fears – poll", Scotsman 17-08-14

"Scottish independence: UK government sets out island powers proposals", BBC News 15-08-14: "The UK government has set out its plans to increase representation for Scotland's islands if there is a 'No' vote in the referendum."

"Salmond admits: both Yes and No have stretched the truth to win arguments", Herald 12-08-14

"Scottish independence: Government reveals green plan", BBC News 08-08-14: "The Scottish government has published a report which, it said, highlights the environmental benefits of independence."

"Defiant Salmond fights back after bruising TV poll battle", Herald 07-08-14: "Alex Salmond has mounted a robust defence of his under-fire currency proposals for an independent Scotland as he expressed satisfaction at the outcome of his historic TV referendum debate with Alistair Darling."

"Scottish independence TV debate: First blood to Alastair Darling as he clashes over currency with Alex Salmond in televised Yes/No debate", Independent 06-08-14

"It's inhuman that prisoners are denied a vote", Guardian 27-07-14: "Offenders are still having the most basic of human rights withdrawn from them."

"Scottish Independence: Sir Harry Burns says Yes vote could be 'positive' for health", BBC News 20-07-14: "A former chief medical officer has said Scottish independence could be 'very positive' for the country's health."

"UK government launch anti-independence website", Scotsman 18-07-14: "The UK Government gives insight on how Scotland benefits of being in the UK, after the Scottish Government launched its website on the 'gains of independence.'"

"Scotland gets its own .scot domain as independence vote looms", Guardian 15-07-14: "Both the Yes and No campaigns in gearing up for the Scottish referendum have opted for a new .scot dedicated Scottish web domain."

"Scottish independence: Jean-Claude Juncker 'not referring to Scotland'", BBC News 15-07-14: "New European Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker was not referring to Scotland when he said there would be no new members of the EU in the next five years, BBC Scotland has learned."

"Space, the final frontier in independence debate", Scotsman 14-07-14: "Only independence would lead to a greater development of the country's space industry, namely the UK Spaceport – the first of its kind outside of the US – by 2018."

"Who are the donors behind Yes and No campaigns?", Scotsman 13-07-14
"English residents in Little Scotland: 72% vote no in mock indy referendum", Herald 13-07-14: "An English town dubbed 'little Scotland' has held its own mock independence referendum."

"Business leaders and academics: We were told to keep quiet in iScotland debate", Herald 06-07-14

"MPs rule retaining Trident is vital to national security", Herald 02-07-14: "The Trident nuclear deterrent on the Clyde must be kept to prevent any future threat posed by Russia, a cross-party commission of MPs has concluded."

"Scottish independence: 820,000 Scots 'living in poverty'", BBC News 01-07-14

"Pro-independence campaigners protest outside BBC studios", Herald 29-06-14

"No camp unveil 'Project Fact' paper", Herald 19-06-14

"Timeline: Scotland's road to independence referendum", BBC News 18-06-14: "A referendum on Scottish independence is due to take place in the autumn of 2014. Explore the timeline to find out where the modern makings of this historic vote were forged."

"SNP publishes draft of first constitution for an independent Scotland", Guardian 16-06-14

"The best way to predict Scotland's future is to create it", Herald 05-06-14

"Scottish independence: Rivals respond to Queen's speech", BBC News 04-06-14: "The Queen has re-affirmed the UK government's commitment to keeping Scotland in the Union, as she opened parliament at Westminster."

"Independence: PM backs greater powers for Scotland", Scotsman 03-06-14: "David Cameron yesterday gave his backing for sweeping new powers for the Scottish Parliament including granting full control over income tax if voters reject independence."

"The Tories and their rocky relationship with devolution", BBC News 02-06-14

"Scottish independence: Think tank report backs EU membership", BBC News 29-05-14

"Independence: Clash over state start-up costs", Scotsman 29-05-14: "Alex Salmond and the Treasury clashed over the cost of creating a new state under independence as the Scottish and UK governments yesterday published their respective economic analyses on the consequences of a Yes vote."

"Move to stop politicians 'carving up' an indy Scotland", Herald 25-05-14: "A bid to stop an independent Scotland being carved up by politicians, cronies, lobbyists and big business is being launched today by a group of activists, academics and writers."

"Ofcom warns broadcasters over independence bias", Scotsman 21-05-14: "Regulator Ofcom has told television and radio stations they will be censured if they fail to display impartiality in the run-up to the poll in September."

"Scots MPs keep Westminster seats after referendum", Scotsman 15-05-14: "Peers say the 59 MPs north of the border should leave only at the formal point of independence from the UK."
"What might Euro elections mean for Scotland's referendum?", BBC News 13-05-14

"rUK businesses urge Scotland to remain in Union", Scotsman 07-05-14:
"The majority of businesses outside Scotland want the country to remain in the UK following the referendum on Scottish independence, according to a survey by the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC)."

"What Scotland's young voters think of indyref", Herald 06-05-14:
"When Scotland's SNP government dropped the voting age to 16 for this year's referendum, it was widely seen as banking on teenage radicalism to ensure a break with the UK."

"Scotland's credit 'will be on par with Botswana'", Scotsman 02-05-14:
"Scottish Independence: The credit rating of an independent Scotland would be at least two notches below that of the UK, international ratings agency Moody's has said."

"Salmond under fire over ban threat to EU fleets", Herald 29-04-14:
"Alex Salmond has sailed into a fresh storm after stepping up his threat to ban EU fishing fleets from Scottish waters if his proposals for an independent Scotland's membership of the bloc were not accepted swiftly."

"Scotland 'is EU resources linchpin', says Salmond", Scotsman 27-04-14

"Who speaks for Scottish business?", BBC News 25-04-14:
"The distinction between lobbying and political campaigning can be a fine line."

"Scottish independence: BBC suspends CBI membership", Scotsman 25-04-14:
"The BBC has announced it has suspended its membership of the CBI following the business lobbying organisation's decision to register as a supporter of the No campaign."

"Westminster doing 'no preparation for Scots independence'", BBC News 24-04-14

"Councils 'too distant from communities', report claims", BBC News 24-04-14

"Campaign clash ends with even score", Herald 24-04-14:
"It counts as the first official clash of the referendum campaign - and it has ended with honours even."

"Scottish independence: Cameron's St George plea", Scotsman 23-04-14:
"David Cameron has issued a St George's Day plea for the people of Scotland to remain united with England in the 'world's greatest family of nations'."

"What do women want from Scotland's independence debate?", BBC News 22-04-14

"Scottish independence: Debt dump worth more than oil, says CPPR", BBC News 15-04-14

"Military top brass warn: Trident ban would hit Scotland's Nato hopes", Herald 14-04-14:
"The SNP's plan to scrap Trident would cast a 'dark shadow' over the international reception given to a newly independent Scottish nation, according to a dozen high-ranking defence veterans."

"Secular groups attack plan to make religion part of Scottish constitution", Herald 07-04-14:
"A Proposal to acknowledge the role of religion in any future constitution for Scotland has provoked a stringent response from secular groups."
"Leading Kirk minister is backing a Yes vote", Herald 06-04-14

"Record number of Scots have registered to vote in referendum", Herald 03-04-14: "The watchdog said 4.1million Scots were on the electoral roll, with less than six months to go to the vote on September 18."

"Analysts: Scottish Government needs to get more women out working to meet White Paper's economic projections", Herald 03-04-14

Questions concerning Scottish independence answered by BBC correspondents

"Daily question: How do jobs fit into the referendum debate?", BBC News 16-09-14
"Daily question: How is the referendum affecting markets?", BBC News 15-09-14
"Daily question: What would happen to EU membership?", BBC News 14-09-14
"Daily question: Would the price of food go up in an independent Scotland?", BBC News 11-09-14
"Daily question: How will the referendum result affect Scottish sport?", BBC News 10-09-14
"Daily question: What might a Scottish defence force look like?", BBC News 09-09-14
"Daily question: What would an independent Scotland's national security be like?", BBC News 08-09-14
"Daily question: What about Scotland's benefits system?", BBC News 07-09-14
"Daily question: Would taxes go up or down in an independent Scotland?", BBC News 05-09-14
"Daily question: What is Nato and would an independent Scotland join it?", BBC News 04-09-14
"Daily question: Would Scots be better or worse off under independence?", BBC News 03-09-14
"Daily question: What does the future hold for Scotland's pensioners?", BBC News 02-09-14
"Daily question: What might independence mean for the energy sector?", BBC News 01-09-14
"Daily question: How quickly is the Scottish economy growing and could it do better?", BBC News 28-08-14
"Daily question: How does childcare fit into the referendum debate?", BBC News 26-08-14
"Daily question: How much does Scotland buy and sell to the rest of the UK?", BBC News 26-08-14
"Daily question: How much does Scotland pay in tax and how much does it spend?", BBC News 25-08-14
"Daily question: Would the Scottish border change post-Yes?", BBC News 21-08-14
"Daily question: How much oil does Scotland have left?", BBC News 20-08-14
"Daily question: How does education fit into the referendum debate?", BBC News 20-08-14
"Daily question: How might the UK's debt be divided post-Yes?", BBC News 18-08-14
"Daily question: How might Scottish broadcasting look after a Yes vote?", BBC News 17-08-14
"Daily question: What might independence mean for Trident?", BBC News 14-08-14
"Daily question: What might independence mean for Scotland's NHS?", BBC News 13-08-14
"Daily question: How big is Scotland's economy and what's important to it?", BBC News 13-08-14
"Daily question: Is the pound the best currency for Scotland?", BBC News 12-08-14
"Daily question: Does Scotland's population matter to the referendum debate?", BBC News 11-08-14

BBC referendum round-ups summarise what happened in the weeks before the referendum

"Referendum round-up: One days to go", BBC News 17-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Two days to go", BBC News 16-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Three days to go", BBC News 15-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Four days to go", BBC News 14-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Five days to go", BBC News 13-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Six days to go", BBC News 12-09-14
"Referendum round-up: One week to go", BBC News 11-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Eight days to go", BBC News 10-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Nine days to go", BBC News 09-09-14

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
"Referendum round-up: Ten days to go", **BBC News** 08-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Two weeks to go", **BBC News** 05-09-14
"Referendum round-up: Three weeks to go", **BBC News** 29-08-14
"Referendum round-up: Four weeks to go", **BBC News** 22-08-14
"Referendum round-up: Five weeks to go", **BBC News** 15-08-14
"Referendum round-up: Six weeks to go", **BBC News** 08-08-14
"Referendum round-up: Eight weeks to go", **BBC News** 25-07-14
"Referendum round-up: Nine weeks to go", **BBC News** 18-07-14
"Referendum round-up: Ten weeks to go", **BBC News** 11-07-14

**Intellectuals, artists, scholars, selected journalists on independence**

Iain Macwhirter, "We can't leave Scotland's future in the hands of the politicians", **Sunday Herald** 28-09-14: "They thought it was all over, but it isn't."

James Kelly, "What do the parties' choice of nominees to the devolution commission tell us?", **Scotland goes Pop** 27-09-14

Juan Mac, "8 things we've 'learned' since the No vote", **A Thousand Flowers** 26-09-14

David Hare, "Cameron's remark about 'effing Tories' hints at what he really thinks", **Guardian** 26-09-14: "The PR man understands people's loathing. This is no surprise. His gift is for distraction – he doesn't actually believe the stuff."

Lallands Peat Worrier, Cogitations from a Cranachan Cairn, "The party of Scottish self-government", **Lallands Peat Worrier Blog** 25-09-14: "Absolutely no one will run the affairs of this country better than the people who live and work in Scotland. The words are Alex Salmond's, but the sentiment resonated throughout the Yes campaign."

People speaking, "Devolution – perks, pitfalls and the process in practice", **Guardian** 25-09-14

John Harris, "Scotland has shown how the left can finally find its purpose", **Guardian** 25-09-14: "SNP and Scottish Green party membership has surged as women and working-class voters demand change."

Alex Hunt, "Ed Straw: The revolutionary brother", **BBC News** 25-09-14: "Ed Straw, brother of long-serving Labour cabinet minister Jack, is fed up with the way the UK is governed and says it's time for a revolution."

Suzanne Moore, "Post-referendum, English nationalism is the elephant in the room", **Herald** 24-09-14: "The Westminster stitch-up is a British construct. The left needs to accept that English identity is more nuanced: messy, funny, irrational and workable."

David Greig, "Back to Work", **Front Step** 24-09-14: "So we lost. It was a hard blow. Much, much harder than I expected. But it's time to move on, now, and think clearly about what happened."

Iain Macwhirter, "Turning Devo Vow into Devo Max: the Road from the Referendum", 23-09-14

"Alex Salmond's reply to David Torrance", **Herald** 23-09-14: "Now that I have time on my hands to read newspapers, I noted the musings from my self-appointed biographer David Torrance."

---

**Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014**
David Torrance, "Why the Salmond magic is in need of a revisionist take", Herald 22-09-14: "Displayed in the main reception room of Bute House is Sir James Gunn's painting of the former Secretary of State for Scotland, Thomas Johnston."

Allan Little, "Scottish Referendum: Two Scotlands have emerged", BBC News 22-09-14: "Questions of national identity have been raised after Scotland's referendum. BBC special correspondent Allan Little considers the campaign and its fallout."

Jochen Hung, "Federalism works in Germany but may not in Britain", Guardian 22-09-14: "A federal system needs a strong bond to hold individual elements together. Postwar Germany had that; it's doubtful the UK does."

Daniel Boffey, "After the referendum: the 10 most pressing questions facing the union", Guardian 21-09-14: "When can Scotland expect to receive agreed new powers and why are we talking about English devolution as well?"

"Sheridan's rallying call to Yes supporters: vote SNP next year and aim for 2020 indyref", Herald 21-09-14: "Solidarity leader Tommy Sheridan has tonight urged pro-indy voters to unify around the SNP at next year's general election."

"Viewpoint: What now for Britishness?", BBC News 21-09-14

Irvine Welsh, "Irvine Welsh: this glorious failure could yet be Scotland's finest hour", Guardian 19-09-14: "Forget Bannockburn or the Scottish Enlightenment, the Scots have reinvented and re-established the idea of true democracy."

Stuart Campbell, "Fooled you twice, suckers", Wings Over Scotland 19-09-14

Stuart Campbell, "The country that wasn't", Wings Over Scotland 19-09-14: "Last night, everyone in Scotland lost. 45% of the electorate in the highest turnout in modern UK political history voted for hope and for change, and didn't get them. 55% voted in terror of change, but will get it (for the worse) anyway."

Stuart Campbell, "Keep 'em peeled", Wings Over Scotland 19-09-14: "Now, technically there are still around 20 minutes of the 19th left as we write this, but we're reasonably sure that Parliament is now closed for the night and as far as we can tell this doesn't seem to have happened."

Alex Andreou, "5 reasons to be cheerful – even if you voted yes for Scottish independence", Guardian 19-09-14: "Whatever result you were hoping for, the Scottish referendum has left a significant legacy. Here's how."

Mark D'Arcy, "Aftershocks and apprehension", BBC News 19-09-14

Jim Pickard, "Eight things we have learned from the Scottish referendum", Financial Times 19-09-14

Kenneth Roy, "The Yes side was its own worst enemy", Scottish Review 19-09-14: "The closest I ever got to Scotland's first minister – though he was only a humble MP at the time – was when the two of us had adjoining billets in a newspaper. It led to an interesting inter-columnar exchange which Alex Salmond, judging by his recent actions, seems not to have remembered. If only he had, he might be looking forward to a happier future."
Philip Stephens, "Scotland independence vote exposes the established order", Financial Times 18-09-14: "If elites fail to provide more accountable government, politics of exclusion will sweep them aside."

Finlay Young and Simon Akam, "A No vote will create a schism between the voters of Scotland and its artists and writers", Spectator 18-09-14

Oliver Huitson, "I hope Scotland leaves, and I hope England follows them", Our Kingdom 17-09-14

"Matt Wells and Stephen on Scottish Independence", YouTube 16-09-14 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfvCHgeStH8&feature=youtu.be&app=desktop)

Suzanne Moore, "This is Scotland's velvet revolution and we should listen to the people shouting", Guardian 17-09-14: "Ignore the strange dry-eyed weeping from the English – it's nothing more than British imperialism. Now is the time to take a leap toward self-rule."

John Harris & John Wight, "Both of the Scottish independence campaigns are flawed – here's how", Guardian 15-09-14: "As the yes and no campaigns approach the home straight, John Harris and John Wight discuss where they have fallen down."

Ian Bell, "Democracy in the UK … corruption, bullying, lies and naked power in the hands of the ruthless rich", Herald 14-09-14: "On Thursday, if you reside in Scotland, you can participate in the only vote on independence the country has ever been allowed."

"Neal Ascherson: I saw a No vote was not for status quo…it was a licence for irreversible changes for the worse", Herald 14-09-14: "A referendum campaign? But maybe that's the wrong word. A campaign means politicians persuading people to vote this way or that. What's been happening in Scotland, in these last six astonishing months, is people persuading politicians."

"Peter Howson: I don't want to be part of Britain", Herald 14-09-14: "I have got a feeling about it and I am excited about what is going to happen. We are so close to it now that things will never be the same. And if it is a No vote, then people will gradually realise they have been conned again."

Jemahl Evans, "An Uncomfortable Marriage: A Brief History of the Union", Jemahl Evans 12-09-14

Guardian's Editorial, "The Guardian view on the Scottish referendum: Britain deserves another chance", Guardian 12-09-14: "Nationalism is not the answer to social injustice. For that fundamental reason, we urge Scots to vote no to independence next week."

Seumas Milne, "Salmond's Scotland won't be an escape from Tory Britain", Guardian 11-09-14: "Scots voting yes for social justice won't get it from a party signed up to corporate tax cuts as the recipe for independence."

"It is folly to cling on to the delusion that the United Kingdom is still a great power", Herald 11-09-14: "Now, the United Kingdom, as a post-imperial great power, has a very high self regard in these fields and considers that its voice is still respected in the councils of the world. Is such a view warranted?"

John Wight, "Why class trumps nationality in the Scottish independence debate", Guardian 10-09-14: "I have more in common with the normal people of England than I do with the wealthy people of Scotland – that's why I'm voting no."
Simon Jenkins, "Scotland has been promised devo supermax, but divorce will still happen", Guardian 09-09-14: "London is spooked and is suddenly doling out more powers to Edinburgh, but I wouldn't trust an inch of what is on offer."

Pavel Seifter, "Czechs and Slovaks were better together", Guardian 09-09-14: "Since Czechoslovakia split in 1993, there have been too many lost years. Scots should not make the same mistakes we made."

Fintan O'Toole, "It is not that Scotland might become a new state but that it might become a new kind of state", Herald 07-09-14: "What does it mean to be a free country?"

Annette Zoch, "Wir Schotten haben nie ein WM-Finale verloren", Süddeutsche Zeitung 07-09-14: "'Blechschaden'-Dirigent Bob Ross ist stolzer Schotte - und für die Unabhängigkeit seiner Heimat. Seine englische Ehefrau hat er auch schon überzeugt. Im Interview erzählt er, wieso die Schotten in der EU bleiben wollen und was das alles mit Pandabären zu tun hat."

Bob Ross, the conductor of the brass ensemble 'Blechschaden', is a proud Scot and supporter of independence. He has already convinced his English wife of the advantages of Scottish independence. In this interview he explains why Scotland wants to stay in the EU and what all of this has to do with panda bears.

Noam Chomsky interview, "Noam Chomsky on Scottish Independence: Statehood and Power", Bella Caledonia 06-09-14

Sarah Boyack, "Scotland needs not independence but devolution – from Holyrood too", Guardian 05-09-14: "The SNP has removed powers and funding from local councils. It's time for a double devolution."

"Media Spotlight: Shredded – Inside RBS, The Bank That Broke Britain – Ian Fraser", Mortgage Strategy 03-09-14: "At the height of the financial crisis, one UK bank in particular was singled out for harsh criticism for the role it played in the crash. That bank was the Royal Bank of Scotland."

George Manbiot, "Scots voting no to independence would be an astonishing act of self-harm", Guardian 02-09-14: "England is dysfunctional, corrupt and vastly unequal. Who on earth would want to be tied to such a country?"

"Most of Alan Bisset at the Glasgow Takeover", YouTube 02-09-14

People speaking, "'I'm the only Yes in the village': speaking to swing voters and activists in the Scottish Borders", New Statesman 02-09-14: "Along the Anglo-Scottish border from Dumfries to Berwick, activists and swing voters give their opinions on the Scottish independence question."

"Peter Jones: All heat and no light in indy debate", Scotsman 02-09-14: "As the referendum looms, rational discussion has been displaced by unchecked emotions on both sides, writes Peter Jones."

"Andrew Wilson: Independence chance is fleeting", Scotsman 31-08-14: "The tears came, suddenly and unexpectedly. I was sitting in my car, having just posted my referendum vote into the Royal Mail box in my village."

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
Ian Bell, "We're not together ... English voters have abandoned us", Herald 31-08-14: "Until last week, there was a very good chance you had never heard of Douglas Carswell, the man chosen by voters in Clacton as the Tory to convey their views to Westminster."

Peter Preston, "In Scotland or Catalonia, the pitch is for difference without much difference", Guardian 29-08-14: "Keep the pound, keep the BBC, EU directives as usual: the idea is for bracing, defining change you won't greatly notice."

Ian Bell, "Better Together campaign exposed by Comeback Kid", Herald 27-8-14: "Televised political debates might not have much effect on the voting public, but their impact on those who comment on TV debates is fascinating."

Ian Hamilton, "Do you realise just how foolish the UK looks?, Independent 26-08-14: "The people of Scotland aren't fighting for a political cause — they're fighting for national existence, and against Britain's ruling elite."

Alexander Menden, "Der kreative Akt", Süddeutsche Zeitung 16-08-14
Dieser Artikel geht auf die Inszenierung von Rona Munros James Plays beim Edinbugher Festival sowie auf andere dort abgehaltene Veranstaltungen zum Thema Referendum und die Meinung der Autorin Val McDermid zur schottischen Unabhängigkeit ein.
The article addresses the presentation of Rona Munro's James Plays at the Edinburgh International Festival as well as other events held there concerning the referendum. It also deals with the author Val McDermid and her opinion on Scottish independence.
"Dürften am 18. September nur Schriftsteller, Maler, Schauspieler, Musiker über die Zukunft ihres Landes abstimmen, stünde das Ergebnis allerdings jetzt schon fest - eine Zukunft als eigenständige Nation wäre dem Land sicher."
If only writers, artists, actors and musicians were allowed to vote on the future of their country on 18 September, the result would already be settled – the future as an independent nation would be certain.

Suzanne Moore, "I envy the Scots. If only we English could also shake up our democracy", Guardian 25-08-14

Ian Bell, "The Anglophobia that never was", Herald 24-8-14: "It all sounded ominous. 'English backlash'; 'Scots will pay a heavy price'; 'English reject': no matter the ending, the independence referendum would be tear-stained. Salty tears, too, familiar to those greetin'-faced Jocks."

Ian Bell, "The No camp is losing out in this carnival of democracy", Herald 23-08-14: "If you had the good fortune to be Blair McDougall, director of Better Together, what kind of referendum campaign would you really like to run?"

"Impolitic: on Jim Murphy, oil, and political comedy", Herald 22-08-14:
"Coverage appeared this week on social media of Jim Murphy being heckled by Yes supporters and he did well, standing his ground."

Ian Bell, "Currency question is not frightening off the voters", Herald 20-08-14: "You wouldn't think it from their studied silence, but the weekend's opinion polls must have induced some puzzlement among those on the No side in the independence argument."

Martin Kettle, "Yes or no, things could get nasty after the Scottish referendum", Guardian 20-08-14: "Despite what politicians want us to believe, the English may not be inclined to reward Scots if they vote to keep the union."

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
"Author James Robertson: SNP would cease to exist five years after a Yes vote", Herald 18-08-14

Simon Jenkins, "The case for Trident is absurd. Scotland may help us get rid of it", Guardian 15-08-14: "Prestige, not defence, is the only reason to keep this £100bn albatross. We may yet give thanks for Alex Salmond's posturing"

"Alexander McCall Smith: I'm sad that Scotland is now a divided country", Herald 14-08-14

"British celebrities urge Scots to vote No", Scotsman 08-08-14

"Rebel, rebels: How Bowie's message inspired fun show", Herald 06-08-14: "Three things largely missing from the independence referendum debate, an observer might report, are: humour, doubt and self-deprecation. Instead there are, in general, daily furious blasts of invective from the Yes and No campaigns and some nasty, intemperate internet sparring."

Ian Bell, "Talking of hard facts, exactly what happens if you vote No?", Herald 06-08-14: "If the long argument over independence has had a sub-text, it has been the demand for information."

"Exploration of identity should not be limited to the national – Scottish artists wrestle with independence issue", Guardian 04-08-14

Martin Kettle, "Scottish independence: Remember 2014, the last golden summer of the old Britain", Guardian 30-07-14: "From the vantage point of 2024, the referendum's yes vote can be seen as the beginning of an unravelling, and a terrible waste of time."

"Staying in Union would not adversely affect our distinctive culture", Guardian 29-07-14: "I am confirmed in my decision to vote No by the fact that, after 300 years of Union, Scotland still has a lively literary and musical culture."

Ellie Mae O'Hagan, "Why Welsh should be taught in British schools", Guardian 22-07-14: "Regard less of what happens in the Scottish independence referendum, it's time to end the English domination of Wales and Scotland."

Colin Kidd, "Scottish independence: literature and nationalism", Guardian 19-07-14: "Edwin Morgan left £1m to the SNP, JK Rowling has donated the same amount to Better Together. To what extent does Scottish literature point in the direction of going it alone?"

"Robert Burns should not be held up as a defender of the Union", Herald 18-07-14: "Burns wrote: 'I have long said to my self, what are the advantages Scotland reaps from this so called Union, that can counterbalance the annihilation of her independence and her very name?'"

"Scottish independence: William McIlvanney and Allan Massie set out rival visions", BBC News 18-07-14: "Two prominent Scottish authors have published pamphlets setting out their rival visions of Scotland's future ahead of the independence referendum."

"Dear Prime Minister and First Minister…", Economist 12-07-14: "Our advice to David Cameron and Alex Salmond on the tricky disputes and dilemmas involved in breaking up the union."

John Harris, "The third Scotland won't be denied - whatever the referendum result", Guardian 11-07-14: "Outside Scotland's two dominant parties a group of radical young voices is blazing a trail for a fresh kind of left politics."

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
Martin Kettle, "Romanticising the Scots does Scotland no favours", Guardian 10-07-14: "The argument that Scotland's problems are exceptional, and solvable only by independence, is wrong on both counts."

"Scottish independence: Actor David Hayman claims referendum play ban", BBC News 08-07-14

"Bill Jamieson: A matter of identity and belonging", Scotsman 02-07-14: "Independence is no matter of economics but a matter of identity and belonging."

Iain Macwhirter, "A federal UK? Not a cat's chance in hell", Herald 29-06-14
Ian Bell, "We are the people. We might not know what that means, but we should be excited", Herald 22-06-14

Alasdair Gray, "London rule can't deliver a better Scotland", Guardian 19-06-14: "I was once optimistic about the UK's direction, but it's now clear Scots need representatives with independent minds."

Jock Morrison, "The myth of the Most Successful Union", Herald 16-06-14
Ian Bell, "The UK is not independent while the US calls the shots", Herald 14-06-14

"Scottish independence: JK Rowling donates £1m to pro-UK group", BBC News 11-06-14

Ian Bell, "Are Scots 'better'? Not yet but we want to be", Herald 25-05-14: "In the rhetoric of Unionism, a wee phrase is becoming commonplace: 'Just as.' The tag is attached to any statement involving Scotland or Scots. Contrary, it is maintained, to all our self-regarding cant, we are 'just as'. Then you can fill in the blanks."

Angus Reid, "A written constitution 'need not wait for Scottish independence'", Guardian 21-05-14: "The case for a new people's constitution is moving to the centre of the Scottish independence debate, but why must it rest solely on a yes vote? Scotland can take a lead within the UK."

Iain Macwhirter: "A nation reeling from ransom politics", Herald 18-05-14: "It was back to the good cop/bad cop routine last week in the referendum campaign."

Andrew Denholm, "Inside Track: Research needed on aspect of referendum debate", Herald 16-05-14: "The theory of reactance developed by psychologist Jack Brehm suggests humans desire something that is denied to them significantly more than if it was freely available."

Doug Marr, "Labour has lost sight of what it stands for", Herald 13-05-14

Iain Macwhirter, "The man who disunited the kingdom", Herald 11-05-14: "On February 13, 2014, many Scots were wondering whether they could be bothered buying Valentine cards again this year, when news broke that Chancellor George Osborne had arrived in Edinburgh on a flying visit. What he said had a profound and enduring impact on the complex relationship between Scotland and England. He took the money."

Fidelma Cook, "The English, as so often, feign blase indifference. 'God, just let them go.' Their hands mimic brushing off a troublesome fly", Herald 03-05-14: "Reared, if you like, in old school journalism, it is still slightly disturbing to write sentences with 'I' or 'me' in the text."
The Herald, "A reminder of the vital case to vote", Herald 02-05-14: "After so many months of fevered campaigning in the run-up to the referendum, generating vast numbers of think tank reports, debates and analyses, there is something of an irony in the prospect that the vote could be swung by something as prosaic as which side is better at getting its vote out."

Ian Macwhirter, "Yes or No, road to referendum will lead us to a new Scotland", Herald 01-05-14: "I've never been to the Glad Cafe in Shawlands, where we are tomorrow launching the new extended edition of our STV/Herald book, Road to Referendum, and starting a questions-and answers tour of Scotland."

Fiona Leird, "I'm British, and I want to be able to talk about Scotland's independence vote", Guardian 29-04-14: "Like Scots, millions of people in Britain didn't vote for the Tories, didn't go to public school, and hate being ruled by London."

Douglas Lindsay, "The Shackleton Report: Issue 5", Herald 28-04-14: "Panicking Better Together Make Pact With Four Horsemen Of The Apocalypse - A strange feeling of Groundhog Day has settled over the campaign, news cycles inevitably melding into one another, the words and faces barely changing."

"Unspun: The Politics Diary", Herald 26-04-14

Ian Bell, "Fifty years on, Labour still promising 'better next time'", Herald 23-04-14: "By a neat coincidence, one of the year's less heralded anniversaries falls in October, just four weeks after Scotland's referendum."

David Ross, "Inside Track: Referendum intervention that merits a place in the history books", Herald 23-04-14: "With the recent focus on the potential of independence for Labour supporters, memories stirred of a rainy night on Skye 26 years ago when the same issue was raised. It sent shockwaves through the party at the time but has been effectively airbrushed from the annals of the national debate. This was when a Labour 'aristocrat', John Pollock, stunned many by announcing he believed that only independence within an integrated Europe could protect the interests of the Scottish people. Devolution wouldn't be enough and only Labour could deliver."

Michael Settle, "A well-calibrated pro-Union battle plan that was blown clean out of the water", Herald 17-04-14: "On paper, it must have looked like a well-calibrated battle plan. Strike one: Philip Hammond, the Defence Secretary, travels to Glasgow to talk up the Union defence dividend and talk down the notion of a part of the UK breaking away. Strike two: a phalanx of ex-military top brass break cover to warn of the 'dark shadow' that would engulf an independent Scotland if it abandoned the ultimate deterrent. Strike three: the First Sea Lord launches a broadside to insist a Yes vote would damage the 'very heart' of Britain's maritime defence capability. In practice, though, the barrage misfired."

The Herald, "Contradictions muddy the referendum waters", Herald 14-04-14: "So exactly what would be on the negotiating table from the UK Government's perspective in the event of a Yes vote in the referendum?"

The financial sector on independence (and financial issues)

"Business 'relief' over Scotland's rejection of independence", BBC News 19-09-14

"An explosive breach of the rules: Salmond blasts Treasury as its BBC email is exposed", Herald 14-09-14: "A damning email shows the UK Treasury leaked sensitive information about a Royal
Bank of Scotland contingency plan to move its registered office from an independent Scotland before the bank itself had decided to announce its plan.

"Deutsche Bank boss: Yes vote is like blunders that led to Great Depression", Herald 12-09-14: "The financial and economic arguments against Scottish independence are 'overwhelming', a leading bank warned as it compared a Yes vote to the mistakes which led to the Great Depression of the 1930s."

"Scottish independence: RBS confirms London HQ move if Scotland votes 'Yes'", BBC News 11-09-14

"Turbulent time for pound as the vote nears", Herald 11-09-14: "The FTSE 100 Index and the pound endured choppy sessions as worries over Scotland's independence vote continued to grip traders."

"Nobel prize-winning economist: be very afraid of independence", Herald 08-09-14: "The risks of going it alone 'are huge', particularly if it follows the 'recipe for disaster' of keeping the pound without a political union with Westminster, Paul Krugman wrote in the New York Times."

"Billions of pounds wiped off value of Scottish-linked firms in market fright", Guardian 08-09-14: "Investors dump companies and sterling as analysts warn clients to 'be afraid, be very afraid' after poll lead for yes camp."

"It is a myth that it was the UK Government that saved banks", Herald 06-09-14: "Your correspondent Alan Fitzpatrick (Letters, September 4) seems to be perpetuating the myth that it was the UK Government alone that saved Scottish financial assets such as RBS from extinction. The fact is that banks are seldom primarily bailed out by the government of the country hosting their brass plaque. In fact, what matters is risk of contagion."

"Case for Scottish independence has not been made, say business leaders", Guardian 27-08-14: "More than 130 bosses from various industries sign open letter urging Scots to vote no in next month's referendum."

"Scottish house prices put homes out of reach", Scotsman 21-08-14: "As house prices are rising, so are the gaps as properties get more expensive."

"Scots businesses held back by export barriers", BBC News 19-08-14

"Russian trade war could cost Scots companies £50m", Scotsman 08-08-14: "Russia's answers to sanctions imposed over the Ukraine crisis by outlawing the buying of food from European Union members and the United States."

"NHS Highland facing cutbacks of £22m", Scotsman 06-08-14: "The Scottish health board is facing a £15.6 million overspend."

"Shale gas could boost Scottish economy", BBC News 28-07-14

"Fewer individuals in Scotland facing insolvency", BBC News 23-07-14: "The number of recorded personal insolvencies has reached its lowest level in nearly a decade, according to official figures."

"Chancellor announces £23.9m business, life science and arts funding for Glasgow".
"Bank of Scotland report: Pay rises at survey-record rate", BBC News 20-07-14:
"Starting salaries rose sharply last month on the back of a surge in demand for staff and an acute lack of available employees, according to a survey of recruiters."

"Funding announced for new oil and gas industry regulator", BBC News 16-07-14:
"The UK government is to provide £15m in short-term funding to help kick-start a new independent regulator for the North Sea oil and gas industry."

"Royal Mail sale underpriced by £1bn, says scathing select committee report", Guardian 11-07-14:
"MPs from all three main parties agree that government pushed through privatisation at expense of getting a good deal."

"Edinburgh Airport handles 10 million passengers in a year", BBC News 11-07-14

"Falling North Sea oil revenue 'to hit government finances'", BBC News 10-07-14:
"Dwindling revenue from North Sea oil will increase the pressure on government finances over the coming decades, according to the Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR)."

"Progress in effort to overturn US block on haggis", Herald 04-07-14

"Ryanair to begin flying from Glasgow", BBC News 03-07-14

"Rise in independent renewable energy schemes in Scotland", BBC News 01-07-14

"Smaller firms in Scotland 'bullish' on overseas sales", BBC News 01-07-14:
"Smaller firms in Scotland are bullish about their international prospects over the next 12 months as a result of improving economic conditions at home, according to a Clydesdale Bank report."

"Scotland shale gas and oil reserves 'modest' compared with England", Guardian 30-06-14:
"Midland Valley of Scotland has up to 134.6 trillion cubic feet of shale gas below ground, according to British Geological Survey."

"A chance to unblock the economy ... or just another pipe dream?", Herald 29-06-14:
"Can A major shake-up of Scotland's planning system help unclog the housebuilding pipeline and boost the pace of jobs growth?"

"Banks 'not trusted' by SMEs", Herald 25-06-14:
"DEBT-shy small and medium-sized enterprises are reluctant to borrow funds for growth because of a lack of trust in banks and a resistance to yield control of the business to outsiders, a Scottish study has found."

"Scottish government allocates £4.5m for youth employment", BBC News 24-06-14

"Scottish business start-ups rise", BBC News 19-06-14

"Scotland's economy 'to exceed forecasts'", Herald 16-06-14

"Scotland set for bigger European fishing funds share within UK", BBC News 10-06-14:
"Fishing communities in Scotland are to get a greater share of European money awarded to the United Kingdom to help grow the industry, Fisheries Minister George Eustice has announced."
"Royal Bank of Scotland in new push on government stake sale", *BBC News 06-06-14*: "After six years and a myriad of rows and mis-steps, RBS is to make a fresh push for a return of the bank to private ownership."

"Pay gap widens as oil and gas workers enjoy soaring wages", *Herald 03-06-14*

"Scotland's deficit higher in first year of independence than UK's, says IFS", *Guardian 04-06-14*: "Holyrood would need to cut deal on lower level of debt, or raise taxes, or cut spending to bridge gap left by falling oil revenues."

"New 'milestone' Treasury scare story doesn't add up", *Herald 25-05-14*: "Alex Salmond last night demanded that the Treasury withdraw a 'deeply flawed and deeply misleading' claim that an independent Scotland would face an immediate bill of £2.7 billion to set up 180 massive Government departments."

"Public in the dark on pensions revolution", *Herald 25-05-14*: "It is barely two months since Chancellor George Osborne detonated his bombshell news on pensions during the Budget, but the signs are that it will have a far-reaching impact."

"Alex Salmond's free nursery promise simply doesn't add up, says Treasury", *Guardian 24-05-14*: "Attack on key policy in referendum campaign comes before release of Treasury report on finances of Scottish independence."

"CBI: Scottish referendum foremost issue for UK businesses", *BBC News 21-05-14*

"Osborne warns an independent Scotland would run out of cash", *Herald 15-05-14*: "Scots could run out of every-day cash under independence as Scottish banks would no longer be able to print their own pound notes guaranteed by the Bank of England, George Osborne has warned."

"Scottish youth unemployment 'above UK rate'", *BBC News 07-05-14*

"A business perspective on currency union", *Herald 07-05-14*: "The British Chambers of Commerce (BCC) reports 85% of UK businesses outside Scotland believe the country should remain part of the UK."

"Scottish greens urge action over pay inequality", *BBC News 04-05-14*

"Report: Scots economy is in strongest position of recent years", *Herald 25-04-14*

"Tax to change no matter the result of referendum", *Scotsman 24-04-14*

"Oil and gas industry 'worth £35bn annually' to UK economy", *BBC News 23-04-14*

"Accountant in Bankruptcy: Scottish corporate failures soar", *BBC News 23-04-14*: "The number of companies going bust has increased by more than 70% over the year, according to official figures."

"Concern over pension funds in unregulated schemes", *Herald 19-04-14*: "Unbridled access to pension pots could spark a gold rush by exotic investment firms, according to a company which is pursuing hundreds of claims against advisers who recommended clients to transfer their pensions into unregulated investments."

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
"No matter the referendum outcome, fairer rates must figure", *Herald 15-04-14*: 
"Scotland is just five months away from our most important constitutional decision in over 300 years and, understandably, this has inspired a healthy debate about what Scotland's future tax framework might look like, either under independence or in a devolved context."

"Almost 85,000' workers on zero-hours contracts in Scotland", *BBC News 14-04-14*

"Ed Davey says an independent Scotland must fund its own energy projects", *Guardian 09-04-14*:  
"Blow to Alex Salmond's 2020 renewables target as energy secretary rules out billions in UK energy subsidies upon yes vote."

"Incoming finance director for RBS hailed by analysts", *Herald 05-04-14*: 
"Royal Bank of Scotland has confirmed the appointment of Credit Suisse executive Ewen Stevenson as its finance director in a move that analysts said showed it could still attract staff despite its financial woes and Government ownership."

"New tax-raising powers for Holyrood on the horizon", *Scotsman 02-04-14*

**Politicians on independence**

"Alex Salmond: Scotland is 'the winner' after referendum vote", *BBC News 23-09-14*

"Ed Miliband tells Labour: 'Our country nearly broke up''", *BBC News 23-09-14*

"Salmond: Scotland is a better nation as a result of indyref", *Herald 23-09-14*: "Scotland is a 'better nation' as a result of the independence referendum, Alex Salmond claimed as he told how the debate over the country's future had seen people become more informed and energised."

"Salmond: Independence can happen without referendum", *Herald 22-09-14*: "Scotland could declare independence at a future date without the need for a referendum, Alex Salmond has said, as he paved the way for his successor to pursue a new strategy for achieving the SNP's goal."

"Scottish referendum: Alex Salmond says 'No' voters were 'tricked'", *BBC News 21-09-14*

"Ed Miliband: 'Cameron has learned nothing from the Scottish referendum'", *Guardian 20-09-14*: 
"Less than 24 hours after their combined political forces helped keep the UK together, Ed Miliband and the prime minister were at loggerheads over what Labour sees as a ploy to permanently 'fix parliament' in favour of the Tories."

"The Queen applauds 'robust democratic tradition'", *Scotsman 20-09-14*

"Scottish independence: Salmond's statement in full", *Scotsman 19-09-14*

"Scottish independence: Darling's speech in full", *Scotsman 19-09-14*

"Scottish independence: Cameron's statement in full", *Scotsman 19-09-14*

"Miliband: a No vote means change in Scotland...and rest of UK", *Herald 16-09-14*: "Scotland's desire for political and economic change has been heard and will be delivered, Ed Miliband will promise as he insists a 'vote for No is a vote for change.'"
"Scottish independence: Cameron, Miliband and Clegg sign 'No' vote pledge", *BBC News* 16-09-14:
"The leaders of the three main parties at Westminster have signed a pledge to devolve more powers to Scotland, if Scots reject independence."

"Tony Blair: Independence for Scotland 'not sensible'", *BBC News* 13-09-14

"Darling: we need to win by a respectable majority because it would be good to put this to bed", *Herald* 10-09-14: "The taxi driver is voting No. 'They've never answered any questions. It's all been smoke and mirrors,' he says."

"London may try to strangle the infant nation at birth", *Scottish Review* 09-09-14

"Scotland referendum: Carwyn Jones calls for reformed UK", *BBC News* 09-09-14

"Scotland referendum: Wales' politicians divided on vote", *BBC News* 08-09-14

"Salmond: Cameron is right to be nervous about indy vote", *Herald* 31-08-14: "Prime Minister David Cameron 'is right to be nervous' about the Scottish independence referendum, according to Alex Salmond."

"Scottish independence: Cameron promises more powers for Scotland 'soon'", *BBC News* 28-08-14: "Holyrood would get further powers 'soon' if there is a 'No' vote to independence, David Cameron has said."

"Scottish independence: Henry McLeish says 'voting No has become difficult'", *BBC News* 22-08-14

"Gordon Brown: independent Scotland would have 'neo-colonial' ties with UK", *Guardian* 15-08-14: "Former prime minister, promoting his book My Scotland, Our Britain, calls independence 'worst possible outcome for Scotland'"

"Scottish independence: Labour makes Holyrood powers pledge", *BBC News* 20-07-14: "Labour has formally pledged to include further devolved powers for the Scottish Parliament in its manifesto for the next UK general election."

"Scottish independence: 'I will respect referendum result', says Juncker", *BBC News* 10-07-14

"McConnell hails Holyrood as he defends devolution", *Herald* 01-07-14: "Former First Minister Jack McConnell said Scotland had become a "healthier, cleaner, more just and more confident" place in the 15 years since the Scottish Parliament was established."

"Gordon Brown: independent Scotland would not be more equal or progressive", *Guardian* 25-06-14: "Alex Salmond's policies will not redistribute wealth or give Scots control over their economy, warns former prime minister."

"Leaders in pledge on powers following a No vote", *Herald* 17-06-14

"Scottish Independence: Hillary Clinton opposes 'Yes' vote", *BBC News* 13-06-14

"Scottish independence: Alex Salmond 'will stand again for first minister'", *BBC News* 10-06-14

"Obama steps in to Scottish independence debate", *Scotsman* 06-06-14:

*Scottish Studies Newsletter* 44, October 2014
"Barack Obama made a dramatic intervention in the Scottish independence debate yesterday when he said America wanted a 'strong, robust' and 'united' Britain."

"Swedish foreign minister: iScotland would lead to Balkanisation of UK", Herald 04-06-14

"Alex Salmond: how an iScotland could stop pandering to fears of immigration", Herald 03-06-14

"Cameron: we've got a consensus on more devo powers if Scotland votes No", Herald 02-06-14

"Ruth Davidson: Time for change at Holyrood", Scotsman 01-06-14: "Don't expect a No victory to keep the status quo. It will be the opportunity to make Holyrood truly accountable, writes the Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson."

"Film and TV in an independent Scotland", The Scottish Government 21-05-14

"Modern, efficient tax system for Scotland", The Scottish Government 21-05-14

"General Assembly: Queen calls for referendum unity", Scotsman 18-05-14: "The Queen has urged Scots to come together to resolve 'divisions' stemming from the referendum in her first intervention into the debate on Scotland's future."

"David Cameron: Scotland and UK have more oomph together", Guardian 15-05-14: "PM kicks off Scottish tour with promise of more devolution as he seeks to bolster flagging anti-independence campaign."

"Leanne Wood: Plaid Cymru Leader on independence", Scotsman 04-05-14

"Scottish independence: Scotland 'committed' to EU, says Salmond", BBC News 29-04-14

"Salmond and SNP bid to win over islanders", Scotsman 14-04-14: "Alex Salmond has pledged to 'boost economic returns' to Scotland's islands amid calls for greater autonomy and even their own referendums on independence after a Yes vote."

"SNP conference: Salmond attacks 'negative and depressing' No campaign", BBC News 12-04-14

"Sturgeon: it's now or never for a weapon-free Scotland", Herald 05-04-14: "The independence referendum is the only real chance to rid Scotland of nuclear weapons, Nicola Sturgeon has told CND supporters."

"John McTernan: White paper damns civil service", Scotsman 04-04-14: "Scotland's Future wasn't a government publication, it was an SNP manifesto, and its production was an abuse of public funds, writes John McTernan."

**Comments on Alex Salmond's resignation**

"We must thank Alex Salmond for his part in shaping the UK", Herald 22-09-14: "As a committed supporter of home rule and one who voted No, I recognise the enormous debt that our nation will owe to Alex Salmond and those in the Yes campaign in the decades ahead."

The Herald, "Promises to Scots that must be kept", Herald 22-09-14: "Alex Salmond may be set to retire as SNP leader and First Minister, but to the pro-UK parties, he has already become the spectre at the feast."

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
"Nicola Sturgeon backed by former SNP leader Gordon Wilson to replace Salmond", 
*BBC News* 20-09-14

Ian Bell, "Salmond: He will be missed", *Herald* 19-09-14: "Had you walked in his shoes, you wouldn't blame him. Had you lived his life, you might begin to understand. But when you pour your existence into the single answer to a single question, choices become simple."

"The Alex Salmond story", *BBC News* 19-09-14: "He is the man who took a rag-tag bunch of political misfits to the brink of achieving their dream of an independent Scotland."

"Alex Salmond resignation: Politicians react to first minister's statement", *BBC News* 19-09-14

"Scottish referendum: Salmond to quit after Scots vote No", *BBC News* 19-09-14

"Salmond: I quit as First Minister and SNP leader", *Herald* 19-09-14

As Others See Scotland

"How Scotland's 'No' vote resonates around the world", *BBC News* 19-09-14

"Scotland independence referendum: the view from Catalonia", *Guardian* 11-09-14: "Catalans campaigning for their own independence vote are inspired by what they see in Scotland - no matter which way the vote goes on 19 September."

"'Scotland's what?' US caught napping as Scots prepare to vote on independence", *Guardian* 09-09-14: "From nuclear to Nato, an independent Scotland would have several policy ramifications, but the official US reaction seems to be: no response at all."

"As Others See Us: International Press on the Indyref Poll that Shocked the World". *Herald* 08-09-14: "For two years independence has been a slow-burner, a news story simming in the corner of foreign section; little more than curiosity provoking the occasional photo of Mel Gibson."

"As Others See Us: How the Yes campaign has become a global model", *Herald* 31-08-14: "To its enemies at home, Scottish nationalism is 'thuggish'. To its friends abroad, it is inspirationally peaceful."

"What The Worlds say about modern Scotland", *Herald* 17-08-14:

"The Worlds came to Glasgow with a smile, then held a mirror up to Scotland to give us something to reflect on."

"Scottish independence: Europeans with an eye on Edinburgh", *BBC News* 24-07-14:

"Voters will go to the polls in September to decide whether Scotland should become an independent country. But what other Europeans are pressing for independence and how closely are they watching Scotland?"

"Britain is an old, declining empire, says official Chinese newspaper", *Guardian* 18-06-14: "People's Daily takes swipe at UK's 'eccentric acts' as Chinese premier visits London."

"Scottish independence: What Canada thinks", *BBC News* 16-06-14

"Pope Francis: my fears over national division", *Herald* 13-06-14

*Scottish Studies Newsletter* 44, October 2014
"Scottish Independence: What do the English think?", BBC News 23-04-14

Creative Scotland

"Cultural celebration sure to set tongues wagging", Herald 07-09-14: "On September 17, on the eve of arguably the most significant democratic vote in Scottish history, the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS) will stage Blabbermouth, a 12-hour celebration of Scottish culture."

"How Scotland shook off the 'kilted straitjacket', BBC News 28-08-14:
"What is Scottish national identity and how is it expressed in art and music, literature and theatre?"


"Plenty of food for thought at international book festival", Herald 04-08-14: "While Game of Thrones author George RR Martin, Martin Amis and Haruki Murakami will pull in the crowds to Charlotte Square when the Edinburgh International Book Festival opens on August 9, political discourse is likely to be central to many of the talks and debates in the tented square."

"The arts funding row in Scotland - and why it matters to the rest of the UK", Guardian 09-07-14

"The Great Yes, No, Don't Know, Five Minute Theatre Show", Herald 24-06-14

"Edinburgh film festival calls crisis summit", Scotsman 11-06-14: "A Summit has been called to address claims of a major crisis in Scotland's film industry - on the day the industry's biggest annual event kicks off."

"The Duchess, the Highland Clearances, the housekeeper ... and a story to make you weep", Guardian 25-05-14: "I had come to the Staffordshire Record Office to try to piece together the ghost of a story - a story in which a vulnerable servant fell foul of an immensely powerful regime."

"Moira Jeffrey: 'Glasgow has lost its beating heart'", Scotsman 24-05-14: "It is almost impossible to quantify the collective shock amongst the arts and architecture community worldwide after the terrible fire at the Mackintosh Building at Glasgow School of Art."

"Glasgow School of Art: The history of a Mackintosh masterpiece", BBC News 23-05-14

"Scottish war poetry fights for both sides in the independence battle", Guardian 13-05-14: "A century on from the first world war, its poetry sheds intriguing light on the questions of nationhood awaiting an answer in this autumn's referendum."

"YouTube artist on Turner Prize list", BBC News 07-05-14

"The man who created The Kelpies", BBC News 05-05-14: "For the past eight years, Glaswegian sculptor Andy Scott has been working on the biggest project of his life. The Kelpies are two 30m-tall horse heads made of steel, now standing alongside the Forth and Clyde Canal near Falkirk."

"Creative Scotland launches 10-year plan to 'unlock potential'", BBC News 09-04-14

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
"The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant", *Indiegogo*: "This campaign is to raise funds for a play written by Alan Bisset, to be staged at Edinburgh Fringe 2014, which aims to rally for a Yes vote in the referendum."

**Other Topics**

"Newsnet Scotland and Bateman Broadcasting set to join forces", *News Net Scotland 25-09-14*: "Plans for a new independent Scottish media platform took a step closer this week with news that Newsnet Scotland and Bateman Broadcasting have held talks aimed at merging both outlets."

"How the BBC muzzled a professor who cast doubt on its impartiality", *Ian Fraser 30-08-14*

"Closed shop at the top in deeply elitist Britain, says study", *Guardian 28-08-14*: "Elitism so embedded in Britain that it could be called social engineering, social mobility commission concludes."

"Scottish NHS fails to meet government targets", *BBC News 26-08-14*

"Brown: Scottish pensioners are £409 a year better off in UK", *Herald 11-08-14*

"Qualified immigrants are just what Scotland needs", *Herald 24-07-14*: "Fears about low-skilled immigrants coming to Scotland and claiming benefits are wide of the mark, according to the latest analysis of the immigrant population."

"Scotland 'willing to accept' Palestinian refugees", *Scotsman 19-07-14*

"First Scottish satellite has 'successful' launch", *BBC News 08-07-14*

"£230m obesity and diabetes drugs cost 'harms NHS'", *BBC News 06-07-14*

"Glasgow a friendly city? True enough, but this was not always its reputation", *Guardian 27-06-14*

"Battle of Bannockburn's 700th anniversary celebrated – in pictures", *Guardian 27-06-14*

"10-year low for Scots moving south", *Herald 26-06-14*

"More people reporting rape and sexual crimes in Scotland", *BBC News 19-06-14*

"Social media mass surveillance is permitted by law, says top UK official", *Guardian 17-06-14*: "Charles Farr's statement marks first time government has commented on how it exploits the UK’s legal framework to operate mass interception."

"Councils charging terminally ill for care", *BBC News 16-06-14*

"NHS to spend £9m on agency staff as 1,500 jobs go unfilled", *Herald 12-06-14*

"Forced marriage: No prosecutions in Scotland under new law", *BBC News 12-06-14*

"Why is Glasgow the UK's sickest city?", *BBC News 05-06-14*

"So, just what is the point of the monarchy these days?", *Herald 04-06-14*
"STV Glasgow TV station goes on air", *BBC News* 02-06-14

"Ukip are still England's little problem", *Herald* 01-06-14

"Going off the rails: The Edinburgh trams saga", *BBC News* 29-05-14

"Scotland 'becoming more ethnically diverse'", *BBC News* 27-05-14

"European election: UKIP wins first Scottish MEP seat", *BBC News* 26-05-14

"Lost in the fire: Mackintosh library has gone", *Herald* 24-05-14: "The 'iconic and unique' library at Glasgow School of Art has been lost in the fire which swept through the world-renowned building."

"In the line of fire: Sarah Smith on stepping into the hot seat", *Herald* 24-05-14: "Interview: Sarah Smith on returning home to host the high-profile show that will replace Newsnight Scotland."

"Land ownership reforms proposed", *BBC News* 24-05-14

"Video: firefighters tackle blaze at Glasgow School of Art's Mackintosh building", *Herald* 23-05-14


"Scots children among least active in world", *Scotsman* 21-05-14

"Alex Neil no confidence vote rejected by MSPs", *BBC News* 21-05-14: "Scotland's health secretary has survived a vote of no confidence in parliament, sparked by a row over NHS cuts in his constituency."

"Church of Scotland vote moves closer to ordaining gay ministers", *BBC News* 21-05-14

"Scotland's richest 100 enjoy 19% wealth rise, according to Rich List", *BBC News* 18-05-14

"Armed officers used in Highlands more than 100 times in year", *BBC News* 13-05-14

"Health of the NHS comes under fire", *BBC News* 08-05-14: "Sometimes parliamentary questions are tough. Sometimes they are pimps. Let me draw your attention to one of the latter."

"Prosecutors demand stronger law against domestic abuse", *BBC News* 08-05-14

"Holyrood offered powers to offset housing benefit changes in Scotland", *BBC News* 02-05-14

"Scotland's population hits new high", *BBC News* 30-04-14

"Church of Scotland 'struggling to stay alive'", *Scotsman* 29-04-14: "Kirk membership has dropped by almost 50,000 in the past three years, more than 320 a week, according to new figures."
"Why Facebook, Google, and the NSA Want Computers That Learn Like Humans", Mothers Jones September/October 2014:
"Deep learning could transform artificial intelligence. It could also get pretty creepy."

"Expansion of Gaelic schools hit by lack of fluent staff", Guardian 23-09-14:
"The rapid expansion of Gaelic school education is providing a major challenge, Scotland's largest local authority has warned."

"Edinburgh University makes into world's top 20", Scotsman 16-09-14

"Tiffany Jenkins: Stop treating students like kids", Scotsman 12-09-14:
"Banning organisations from freshers' events means we are denying youngsters the chance to formulate their own views, writes Tiffany Jenkins."

"Private school fees soar in Scotland", Scotsman 06-09-14:
"Private school fees in Scotland have rocketed by 20 per cent to £10,431 a year in the past five years, a report claimed."

"Fears of academic exodus", Herald 01-09-14:
"Scotland's major universities are preparing for an exodus of some of their most accomplished scientists if there is a Yes vote for independence, with some academics already ready to move."

"Scottish independence: Councils bar 'Yes' and 'No' campaigns from schools", BBC News 21-08-14:
"The official referendum campaigns are being barred from the majority of schools in Scotland ahead of polling day, BBC research has found."

"SQA defends high failure rate in new National 5 exam", BBC News 18-08-14:
"The qualifications agency has defended one of the new exams after an unusually large number of candidates failed."

"Early learning is so important", Herald 18-08-14:
"Professor Bronwen J Cohen states that the SNP offer a high quality Early Childhood Education and Care (EHEC) system following EU practice."

"Students can face challenge to keep debts under control", Herald 17-08-14:
"School leavers heading off to college or university have good reason to be excited about the future, but they also face new financial responsibilities, and it takes discipline – starting with a careful choice of bank account – to stop debt spiraling out of control."

"Edinburgh cheaper university city than Glasgow", Scotsman 14-08-14:
"Edinburgh is one of the most affordable large universities in Britain, while studying in Glasgow costs more according to a report of the biggest 20 universities in Britain."

"Record 30,000 win places at college or university", Scotsman 06-08-14:
"More than 30,000 applicants have been accepted into a Scottish university or college."

"Scottish education: why don't the sums add up?", Guardian 05-08-14:
"Gill Wyness asks how Scottish higher education participation rates are so high when inequality of school attainment is rife."

"Exam pass rate down for first time in eight years", Scotsman 05-08-14: "Mary Scanlon, a Scottish Conservative education spokeswoman, claimed schools had not been offered enough support to implement the new exam subjects over the past year."

"Universities are urged to tackle gender segregation on courses", Herald 01-08-14: "Universities and colleges have been told to increase the number of women on courses traditionally dominated by men, and improve female representation at management level."

"Education should be about progress, not prostituted as a means to earn more", Guardian 29-07-14: "Universities being allowed to buy graduates' student loans is another blow to society's collective forward motion."

"University boards must be forced to appoint more women, says NUS", BBC News 28-07-14: "Scottish universities should appoint more women to their governing bodies or be forced to do so, according to the National Union of Students."

"Exam reform delayed by 'significant numbers' of schools", BBC News 24-07-14: "Dozens of schools across Scotland are delaying the introduction of new Highers in popular school subjects, according to BBC Scotland research."

"Migrants 'more likely to have degrees' in Scotland", BBC News 23-07-14: "Migrants to Scotland are generally more qualified than people born in the country, or who have lived in Britain for more than 10 years, figures show."

"Video: the assassination of Michael Gove", BBC News 15-07-14: "Michael Gove's departure from the Department for Education is the biggest shock of this reshuffle. Tory MPs have been even more surprised by it than they were William Hague's leaving the Foreign Office."

"Growth of Gaelic education hailed a success", Scotsman 08-07-14: "The demand for Gaelic education rose according to the Bòrd na Gàidhlig's annual report for 2013/14."

"No logic in seeing science as a boy's game", Scotsman 26-06-14: "In a society where children – and girls in particular – are being put off science by parents, teachers and role models, it's vital to move away from the traditional view of science to active learning, girls are expected to take responsibility for the careful acquisition and application of scientific knowledge from an early age to understand that 'science is for everyone'."

"Scottish independence: Tuition fees warning", Scotsman 25-06-14: "An independent Scotland could no longer charge English, Welsh and Northern Irish students university tuition fees if it stays in the European Union, education experts have warned."

"Private education is unfair … even in Edinburgh", Herald 22-06-14

"Spending on Scottish schools fails to keep up with inflation", BBC News 19-06-14: "Most councils in Scotland have cut spending on education in real terms, according to a major report."
"Gordon Brown: Scots want 'UK-wide school system'", Scotsman 17-06-14: "Gordon Brown cited surveys which show more than 50 per cent of 14 to 17 year-olds in Scotland want UK-wide education system with common UK exams and qualifications."

"Record level of school leavers achieve 'positive outcome'", BBC News 17-06-14

"PE targets met by 96% of schools in Scotland", BBC News 17-06-14:
"The vast majority of schools in Scotland are meeting physical education targets, according to the Scottish government."

"The Age Gap: preparing children for the world of work", Herald 15-06-14:
"After years of talk in Britain about bringing in a German-style apprenticeship system and of the need to give young people more vocational training opportunities, the pendulum finally appears to be swinging, north of the Border at least."

"Impact of poverty to education revealed in report", Herald 13-06-14

"All schools must promote 'British values', says Michael Gove", Guardian 09-06-14:
"Education secretary seizes on Ofsted reports finding a culture of fear and intimidation in some Birmingham schools."

"Schools failing to prepare pupils for work", Herald 09-06-14

"Fresh attack on tax breaks for private schools", Herald 05-06-14

"UK statisticians: Scotland is the most highly-educated country in Europe", Herald 05-06-14

"New plan to reduce youth unemployment by 40%", BBC News 03-06-14:
"Scotland's vocational education system must be improved if youth unemployment is to fall, according to a new report."

"Leading scientists warn Yes vote will hit research", Herald 23-05-14:
"Universities in Scotland are sleepwalking into independence without realising the grave impact it will have on research funding, according to leading academics."

"Degree courses 'not value for money', say many students", BBC News 21-05-14:
"A third of students in England, who pay up to £9,000 in tuition fees, say their degree course is poor or very poor value for money, a study indicates."

"St Andrews 'is best Scots university'", Scotsman 12-05-14

"Call for action to tackle child poverty attainment gap", BBC News 07-05-14:
"More needs to be done to help children from the poorest families do well at school, according to a new report."

"Independence 'would allow Scots research to thrive'", Scotsman 06-05-14

"Taking education to a higher plane", Herald 06-05-14:
"On the face of it, Scotland benefits greatly from being part of a UK-wide system for funding scientific research."
"Numeracy level falls across Scottish schools, survey shows", BBC News 30-04-14:
"The number of primary school pupils doing well in maths has dropped, according to official figures."

"Westhill Academy head Derek Thompson lands GTC Scotland role", BBC News 30-04-14:
"The head teacher of Westhill Academy in Aberdeenshire has been elected as the new convener for the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS)."

"Scotland's future: Higher Education Research in iScotland", Herald 30-04-14:
"Following the publication of the Scottish Government's proposals on Higher Education Research after a Yes vote, Professors Murray Pittock, Bryan MacGregor and Joe Goldblatt give their opinions on the plans."

"Thousands of pupils sit new National 5 exams", BBC News 29-04-14:
"Thousands of students across Scotland have sat the first exams for the new National 5 qualifications."

"Free tuition in Scotland benefits wealthiest students the most – study", Guardian 29-04-14:
"Report estimates lack of fees, plus cuts in grants to poorer students leave middle-class families £20m a year better off."

"Exam guinea-pig generation", Scotsman 26-04-14:
"They have been called the guinea-pig generation. All year, the first cohort of fourth-year pupils to sit the new Curriculum for Excellence exams have found themselves at the centre of a firestorm as parents, teachers and educationalists raised concerns about the way the transition has been handled."

"Scots universities quit CBI over No vote backing", Herald 21-04-14:
"The backlash against the CBI's decision to support the campaign to keep the UK together has continued, with two leading Scottish universities withdrawing from the business body."

"Teachers are on the verge of crisis over new exams", Scotsman 12-04-14:
"Scotland's teachers are on the 'verge of crisis' over soaring workloads and confusion about the new national exams to be sat by pupils later this month, education secretary Mike Russell was told yesterday."

Scottish Award Winners

Literature
The Edwin Morgan Poetry Award of £20,000 went to Niall Campbell from South Uist for his debut collection Moontide (Bloodaxe) which draws heavily on the myths, seascapes, wildlife and weather of his home.

The Wigtown Poetry Competition main prize of £2,500 was won by Polly Atkin for A Short History of the Moon.

The winner of the Deanston Scottish Crime Book of the Year for 2014 is Peter May. His novel Entry Island (Quercus) beat off strong competition from an impressive shortlist of his fellow crime writers, including Christopher Brookmyre and Louise Welsh. The award was presented at the Bloody Scotland Festival in Stirling on September 20th.

Britain's oldest literary awards, the James Tait Black Prizes, are awarded in the categories Fiction, Biography and Drama. Jim Crace took this year's fiction prize for his novel Harvest, about the disintegration of a remote community in England. Recipient of the Biography award was Hermione

Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014
Lee for her biography of English novelist Penelope Fitzgerald – *Penelope Fitzgerald: A Life* (Chatto & Windus). For the Drama winner, see below.

Winner of the **Kelpies Prize**, awarded annually to the best of new Scottish writing for children, was Lindsay Littleson for *The Mixed-Up Summer of Lily McLean* (Floris Books – Kelpies).

**Grampian Children's Book Award** winner was Dave Cousins for *Waiting for Gonzo* (OUP).

The two finalists for the £10,000 **Dundee International Book Prize** are Rachel Fenton from New Zealand and English writer and performer Amy Mason. The winner will be announced this month.

**Theatre**

The **James Tait Black Prize** for Drama in 2014 has gone to a play dealing with the consequences of war and the nature of love. *Cannibals* (Guardian review) is writer Rory Mullarkey's first full-length play.

**CATS - Critics' Awards for Theatre in Scotland** 2013-14 winners included: The Cats Whiskers Award for outstanding achievement to *Imaginate Festival*, Scotland's international festival of performing arts for children and young people. Best male performance went to Adam Best (Raskolnikov), *Crime and Punishment* - Citizens Theatre, Liverpool Everyman and Playhouse and Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh. Best Female Performance winner was Blythe Duff (Ciara), *Ciara* - Traverse Theatre Company and Datum Point Productions. Best ensemble was *Crime and Punishment* – Citizens Theatre, Liverpool Everyman and Playhouse and Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh. Best Director went to Dominic Hill for *Crime and Punishment*. Best New Play was *Ciara*.

**Creative Scotland**

The **Creative Place Awards** aim to honour the work and creativity of community cultural life. Winner in under 2,500 residents' category was Helmsdale, which picked up a prize of £50,000. Helmsdale's Paradigm North project is to be complemented by Serendipitous North, which will map the creative connections that exist within the remote community and make visible the often unseen and unrecognised creativity of the community's inhabitants while supporting the development of significant new work across multiple art forms. The under 10,000 residents' category winner (£100,000) was Peebles, which plans to use the award to support an imaginative set of activities, events and installations featuring art and artists within the context of work, study, tourism, leisure and play. Falkirk came out on top of the under 100,000 residents' category (£150,000). The community plans to use the Award to support a project called Acts of Discovery aimed at offering audiences a fresh look at the area and its culture. Based on the themes of people, routes and pathways, Acts of Discovery will build on and complement Falkirk's cultural offering by enhancing existing 2014 cultural activity.

**New Publications April – September 2014**

(Compiled by Stefanie Brenneisen)


*Secret Histories of the Cairngorms* is a series of journeys exploring barely known human and natural stories of the Cairngorm Mountains. It looks at a unique British landscape, its last great wilderness, with new eyes.

History combines with travelogue in a vivid account of this elemental scenery. There have been rare human incursions into the Cairngorm plateau, and Patrick Baker tracks them down. He
traces elusive wildlife and relives ghostly sightings on the summit of Ben Macdui. From the search for a long-forgotten climbing shelter and the locating of ancient gem mines, to the discovery of skeletal aircraft remains and the hunt for a mysterious nineteenth-century aristocratic settlement, he seeks out the unlikeliest and most interesting of features in places far off the beaten track. The cultural and human impact of this stunning landscape and reflections on the history of mountaineering are the threads which bind this compelling narrative together.


The Edinburgh Festival is the world's largest arts festival. It has also been the site of numerous "culture wars" since it began in 1947. Key debates that took place across the western world about the place of culture in society, the practice and significance of the arts, censorship, the role of organised religion, and meanings of morality were all reflected in contest over culture in the Festival City.

The Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama sought to use culture to bolster European civilisation, for which it was considered for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952. The Church saw culture as a "weapon of enlightenment", the labour movement as a "weapon in the struggle", and the new generation of artistic entrepreneurs who came to the fore in the 1960s as a means of challenge and provocation, resulting in high profile controversies like the nudity trial of 1963 and the furore over a play about bestiality in 1967.

These ideas – conservative and liberal, elite and diverse, traditional and avant-garde – all clashed every August in Edinburgh, making the Festival City an effective lens for exploring major changes in culture and society in post-war Britain. This book explores the "culture wars" of 1945-1970 and is the first major study of the origins and development of this leading annual arts extravaganza.


Questioning how British and Scottish identities fit into supporting Rangers, *Born Under the Union Flag* provides the first solid exploration of the relationship between sport and national identity. Well-known and informed contributors from both sides of the independence debate, including Harry Reid, Iain Duff, and Will McLeish, all lend their disparate viewpoints this book, showing just how nuanced – and difficult – the discussion really is. A must-read for anyone interested in Rangers, the history of Scottish football, or the independence debate.

Boardman, Steve / Julian Goodare (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £75.00)

Late medieval and early modern Scottish history has seen much recent work on "kingship" and "lordship". But the 15th century and the 16th century are usually studied separately. This book brings them together in a fitting collection in tribute to Jenny Wormald, one of the few scholars to bridge this divide. Inspired by Jenny's work, the contributors tackle questions including: How far can medieval themes such as "lordship" function in the late 16th-century world of Reformation and state formation? How did the Scottish realm fit into wider British and European patterns? What did it mean for Scotland to be a "medieval" kingdom, and when did it cease to be one?

The volume contains detailed studies of particular episodes alongside thematic pieces which cover longer periods, while some chapters also range beyond Scotland. It takes stock of the continuities and contrasts between medieval and early modern Scotland, and challenges traditional demarcations between these two periods.

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
Bonnyman, Brian, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith: Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £45.00)

Henry Scott, the third Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812), presided over the management of one of the largest landed estates in Britain during a time of dramatic agrarian, social and political change. Tutored and advised by the philosopher Adam Smith, the Duke was also an important patron of the Scottish Enlightenment, lauded by the Edinburgh literati the as an exemplar of patriotic nobility and civic virtue, while his alliance with Henry Dundas dominated Scottish politics for almost forty years. Combining the approaches of intellectual, economic and landscape history, this book examines the life and career of the third Duke, focusing in particular on his relationship with Adam Smith and the improvement of his extensive Scottish estates.

By examining the influence of one of the eighteenth century's foremost philosophers of improvement upon the career of one Scotland's largest landowners, this book explores the various influences - intellectual, economic, moral and political - which helped shape Scotland's distinctive agricultural revolution. In its exploration of the cultural as well as the economic roots of improvement and in its assessment of previously unappreciated aspect of Adam Smith's career, this book will appeal to both specialist scholars and general readers interested in the Scottish Enlightenment, estate management and the culture of improvement in eighteenth-century Scotland.

(Bonnyman, Brian, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith: Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £45.00))


On 18 September 2014, the Scots are to vote on their country's future. "Should Scotland be an independent country" is the question which will be put before them. *Annals of the Holyrood Parish* describes in ten chapters the "Decade of Devolution" that has led up to this decisive moment, from the "rainbow parliament" of 2003 which, a year later, moved into Enric Miralles' new parliament building at Holyrood, to the absolute majority of the Scottish National Party, covering elections, parliamentary bills, the ups and downs of parties and politicians, and what the Scottish people and the Scottish media have made of it all. A fascinating chronicle unfolds which charts the devolution journey so far, throws light on both campaigns – for and against independence – and sets the scene for "Scotland's date with destiny".


Browne, Sarah, *The women's liberation movement in Scotland*, Manchester: MUP 2014 (hardback £65.00)

This is the first book-length account of the women's liberation movement in Scotland, which, using documentary evidence and oral testimony, charts the origins and development of this important social movement of the post-1945 period. In doing so, it reveals the inventiveness and fearlessness of feminist activism, while also pointing towards the importance of considering the movement from the local and grassroots perspectives, presenting a more optimistic account of the enduring legacy of women's liberation.

Not only does this book uncover the reach of the WLM but it also considers what case studies of women's liberation can tell us about the ways in which the development of the movement has been portrayed. Previous accounts have tended to equate the fragmentation of the movement with weakness and decline. This book challenges this conclusion, arguing that fragmentation led to a diffusion of feminist ideas into wider society. In the Scottish context, it led to a lively and flourishing feminist culture where activists highlighted important issues such as abortion and violence against women.

(Browne, Sarah, *The women's liberation movement in Scotland*, Manchester: MUP 2014 (hardback £65.00))
Bueltmann, Tanja, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £70.00)

This book provides the first global study to capture the wider relevance of the Scots' associationalism, arguing that associations and formal sociability are a key to explaining how migrants negotiated their ethnicity in the diaspora and connected to social structures in diverse settlements. Moving beyond the traditional nineteenth-century settler dominions, the book offers a unique comparative focus, bringing together Scotland's near diaspora in England and Ireland with that in North America, Africa, and Australasia to assess the evolution of Scottish ethnic associations, as well as their diverse roles as sites of memory and expressions of civility. The book reveals that the structures offered by Scottish associations engaged directly with the local, New World contexts, developing distinct characteristics that cannot be subsumed under one simplistic label—that of an overseas "national society". The book promotes understanding not only of Scottish ethnicity overseas, but also of how different types of ethnic associational activism made diaspora tangible.


This book not only makes a vital contribution to Scotland's current and on-going constitutional debate, whatever the outcome in September 2014, but also engages with fundamental questions of constitutionalism and democracy that are of enduring relevance to both citizens and scholars around the world.


In this book, specifically designed for younger readers, bestselling children's author Allan Burnett tells the story of Scotland through the Tapestry itself—a thing of wonder, full of magic and adventures and mysteries. In addition to opening windows into key moments in history and introducing some of the most significant people who have shaped the nation, the book also celebrates the lives of ordinary Scotsmen and women over the ages. From saints, soldiers and Vikings to kings and queens, Arctic whalers and footballers, this is an amazing journey through the story of Scotland.


In his long scholarly career, the late John Lorne Campbell published sixteen books and a large number of research articles in the field of Celtic studies. Taking as its title the words of Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709), whose original work on the Highlands and Islands Campbell has done much to reinstate, *A Very Civil People* is the only volume of his essays and short articles. Written for the most part between 1935 and 1975, it reflects the full range of his interests and his own diverse and thorough scholarship.

Working from within the tradition, with a sound knowledge to the language, its evolution and cultural milieu, Campbell saw himself as "setting the record straight" on Highland and Hebridean history. Here he writes authoritatively on the history, language and literature, oral narrative and tradition, poetry and song of the Hebrides, but his methodology, interpretations and conclusions offer lessons for the wider study of Highland, Scottish and British history.

This is the definitive history of Canna, one of the most beautiful of all the Scottish islands. Fertile and with a sheltered harbour, Canna has played an important part in the story of the Hebrides.

After the Reformation the island was of considerable importance to the Irish Franciscan mission of the 1620s and also the Jacobite risings before it was swept up in the tragedies of depopulation and clearances of the nineteenth century.

Gifted to the National Trust in 1981, the island is currently undergoing something of a revival, with the creation of the St Edward Centre on Sanday, and the proposed developments of Canna House.

Recent archaeological surveys and historical research has uncovered much new evidence about the island. Hugh Cheape of the Royal Museum of Scotland, who has been intimately involved in the Canna project, has fully edited the book. New contributions both update and fill out the account of the island.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Canna.html)


*On Being a Man* brings together four men to consider the condition of Scottish men, reflect on their own backgrounds and experiences, and confront some of the most difficult issues men face. These include the changing roles of men in Scottish society and the role of work and employment.

(http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/on-being-a-man.html)


The journeys in this book are tales of adventure on foot and by canoe through some of the last wild places in Scotland. Each journey is haunted by the ghost of another writer – Neil Gunn, Iain Thomson, Rowena Farre – who has left behind the trace of his or her own experience of these isolated hills, glens, streams or lochs. Travelling in time as well as space, Mike Cawthorne gains a new perspective on burning contemporary issues such as land ownership, renewable energy, conservation and depopulation. On one level these are exciting and lyrical evocations of wild walks and nature in the raw, like the description of winter treks in one of Mike's earlier books, *Hell of a Journey*. On another level they explore the meaning of Scotland's surviving wilderness to wanderers in the past and its vital importance to us in the present day.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Wild-Voices.html)

Coleman, James, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality, and Memory*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £65.00)

At a time when the Union between Scotland and England is once again under the spotlight, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* examines the way in which Scotland's national heroes were once remembered as champions of both Scottish and British patriotism.

Whereas 19th-century Scotland is popularly depicted as a mire of sentimental Jacobitism and kow-towing unionism, this book shows how Scotland's national heroes were once the embodiment of a consistent, expressive and robust view of Scottish nationality.

Whether celebrating the legacy of William Wallace and Robert Bruce, the reformer John Knox, the Covenanters, 19th-century Scots rooted their national heroes in a Presbyterian and unionist view of Scotland's past.

Examined through the prism of commemoration, this book uncovers collective memories of Scotland's past entirely opposed to 21st-century assumptions of medieval proto-nationalism and Calvinist misery.

(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748676903)

This valuable study fills a gap in our understanding of modern Scottish, and British, Society, providing as it does a vital perspective on Scotland's sexual history and its political and social context. It is unique in exploring the period from 1950 to 1980, covering the immediate post-war and Scotland's sexual "coming-of-age". It charts a steady political growth from a deeply moralistic policy framework towards a less judgmental, global and scientific context.

Davidson and Davis lead us through the Scottish sexual landscape leading up to the global crisis of HIV/AIDS, analysing post-war state policy towards issues such as abortion, family planning, homosexuality, pornography, prostitution, sex education and sexual health. Policy-makers, social historians, teachers and students alike will find this an invaluable resource on the study of sexuality and policy-making in modern society.

(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748694068)


Drawing on oral history, legend and song as well as written accounts, this is the story of Eigg and its inhabitants from the earliest times to the present day. Camille Dressler follows the changes in the islanders' lives from the tribal society of clan days to the development of crofting, the Clearances and depopulation, and the effect various landlords have had on the island in more recent times, right through to the historic community buy-out of 1997. This book gives a comprehensive and colourful picture of how the islanders reacted and survived, and shows how Eigg's cultural heritage captured the imagination of a community in transition seeking to preserve its island identity. This updated edition includes a vivid account of the islanders' achievements since the buy-out and of the challenges they have met in their pioneering venture.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Eigg-The-Story-of-an-Island.html)


An urgent and invigorating political intervention, *Yes* argues that even if the referendum result is "no", a progressive independence campaign will alter the political landscape. Written by leading activists from the Radical Independence Campaign, *Yes* will be a unique contribution to the referendum debate.

(http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745334752)

Fraser, Ian, *Shredded: Inside RBS, The Bank That Broke Britain*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £25.00)

At its zenith, the Royal Bank of Scotland was the world's biggest bank. It had assets of $3 trillion, employed over 200,000 people, had branches on every high street and was admired and trusted by millions of borrowers and investors. Now the mere mention of its name causes anger and resentment, and its former CEO, Fred Goodwin, is reviled as one of the architects of the worst financial crisis since 1929.

In *Shredded*, Ian Fraser lifts the lid on the catastrophic mistakes that led the bank to the brink of collapse, scrutinizing the role played by RBS's directors who failed to check Goodwin's hubris, the colleagues who were overawed by his despotic leadership style, the politicians who created a regulatory free-for-all in which banks went virtually unsupervised, and the investors who egged Goodwin on.

As more and more toxic details emerge about the bank's pre- and post-bailout misconduct, which stretches from the ruination of numerous small businesses in the UK and Ireland to the criminal fiddling of Yen Libor, and from the alleged manipulation of global foreign-exchange markets to the wholesale "mis-selling" of US mortgage bonds, Ian Fraser examines what the future holds for RBS and whether it can ever regain the public's trust.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Shredded.html)

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
More information on the book can be found in this article:
http://www.mortgagestrategy.co.uk/news-and-features/media-spotlight/media-spotlight-shredded-inside-rbs-the-bank-that-broke-britain-ian-fraser/2013717.article


In a series of essays arguing for a NO vote at the forthcoming Scottish independence referendum, 14 women varying in age, ethnicity, political views and life experience – including Maria Fyfe, Johann Lamont MSP, Sarah Boyack MSP and Fiona O'Donnell MP – come together to make a positive case against independence. With contributions from leading current and former politicians and citizens, *Women Saying No* presents the arguments against independence, from a female perspective, in an attempt to widen the debate.

(http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/women-saying-no.html)

Harris, Bob / Charles McKean (eds.), *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £120.00, paperback £30.00)

This heavily illustrated and innovative study is founded upon personal documents, town council minutes, legal cases, inventories, travellers' tales, plans and drawings relating to some 30 Scots burghs of the Georgian period. It establishes a distinctive history for the development of Scots burghs, their living patterns and legislative controls, and shows that the Scottish urban experience was quite different from other parts of Britain.

This is a collaborative history, melding together political, social, economic, urban and architectural histories, to achieve a comprehensive perspective on the nature of the Scottish Georgian town. Not so much a history by growth and numbers, this pioneering study of Scottish urbanization explores the type of change and the quality of result.

(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748692576)

Hassan, Gerry, *Caledonian Dreaming: The Quest for a Different Scotland*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £11.99)

*Caledonian Dreaming: The Quest for a Different Scotland* offers a penetrating and original way forward for Scotland beyond the current independence debate. It identifies the myths of modern Scotland, describes what they say and why they need to be seen as myths.

(http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/caledonian-dreaming.html)


As environmentalists strive to preserve the scenery and wildlife of the Highlands, the people who belong there, and who have their own claims on the landscape, question this new threat to their culture that dates back thousands of years. In this sensitive, thought-provoking book, James Hunter probes deep into this culture to examine the dispute between Highlanders, who developed a strong environmental awareness a thousand years before other Europeans, and conservationists, whose thinking owes much to the romantic ideals of the nineteenth century. More than that, he also suggests a new way of dealing with the problem, advocating drastic land-use changes and the repopulation of empty glens – an approach which has worldwide implications.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/On-the-Other-Side-of-Sorrow.html)


Behind our democracy lurks a powerful but unaccountable network of people who wield massive power and reap huge profits in the process. In exposing this shadowy and complex system that dominates our lives, Owen Jones sets out on a journey into the heart of our Establishment, from the lobbies of Westminster to the newsrooms, boardrooms and trading rooms of Fleet Street and the...
City. Exposing the revolving doors that link these worlds, and the vested interests that bind them together, Jones shows how, in claiming to work on our behalf, the people at the top are doing precisely the opposite. In fact, they represent the biggest threat to our democracy today - and it is time they were challenged. (http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Book/BookDisplay/0,,9781846147197,00.html?strSrchSql=the+establishment/The_Establishment_Owen_Jones)

More information on the book can be found in this article: http://gu.com/p/4x33v.


Keating and Harvey compare the experience of the Nordic and Baltic States and Ireland, which have taken very different roads and ask what lessons can be learnt for Scotland. They conclude that success is possible but that hard choices would need to be taken. Neither side in the independence debate has faced these choices squarely. (http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/small-nations-in-a-big-world.html)

Leith, Murray Stewart / Duncan Sim (eds.), The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £75.00, paperback £24.99)

The authors explore historical perspectives, sociological and anthropological perspectives, issues of public policy and politics, (including the Scottish Government's diaspora strategy), and the development of business links with the diaspora. Chapters deal with the arts, language and sport, as well as the media and representations of Scotland in the diaspora. The concluding chapter, written by the editors, identifies future challenges in the relationship between Scotland and its diaspora.

The Scots form one of the world's largest diasporas, with around 30 million people worldwide claiming a Scottish ancestry. There are few countries around the globe without a Caledonian Society, a Burns Club, a Scottish country dance society, or similar organisation. This book serves to remind us of the continuing importance of those links for Scots both at home and abroad. It will be of interest to politicians, public policy makers and Scottish business, as well as to scholars and students of Diaspora Studies. (http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748681419)


This volume of Robert Burns's Commonplace Books, Tours Journals and Miscellaneous Prose works is a major contribution to our understanding of the life and writings of one of the major Scottish, and British, poets of all times. To the extent that the Commonplace Books and other prose writings offer a glimpse into Burns's creative workshop, they record the self-conscious poetic development of a man who was endowed with none of the advantages of birth and education enjoyed by many other writers. Spanning nearly two decades of his sadly foreshortened life, they permit a new understanding of his unique relationship to the literary and social culture of late eighteenth-century Scotland, and help explain how and why this humbly-born Ayrshire farmer became a poet of world renown. The items included here have never before been published complete in one volume (some are published for the first time), and they are arranged chronologically in order to highlight the major creative stages of his life. (http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199603176.do)

Levitt, Ian (ed.), Treasury Control and Public Expenditure in Scotland 1885-1979, Oxford: OUP 2014 (hardback £60.00)

The book sets out to establish the Treasury view of Scottish claims for public expenditure from the establishment of the Scottish Office in 1885 to the failed referendum on political devolution in 1979. Drawn largely from previously unresearched (and partly uncatalogued) Treasury documents held at The National Archives (UK) it provides a unique appreciation whether its ministers and of-
ficials viewed public investment north of the border as economically "productive", designed to ensure equivalence in public investment between Scotland and England, or otherwise to placate Scottish interests (\(\text{http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780197265796.do}\))


This study examines the relationship between denominational affiliation, class and gender in the city of Edinburgh between 1850 and 1905. The churches played a leading role in the movements for social and political reform, both locally and nationally.


This book provides the first complete portrait of James as a Stewart prince of Scotland, as duke of Albany and King of Scots. It re-evaluates the traditional views of James as a Catholic extremist and absolutist who failed through incompetence, and challenges preconceptions based on strong views of his failings, both in popular belief and serious history.

Investigating the personality and motives of the man, this biography assesses James as commander, as Christian and as king, but also as family man and Restoration libertine – a prince of his time. Painting a picture of James from cradle to grave, from childhood to resigned exile, it brings him to life within his Scottish context and as a member of the royal line of Scotland. The journey from dashing young cavalry commander to pious prince in exile appears oddly incongruous given the political and personal trials that lay between. That journey was much more of Scotland than previous studies have suggested – indeed, James was in many ways the last King of Scots.


First mooted in 1917, The Scottish National War Memorial was opened by Edward, Prince of Wales, on 14th July 1927. Intended to make the Memorial accessible to a wide audience, this unique and beautiful publication will give an account of its fascinating history. Tracing the Memorial's eventful history from its genesis through to its construction and its eventual opening, Duncan Macmillan discusses all aspects of the Memorial from its design to the individual artists that contributed to its creation. Including contextual links to other similar projects, this publication will provide the definitive account of this significant public monument, which continues to commemorate Scottish casualties of war.

Marsden, Richard A., *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c. 1825-1875*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd 2014 (hardback £72.00)

This analysis of Innes's work with sources, set within the intellectual context of the time and against the antiquarian activities of his contemporaries, provides a window onto the ways in which the "national past" was perceived in Scotland during the nineteenth century. This allows us to explore how historical thinkers negotiated the apparent dichotomies between Enlightenment and Romanticism, whilst at the same time enabling a re-examination of prevailing assumptions about Scotland's supposed failure to maintain a viable national consciousness in the later 1800s.


Maxwell and Torrance summarise the main arguments for and against before delving into the central issues at the heart of the debate, including economics, welfare and pensions, defence and
foreign affairs, and culture and national identity. They outline the way that Scotland is currently governed and review where the parties stand on the debate before concluding with speculative chapters on what happens after the vote, whether YES or NO.


*Why Not? Scotland, Labour and Independence* is a passionate and often personal appeal to Labour voters (and other progressive Scots) to consider the social, economic and political gains that could be won with Scottish self-government. Bringing together a range of diverse voices – some from within the Labour Party, some from within the SNP, some from the non-aligned Left – it presents the social justice case for a Yes vote and argues that independence offers the clearest route forward for socialist and centre-left Scotland.

McKee Stapleton, Anne, *Pointed Encounters: Dance in Post-Culloden Scottish Literature*, Amsterdam / NewYork: Rodopi 2014 (paperback €47.00 / US$66.00)

*Pointed Encounters* establishes the literary significance of representations of dance in poetry, song, dance manuals, and fiction written between 1750 and 1830. Presenting original readings of canonical texts and fresh readings of neglected but significant literary works, this book traces the complicated role of social dancing in Scottish culture and identifies the hitherto unexplored motif of dance as an outwardly conforming, yet covertly subversive, expression of Scottish identity during the period. The volume draws upon diverse yet mutually revealing texts, from traditional dance and music to Sir Walter Scott and contemporary Scottish women novelists, to offer students and scholars of Scottish and English literature a fresh insight into the socio-cultural context of the British state after 1746.


Former First Minister of Scotland, Henry McLeish is well placed to diagnose the crisis at the heart of Scotland and UK politics. In *Rethinking Our Politics* McLeish looks critically at the conditions which have created an increasingly divided and alienated public and forged Scotland's yearning for radical change. He rails against the stagnation of the union and makes a rousing and persuasive case for a complete overhaul of our political thinking, demanding that instead of making decisions on the basis of fear and insecurity, we rediscover the founding moral purpose of government.

Mitchell, James, *The Scottish Question*, Oxford: OUP 2014 (hardback £25.00)

The Scottish Question has been a shifting mix of linked issues and concerns including national identity; Scotland's constitutional status and structures of government; Scotland's distinctive party politics; and everyday public policy. In this volume, James Mitchell explores how these issues have interacted against a backdrop of these changes. He concludes that while the independence referendum may prove an important event, there can be no definitive answer to the Scottish Question. *The Scottish Question* offers a fresh interpretation of what has made Scotland distinctive and how this changed over time, drawing on an array of primary and secondary sources. It challenges a number of myths, including how radical Scottish politics has been, and suggests that an oppositional political culture was one of the most distinguishing features of Scottish politics in the twentieth century. A Scottish lobby, consisting of public and private bodies, became adept in making the case for more resources from the Treasury without facing up to some of Scotland's most deep-rooted problems.

Alexander Moffat and Alan Riach take a hard look at the most neglected aspect of the argument for Scotland's distinctive national identity: the arts. Their proposition is that music, painting, architecture and, pre-eminently, literature, are the fuel and fire that makes imagination possible. Neglect them at your peril. For Moffat and Riach, jobs, health and trade are matters of material fact that need to be enlivened by imagination. How can we organise society to help us approach what the arts have to give. Why have we been so poor at representing our arts comprehensively, both within Scotland and internationally? What can be done? How might things be different? The arts are of paramount importance in the modern world. Moffat and Riach take the argument out of the hands of politicians and economists and beyond the petty squabbles of party politics. (http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/arts-of-independence.html)


As Hawick celebrates the 500th anniversary of the fight at Hornshole, the first stirrings of the defining traditions of the common riding, Alistair Moffat takes the narrative much further back into the mists of prehistory, to the time of the Romans, the coming of the Angles and the Normans. He recounts how Hawick got its name, where the old village stood, who the early barons of Hawick were and then charts the amazing rise of the textile trade, bringing the story right up to the present day. Beneath the familiar streets and closes lies an immense story – the remarkable and unique story of Hawick.

If this book shows anything, it shows that Hawick has changed radically over the many centuries since people began to live between the Slitrig and the Teviot. All that experience in one place has created and invented much and the future will turn for the better for a simple reason. Hawick's greatest invention is her people. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Hawick.html)


As 8,000 Scottish soldiers, most of them spearmen, faced 18,000 English infantrymen, archers and mounted knights on the morning of Sunday 23 June 1314, many would have that the result a foregone conclusion. But after two days' fighting, the English were routed. Edward II fled to Dunbar and took ship for home, and only one English unit escaped from Scotland intact. The emphatic defeat of much larger English force was the moment that enabled Scotland to remain independent and pursue a different destiny. This book follows in detail the events of those two days that changed history. In addition to setting the battle within its historical and political context Alistair Moffat captures all the fear, heroism, confusion and desperation of the fighting itself as he describes the tactics and manoeuvres that led to Scottish victory. The result is a very human picture of Bannockburn that recreates the experience not only of the leaders – Edward II and Robert the Bruce – but the ordinary men who fought to the death on both sides. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Bannockburn-The-Battle-for-a-Nation.html)


In the summer of 1411, the ageing Donald of Isla, Lord of the Isles, invaded mainland Scotland with a huge, battle-hardened army, only to be fought to a bloody standstill on the plateau of Harlaw, fifteen miles from Aberdeen, a town he had threatened to sack. One of the greatest battles in Scottish history, described by hardened mediaeval chroniclers as "atrocious", "Reid Harlaw" left some 3,000 dead and wounded. Dismissed by Scott as a "Celt v. Saxon" power struggle, it has faded from historical memory, other than in the north-east of Scotland.
Written records in Latin, Scots, Gaelic and English are presented in their original form, and with transcriptions and translations. Two major ballads are analysed, one contemporary, and one fabricated over 350 years later – which is still sung. Lowland views dominate, because of the loss and destruction of Highland records, notably those of the Lords of the Isles themselves. The histories themselves fall into two groups – those written at or around the time, and those composed some 300 years later. These later accounts form the basis of most modern descriptions of the battle, but they tend to be romantic and highly imaginative, creating noble order where chaos once existed.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Bludie-Harlaw.html)


Edinburgh boasts one of the most diverse collections of art of any city in Britain.

In this book, Alyssa Jean Popiel has selected a hundred works of art from the Enlightenment to the present day which depict the city and its surroundings, introducing the artists, discussing technical details, and offering fascinating historical and anecdotal information.

Including the works of artists such as Sir Henry Raeburn, Alexander Nasmyth, F.C.B. Cadell, Anne Redpath and John Bellany, *A Capital View* underlines the extraordinary breadth and range of this nationally significant collection, and is at the same time a magnificent celebration of one of the world's most beautiful cities.

(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/A-Capital-View.html)


"The history of parliament in the UK has a consistent theme: the refusal to accept any binding contract with the people. This unacceptable status quo goes for Holyrood as much as for Westminster. The time has come for people to challenge the power of the ruling class. We want to see the Scottish Parliament become an institution that it has so far failed to be: an institution committed to the sovereignty of the people. We want the people of Scotland to lead the rest of the UK by example, and ensure that the actions of a government are bound by shared political and ethical values. And we propose the first step: a modest proposal, for the agreement of the people. Are you with us?" Angus Reid and Mary Davis

(http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/modest-proposal.html)


In March 2013, Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond announced that the long-awaited referendum on Scottish independence would take place on 18 September 2014. More often than not, those in favour of an independent Scotland present their fight as a constitutional means to a socio-economic end. In the words of Alex Salmond himself: "Progress to independence. Not for its own sake, not 'let's be independent so we can hoist the Saltire'. Let's be independent so we can better the lives of the Scottish people." (quoted by Tom Peterkin, "Alex Salmond: 'I'd be a labourer if it wasn't for Mum'" – Scotland on Sunday, 16 January 2011) If, as suggested by the quote, breaking with the rest of the UK automatically means improved socio-economic performance, one consequently has to accept that there is only one constraint weighing Scotland down, and that it is the Union. However, is it all really that simple?


In this exciting and visually stunning book, the most talented Scottish novelist of his generation teams up with Jill Calder, whose bold and colourful illustrations are a perfect complement to one of the most dramatic tales in Scottish history. In addition to the big set pieces from the Bruce story – not least of course the Battle of Bannockburn – and the other famous elements – such as the murder of the Red Comyn and Bruce and the spider – book is full of accurate historical detail and imaginative touches which offer a fresh and vital perspective on one of the great heroes of Scottish history. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Robert-the-Bruce-King-of-Scots.html)


In 1644 James Grahame, Marquis of Montrose, stormed his way into legend with a series of astonishing victories over the Covenanters. At his side stalked a shadowy but terrible ally – Alasdair MacColla, who had a far more ancient agenda of his own. MacColla's aim was nothing less than the effective destruction of the power of Clan Campbell and its replacement by the older overlordship of the Macdonalds.

The author argues that it was in fact MacColla and not Montrose who was the true architect of the "Year of Victories", and that without his Highland ally, Montrose's blunders would have doomed him to disaster, thus presenting a compelling and radical reappraisal of Scottish history during the crucial years of the 1640s. As MacColla's actions were unwittingly to lead his people and culture to ruin, so his own career ended in chaos when, despite leading his own troops in a victorious charge, an incompetent general led him to defeat and death at Knocknanuss in Ireland. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Highland-Warrior.html)


*Power and Propaganda* is a thematic reflection on the political history of late medieval Scotland, that considers the ways in which power was expressed and renegotiated during a crucial period in the kingdom's history. It deals with themes including the nature of the power enjoyed by kings, how that power was maintained and how it was deployed; the interpersonal relations and struggles between kings and the elites within their kingdoms; and, the structures of governance through which power operated and was felt down to a local level.

Late medieval Scotland is especially fertile ground for an examination of all of these themes as two new dynasties – the Bruces and the Stewarts – were faced with the challenge of establishing their own legitimacy and authority. (http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748645879)

Tomlinson, Jim, *Dundee and the Empire: 'Juteopolis' 1850-1939*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £70.00)

How did the people of Dundee respond to the challenges of being the most economically globalized city in the world in the years before the First World War?

The answer to this question is complicated by the fact that the aspect of globalization which impacted most directly on the ordinary inhabitants of Dundee was competition in the jute industry from Calcutta, a city within the British Empire of the early 20th century. Dundee had to cope not only with powerful low-wage competition in its staple industry, but the political reality that for decision-makers in London the fate of the British Empire in India was far more important than the economic well-being of a small Scottish city. The history of Dundee's response to these challenges combines global economic history with analysis of imperial relations, including how these issues were understood by ordinary Dundonians, as well as by politicians and policy-makers. (http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748686148)

It is often assumed that federalism is somehow "alien" to the Scottish and British constitutional tradition but in this short book journalist David Torrance argues that not only has the UK already become a quasi-federal state but that formal federation is the best way of squaring the competing demands of Nationalists and Unionists. He also uses Scotland's place within a federal UK to examine other potential reforms with a view to tackling ever-increasing inequality across the British Isles and create a more equal, successful and constitutionally coherent country. (http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/britain-rebooted.html)

Young, Alan / George Cumming, *The Real Patriots of Early Scottish Independence*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2014 (paperback £25.00)

The battle of Bannockburn (1314) gave Scotland a great hero in Robert Bruce but deprived Scotland of three other worthy "patriot heroes". This book tells the intriguing story of three members of the Comyn family who have been deprived of their rightful place in Scottish tradition because of Robert Bruce's success.

Bruce's ruthless rise to power and his sacrilegious murder of Scotland's chief political leader, John Comyn III Lord of Badenoch, in Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries in 1306 had to be "spun" to paint Bruce in a more favourable light in keeping with his status, and the victim (and his family) were mercilessly cast as traitors to Bruce and the Scottish "cause". *The Real Patriots of Early Scottish Independence* re-examines the murder and reconstructs the Scottish Independence movement before 1306. The conclusions are surprising – there was already a strong sense of national identity and political independence before the involvement of William Wallace or Robert Bruce – and Walter Comyn Earl of Menteith (d.1258), Alexander Comyn Earl of Buchan (d.1289) and John Comyn III Lord of Badenoch (d.1306) were pre-eminent as pillars of an independent Scottish monarchy, defining and protecting Scotland's integrity in times of political crisis. Fittingly, the Comyns led Scotland into the War of Independence in 1296. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Real-Patriots-of-Early-Scottish-Independence.html)


There is a tendency in film, literature and other cultural output to portray the negative aspects of Scottish life. In *The Glass Half Full*, filmmaker Eleanor Yule and academic David Manderson explore the origins of this bleak take on Scottish life, its literary and cultural expressions, and how this phenomenon in film has risen to the level of a genre which audiences both domestic and international see as a recognisable story of contemporary Scotland. (http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/glass-half-full.html)

**Book Reviews**


This is the outcome of the Twelfth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature held at Edinburgh in 2008. It is a magnificent showcase for the field, with twenty-five contributors evenly distributed across the period from the late fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and representing a range of disciplines.

There is also a healthy spread of experience, from the most senior and seasoned scholars to those fresh from achieving their doctorates. What is particularly impressive is the range of disciplines represented. There are, of course, a majority which are by scholars of literature in Scots discussing particular works. This includes new light on famous texts, such as Elizabeth Elliott's on *The*
Kingis Quair, W.H.E. Sweet and Julian Good with papers on Henryson's Moral Fabillis, Emily Wingfield on Lancelot of the Laik and the Buik of Alexander, J. Derrik McClure on the metre of Dunbar's The Twa Marit Wemen and the Wedo, Ryoko Harike on Bellenden's Chronicles of Scotland, and Kate McClune on John Stewart's Roland Furiovs. There are also insightful discussions of less prominent works: Sarah Dunningan on Henryson's "take" on the Orpheus legend, William Calin on the neglected The Friers of Berwik, and Jamie Reid Baxter on the Mines Melodie (probably by James Melville), and its interplay with Montgomerie's Solsequium. And there are important discussions of more general themes through literature, such as Anna Caughy on "conciliatory chivalry" in fifteenth-century romances and Joanna M. Martin's on the presentation of the family in poems in the Maitland manuscript collection.

But as well as these literary scholars, there are historians engaged with literature, too: Michael Brown on the patrons and kin of Gilbert Hay, drawing attention particularly to a bond between Gilbert and the head of the Hays, William Lord Hay, in 1450, which Brown argues convincingly was written by Gilbert Hay himself; Karen Jillings's discussion of Scotland's first printed vernacular medical work (Gilbert Skene's Breve Descriptioun of the Pest, published in 1568), and Steven Reid, introducing the Dilitiae Poetarum Scotorum (1637), which Reid has developed into a highly successful AHRC-funded project ("Bridging the Continental Divide": see http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/). Janet Hadley Williams uses an historical document (an inventory of his moveable goods drawn up after his death) to great effect to illuminate Sir David Lyndsay's personal world. Sir David Lyndsay's Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtier is discussed by Juanita Feros Ruys in the light of changes in ideas about the epistemological application of experience. As well as history, there is also performance studies, bringing theoretical insights to historical events: Sarah Carpenter's discussion of the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor, and above all John J. McGavin's tour de force on "spectatorship" in Scotland, "revealing a society extraordinarily active in nuancing what was seen and avoided".

There are also studies of Scotland's other literary traditions: Scotland's Latin literature is represented not only in Steven Reid's paper on the poetry of the Dilitiae, but its prose is the chief focus of Melissa Coll-Smith's study of the sources for the legend of St Margaret of Scotland. There are also two papers on Scotland's Gaelic literature: Wilson McLeod on sixteenth-century Caimbeul (Campbell) poetry as a source for ideas of sovereignty and Scottishness, and William Gillies's masterly discussion of a literary perspective on the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Gillies and McGavin are not the only seniors at the top of their game in the volume: there is also Priscilla Bawcutt's on scholarship on William Dunbar's poetry since the publication of her edition in 1999 (although dated 1998 by the publishers). In the first half she summarises recent advances in the field; in the second half, however, she subjects John Conlee's William Dunbar: The Complete Works (2004) to a patient but merciless analysis. This reminds us that all is necessarily well in the field of medieval and renaissance Scottish language and literature. The contents of this volume, however, are compelling testimony to its range, vitality and vigorous good health.

Dauvit Broun (University of Glasgow) (Dauvit.Broun@glasgow.ac.uk)
http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/staff/dauvitbroun/


Miscellanies published by the Scottish History Society are delightful collections that are fun to read, bringing together as they do critical editions of important and previously unpublished manuscripts relevant to Scottish history. Volume XIV of the Miscellany is no different. This volume focuses on the early modern period, and contains editions of six manuscripts which date from the late-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. While ranging widely over the political, religious, social and environmental history of the period, there is an emphasis on religion, through the writings of the clergy, and the religious culture of the long post-Reformation period. Taken together, the miscellany provides a fascinating collection of disparate sources still waiting to be fully explored and appreciated.
The first entry in the miscellany, "Two Surveys of Vernacular Buildings and Tree Usage in the Lordship of Strathavon, Banffshire, 1585x1616", edited by Alisdair Ross, features two building surveys which were used as evidence in a court case between Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and the Grants of Freuchie between 1585 and 1612. "Essentially," writes Ross, "the Gordons had accused their Grant tenants of the wanton destruction of forest in the lordship of Strathavon" (1). The Grants ordered the surveys as a way of defending themselves against such accusations, and the result is two documents – one quite short, the other longer. Ross follows the transcriptions of these documents with sections explaining landholding in medieval and early modern Banffshire, a history of the Grant family in Strathavon, the breakdown in relations between the Grants and Gordons, whether the Grants were destroyers of woods, and an in-depth analysis of the two documents. In analysing the documents Ross dates the documents, uses the documents to determine architecture and building techniques, types of wood used, types of structures constructed, and amounts of wood used. Thanks to Ross's exhaustive engagement with the two sources, the potential these documents hold for environmental history is clear.

The third entry in the miscellany is the "Diary of the Convention of Estates, 1630", edited by Julian Goodare. The document, Goodare notes, "is a daily narrative of the proceedings in the convention of estates of 1630. [...] After the published acts of parliament it is the single most detailed source of information on this assembly. Because it concentrates on debates rather than decisions, it complements the official record well" (86). Goodare then provides context for the document, an explanation of the procedure followed during the convention, and an outline of the issues discussed. "The Diary," Goodare writes, "does not cover the whole range of mattes shown by the official records to have been discussed, but, for that very reason, it can give a sense of which matters were most important" (93). This section reveals that the issues of taxation, religious policy, deep-sea fishing, and penal statutes were the most important topics dealt with by the convention. Three further, less-important issues, involving the dignity of baronets (associated with the Nova Scotia colonization project), woollen manufactories, and law reform were also mentioned. The diary itself is short, only eight manuscripts (three of which are blank), or six printed pages, and does not appear to have been intended for publication. The tone is candid, brisk, and businesslike. Arguably all the more valuable for these characteristics, the diary provides an important companion to other, more official records.

The second, fourth, fifth, and sixth entries in the miscellany all have a religious focus, though all manifest this focus in different ways. The second entry, a manuscript by Henry Forrester, The Paieth Way to Salvatione, 1615, which has been edited for the miscellany by John McCallum, is a small bound volume which McCallum notes "appears to be unknown to historians of religion in early modern Scotland" (61) – much as its author, Henry Forrester, was, being a "relatively anonymous minister in the early seventeenth-century church" (61). After offering a brief discussion of The paieth way's author and dedicatee, and a description of the manuscript and its contents, McCallum considers the purpose, audience, and context of The paieth way, arguing for the significance of The paieth way as one of the few examples of both ministerial communication with the laity and manuscript sermons and treatises found for the period before the National Covenant. Further, McCallum notes, the nature of the manuscript makes it of interest to religious historians. "Unlike many of the printed religious works from the period," he writes, "The paieth way to salvation clearly does not consist of re-worked sermons, since it ranges across the whole Bible [offering a series of testimonies and proofs that Christ is mankind's saviour] rather than offering an exposition of a specific text, or offering moral exhortation as an 'application' of the text. Neither does it take the form of a catechism with questions and answers" (64). As a result, McCallum argues, The paieth way indicates a flexibility and a range of unofficial means in how ministers sought to instruct the laity outside the official channels of sermon, catechism, and Bible reading.

The fourth entry in the miscellany, Sir David Home, Lord Crossrig, "A Narrative of the Rise, Progress and Success of the Societies of Edinburgh for Reformation of Manners", 1701, edited by Nathan Gray, is another example of a text which sought to exhort the common man to live better. Societies for the reformation of manners were early modern local organisations which tried to com-
The Narrative attempts to solicit support for these societies. "Though [the Narrative] is a work of propaganda," Gray writes, "this does not detract from its historical significance. The document offers an understanding of how the reformers saw themselves and their role in post-revolutionary Scotland, and, more importantly, how they saw the role of their peers" (112). Gray then provides a brief biography of the Narrative's author, David Home of Crossrig and a history of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners before providing a note on the text which speaks to the themes which appear in the document. The text itself is a fascinating glimpse into what was considered immoral at the turn of the eighteenth century, and well as motivations for the forerunners of charity movements.

The fifth entry in the miscellany, edited by Jeffrey Stephen, is entitled "The Most Memorable Passages of the Life and Times of Mr J. B. Written by Himself, 1706". The "Mr J. B." of the title is John Bell, who was a graduate of Glasgow University, licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1697, and ordained to the parish of Broughton in the Presbytery of Biggar later that same year. In 1701 he transferred to the parish of Gladsmuir. While Stephen notes that it was not unusual for ministers to keep a diary or write a memoir, he argues that "Bell's uniqueness lies in his emphasis on post-revolution church/state relations, in particular the incorporating union of Scotland and England in 1707" (139). In this, Bell's memoir may be particularly interesting for those struggling to make sense of events in the wake of the recent Scottish independence referendum.

The sixth, and final, entry in the miscellany, "John Erskine's Letterbook, 1742-45", edited by Jonathan Yeager, features nine letters written by Erskine, "the leading evangelical minister in eighteenth-century Scotland" to various correspondents. Erskine himself sent the letters to Bostonian Thomas Prince with the intention that they would circulate among American evangelical ministers (and, Yeager states, be printed in Prince's magazine, The Christian History, but this did not happen). The letters give a personal account of the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals, during which thousands of people gathered for communion services, as well as ministerial advice to his fellow divinity students at Edinburgh University which is, at times, touching when showing the bonds which existed between the writer and the recipients of these letters.

The six sources that make up this miscellany together provide an interesting collection of texts associated with early modern Scottish history. While mainly concerned with government and religion, they also provide information useful for a wide range of other historical perspectives, including those related to the environment, society, and criminality. Perhaps most importantly, though, this miscellany helps to bring to light just a small example of the body of unpublished early modern Scottish sources still waiting to be explored.

Cathryn Spence (University of New Brunswick, Saint John, Canada)
Cathryn.Spence@unb.ca

Conference Report
The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures
University of Glasgow 2–5 July 2014

In July 2014, the first World Congress of Scottish Literatures took place at the University of Glasgow. Organised by Murray Pittock and his excellent steering group, it brought together scholars from all over the world working in the field of Scottish Studies and provided a forum for discussions about the state of Scotland's literature on the eve of the Scottish referendum on independence. In total, more than 180 papers were given over the course of four days. Along with a variety of panels, the participants were also offered ample time for discussion and networking as well as a leisure programme. The conference was supported by the College of Arts, the University of Glasgow, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, the Robert Burns World Federation, Burns Scotland, the Scottish Historical Review Trust, Studies in Scottish Literature, and the Universities Committee for Scottish Literature. (Cf.
During the First World Congress of Scottish Literatures, the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures was launched. The Association's aim is to extend and expand the reach of Scottish literature by growing Scottish Studies through collaboration, engagement and exchange. To this end, partnerships have already been established between Glasgow University and a number of universities and Scottish Studies departments and publications internationally. (Cf. http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/scottishstudiesglobal/iassl/)

The organisers of the conference put together an extensive programme, which was comprised of three plenaries as well as a large number of panels and roundtables focussing on specific themes. The opening plenary was held by James Robertson who posed the question 'Shall There Be a Scottish Literature?' The answer is yes, he claimed, for Scotland possesses a rich literary history which needs to be acknowledged and which is not done justice by subsuming it under 'English literature'. Yet he also cautioned that the future existence of Scottish literature must not be taken for granted. It must be worked for. The international nature of Scottish literatures was highlighted by the second plenary of the conference, given by Ann Rigney (Utrecht). In her paper on 'How Scott met the Mahatma: Reflections on World Literature', she examined the influence of Walter Scott on writers in India, such as Bankim Chandra and Abdul Halim Sharar. The connection between literature and history was a key concern of Ted Cowan's plenary paper 'Patriotism, Public Opinion and the People's Chair of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow'. He traced the developments leading to a greater visibility of Scottish history as opposed to British or English history, which also resulted in the founding of the Chair of Scottish History and Literature, the first of its kind, at the University of Glasgow. In addition, he sketched the debates surrounding the introduction of Scottish history as a mandatory subject in curricula.

The majority of the panels looked in detail at the works and lives of specific Scottish authors. These included: Robert Burns, Byron, John Galt, James Barrie, Robert Louis Stevenson, Tobias Smollett, Hugh MacDiarmid, and James Macpherson, among others. One panel dealt with 'Dimensions of Scott', another looked at Walter Scott's work in relation to twenty-first century eco-criticism, yet another put the works of Robert Burns and George Thompson into a Cambrian context, appropriately titled 'Scotching Welsh National Song?' There were also panels concerned with contemporary writers, namely Kathleen Jamie, Iain Banks and Alasdair Gray.

Many of the panels dealt more generally with literary movements rather than specific authors, and frequently discussed Scottish literature in relation to global culture and within a global context. As such, the panels discussed Modern literature, Scottish Romanticism, Reformation and counter-Reformation writing, Post-colonialism and Scottish literature as world literature. A strong focus was also given to the ideas (now more relevant than ever) of the Scottish Enlightenment. This was reflected in the Susan Manning Memorial Panel entitled 'The Scottish Enlightenment in Regions and Nations', the Kenneth Simpson Memorial Panel 'The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture: Convergence or Divergence?' as well as a panel dealing more generally with theories of Enlightenment.

Next to this focus on literary movements, many papers and panels also revealed concern with specific contexts, themes, or places from which the literature under discussion originated. Issues and notions of place featured, for example, in panels on literature on the Scottish isles, on travel and location, or on Scottish literature interpreted from an archipelagic viewpoint. People, place, and time were at the centre of papers that dealt with history and landscape in Scottish novels, or with the narratives of present-day ethnic minorities in Scotland. Film and music were also examined, as was the connection between Scottish literature, architecture and urbanism. An outside perspective came in strongly in transnational panels as well as those concerned with Scottish literature in the South Seas and in the diaspora.

Genre issues were focused on in panels concerned with Scottish children's literature, the historical novel, the pastoral, Scottish balladry, and drama. Historical events, such as the Union of 1707, the Jacobite Risings, or more generally Scotland's wars and their representation in literature.
came to the fore in a number of papers. There was also a focus on theory, with roundtables discussing what was 'Before Theory' and what came 'After Theory'. With regard to the issue of language, the panels offered insight into 'Scottish Literature and Translation', 'New Accents on the Study of Scottish Speech', Scottish Latin, and Gaelic. One panel asked whether the Scottish language could bridge the gap between the past and the present. With regard to taking an editor's perspective, a roundtable discussed 'Editing Scottish Texts in the Twenty-First Century'.

In addition to the variety of papers and discussions, networking and socialising is one of the main motivations for delegates attending conferences. The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures facilitated this by offering various networking opportunities, not only the regular coffee breaks but also, on the first night, a reception with a buffet and a musical performance by David Hamilton, Gilbert MacMillan, and Kirsteen McCue, accompanied by two book launches: Robert Crawford's *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and the Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* and Murray Pittock's *The Road to Independence? Scotland in the Balance*. The second day saw a spirited poetry reading by Jackie Kay and Liz Lochhead as well as a reception in the beautiful Glasgow City Chambers, where the delegates were welcomed by city dignitaries. On the last night, the delegates were invited to a reception and an exhibition in the impressive Glasgow University Library Special Collections.

The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures was an intriguing and thought-provoking event. The fact that many of the delegates are internationally based was a particularly positive feature. As regards the papers, the majority were clearly focused on Scottish literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and its well-known authors. This seems to reflect the general focus of research in Scottish Studies. Considering the rich and lively contemporary literary scene in Scotland, this came as a bit of a surprise. This impression notwithstanding, with so many interesting panels taking place at the same time, it was frequently difficult to decide which panel to attend.

As many delegates thus surely missed a number of interesting papers they would have liked to listen to, or listened to a talk they would like to study in detail and see in print, a selection of excellent papers from the conference will be made available in 2015 in an anthology published in the *Scottish Studies International* series and edited by Klaus Peter Müller, Miriam Schröder, Ilka Schwittlinsky, and Ron Walker of the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz in its faculty in Germersheim.

Miriam Schröder (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

**Conference Announcements**

Full details and links to the websites of the following conferences can be found in the web edition of the Newsletter: [http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/73.php](http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/73.php)

**Scotland in Europe Conference II**
15-17 October 2014, University of Warsaw, Institute of English Studies

**ASLS Languages Conference 2014**
Saturday 8 November 2014, Fore Hall, Main Building, University of Glasgow, Glasgow: [http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/LangConf.html](http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/LangConf.html)

**John Burnside Symposium**

**James Hogg and His World**

*Scottish Studies Newsletter 44, October 2014*
2015 James Hogg Society conference
9–12 April 2015, Alumni Hall, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Canada:
http://jameshoggblog.blogspot.de/