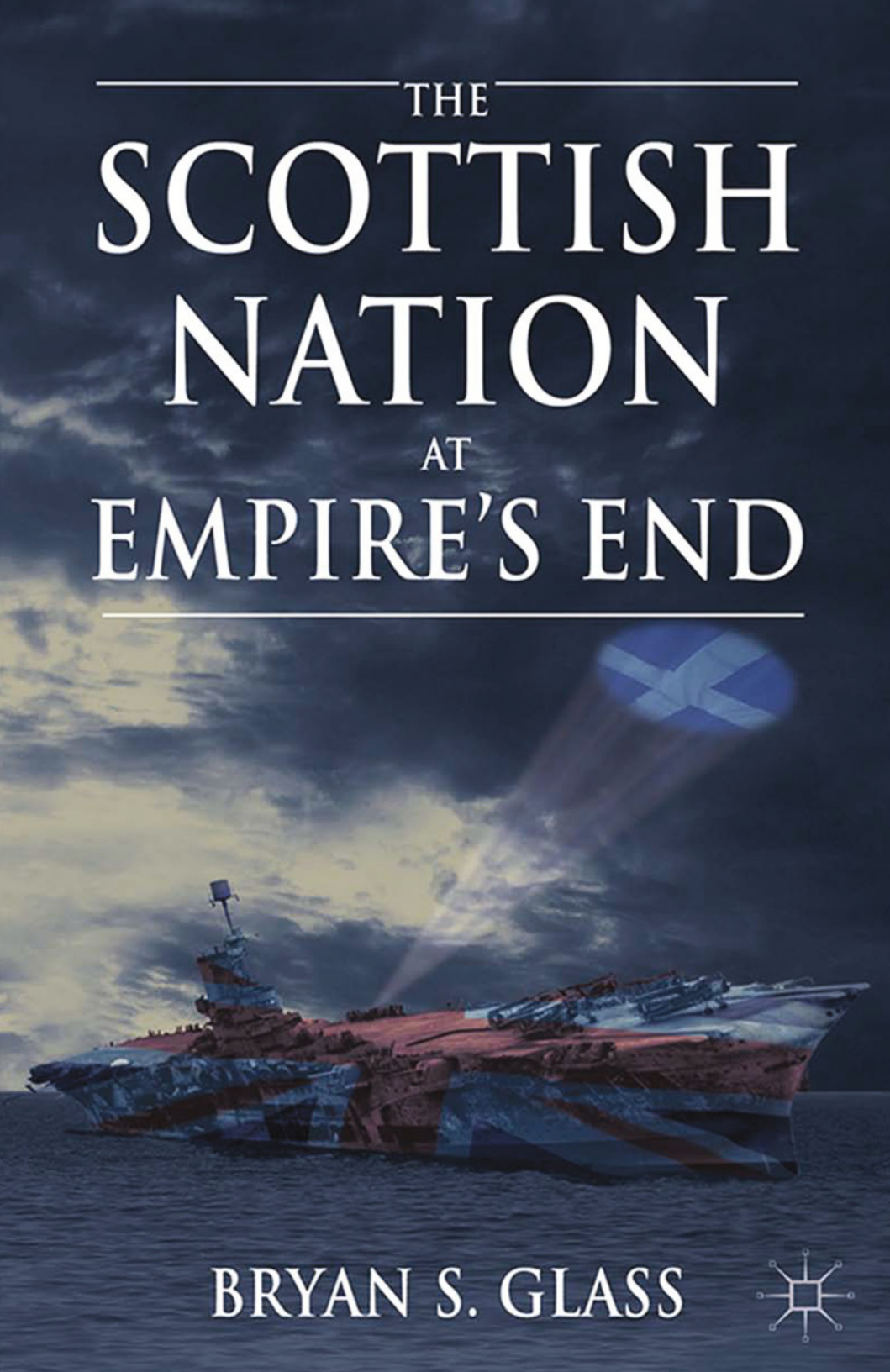
THE SCOTTISH NATION AT EMPIRE'S END



BRYAN S. GLASS

The Scottish Nation at Empire's End

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Bryan S. Glass
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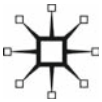

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-42729-8

First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-349-49111-7 ISBN 978-1-137-42730-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137427304

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

For my family

The British Empire, 31 December 1965

Note:
The independent dominions of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand are not included because of Britain's greatly diminished influence over them shortly after the Second World War.

The British Empire, 1945

* Independent Dominions of the British Empire

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Acknowledgements

Researching and writing this book saw me incur a number of debts along the way. First and foremost I must thank my wife, Mirela, for supporting me both emotionally and financially as the monograph slowly, and sometimes painfully, took form. Our son, Duncan, was born just before I began researching this book, and I know some of his earliest memories will be of his daddy writing what you now read. I absolutely cherish our time together, which made the five months I spent in Britain researching and the numerous hours locked away writing excruciatingly painful. Our youngest son, Connor, was born as I was putting the final touches on the draft manuscript, and his entrance into our family was a complete joy and a happy distraction from the daily toil of writing and revisions. I love you, Mirela, Duncan, and Connor, for keeping me grounded and always being there.

I must also thank my parents and my in-laws for spending quality time with Duncan and Connor while Mirela worked and I tried to make sense of Scottish views on the end of the British Empire. This 'time alone' to form my ideas was priceless. On many occasions my mother or mother-in-law would watch Duncan as my father read through the latest chapter. I am indebted to them for creating such an amazing support structure.

This book is derived from my dissertation, completed under the supervision of Wm. Roger Louis. Professor Louis provided me with supportive advice about the direction of the dissertation through emails while I was researching and via sit-down chats and peer-review round-table critiques of my chapters while I was writing. He has always taken time out of his terribly busy schedule to talk to me about anything on my mind. I am eternally grateful.

To my other committee members, Terri Givens, A. G. Hopkins, Brian Levack, Gail Minault, and James Vaughn, thank you for your support throughout my time as a graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin. I feel honoured that each of you thought enough of me to agree to serve on my dissertation committee. I am also grateful to the Department of History at the University of Texas at Austin for awarding me two Dean's Fellowships, a Summer Research Fellowship, and a Dissertation Fellowship to help me complete my studies. The University of Edinburgh designated me as a Visiting Scholar while I was conducting

the vast majority of my research in the fall of 2010, which provided me with an office, computer access, and library privileges that made my time there extremely productive.

Michelle Brock deserves special mention for reading every word of this book on numerous occasions and helping me hone the argument. The amount of time she spent discussing each chapter with me was invaluable, and there is no way this monograph would have been completed by now without her assistance. She kept saying how much she enjoyed reading my work, but I know that this type of commitment only comes from a true friend, and I count myself very lucky.

The British Scholar Society has been valuable in introducing me to people who helped me tremendously with my research. Gregory Barton, the Editor-in-Chief of our journal, spent countless hours with me on the phone and via Skype discussing the big ideas behind this book. He also encouraged me to submit an elongated version of my Church of Scotland chapter to the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* for publication. Karly Kehoe, the Editor of the Society's journal, and her husband, Colin Duck, offered me free room and board at her flat in Glasgow as I researched the business and empire chapter. Karly also invited me to present the rough draft of the Church of Scotland chapter to the Centre for History's Faculty Seminar Series at the University of the Highlands and Islands on 20 October 2010. The positive reception the paper received there gave me a needed boost of confidence before heading back to the archives. Michael Kandiah, in charge of the journal's Witness to History feature, invited me to present a condensed version of the book's central arguments at the University of London's International History Seminar on 12 June 2012. For the very first time, all of my core findings were vetted in front of an audience of strangers, and I thank Michael for giving me that opportunity. Finally, the annual conference provided me with an opportunity to get to know T. M. Devine, whose work helped inspire this book. From the beginning, he encouraged me to prove him wrong. In short, I am very thankful to the Society for providing me with so many extraordinary opportunities and wonderful friends over the years.

Numerous conferences have given me the opportunity to discuss various chapters of my work with other scholars. In particular, the 2012 conference in Edinburgh connected me to John M. MacKenzie. MacKenzie has inspired numerous scholars to investigate the empire's impact on Britain. I feel honoured to be amongst them. As a result of the 2012 conference, John and I are now editing an anthology for his *Studies*

in Imperialism series with Manchester University Press entitled *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*.

Mary Brennan gave me my first full-time job as an academic, and her constant encouragement early in my career has been a godsend. Andrew MacKillop worked closely with me on my book proposal and provided me with a very constructive review, for which I am immensely grateful. I would also like to thank Bryan Mann for helping me come up with the idea behind the cover of my book, and Kyle Kirk for turning this idea into a reality. I am also indebted to David Ritchie, who showed me great kindness while I was in Edinburgh. Joseph Stuart's assistance in finding a place to live while in Edinburgh will never be forgotten. Finally, Angela Smith's persistence helped me to track down the elusive Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations that I knew existed in the National Library of Scotland, but could not find.

Lastly, I must thank Holly Tyler and Jen McCall at Palgrave for believing in this project and supporting me through every step of the way. Holly guided me through the complex production process with ease and good humour for which I am very grateful. Jen and I have worked together for a number of years now on the *Britain and the World* series, and her constant enthusiasm for my work is nothing short of inspiring. I feel very fortunate to have the privilege of working with her.

History monographs are long and complicated detective stories that owe their completion to an army of friends, colleagues, archivists, and family. They assist, inspire, critique, and support you. I consider myself incredibly lucky to list so many people within these acknowledgements who have helped me along the way. With that said, any mistakes contained in the following pages belong solely to me.

Introduction

The rise and fall of the British Empire profoundly shaped the history of modern Scotland and the identity of its people. From the Act of Union in 1707 to the dramatic fall of the British Empire following the Second World War, Scotland's involvement in commerce, missionary activity, cultural dissemination, emigration, and political action cannot be dissociated from British overseas endeavours. In fact, Scottish national pride and identity were closely associated with the benefits bestowed on this small nation through access to the British Empire. Given the strong connection between Scotland and the British Empire, as outlined below, this book explores Scottish attitudes towards the empire between 1945 and 1965: the era of decolonization. By examining the opinions of Scots from numerous professional and personal backgrounds we see that Scotland emerges as a nation inextricably linked to the British Empire. Whether Scots categorized themselves as proponents, opponents, or victims of empire, one conclusion is clear: they were aware of and constantly engaged with the empire.[1] By investigating this critical period, this book demonstrates that nationalism only appeared as a legitimate force in Scotland in the 1960s as the last vestiges of empire collapsed. Decolonization had a major impact on Scottish political consciousness in the years that followed 1965, and the implications for the sustainability of the British state are still unfolding today.

The Scots were heavily invested in the British Empire for over 200 years. Beyond the realms of economics and commerce, their culture and identity were tied into the empire and its well-being, especially in Africa.[2] The empire, after all, had taken the Scots to the pinnacle of global power. Accordingly, this book looks at how the Scottish people reacted as the empire quickly unravelled. More broadly, by examining

Scottish views towards the dissolution of the British Empire, this project provides an example of how people react to economic decline after their nation has reached the apex of its power.

Central to this study are the questions of Scottish identity and, more importantly for understanding the future of Britain, Scottish nationalism. Before comparing the Scottish nationalism of today with the version that purportedly predominated during the era of empire, it is necessary to define what is meant by the terms nation, national identity, and nationalism in the Scottish case. A nation is formed by an aggregation of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language.[3] To have a national identity is to be aware of and engaged with one's nation.[4] Finally, nationalism is an ideology used by people to justify their attempt to seize political power for the nation and form a state based on national boundaries.[5] By combining these three definitions, it becomes clear that members of a nation can experience national identity without engaging in a nationalist movement that seeks to gain political power. This was the case in Scotland before and during the collapse of the British Empire.

How does one understand Scottish nationalism today? Perhaps the best way to describe it is as a post-imperial nationalism.[6] The British Empire prevented a strong Scottish nationalism from forming due to the benefits associated with Scotland's partnership in the United Kingdom. Yet by fostering a strong Scottish national identity, it simultaneously laid the groundwork for an economics and opportunity-based nationalism to develop once the empire could no longer fulfil these needs. Scots today want, among other political and cultural ends, what Scots possessed during the age of empire: wealth and opportunity. Given that they do not think this is achievable through the British state, many Scots have turned to nationalism in an attempt to seize independence, which could increase Scotland's chances of playing a greater role on the European, if not the global, stage while giving them total control over purely Scottish concerns.

The coming of devolution to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland has further decentralized the British state and brought increasing attention to the role these nations played in the British Empire. In 1975, J. G. A. Pocock called for a four-nation approach to the history of the British Isles.[7] In 2008, John M. MacKenzie asked that this be extended to the study of the British Empire.[8] Although all four nations succeeded in engaging with the empire, their experiences varied greatly. This nuanced approach to the history of the British Empire is only now beginning to be implemented. While the history of Scotland's engagement with

empire has enjoyed wider coverage over the past 20 years, Scotland's relationship with the British Empire during the era of decolonization remains a highly neglected field of study. The subject of identity in Scotland, which has received quite extensive treatment, offers a gateway to uncovering the views of the Scots towards the empire immediately following the Second World War. Addressing this question also sheds light on the integrity of the British state today while the Scottish case study, in particular, offers clues as to how decline affects the attitudes of people living in nations that have lost global power.

Scotland, Scottish Identity, and Empire

On 6 July 2005, Professor T. M. Devine presented 'The Prothero Lecture' at the Royal Historical Society in London. This talk was published the following year in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* as 'The Break-Up of Britain? Scotland and the End of Empire.'[9] In this article, Devine claims that historians and political scientists who argued that imperial decline would play a major role in undermining the Anglo-Scottish Union did not see their contention borne out by the facts. Instead, Devine argues that the Scots appeared rather apathetic, or even absent-minded, about imperial decline. Devine does not dispute Scottish imperial engagement in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Rather, he points to the decline of Scottish interest in empire as corresponding with the Great Depression of the 1930s.[10]

The harm that the Depression did to Scottish heavy industry, the very backbone of Scotland's domestic involvement in the British Empire, left many working- and lower-middle-class Scots looking for alternatives to make a living. To Devine, 'no single cause conspired to erode Scotland's emotional attachment to empire. But the profound crisis which overwhelmed the nation in the period between the world wars in the twentieth century was a major factor.'[11] When combined with high unemployment statistics (32% of the entire labour force in Glasgow were out of work in 1932) and high levels of emigration (in the 1930s there was a decline in the Scottish population of nearly 40,000), it is no wonder that Devine turns to the apocalyptic writings of Scots living through this dire period, including the novelist and poet Edwin Muir, to make his point.[12] Muir believed that Scotland was 'being emptied of its population, its spirit, its wealth, industry, art, intellect, and innate character.'[13] The Scots needed to find an alternative to empire as it and its markets no longer powered industrial Scotland.

For leading Scottish historians, Devine being central amongst them, the subject of empire had ceased to be important long before the process of decolonization began:

> It was therefore hardly surprising that the majority of the Scottish people reacted to the end of empire with indifference, despite Scotland's historic role before 1900 in imperial expansion. After 1945, state intervention in industry, political commitment to full employment and, above all, the Welfare State, slowly delivered security and material improvement to the mass of Scots.[14]

This supposed indifference, however, is never investigated further in the article.[15] Devine suggests that the introduction of the welfare state and state-controlled economic planning by Clement Attlee's Labour Government solved the economic and social ills afflicting Scotland and made the Scots unaware of the process of decolonization that erupted with the Partition of India in August 1947.[16] However, the evidence presented here will demonstrate that the implementation of social welfare did not preclude the Scots from maintaining an interest in, and in some cases an enthusiasm for, the British Empire; even the Scots who never left the confines of their native land still lived their lives surrounded by empire and its legacy.[17]

Tom Nairn, in his highly controversial volume *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, argues that the rise of Scottish nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s was directly related to the end of the British Empire as the collaborative and inferior status of Scotland finally became clear to the Scots.[18] There was, to use his terminology, actually a rise in a Scottish neo-nationalism. Nairn defines neo-nationalism as 'a forced by-product of the grotesquely uneven nature of capitalist development' that progresses in areas suffering 'from a relative deprivation.' This deprivation then draws them to political action.[19]

While this contention seems plausible in theory, it suffers debilitating setbacks on closer examination of the Scottish case. First, the relative deprivation that he refers to does not apply to the Scottish case. As Nairn concedes, the Scottish economy, following some initial struggles in the early eighteenth century, was a great beneficiary of Union and the imperial partnership it fostered. But while the economy in Scotland did suffer following the Second World War (as all national economies in the United Kingdom suffered), the introduction of the Labour Government's welfare state policies and economic investment was just as beneficial to the Scots as any other nationality within Britain, if not

more so.[20] Regarding the uneven nature of capitalist development, this claim holds true when discussing financial services and systems in Scotland compared to the City of London.[21] Most of the world, though, has always paled in comparison to London in terms of capitalist development (in fact, most of England suffers from relative deprivation when compared to London). The Union made access to London easier for Scots willing and able to move south, a phenomenon that exists to this day.[22]

All nations of the United Kingdom suffered economically when the empire crumbled, which led to political and social consequences. This does not mean, however, that they developed an economic neo-nationalism based on the criteria outlined above. Instead, the Scots had always maintained a strong sense of national identity. They viewed their imperial contribution as uniquely Scottish, usually not British and certainly never English.[23] Empire, though, was a strong epoxy affixing Scotland to Britain because of the vast opportunities it afforded Scots both at home and especially abroad. Once the imperial glue dried, cracked, and fell away, and vast opportunities dried up with it, it is unsurprising that separatist nationalists appeared claiming they could run Scotland's affairs better than the British Parliament some 400 miles away in London. While some nationalists may claim victimhood for Scotland, the vast majority of the Scots who supported the 1997 devolution settlement did so from the more pragmatic perspective that decisions over Scottish matters could be handled more efficiently in Edinburgh than in London. Ultimately, Nairn is partially right. The end of empire led to a rise in nationalism, but it was not the neo-nationalism of capitalist victimhood that he claims.

The idea that Scotland is a victim of England has gained momentum in the post-imperial world. It is, most likely, connected to a hatred of Thatcherite policies.[24] Today, for the most part, nationalists push independence by stating that they keep Scotland's interests at the forefront of their policy-making decisions in a way that politicians from Unionist parties could never do. According to John Breuilly, 'It is the image of "Scotland first" and the view that this approach will help the Scottish economy which has accounted for the popularity of the SNP [Scottish National Party].'[25] In the end, Scottish nationalists today argue against the London dominance perpetuated by the Union, especially in regards to who controls the purse strings.

Nationalism, according to Nairn, fully developed in Scotland following the fall of the British Empire. Doubtlessly, nationalism is a potent minority force in Scotland today. The question at hand, however,

is whether nationalism existed in Scotland to any great extent prior to the collapse of empire.

Many recent works have considered the nineteenth century as a time when Scottish nationalism developed in earnest. According to the historiography, this was not a separatist nationalism but a 'unionist nationalism.'[26] Given Breuilly's definition above, a nationalist movement is used to justify a seizure of political power for the nation.[27] This, however, is not what happened in Scotland during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The concept of unionist nationalism, outlined by historians such as Graeme Morton and Lindsay Paterson among others, was not really nationalism at all. It was a Scottish national identity that invested the Scots with a sense of pride in their unique contribution to the British Empire.

In his influential book, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860*, Morton argues that the strength of Scottish civil society in the nineteenth century was such that Scotland's bourgeoisie did not feel the need to push forward with a political nationalist movement (where the acquisition of political control over the state is the goal of the nation).[28] Instead, the bourgeoisie claimed that one of the most important components of Scottish national identity was a belief in the Union of 1707:

> The rhetoric was straightforward, however strange it may seem to twentieth-century nationalists: Scotland wanted more union, not less. Scotland's mid-nineteenth-century nationalists believed their nation had entered the Union of 1707 as an equal, and that was how they demanded to be treated. Wallace and Bruce, by preserving Scotland's independence in the fourteenth century, made it possible for Scotland to join with England as a partner in the eighteenth century, and enabled Scotland to enhance Great Britain's power over the Empire in the nineteenth century.[29]

Morton argues that this lack of a political nationalism in nineteenth-century Scotland has led many writers, including Nairn, to claim that the Scottish bourgeoisie failed the nation:

> Lured by Empire and stunted beneath the shadow of eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the Scottish middle class of the nineteenth century has been condemned. Its leaders, its writers, its thinkers, and above all else its culture, have been paraded as secondary, subservient and regressive. It was because 'Scotland the nation' did not

> become 'Scotland the nation-state' that Scottish civil society has been perceived as weak.[30]

Morton's analysis is correct. The Scots did feel themselves to be the equals of the English in the Union, and this was underscored by their imperial involvement and success. Imperial involvement did not make the Scots subservient to the English. Empire offered the Scots numerous opportunities for success that were unavailable at home. This high level of achievement strengthened the Union and Scottish pride at the same time.

There is, however, a problem with Morton's study, one betrayed by the very title of the book. He considers the strong Scottish national identity of the nineteenth century to be unionist nationalism. As defined above, nationalism and national identity are not the same concepts. Yet Morton continually conflates the two throughout his work. An example of this occurs early in the introduction: 'This book is a contribution to nationalism of the periphery, of Scottish national identity at the high point of British imperialism.'[31] He is correct in stating that the book is an analysis, and a fine one, of Scottish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century. But this is not a study of nationalism, which is defined here as a political movement with the principal goal of capturing and controlling the mechanisms of the state for the nation. This definitional problem aside, Morton's study is important because he deftly outlines the compatibility of a strong Scottish national identity with a Union that offered the small nation of Scotland access to the riches of England and its empire on an equal footing. Morton's book remains the seminal study on understanding how Scottish national identity not only survived but thrived under the rubric of the British Empire and made many Scots into imperial enthusiasts – a sentiment that survived beyond the Great Depression of the 1930s and into the postwar era.

Lindsay Paterson's *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* is a critical analysis of why Scottish nationalism never took hold during the eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the first half of the twentieth century. Paterson argues that even though Scotland has not been a fully independent state since 1707, it has been far from a province of Greater England.[32] He claims that Scottish civil society, which was explicitly maintained by the Act of Union in 1707, gave Scotland a level of autonomy very similar to so-called small independent European states in the nineteenth century. The Scots, though, also felt that they were partners in the great imperial enterprise, as Morton contends. Thus, Scottish views about their equal

role within Britain played a significant part in the lack of a nationalist movement taking hold. According to Paterson:

> The Empire, indeed, was something of which the Scots were immensely proud. It was theirs as much as England's: by the time of the high point of British imperialism in the last quarter of the century [nineteenth], the Empire allowed the Scots to believe that the special destiny that had given Scotland the lead in British Protestantism was now being extended throughout the globe.[33]

Moreover, the British Empire and Scottish consciousness went hand-in-hand:

> the Empire penetrated everyday life. It provided the opportunity to emigrate, not only to missionaries but also to engineers, doctors and administrators. It also opened up vast markets, to which – after the middle of the century – were exported the products of Scotland's heavy engineering, and from which came the raw materials for the textile and tobacco industries. And…it also allowed Scotland to import and export culture, of which Protestantism was a central component.[34]

All of these factors, combined with the establishment of a Scottish Office in 1885 under the direction of a Secretary for Scotland, help explain why Scotland lacked a true nationalist movement in the nineteenth century. During the first 45 years of the twentieth century little changed in the governance of Scotland, other than the Secretary of Scotland becoming a full Secretary of State in 1926 with a permanent position in the Cabinet of the United Kingdom Government. As Paterson argues, once the Second World War ended and the post-war Labour Government took power, Scotland's people worried more about managing the corporatist bureaucracy that accompanied the establishment of the welfare state than pushing for an independent Scotland.[35] While the welfare state is often offered as a compelling reason for the lack of Scottish nationalism in the postwar era, it downplays the role of empire in Scottish attitudes towards Britain. Nationalism, after all, only appeared as a legitimate force in Scotland in the 1960s as the last vestiges of empire collapsed. Yet the welfare state remained. By following Devine and making the welfare state his focus in the post-Second World War era, Paterson gives the welfare state too much credit for keeping nationalism in check between 1945 and 1965. Perhaps the welfare state helped, but it was the empire itself that kept the nationalists at bay.

Paterson's take on nineteenth-century Scotland, however, is the correct one. Civil society played a prominent role in Scottish society, and its effectiveness was buttressed by Scotland's partnership in Britain, which offered the Scots access to the world's most extensive empire on an equal footing. But Paterson is also at odds with this book in his definition of nationalism. He defines it as a movement to advance the interests of the nation, but not one dedicated to achieving political power.[36] He claims that, in the nineteenth century, Scottish nationalism 'did not demand a parliament for the simple reason that it believed that it could get what it wanted without a parliament – economic growth, free trade, liberty, cultural autonomy.'[37] Scottish nationalism, however, did not exist in the nineteenth century. There was no need for Scottish nationalism. The Scots took great pride in the benefits they received as a result of their involvement in the British state. To attack it would be to go against their self-interest, and this is something that no nation led by rational people is willing to do.

What of the Scottish nationalists who emerged on the scene immediately following the First World War?[38] These men, who called for complete Scottish political independence from England, were nationalists by definition. These radicals included Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr (founder of the nationalist magazine the *Scottish Review*), the Marxist John Maclean (whom Vladimir Lenin greatly admired), and the poet C. M. Grieve (better known by his pen name Hugh MacDiarmid). According to H. J. Hanham, Erskine, Maclean, and MacDiarmid 'were far too uncompromising for most nationalists who still clung to the Home Rule tradition.'[39] They were fundamentalists at a time when the Home Rule Movement, supported by the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA), still held sway over most devolution-minded Scots who wanted to see authority over specific Scottish concerns transferred from Westminster to Edinburgh.[40] Hanham provides glimpses of their beliefs with an excerpt of a speech by Maclean, who argued that 'Scottish separation is part of the process of England's imperial disintegration.'[41] These early nationalists saw independence as a natural consequence of the end of empire, since they believed Scotland was an internal colony of the English.[42] In their eyes, Scotland did not reap the benefits of the empire as equal partners. Scotland was a victim of colonization, pure and simple.

As pointed out by Hanham, most nationalists wanted devolution. In fact, they were Home Rulers, not nationalists.[43] When the SNP was formed in 1934 through the amalgamation of the National Party and the Scottish Party, it took on the Home Rule platform of the Scottish

Party and distanced itself from the original policy of the National Party, which demanded independence for Scotland from the United Kingdom parliament. The SNP also wanted 'the Scots to be treated as equals in the United Kingdom and to retain their share in the management of empire.'[44] With the Depression ravaging Scotland, the SNP was trying to ensure that their role as equals in the empire would not be diminished with the creation of their desired parliament to handle strictly Scottish affairs. They did not want to lose their role in this global institution that made a small nation larger in the eyes of the world.

Amongst these Home Rulers were men like Andrew Dewar Gibb, whose books, such as *Scotland in Eclipse* (1930), *Scottish Empire* (1937), and *Scotland Resurgent* (1950), emphasized the Scottish role in the development of the British Empire.[45] According to MacKenzie, Gibb 'viewed the Empire as a way by which Scots could find pride by playing on a world stage.' He also believed that 'the Empire was the most important element in the relationship between Scotland and England for the past three hundred years.'[46] To Gibb, Scotland had played its role in the empire as well as any other nation. With the empire's end, whenever that may come, Gibb argued that the Scots could hold their collective heads high as they took their talents elsewhere, possibly even to Europe.[47]

Also of importance was John Buchan, the first Lord Tweedsmuir and Governor-General of Canada, who took great pride in being a Home Ruler (although he referred to himself as a nationalist) as well as a staunch imperialist. Buchan pushed hard for a devolved Scottish parliament as 'a visible proof of our nationhood,' which would, in turn, give the Scots something to show the world. The empire would be strengthened as a result of the return of Scottish national pride, which had been damaged during the dark and dreary days of the 1930s.[48]

There were many other Scots invested in the Home Rule movement, as the success of John MacCormick's Scottish Convention attests.[49] MacCormick, the moving force behind the amalgamation of the National Party and the Scottish Party in 1934 to form the SNP, started the Scottish Convention after leaving the SNP in 1942. The SNP was slowly taken over by the few radicals in Scotland demanding independence as the Home Rulers put most of their energy behind MacCormick's new enterprise. After a slow start, it gained momentum following his summoning of a 'Scottish National Convention' to meet in Glasgow. The Scottish Convention worked to gain support amongst the Scottish population, as well as the Conservative and Liberal parties, for a devolved Scottish parliament. On 29 October 1949, MacCormick put forward a Scottish Covenant to be signed by Scots demanding a Scottish parliament

in charge of Scottish affairs.[50] Within six months the Covenant had attracted close to one million signatures.[51] The parliamentary system made it impossible for the Covenant to have any real influence on policy, but the fact that it eventually gathered more than two million signatures for a devolved parliament that would 'promote the spiritual and economic welfare of our nation' gave credence to the notion that this was the approved way to advance Scotland in the 1950s.[52] The desire for complete independence, or Scottish nationalism, would only become a mainstream idea in the middle 1960s as the empire collapsed rapidly and Britain's world power status disintegrated.

The Wider British Context

The nation of Scotland did not exist in a vacuum when it came to reactions towards the end of the British Empire. Its decline and conclusion affected people throughout Britain. This, however, is not the argument espoused by Bernard Porter. Porter's *Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* has made a major impact on the burgeoning historiography surrounding the effect of decolonization at home. Porter argues that during the vast majority of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century most Britons were hardly aware of their empire. This lack of interest in the empire, especially for the working classes, meant that the process of decolonization did not have much of an impact on British society and culture when it occurred following the Second World War.[53] Porter, however, is not alone in asserting that the British people felt either apathy or disinterest in the empire at its end. The late Max Beloff proclaimed that because the empire was acquired in a fit of absentmindedness, it could just as easily be lost without much notice from the population.[54] Additionally, Kenneth Morgan has argued that 'the end of empire did not generate the kind of overwhelming strains in Great Britain visible in France in the retreat from Indo-China or Algeria,' and David Cannadine has contended that Britain's empire 'was given away in a fit of collective indifference.'[55] Porter has become the popular face of this 'minimal impact' thesis because his book has garnered extensive attention from the public as well as the academy. But he was certainly not the first historian to put forward this proposition.[56]

The 'minimal impact' thesis flows against the school of thought developed chiefly by MacKenzie, who claims that the empire penetrated deeply into British domestic culture. MacKenzie has promoted this viewpoint through his own works and the *Studies in Imperialism* series that

he developed with Manchester University Press in 1984, which has now published more than 100 volumes.[57] MacKenzie's examination of imperialism's penetration into British popular culture has inspired a number of works including the anthology *British culture and the end of empire*, edited by Stuart Ward, which sets out 'to examine popular understandings of imperial decline as articulated through a wide variety of cultural channels and institutions.'[58] MacKenzie's own chapter in that work, entitled 'The persistence of empire in metropolitan culture,' claims that many in Britain after the Second World War found their homeland crippled by depression, rationing, and an overwhelming sense of anxiety.[59] Accordingly, Britons instinctively turned to the empire as a solution to their social and economic problems, not the social welfare policies of the Attlee Government. Even during the era of decolonization, the empire still mattered and resonated with many Britons at home.

The work of MacKenzie has been the stimulus for numerous monographs critical of the 'minimal impact' thesis. Wendy Webster's *Englishness and Empire 1939–1965* and Andrew Thompson's *The Empire Strikes Back?* both build on MacKenzie's theory that the end of empire did not slip silently by an uninterested British public. In *Englishness and Empire*, Webster focuses on how the mainstream British media (cinema, radio, television, and the press) represented the nation to the people. She contends that in England a loss of imperial power was registered, making it clear that media elites, at the very least, were interested in the end of empire and passed this along to the people.[60] While it is much more difficult to get at the reception of these imperial ideas by the English people, Webster chips away at the idea that the English were uninformed about, and thus uninterested in, the empire during decolonization.

In making their cases against the 'minimal impact' thesis, historians have challenged previous interpretations of the Social Survey of Public Opinion in Britain on Colonial Affairs. Conducted in 1948 by the Colonial Office, its general conclusions were that only 49 per cent of the people questioned could name one colony, and only 25 per cent knew the difference between a colony and a Dominion.[61] Thompson tackles this survey head-on and finds that it did not show the level of absentmindedness about empire that so many historians have taken as a given. After all, just because a respondent does not know the difference between a colony and a Dominion says very little about his or her interest in the empire when the two terms were used so imprecisely. According to Thompson, many of the respondents who failed to name a colony had referred to a Dominion instead.[62] Interest in the empire was

not flagging; the questions were simply misleading. In the 1950s, when Britons were asked by Gallup about more specific imperial issues such as the Suez Crisis, the revelation of imperial brutality towards Mau Mau detainees at the Hola Camp, or the Nyasaland Emergency, there was an overwhelmingly high level of knowledge. In the case of the Hola Camp, 90 per cent of respondents were aware of the situation, and 80 per cent knew about the Emergency in Nyasaland.[63] As Thompson is quick to point out, these statistics show a high level of engagement with imperial issues. The 1948 Survey simply does not hold up to close and comparative scrutiny.

So when does Thompson believe the British began to lose their interest in the British Empire? Here he turns to MacKenzie's thesis that the third implosion of empire between 1959 and 1964 is the key to understanding disengagement. The year 1959 is a critical starting point because that was when the Nyasaland Emergency and the Hola Camp affair occurred. These two important events were followed in early 1960 by Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech, which led to the rapid decolonization of Britain's imperial holdings, especially in Africa, in the early to mid-1960s. According to Thompson, it was 'During these years an increasing number of people became disengaged from the empire in the sense that they were less likely to support or hold an opinion about it.'[64] The timeline proposed by MacKenzie and adopted by Thompson corroborates this book's argument that the Scots only began to lose interest in the British Empire following the Nyasaland Emergency in 1959. Taken together, these studies demonstrate that the decolonization of the empire did not go unnoticed by the varied nations that compose the United Kingdom and that disengagement only began in 1959. The 'minimal impact' thesis has been placed under an enormous amount of pressure.

Geographic focus

Although the British Empire spanned the world, the Scots held a particular affinity for Africa and felt an obligation to protect its peoples from harm. This obligation stemmed from Scottish involvement in the region, which followed the lead of the great missionary and explorer David Livingstone and his mid-nineteenth-century exploits. Troubled by the existence of the slave trade around Lake Nyasa, Livingstone believed that the development of commerce in the region held the key to bringing the practice to an end. Following Livingstone's funeral in April 1874, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland approved the creation

of the Livingstonia Mission, which left Scotland for the region in 1875.[65] Two years later, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church allowed the formation of a trading company that would use commerce and the development of a cash crop economy to presumably bring the slave trade to an end. The Livingstonia Central Africa Company, which would be renamed the African Lakes Company (ALC) in 1881, set out on their commercial mission in 1878. Instead of establishing commerce to end the slave trade, the directors of the Company soon discovered that they could only remain in business by shooting elephants for their ivory tusks and establishing stores to trade goods for additional ivory with the powerful slave-owning rulers situated around the lake. By trading with these slavers, the ALC was exacerbating the expansion of the slave trade.[66]

By the mid-1880s, the weak and dispossessed African tribes were looking to the ALC and the Livingstonia Mission to protect them from the violence and slave-taking of the more powerful rulers in the region. The ALC, in turn, had the threatened chiefs sign petitions to Queen Victoria asking for the declaration of a British protectorate over the region. These petitions were then used by the Company and the mission representatives in Scotland to help influence the British Government to declare a protectorate over the ALC's sphere of operations.[67] This would lead to a two-year war with the Arab slave traders that attracted a great deal of publicity in Britain. When the war was combined with Portuguese incursions into the area, Lord Salisbury's Government was forced to establish formal British imperial control over what would come to be known as Nyasaland.[68] Now the Scots enjoyed the formal protection of the British Government to develop their trade, advance the region for entry into the world economy, and eliminate the slavery so despised at home by the general public.[69] Scottish businessmen and missionaries had played a major role in leading the creation of the formal empire in Central Africa.[70]

Interest in the African continent, especially their desire to protect the indigenous peoples, would remain strong within the Scots during the era of decolonization. The extent of this affinity for Africa, and Nyasaland in particular, is demonstrated by the way in which the Emergency declaration in the Protectorate in March 1959 turned the Church of Scotland, the de facto Scottish parliament, against the continuation of empire. This monumental shift in public opinion was so abrupt that it left those Scots still hoping for an independent white-dominated Central African Federation reeling. Nowhere is this more evident than in the private correspondence and public pleadings of William Thyne, founder of the

Scottish Study Group on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a propaganda organization dedicated to altering public opinion in Scotland towards the Federation (detailed in Chapter 3). Thyne complained of the distortion of facts surrounding the Federation in Scotland since the Nyasaland Emergency. This distortion, to Thyne, had the effect of driving Scottish opinion of the Federation to all-time lows – a trend that he would be unable to reverse. It is because of the importance of the Nyasaland Emergency and the Church of Scotland's well-publicized reaction to Scottish views on the British Empire that Africa must be the key geographical region under consideration.

Accordingly, the focus of each of the chapters in this book is either exclusively or in part on Scottish reactions towards imperial difficulties in Africa between 1945 and 1965. The high level of public involvement in these debates by all sections of Scottish society demonstrates the tenacity of the bond between Scotland and Africa and helps explain why the Scots were anything but absent-minded imperialists between 1945 and 1965.

India also played a major role in Scotland's imperial involvement. The Scottish presence in India had been strong since the first Lord Melville, Henry Dundas, used his position within the British Government under William Pitt the Younger to provide his countrymen opportunities in India.[71] While Africa is the central geographic region under examination here because of its critical role in understanding Scottish views towards the British Empire during the era of decolonization, India's importance to the Scots was undeniable. India, however, had been unravelling as an integral part of the British Empire for years, and the vast majority of people in Britain, the Scots included, did not find the loss of India to be a major shock when it occurred.[72] An editorial appearing in *The Scotsman* on the day of independence, 15 August 1947, gives credence to this belief:

> It has long been contemplated that Indians should one day rule themselves.... That day has come, but not quite in the expected manner. During the present century events have moved with increasing velocity. The Morley-Minto Reforms [1909], the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution [1919], the unaccepted Simon Report [1930], the Government of India Act, 1935, have all been stages on the way to the hurried scramble of the last few months.
>
> On the British side there is nothing but good-will towards India. That has been demonstrated by the readiness with which the transition to the new era has been effected. It has been typified in the

> personality of Lord Mountbatten, upon whom the King has conferred the title of Earl. Good-will, however, cannot entirely eliminate doubts about the future position of minorities, the ability of India to defend herself, and the status of the Princes who are technically independent but who are being urged to join one or other of the two Dominions. Never has there been so willing a surrender of power as this, but history, with the advantage of seeing the end as well as the beginning, may have its own verdict to pass on a transaction fraught with such grave possibilities.[73]

This short excerpt demonstrates that, at the very least, the editor of *The Scotsman* felt that Indian independence was a foregone conclusion well before the beginning of the Second World War, despite his concerns for how minorities would be treated and how an independent India would see to the defence of its borders. Devine backs up this sentiment through his careful review of Scottish press coverage on Indian independence. He claims that in the pages of *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* in 1947 'the tone was one of acceptance, bordering on indifference, some praise for the contribution of the Raj to Indian development and warm good wishes for the future of both India and Pakistan as independent states.'[74] However, as noted above, Devine extends Scottish indifference towards decolonization in India to the empire as a whole. There is absolutely no indication, though, that the loss of India proved to be a psychological blow that pushed the Scots towards thinking of themselves as a post-imperial society or as part of a second-rank power. This would not occur until, first, the loss of confidence in the empire after the 1959 Nyasaland Emergency and, second, the empire's rapid decolonization during the first half of the 1960s.

Scottish Views on the British Empire during the Era of Decolonization

The chapters are arranged thematically to demonstrate that whether the Scots thought of themselves as proponents, opponents, or victims of empire, they maintained an abiding interest in the imperial project in the aftermath of the Second World War. This was due to the economic, political, and psychological connections built up over more than two centuries of close involvement in empire building. As such, the Scots paid close attention to the process of decolonization and offered constant comment. The chapters seek to recreate, as closely as possible, the perspectives of Scots from varying social backgrounds. Business leaders,

missionaries, Church of Scotland doyens, political leaders, educational authorities, members of the working class, newspaper editors and their readers/respondents, aristocrats, and imperial officials of all grades, all of whom were incredibly interested in the fate of the British Empire, are addressed in this study. Of course, the voices heard in this book do not, and cannot, speak for all Scots. What they do show, however, is that people from a wide range of backgrounds and political leanings were grappling with the end of empire and its legacy. These Scots were interested in empire, no matter what they thought about its utility.

The book begins with an analysis of what Scottish businesses thought about the empire during the era of decolonization. Business was at the heart of the British Empire. Trade helped build the empire, both formal and informal, and remained its raison d'être even as other notions, such as the civilizing mission, grabbed the headlines. 'Scottish Business and Empire' looks at the British Empire from the perspectives of three businesses that were heavily invested in imperial enterprise: John Lean and Sons, the African Lakes Corporation, and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (the first two solely Scottish and the third run by a Scotsman who surrounded himself with Scots). Through attention to the Scottish Trades Union Congress, the largest organization of workers in Scotland, it also assesses the attitudes of the working classes. The Scottish Trades Union Congress, headed by its General Council, expressed its anger at the British Government for the continuance of empire, especially from the mid-1950s, while the businesses only reported on exceptional troubles in the territories in a straightforward, non-political manner. After all, if the indigenous nationalists eventually took control of the country, it was in the best interests of the businesses to appear to be operating outside the realm of politics. This chapter demonstrates that the businesses of empire and the Scottish Trades Union Congress held drastically divergent ideas on how to express their views about the end of the British Empire. They all shared, however, an abiding interest in it.

The Church of Scotland's General Assembly, considered by many to be the de facto parliament of Scotland following the Act of Union of 1707, closely monitored the empire and its attendant crises during the era of decolonization through its numerous committees. This information was then transmitted to the Scottish public by the Church's *Life and Work* magazine and through its annual General Assembly. The chapter 'The Church and the Empire' investigates the Church's conflicted position over Nyasaland's incorporation in the Central African Federation from 1953. Unlike the missionaries, who, on the whole, wanted to see rapid decolonization of the empire following the Second World War,

the Church seemed content with the progress of indigenous peoples towards self-government as promised in the Atlantic Charter of 1941. Only with the declaration of a State of Emergency in the very Scottish protectorate of Nyasaland in March 1959 did the Church, led by the Reverend George MacLeod, call 'for a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people.'[75]

'Debating the Empire in Public' looks at the disputes between Scottish middle-class professionals over the Central African Federation in the early 1960s. The Scottish Council for African Questions, composed mainly of intellectuals, lawyers, and clergy, wanted to bring the Central African Federation to an end because of their opposition to a white minority regime that seemed destined to institute the colour-bar over the whole of the region. For their troubles they were opposed by another Scottish middle-class organization called the Scottish Study Group on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was headed by an influential businessman named William Thyne. Within the pages of *The Scotsman* newspaper, the Scottish Study Group proclaimed its dedication to setting the record straight on the Central African Federation in Scotland. The archives, however, show that the group was in constant, direct contact with Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister for the Central African Federation, and many other officials of the white minority regime. Both of these organizations engaged in a sometimes covert propaganda battle over the Federation meant to sway the opinion of the imperially engaged Scottish public. Overall, this chapter represents the vastly differing views on the Federation by important and influential professionals in Scottish society and reiterates that the Scots were constantly aware of and engaged with the empire – even if they wholeheartedly disagreed about what should come of it.

Newspapers remain a conduit for informing and reflecting public opinion to this day. The influence of newspapers, however, was even more extensive between 1945 and 1965 when television was in its infancy and the Internet did not exist. Only radio offered real competition for the information being transmitted to the public by newspapers. 'Covering the Empire in Print' examines three major imperial events in Africa: the beginning of the violence that defined the Mau Mau rebellion (1952), the Suez Crisis (1956), and the Nyasaland Emergency (1959). The coverage of these issues by the three Scottish national dailies, *The Scotsman*, *The Glasgow Herald*, and the *Daily Record*, are analysed and compared. These three papers provided a remarkable amount of information to the Scottish newspaper-reading public on these topics. This extensive imperial coverage reflects the argument of this book that the

Scots had an appetite for all things imperial, whether they categorized themselves as proponents, opponents, or victims of empire.

If the Scots had jettisoned their feelings for the British Empire when the Great Depression ravaged the nation in the 1930s, teaching children about this subject in history classes would seem less than critical in providing them with an understanding of their current role. But the British Empire enjoyed a major presence in the textbooks taught to Scottish schoolchildren from primary through senior secondary school. The questions posed to the children on the Leaving Certificate Examination also contain immense imperial coverage. Beginning in their youth, the Scottish people learned about their significant role in the construction and maintenance of the British Empire with the assistance of the educational pillar of Scottish civil society. It is little wonder, then, that they would maintain such a powerful interest in the empire even as it collapsed around them.

The final chapter, 'Witnesses to Decolonization,' utilizes oral history testimonies from the Scottish Decolonisation Project, collected in the 1980s and 1990s, to show that the vast majority of Scots who worked and lived in the empire thought that it ended too soon. On reflection, only the missionaries, as a group, were happy with the pace of decolonization. Overall, the empire was a major component of Scottish national identity until the mid-1960s, and whether these men and women were for or against its continuance, they spoke with great enthusiasm about their role during its final years.

1
Scottish Business and Empire

Business was at the heart of the British Empire. Trade helped build the empire, both formal and informal, and remained its raison d'être even as other notions, such as the civilizing mission, grabbed the headlines as well as the hearts and minds of many British people. According to the historiography, the strong connection between capitalists and government actually led business pressure groups to agitate for safe markets in the empire and demand Westminster backing when searching for new opportunities to invest their capital in previously untapped areas.[1] This close connection between capitalists and the British Government meant that economics played a crucial role in the development of imperial policy. This, however, raises an important question. Since British business was intimately connected with the British Empire, how did its leaders react to the winding down of empire during the era of decolonization? More specifically, how did Scottish businessmen view the end of empire?

In order to understand the views of Scots towards imperial business concerns it is important to unveil the state of the economy at home. Scotland's economy following the end of the Second World War remained stubbornly concentrated on the heavy industries of coal, steel, and shipbuilding. These three industries dominated the Scottish economy from 1870 to 1950.[2] Even though steel and shipbuilding would remain integral components of the Scottish economy into the 1960s, much of this continued production was done at the behest of politicians looking to placate social pressures.[3] Market forces were, at times, largely ignored. This placed great strain on the Scottish economy, leading to economic turmoil especially from the late 1950s. Accordingly, Scotland needed access to all of the external markets it could secure or hold.[4] The imperial markets cultivated by Scottish

businesses provided possible relief to the problems at home. Scottish imperial business, after all, had a long and storied history of providing for the nation.

This chapter begins by looking at the history of Scottish attempts to build their own commercial empire before the Act of Union of 1707, culminating with the Darien Scheme. The Darien Scheme was a business venture that involved a large proportion of the Scottish population as investors and exemplified the overwhelming Scottish desire to build a commercial empire of their own. This aspiration nearly bankrupted the country and helped bring about the Union of 1707. The chapter then looks at the first major Scottish commercial success within the British Empire: the powerful role of Glaswegian merchants in the tobacco trade between 1740 and the American War of Independence. A brief investigation of Scottish business interests within the empire during the nineteenth century will follow.

The focus then turns to the era of decolonization and three Scottish businesses in particular: John Lean and Sons, a muslin manufacturer in Glasgow; the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, run by the Scotsman Sir William Fraser; and the African Lakes Corporation, a multifaceted trading organization based solely in the Nyasaland Protectorate. The archives of all three of these distinct business ventures do not demonstrate a close attachment between commerce and the continuation of empire as the latter rapidly collapsed. Instead, the leaders of these businesses were adamantly against agitating the nationalists in their respective spheres of operation on the Indian subcontinent, in Iran, and in Nyasaland. They all believed that business and nationalist politics were like oil and water: they did not mix. With these three businesses being dependent on foreign territories for their survival, either within the formal or informal British Empire, they focused on placating the indigenous peoples. For Scottish business leaders, this seemed to be the only sensible thing to do as British influence waned.

The final section of this chapter investigates working-class views on the end of the empire. The General Council of the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC), with substantial input from its members, passed resolutions and then submitted the organization's views to the government minister responsible. This section demonstrates the anti-imperial nature of the STUC's members as they, for the most part, vilified the British Government for the continuance of empire. But this was not the opinion of all members of the working class. Many working-class men and women, including those within the Orange Order, were strong supporters of the British Empire. Thus, the views and resolutions of

the STUC represent only one variant of the opinion of workers on the British Empire.

Overall, this chapter demonstrates that the era of decolonization elicited both expected and unexpected views from business elites and workers. Whether they made their views explicit or quietly discussed the repercussions of its end, all members of what may be dubbed the business class shared one thing in common: an abiding interest in the British Empire.

Scottish Commercial Empire-Building Prior to Union

The Scottish understood the importance of foreign trade well before the Act of Union of 1707 exposed them to the opportunities presented by the British Empire. Trade was considered by elites to be the means of asserting the independence of Scotland from its more powerful English neighbour.[5] Trade was also determined to be the fastest way to wealth, which would solve the omnipresent problem of a stagnant Scottish economy.[6] In 1622, Sir William Alexander established a Scottish colony in present-day Nova Scotia. After ten fairly unproductive years, the territory was surrendered to France via treaty. The Guinea Company of Scotland, formed in 1636, attempted to trade with Africa. However, after just one year the Company failed when its ship, the *St. Andrew of Edinburgh*, was seized by the Portuguese and its crew murdered.[7] A further hindrance to the development of Scottish trade occurred with the passage of the Navigation Act by the English Parliament in 1660. This act prevented the Scots from trading with the English colonies.[8] A more concentrated effort by the Scots to break into global trade occurred with excursions to South Carolina in 1682 and East New Jersey in 1685. While the South Carolina settlement was overrun by superior Spanish military forces in September 1686, the East New Jersey colony proved much more successful given that it was the product of collaboration between both Scottish and English Quakers.[9] The Scots did not enjoy great success with their early colonial ventures, but the collective appetite of the country had been whetted by the economic possibilities of a grand imperial enterprise.

William of Orange arrived in England in 1688. In 1689, William and Mary were declared the rightful monarchs of England, Wales, and Scotland first by the Convention Parliament in England and then by the Scottish Parliament. William immediately embarked upon a foreign policy defined by almost constant war with France. The war with France was not only debilitating because of the manpower demanded by the Royal

Navy, but it also reduced Scottish trade with the Continent.[10] As the 1690s progressed, Scotland would be hit with a calamitous famine. The first harvest to fail occurred in August 1695. It was followed by failures in 1696 and 1697. The year 1697 did not carry the same consequences as a result of the two-pronged move by the Privy Council to pay a bounty on imports for two months beginning in August 1696 and the prohibition of grain exports. This mechanism allowed Scotland to stockpile grain. The famine continued in 1698 with yet another failed crop just as the first set of Darien settlers were on their way west to try to change the economic fortunes of Scotland. Only with the successful harvests in 1699 and 1700 did the spectre of famine fade from the Scottish collective conscience.[11] The damage to the Scottish economy created by the famine had been immense. Scotland amassed high trade deficits in its attempt to feed the population during the famine years.[12] Yet, the Darien expedition pushed onwards. Thus, Darien, or a similar grand trading project, was viewed as the best way for Scotland to escape its inherent poverty. According to the Scottish political philosopher and statesman Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Darien was a gamble to 'recover us from our miserable and despicable condition.'[13] For the Scots, commerce was the sole reason for engaging in empire. Darien seemed the perfect solution for Scotland's economic woes.

The Darien Expedition

The Darien Scheme was officially put to the Directors of the Company of Scotland on 28 July 1696.[14] In 1698 the first of the two Darien expeditions set sail from Leith with a view towards alleviating Scotland's endemic economic woes.[15] Upon arrival at the Isthmus of Darien, the Scots established the town of New Edinburgh with Fort St. Andrew to defend it.[16] In addition to an inhospitable climate, which ravaged the settlers with disease and death, the Scots were attempting to erect a colony loathed by both the Spanish and English colonial powers.[17] Although political thinkers as diverse as John Locke and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun thought that the Darien Scheme was economically sound, the opposition facing the Scots proved too overwhelming for the financially strained country to handle.[18]

The Isthmus of Darien lies in present-day Panama and was strategically located between two of the Spanish Empire's most important colonial cities: Cartagena and Portobelo. Cartagena was one of Spain's great naval bases in the Caribbean, while Portobelo served as the focal point of Spanish trade in the region. A successful Scottish colony at Darien

would have undermined Spanish prestige as a great imperial power and threatened their existing commercial enterprises.[19] The Spanish attacks on the Scottish colony at Darien were expected. What the Scots were not counting on was severe opposition from the English.

Lord Tweeddale, King William's regent in Scotland, approved the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies in 1695 while the king was engaged on the Continent in war with France. William was angered that the Act had been passed in his absence because he felt that it could be damaging to English commercial interests.[20] The king is recorded as stating that the Act establishing the Company had left him 'ill-served by Scotland.'[21] But of more pressing importance were the strategic difficulties that could arise if William placed English support behind the Scots. On 20 May 1697, a letter from the Right Honourable James Vernon, Principal Secretary of State to King William, reached the English Board of Trade. The correspondence outlined that the Company of Scotland had set its sights on Darien for its imperial endeavour. Mr Vernon asked the Board what should be done to prevent the Scots from succeeding in a project that would injure the Spaniards and be 'prejudicial to the trade of this kingdom.'[22] The Earl of Tankerville, assisted by John Locke, conducted a thorough analysis of the feasibility of the Darien Scheme and presented it to the Board of Trade on 2 July 1697. Their findings were the following:

> It would be no very difficult matter for any European prince or estate to make some secure settlement in Darien, and, by a fair correspondence with the natives, engage them in defence against all enemies. How injurious this will be to the Spaniards is easily conceived; and how prejudicial to his Majesty's colonies, especially Jamaica, by alluring away the inhabitants, is hard to be expressed. They therefore recommend a proclamation against joining the enemies of Spain, and to respect the treaties, especially those of Madrid 8/18 July, 1670; and also a prohibition of help to the Scotch, and to take any Englishmen here in Scotch ships.[23]

Accordingly, William declared that no English colonies should provide aid to the Scottish colonizers of Darien.[24] After all, the Spanish were a major ally of William in his wars with France. Strategically, he could not afford to lose their support or, even worse, have them ally with the French. The Scots were left to their own devices. Given the weak financial state of the country, they were bound to fail, and the Union became a viable solution to the severe economic difficulties they faced.

Scottish Imperial Business after 1707

Following the Act of Union of 1707, the Scots were slow to engage with the empire commercially. The nation was wracked by the Jacobite Rebellions, which exacerbated the Highland-Lowland divide. Internecine conflict seemed to be the norm rather than the exception. However, beginning around 1740 Scottish tobacco merchants centred in Glasgow began to surge forward in this imperial trade. The trade in tobacco would grow to become 'the most remarkable example of Scottish commercial enterprise in the imperial economy during the course of the eighteenth century.'[25] It was, in fact, 'Scotland's first global enterprise,' and it was made possible by the Act of Union.[26] After all, the Union allowed the Scots to trade directly with the British colonies, something that was forbidden from the time of the Navigation Act of 1660 until 1707.

By 1765, Scottish firms controlled 40 per cent of all tobacco imports to Britain, and they moved quickly to pay their customs duties and resell it, mainly to Continental Europe. The importation of tobacco to Scotland for resale on the Continent, however, was just one part of their multifaceted business. They also established stores around the Chesapeake and further inland to help cultivate the growth of tobacco planting amongst smaller-scale farmers. These general stores provided the planters with the goods they desired from Europe. They were managed exclusively by Scots as an apprenticeship for learning the business.[27] These stores also served as frontier banks, lending credit to smaller planters so they could purchase the slave labour that made tobacco a cost-effective cash-crop.[28] Back in Glasgow, these so-called Tobacco Lords decided to make even greater profits by establishing a series of small workshops and factories to produce the commodities demanded by the planters.[29] Imperial trade was creating some of the first industry in Scotland while turning Glasgow into an international commercial mecca. These colonial profits would, in turn, help drive Scottish industrialization, which eventually led to Glasgow being dubbed the 'Workshop of the British Empire' and the 'Second City of Empire.'

One aspect of the Scottish tobacco trade is especially interesting. The money to found these trading businesses came mainly from the savings of established merchant families, some of whom had worked for at least two generations in the tobacco trade but never experienced the success their descendants were to enjoy, and not from loans. Moreover, these tobacco merchants would reinvest almost all of their profits back into the business, rather than taking it out in dividends or salaries. Thus when a Scottish business proved successful, it would enjoy high levels

of capitalization. This capital would then serve to finance continued expansion.[30] Also of great interest is the fact that not a single Scottish aristocrat was involved in the tobacco business. These merchants were overwhelmingly 'from the "middling elements" in Scottish society', with a few from lower down the social ladder.[31] There would be a strong parallel in the backgrounds of those wealthy middle-class families that funded the African Lakes Corporation in the mid-1870s, although for completely different reasons.

Thousands of large and small Scottish businesses developed around the opportunities afforded by the British Empire. One of the most important, founded in 1832, was the trading firm Jardine Matheson. This firm would become the greatest of the India and China agency houses, bill brokers, and bankers.[32] There is, however, a darker side to the history of this very Scottish company. They were heavily involved in the trade of opium, produced in India and sold in China. This sale of opium, declared illegal by the Daoguang Emperor, would bring Britain and China into conflict in the First and Second Opium Wars. When the first conflict concluded with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the British received the island of Hong Kong and access to trade in five ports rather than just Canton.[33] The second war, concluded when the Treaties of Tientsin were ratified in 1860, legalized the opium trade. Jardine Matheson's sale of opium, along with other British traders, helped correct the trade imbalance caused by excessive British consumption of tea produced in China. The British addiction to caffeine in tea could not match the debilitating addiction caused by opium. Accordingly, the trade imbalance with China soon turned in Britain's favour. Statements by the two Scottish directors of the company are a testament to putting profit before decency. Dr William Jardine claimed that investing in opium was 'the safest and most gentlemanly speculation I am aware of.' James Matheson argued that selling opium in China was 'morally equivalent' to the sale of brandy and champagne in Britain.[34] This Scottish business came to prominence and was able to diversify off the addictions of the Chinese. The company remains in existence today under the control of the Keswick family, who are descendants of Dr Jardine's sister Jean.

Another Scottish giant of the imperial economy was William Mackinnon, one of the financial backers of the African Lakes Corporation, a director of the Suez Canal Company, and Chairman of the Imperial East Africa Company. His numerous business interests also included the British India Steam Navigation Company, which enjoyed great success in the shipping of goods, mail, troops, and civilian passengers around the Indian Ocean and beyond. Even

more importantly, all of his ships were built on the Clyde, helping to bolster the heavy industries associated with shipbuilding. In addition, Mackinnon placed Scottish merchant houses all around the Indian Ocean and staffed them with friends and family. He was a leader in promoting 'British business imperialism' and served as a model for all Scottish international businesses.[35] The Scots helped their kin succeed in imperial business pursuits, just as had been the case with the Tobacco Lords. Evidence of this trait would be in great abundance with the African Lakes Corporation.

Scottish business during decolonization

A number of Scottish imperial businesses were in operation both during and after decolonization. The three main examples cited here, John Lean and Sons, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and the African Lakes Corporation, all engaged in businesses primarily dependent on empire for sales and/or raw materials. They remained closely connected to Scotland, though, and helped improve the Scottish economy through their commerce. What is most interesting about these three drastically divergent businesses is their relation to the British Empire. John Lean and Sons made a great push into the Indian market from 1848 to 1857, and their business thrived on the subcontinent following the Mutiny in 1857. This muslin-weaving industry followed the formal empire to become prosperous. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which started with the D'Arcy Concession in 1901 and thrived following the discovery of commercial amounts of oil in the southwestern corner of Iran in 1908, was originally named the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC). The APOC was a subsidiary of the Burmah Oil Company Ltd, a fully Scottish concern founded by David Sime Cargill in Glasgow in 1886. APOC would be renamed the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) in 1935 when Reza Shah Pahlavi asked the international community to refer to the country simply as Iran. The creation of the D'Arcy Concession was fully supported by the British Government in its ongoing battle with Russia for influence in Iran.[36] This oil concession would make the AIOC very wealthy and mark Britain as the predominant outside influence within the country. In many ways, and with the full support of the British Government, this oil company played a major role in the creation of informal empire in Iran that would last until the Abadan Crisis that began in 1951. Finally, the African Lakes Corporation's (ALC) involvement in Central Africa would play a major role in convincing Britain to turn the territory known today as Malawi into an official Protectorate of

the British Empire.[37] The ALC was helping to lead the establishment of formal empire in Central Africa.

So what exactly constitutes formal versus informal empire? The beginnings of the term 'informal empire' date from the early 1930s. During Michaelmas Term 1933, C. R. Fay, a Reader in Economic History at the University of Cambridge, delivered the Beit Lectures on Colonial Economic History at the University of Oxford. These lectures would be published in 1934 as *Imperial Economy and its Place in the Formation of Economic Doctrine, 1600–1932*. In this rarely cited work, Fay developed the idea of informal empire as it would be used by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher in their famous article of 1953, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade.'[38] Fay contrasted the formal empire of the West Indies, where the British held political hegemony over these colonies of economic exploitation, with the informal empire Britain enjoyed in Argentina. For Fay, informal empire was a form of economic empire. Economic empire may lead to formal imperial political control of a region or state, or it may just remain an economic domain that is 'formalized by treaty relations between political independent powers.'[39] For Fay,

> The nature of the trade with South America and the ultimate emergence of the South American Republics ended the case for a policy that had been conceived for the North American plantations. There now arose an opportunity for an empire of commerce which extended beyond the empire of the flag.[40]

In contrasting the type of British investment in the Commonwealth country of Canada (formerly a formal political possession) and that in Argentina, it becomes clear that Fay believed Argentina was an example of a colony of the British *in*formal empire. The tie that bound Argentina to Britain was capital investment:

> England has invested heavily in Argentine enterprise, and she assists actively in the management of the capital thus invested. She has also invested heavily in Canada, but mainly in government bonds or prior charges; and Canadians manage their own businesses. England has a more intimate interest in the Argentinian than in the Canadian balance-sheet of industry and transport.[41]

By having control over the capital invested in Argentina, Britain could wring concessions out of the Argentine government without needing to take formal control of it. This is exactly the scenario that was playing out

in Iran when the D'Arcy Concession was signed. Overall, Fay's introduction of the term 'informal empire' would influence Sir Keith Hancock in the second volume of the *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* (1940) and inspire the work of Robinson and Gallagher.[42]

Robinson and Gallagher's seminal article, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade,' took the definition of informal empire, advanced by Fay, even further. They claimed that Britain would uphold its paramount position 'by informal means if possible, or by formal annexations when necessary.'[43] Although the case of John Lean and Sons does not apply as this company entered the well-established formal empire of India, both the AIOC and the ALC played important roles in the cultivation of the British Empire, and further definition is necessary to understand why informal was possible in Iran and formal was necessary in Central Africa.

Robinson and Gallagher stated that imperialism is a

> sufficient political function of this process of integrating new regions into the expanding economy [which was caused by rapid British industrialization]; its character is largely decided by the various and changing relationships between the political and economic elements of expansion in any particular region and time.[44]

This definition allowed them to argue that imperialism may also exist as strategic protection for economic interests (as in the case of formal empire in Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and the Suez zone acting as strategic colonies to protect the shipping lanes to the East and the Jewel in the Crown of the British Empire: India). Britain would only engage in formal imperialism if an area held, or was the key to, extensive economic opportunity and the security of the territory was weak. Once the British installed the proper political frameworks or found/trained reliable collaborators they would relax their control.

Applying the criteria outlined by Robinson and Gallagher to the Scottish imperial businesses makes clear why informal empire worked in regards to Iran while formal empire was necessary in Central Africa. In the case of Iran, the British Government was dealing with a leader in Shah Mozzafar al-Din who was eager to collaborate with the British because of the potential wealth involved.[45] They also avoided alienating the Russians by excluding the oil concession from the five most northerly provinces of Iran.[46] The recipe for informal empire was right.

The situation in Central Africa was vastly different. The ALC and its closely connected Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland

were operating in the area west and southwest of Lake Nyasa that belonged to numerous warring tribes without any semblance of a national government. Some Africans were willing to collaborate in exchange for protection, while others fought the ALC with words and in battles. The tribal societies in place seemingly could not change their economic circumstances without outside assistance from the Scots on the ground. Also, the Portuguese Empire in modern-day Mozambique, which controlled water access to the territory via the Zambezi River, pushed for control over the region in the late 1880s. This forced the British Government to either step in with protection to keep the Portuguese out or watch the territory, where strong Scottish influence had already been established, disappear. When combined, these factors led to the implementation of British formal empire in Central Africa in line with the criteria outlined by Robinson and Gallagher. Overall, Scottish companies and their interests were closely associated with the institution of both informal and formal empire around the world.

John Lean and Sons

John Lean and Sons started as drapers and general merchants in the town of Lanark during the early nineteenth century. In 1836, the founder, John Lean Sr., sent his second son, Daniel, to Glasgow to an apprenticeship in a muslin warehouse.[47] The apprenticeship lasted four years, and when Daniel finished his father joined him in Glasgow and they started their own muslin-trading business. As outlined above with the tobacco trade, funding for the expansion of the business was created by reinvesting most of the profits. In the early years, the business focused on the British, European, and North and South American markets. Only after their father retired in 1847 did Daniel and his brother George make a great push into the Indian market where demand for muslin was high, especially amongst Muslims. By 1870, the firm had its own factory in Glasgow with well over 600 looms to cope with the constantly growing demand from the subcontinent.[48]

As decolonization of the British Empire in India quickly unfolded following the end of the Second World War, the cotton trades felt the impact. Communal violence between Hindus and Muslims was especially damaging to a trade that was trying to recover from the shock of the war. John Lean and Sons employed agents in India to sell their Scottish-made goods on the market. The two firms employed to sell their products in India were Bell, Russ, and Co. Ltd. in Bombay and Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. in Calcutta. Of these two firms, the most stirring correspondence

came from the former in Bombay. Their statements about the disastrous implications surrounding Indian independence greatly concerned the Glasgow firm and had them turning to Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. in Calcutta to help allay their fears. As far as the extant archives attest, John Lean and Sons were intent on avoiding the mixing of nationalist politics and business as much as possible, as they were quick to follow the opinion of their agents in Calcutta who proclaimed that Indian independence, and the concomitant partitioning of the subcontinent, would not harm their business in the long run.

Most of the correspondence from Bell, Russ, and Co. Ltd. in Bombay dealt with market conditions in India. Communal violence was creating major problems for the trade of muslin goods from August 1946 through decolonization. On average, two letters would be sent each month from the agents to Glasgow with information on the markets. The very first to mention communal violence was dated 21 August 1946. This violence, both in Bombay and Calcutta, 'had an adverse effect on Trade,' but they hoped the situation would clear up quickly.[49] The situation did not improve, and the markets where muslin was sold were at a standstill because the Indian merchants were afraid to open their shops.[50] By early January 1947, the agents were reporting that the violence could not be worse for business: 'It seems the people are losing confidence and Hindus are afraid to go into Mahomedan localities and vice versa. There is absolutely no business in the Markets and people are not keen to buy forward goods.'[51] This communal violence would continue to damage the market and the interests of John Lean and Sons and their agents in India as the subcontinent moved rapidly towards independence.

A letter dated 4 June 1947 regarding the 'Viceroy's Statement on India' held out hope for market improvement.

> It is frankly admitted on all sides that the Viceroy's announcement is not a superimposed decision but a settlement into which the country has forced itself. The statesman is deeply pained, the professional politician is perhaps half-pleased and the man in the street heaves a sigh of relief in the hope that peace has been purchased. Time alone can reveal the picture in its proper light.[52]

Despite Viceroy Mountbatten's plan for independence and partition of the British Raj into India and Pakistan, a follow-up letter dated 21 June 1947 claimed that communal violence continued unabated. The agents had quickly changed their mind about whether partition could improve market conditions.

> The partitioning of the country into Hindustan & Pakistan is a major calamity from many points of view – especially economic and defence. And until the scheme is worked out in detail and the two parties are ready to assume control over their respective areas, the Interim Government has been asked to function as a caretaker Government only and it is prohibited from initiating any new policies. Everything is in the melting pot and the business world is disturbed over currency & exchange problem that must arise after 15 August.
>
> India's foreign exchange position at present is very unfavourable and it is feared that fresh import restrictions will hamper trade very considerably.
>
> The immediate future is fraught with danger & difficulties; but if these could be surmounted without a serious upheaval in the country and the two 'Nations' settle down to healthy business & industrial development rivalry, British export trade should witness the beginning of a boom as the backward Pakistan areas must needs be developed and wealthy Hindustan is keen on forging ahead.
>
> It is felt that necessity or wisdom or both will compel both Hindustan & Pakistan to remain within the British Empire, otherwise God help this country.[53]

In response to this letter, John Lean and Sons consulted with their agents in Calcutta, Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. They asked for and received the opinion of their Calcutta agents about the future of the piece goods trade in an independent and partitioned subcontinent. In a letter dated 28 July 1947, Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. provided eight reasons as to why John Lean and Sons should not be worried long term. They acknowledged that political friction created an environment that was unhealthy for trade, but this would only be the case in the short term, and soon thereafter markets would stabilize and trade would resume. The transition would also be helped by the fact that the trade of John Lean and Sons occurred almost exclusively in the future India, not in Pakistan.[54]

John Lean and Sons took the advice of their Calcutta agents and informed Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. in late August 1947 that, in their opinion, the political situation would not adversely affect trade and that no action needed to be taken.[55] A letter from Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. confirms this sentiment. Their Calcutta agents stated that 'We are very pleased to learn that you fully agree with us that the partition of India will not affect our trade.'[56] Patience was needed to ride out the trade difficulties caused by the political storm engulfing the post-imperial subcontinent.

Overall, this medium-sized muslin manufacturer from Glasgow knew that its financial welfare depended on the subcontinent's markets to stay in business. The communal violence that attended independence and partition was bad for trade and, expectedly, elicited responses from John Lean and Sons as well as their agents on the subcontinent. However, the company feared getting involved in the politics of the region because it might just spell the end of their business, which was to sell muslin goods to Indians and Pakistanis. Their agents in Calcutta, Gladstone, Wyllie & Co., were more in line with the thinking in Glasgow. Business needed to adapt to changing conditions to maintain market access. Gladstone, Wyllie & Co., who preached patience to John Lean and Sons in their approach to the market during the early days of decolonization, went further and began to adapt to the new post-independence commercial environment by bringing Indians into their business in early 1948. Engagement with the indigenous population, in line with the process of Indianization, would help keep the new Indian government happy.[57] Keeping business free from imperial notions was critical to its survival in a decolonized world. Despite all of the turmoil on the subcontinent, John Lean and Sons adapted and remained in business until 1960.

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company

As discussed briefly above, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) developed following the discovery of oil in southwestern Iran by George Reynolds, who had been hired to find the precious commodity by William Knox D'Arcy, the holder of the concession with the shah. In May 1905 D'Arcy allowed the Burmah Oil Company to finance the exploration effort as he seemed unwilling to spend any more money following four years of funding dead ends. Accordingly, when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) was founded in April 1909, following the discovery of oil in May of the previous year, 97 per cent of the shares were owned by the Burmah Oil Company, a very Scottish enterprise, and the final 3 per cent were held by Lord Strathcona, another Scot who made his fortune working for the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada.[58]

Refining Iranian crude oil into marketable products proved difficult in the early years, and the second Chairman of APOC, Charles Greenway, reached an agreement with the British Government that would put politics front and centre in the business of the company. The company would supply fuel oil to the Admiralty, an outlet desperately needed by the company for this product. Additionally, the British Government

injected £2 million of new capital into the company. In exchange, the Government received a majority shareholding and the right to appoint two directors to the company's board. The Government also agreed, in a letter from Sir John Bradbury, Joint Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, not to interfere in the company's normal commercial operations. The appearance of the company as separate from the British Government would be difficult to prove to anyone looking at a ledger of the shareholders. In 1955, just after the name of the AIOC had been changed to The British Petroleum Company Limited, the British Government controlled 56 per cent of the stock, with Burmah Oil only holding a 24 per cent share.[59] During the time of the Abadan Crisis, the AIOC would have appeared to be a British Government, and therefore a British imperial, concern.

The AIOC encountered major difficulties with the nationalization of their resources in Iran by the National Front Government led by Dr Muhammed Musaddiq. The 1951 seizure of the AIOC's operations in Iran hit the company hard, although they were quick to take advantage of new opportunities in Kuwait and expanded finds in Iraq. The Chairman at the time, Sir William Fraser, maintained the same line throughout the Abadan Crisis. He wanted to see the formulation of an arrangement between Iran and the AIOC through negotiation. There was, for him, nothing political about the AIOC's operations in Iran – nor should there be. Fraser believed, as did the directors of John Lean and Sons, that nationalist politics and business did not mix.

According to the reminiscences of his secretary, Margaret Hudson, Sir William Fraser was deeply invested in Scotland and his Scottish identity. All members of his domestic staff were Scots, and his holidays were spent almost exclusively in Scotland.[60] Even after joining the APOC's board on 1 April 1923, Fraser continued to live in Glasgow. Only after Sir John Cadman became Chairman of the APOC in 1927 did he convince Fraser to reluctantly relocate to London.[61] Oil was in Fraser's blood. His father was the founder of the Pumpherston Oil Company, which served as a major component of the Scottish shale-oil industry. Fraser had followed his father into the family business and was instrumental in saving the entire shale-oil industry in 1919 when he merged all of the separate companies into Scottish Oils Ltd, which was taken over later that year by APOC.[62] Extraction of oil from shale was very expensive, and APOC and then AIOC continued to operate the industry at a loss during Fraser's tenure, helping save Scottish jobs.[63] Fraser's commitment to his nation was undeniable.

Fraser's contention that nationalist politics and business did not mix was not simply formulated for the Abadan Crisis. This was Fraser's mantra throughout his tenure with the APOC/AIOC. When Riza Shah cancelled the D'Arcy Concession at the end of 1932 the reaction by the APOC was formulated by Fraser, with the support of Cadman. Fraser, despite grumblings at the Foreign Office that Britain should take a hard line against Iran, wanted to avoid any action that might aggravate a situation that could be solved 'by fair and just means.'[64] However, the internal disputes between Westminster and the APOC demonstrate that Fraser believed the British Government had taken control of the situation and it was now out of the company's hands.[65] A great deal of money was at stake for the largest shareholder, the British Government, and they began to act like an imperial power. Eventually, after much negotiation, a trip to the League of Nations in Geneva, and a face-to-face meeting between Cadman and the shah in Tehran, a new concession was drawn up between the APOC and the Iranian Government.[66] Fraser's idea to compromise won the day.

Fraser's desire to keep friendly relations with countries of extraction extended to Iraq in 1937. In a letter to Mr E. Gascoigne Hogg in Baghdad, in which he was discussing the type of person who should be appointed as the next Chairman of the Iraq Petroleum Company, Fraser claimed that 'I have throughout my business life been concerned to establish such relations with any parties, whether governments or otherwise, with whom I or my companies have had relations, and all my influence ... has been and will be directed to the maintenance of good relations.'[67] With this goal in mind, Fraser railed against the idea of appointing anyone with a political background.

> [The Board of the AIOC] believe that it would be in this field of action, a profound mistake to mix business and politics. The appointment as Chairman of a person with political and diplomatic antecedents would be regarded in Irak as a proof that H.M. Government are using the I.P.C. to further their own political aims. Every proposal put forward by the Co. would become suspect and liable to opposition and intrigue not only by hostile but by even friendly rational elements.
>
> ... The views of the Board of the AIOC in this matter are strongly fortified by the experience in Iran where there is, as in Irak, a strong nationalist element. It must be in the view of the Board their constant endeavour to maintain the position that they are a trading concern

> whose business is to develop the oil resources of Iran. Anything that gives colour to the suspicion that they are an organ of the British Government raises an atmosphere of hostility in Iranian official quarters which is most difficult to overcome.[68]

Business and nationalist politics did not mix for this very Scottish businessman even before Britain was severely weakened by the Second World War. It was a viewpoint that would stand him in good stead as British influence began to crumble throughout the world after 1945.

An interesting letter from one of the British Government's appointed members to the AIOC, Sir George Barstow, was sent to Fraser in March 1943 regarding the further concessions squeezed out of the company by the Iranian Government during the black days of 1940 when the mere survival of Britain was in question. Barstow claimed that the extra payment being made to the Iranians was nothing more than blackmail, and 'now that the boot is on the other leg with a vengeance I should be very much surprised if the Persian Government were not willing to settle for an absolutely nominal sum.' If they did not agree to this, Barstow stated 'I would give them just nothing.'[69] Fraser drafted a response that was never sent to Barstow. The draft does, however, show that he maintained his belief in not taking an imperial line when dealing with the Iranians. He admitted to being puzzled by Barstow's insistence on giving the Iranians nothing. He called, instead, for cooler heads to prevail since business could not operate effectively if driven by a political vendetta: 'You seem to forget that the Company entered into an arrangement with the Iranian Government, however distasteful this was, and that of course we must honour that undertaking.'[70] For Fraser, the return to power of Britain should not determine the policy of the AIOC. If that was the case, the AIOC could be easily labelled as an imperial aggressor and ejected from Iran and the riches its oilfields provided the company.

Even though the AIOC and Fraser were shocked by the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951, he made it clear in his 'Statement to Stockholders by the Chairman,' written on 16 November 1951 in preparation for the Annual Meeting on 20 December 1951, that the company had done everything to keep business and politics separate.

> I cannot conclude this account without making a clear statement on behalf of the Company with regard to the accusations that have been made by the Iranian Government to the effect that the Company ... has used political interference in order to further its interests in Iran, that it has encouraged administrative corruption in

> Iranian Government Departments and that it has undermined the independence of the Iranian nation. It is a matter of regret to the Company that the Iranian Government should, by such a distortion of facts, present the Company in a completely false light to the world. Not one shred of valid evidence has been or can be produced by the Iranian Government in support of these accusations, and the Company categorically denies that there is any truth in them whatsoever.[71]

Such accusations painted the AIOC as an imperial aggressor. This was not an accusation that this Scottish businessman, so determined to keep his company outside of the political fray, would accept. The AIOC may have been the integral component of British informal empire in Iran, but that did not make Fraser an accomplice. He was adamant in trying to distance his company from such an accusation.

African Lakes Corporation

The African Lakes Corporation, as it was called during the era of decolonization, enjoyed a fascinating history. Just the history of its establishment is of great interest. The great explorer and missionary David Livingstone was troubled by the slave trade in Central Africa and dedicated himself to stamping it out through the development of commerce in the region. The territory he chose for this commercial mission bordered the western side of Lake Nyasa because a dense indigenous population already existed, there was a cash-crop economy amongst the Manganja of the Shire valley, and the Zambezi and Shire Rivers provided an excellent channel for communications with the outside world. Livingstone believed that the establishment of this colony should be made using 'good Christian Scotch families' because they were 'hardy, frugal, and industrious.'[72] This would not come to fruition until after Livingstone's funeral at Westminster Abbey in April 1874.

On 19 May 1874, James Stewart, the head of the Lovedale Institution, South Africa, presented a memorandum to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland for a mission on the shores of Lake Nyasa.[73] In order to fund this mission, Stewart organized a private meeting on 3 November 1874 in the Queen's Hall, Glasgow, with wealthy Glaswegian businessmen. These men, who were dedicated members of the Free Church of Scotland, willingly put up the money to raise Africans from vice and misery so that they would make economic progress and eventually enter the world market as producers and consumers. But this

mission was unlike any other. The wealthy investors comprised the Glasgow Livingstonia Committee, a supposed subcommittee of the Free Church's Foreign Missions Committee, and determined the composition of the 'missionaries' sent to the Shire Highlands region of Lake Nyasa. Accordingly, there was only one ordained missionary attached to the Livingstonia Mission when it left for the region in 1875.[74] The others were a warrant officer of the Royal Navy and five artisans: a sailor, an engineer, a gardener, a blacksmith, and a carpenter. This was a mission dedicated, first and foremost, to commerce.

By October 1876, the industrialist James Stevenson was taking a plan for the creation of a trading company in the region of Lake Nyasa to the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church. Late in 1877 the Foreign Missions Committee approved the creation of this trading company, which would be independent from the mission but closely associated to it. In July 1878 the Livingstonia Central Africa Company was officially incorporated. The same Glaswegian industrialists who were funding and running the mission were also controlling this new trading company.[75] The Livingstonia Central Africa Company, which would be renamed the African Lakes Company in 1881, was meant to assist the ushering of Africans into the world economy by turning them into producers of cash crops that could be sold to Europe and elsewhere. Presumably this would, in turn, eliminate the need of powerful Africans to sell other indigenous peoples into slavery to obtain the goods they desired. But the realities on the ground for the company and its two directors, John and Fred Moir, proved more difficult to handle.

When the Moir brothers arrived, they quickly discovered that there was a massive shortage of the indigenous labour needed to till the ground for the proposed cash-crop economy. Instead, the company made money by shooting elephants for their ivory tusks and establishing stores to trade goods for additional ivory with, mainly, the powerful slave-owning rulers situated around the lake. By trading with these slavers, the ALC actually encouraged the expansion of the slave trade rather than their stated goal of eliminating it.[76] By the middle of the 1880s, the weak and dispossessed African tribes were looking to the ALC and the mission to protect them from the violence and slavery of the more powerful rulers. The ALC, in turn, had the protected chiefs sign petitions to Queen Victoria asking for the declaration of a British protectorate over the region. These petitions were then used by the company and the mission representatives back in Scotland to influence the British Government to declare a protectorate over the ALC's sphere of operations.[77] When the ALC chose to protect the Ngonde tribe from the aggression of the Arabs in

the region, led by a man named Mlozi, the Arabs attacked the company store at Karonga. A two-year war ensued that brought heavy attention to the region in Britain, which, when combined with Portuguese incursions into the area as noted above, brought pressure to bear on Lord Salisbury's Government to establish first the Shire Highlands Protectorate in 1889.[78] Now the ALC and its closely associated Livingstonia Mission had the formal protection of the British Government to develop their trade, advance the region for entry into the world economy, and eliminate the slavery so despised at home by Glaswegian investors and the general public alike. The ALC had played a major role in leading the creation of the formal empire in Central Africa.

What, then, did the ALC think about the coming of decolonization to the region some 70 years later? Between the beginnings of the Protectorate in 1889 and the era of decolonization, the African Lakes Company became the African Lakes Corporation. Their business interests had greatly diversified. From a purely trading business based on general stores, the ALC evolved to include tea and rubber plantations, car dealerships, a construction company, and a quarry, all of which were located in Nyasaland.[79] Given that the ALC's business interests were tied completely to Nyasaland, their views on the rise of nationalism and the declaration of a State of Emergency and eventual independence make clear that the empire they helped create no longer held a special place in their hearts. They led empire into Nyasaland and now, for financial reasons, they were happy to see it go.

As the establishment of the Central African Federation was under consideration, large numbers of African nationalists protested its implementation. The ALC, while reporting the existence of disturbances to their shareholders via the Chairman's year-end statements and discussing them during Directors' meetings, displayed no fear of the coming Federation. In fact, in the first statement by the Chairman following the founding of the Federation, he spoke glowingly of the economic benefits associated with the constitutional change.

> The Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland is now in full operation and the benefits of this are already in evidence in the allocation of £750,000 for the construction and equipment of a Group Hospital in Blantyre, and you will be interested to learn that our Building Department in Nyasaland has been entrusted with the major part of this important contract. The encouragement of local industry in this manner by Government is a source of great satisfaction to all commercial interests in the Territory.[80]

Just like George MacLeod and many within the Church of Scotland, the economic benefits of the Federation were viewed in the early- and mid-1950s with optimism by the ALC. The future seemed bright.[81]

For the years ending on 31 January 1955, 1956, and 1958 the Chairman commented on the rise of nationalism taking hold in Nyasaland, as was the case throughout the entire continent of Africa. In line with the testimonies of many of the interviewees for the Scottish Decolonisation Project, the Chairman, John G. Stephen, claimed that the push for more self-government emanated from a small number of educated Africans.[82] As the tension built in Nyasaland, Stephen warned in his 1958 statement that 'there is an element of danger that this wish may outstrip the real ability to make a constructive contribution to political evolution.'[83] This anticipatory comment was also in line with a large proportion of the testimonies from the Scottish Decolonisation Project where respondents felt, in hindsight, that independence came too fast for much of the empire.[84] Such politically charged comments would disappear following the declaration of the State of Emergency in Nyasaland on 3 March 1959.

When the State of Emergency began, the Board of Directors in Glasgow showed great concern. While the Board demonstrated anxiety for the safety of ALC staff and property, they also asked their director in Nyasaland, Mr Male, to find out what Africans thought of the Central African Federation.[85] The Emergency had opened their eyes to the possible deficiencies inherent in the Federation, because as late as 1957 the ALC believed the Federation was beneficial to the indigenous population. The Chairman claimed that 'There is no doubt that the standards of life of the African population are slowly rising and a continuance of this trend will be the surest way of proving the benefits accruing to Nyasaland from its membership in the Federation.'[86] It appears that the Board had blinders on when it came to general African opinion in the Protectorate. They had, after all, believed that the disturbances in Nyasaland were the work of just a few educated nationalists and unrepresentative of the entire population. The Emergency changed the collective mind of the Board of Directors for the ALC.

The ALC's business took a beating as a result of the Emergency. Their store at Chikwawa was damaged as well as some of the stock.[87] Damage would have been much worse if the ALC's employees had not engaged in patrol duties to protect the property. But more important than the physical destruction to buildings and stock was the damage the Emergency had caused to trade and the operation of the Government, which was responsible for putting construction projects out for bid.[88]

The Chairman, Douglas H. Ross, commented in 1960 that 'One of the main effects of the Emergency, however, was a restriction in the buying capacity of the consumer, purchases being limited to the day-to-day necessities of life and in the case of Government spending an almost complete cessation of building work being offered for tender.'[89] A State of Emergency was not congruent with a healthy business, and the ALC was haemorrhaging money. A solution to the political unrest was needed.

By July 1961, as an election approached on 15 August, Mr W. D. Lewis, Chairman of the Local Board of Management in Blantyre, reported to the Directors that the Africans would, in all likelihood, obtain a majority. If this occurred he thought it would help stabilize Nyasaland and improve trading conditions.[90] As another year dragged by, the Board of Directors became increasingly impatient regarding the unsettled political situation. The ALC continued to post substantial losses through 1961 and into 1962 as the British Government decided whether to grant full independence to the Protectorate. The uncertainty was severely damaging to trade.[91] Although there would be major immediate problems in Nyasaland following independence, the Board began to feel that a state of normalcy would quickly return as good relations between the ALC and the African government were established giving the corporation hope for a prosperous future.[92] Decolonization was the right course to follow for a Scottish business so heavily dependent on a soon-to-be former protectorate of the British Empire.

The Workers and Empire

The workers who toiled in the factories, mines, shipyards, and mills of industrial Scotland did so, in many instances, for businesses that thrived on empire. The conditions for many workers were horrendous, with children as young as five labouring in the mills 'daily for stretches of 13 hours without food, and spent their Sundays in cleaning the machinery.'[93] Unions were created to protect the workers from rapacious industrialists who cared only for profit and not humanity.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC) held its first meeting in Glasgow from 25–27 March 1897. Trades councils, local unions, Scottish-wide unions, and Scottish sections of British unions from the shipping, mining, engineering, textile, and transport industries all sent delegates to the STUC annual meetings and gave them a unified voice in the formulation of policy with debates occurring on many issues, including the empire.[94] This meant that information and ideas from the

most junior worker of a local union could be transmitted to the leadership of the Scottish trade union movement and turned into a resolution to be relayed to the British Government. The elected General Council formed the leadership of the STUC. Following the Congress, the General Council was charged with taking action on the resolutions that were passed. Usually this meant transmitting the STUC's stance to the Government minister responsible. The General Council also could formulate a position for the STUC outside of the actual annual Congress, but this only tended to occur in exceptional circumstances. Most of the resolutions emanating out of the STUC for Government and member consumption were highly critical of the British Empire. This was especially true beginning in 1955.

Between 1945 and 1965, the STUC formulated resolutions on the behaviour of the British Empire in Malaya, Kenya, Tanganyika, Cyprus, British Guiana, Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa, while also discussing the Suez Crisis and the plight of Seretse Khama.[95] Prior to 1955, however, the General Council tended to be rather careful with the use of anti-imperial language. This never seemed to be the case with the delegates proposing motions, however. One case, in particular, stands out. At the 1953 Congress, following the declaration of a State of Emergency in Kenya, Councillor J. Duncan of the Constructional Engineering Union put forward a motion condemning the use of force by the British Government and calling for the STUC to support indigenous Kenyans in their fight for independence. The General Council, while agreeing that the peoples of Kenya had a right to self-determination, felt that 'the terrorism of Mau Mau is doing grievous harm to demands of the Colonial people for justice and security.'[96] The security of Kenya from all types of oppression was paramount if the people were truly to enjoy the liberty and happiness that come from living in a free, democratic society. The General Council, in its condemnation of Mau Mau, was very much in line with the thoughts of the predominantly working-class newspaper the *Daily Record*.[97]

At the 1954 Congress a motion was presented by Mr D. Glasgow of the Scottish Painters' Society entitled 'Co-operation with Colonial Peoples.' This motion called for the STUC to assist colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation from the British Government. The General Council amended the final motion, which passed, to read

> That this Congress, believing it is in the interests of our standard of life that we co-operate with our Colonial brothers in their struggle to free themselves from oppression and to enable them to work in

> harmony in the development of the economic, social and political conditions of their respective countries, considers it is along these lines that the peoples of the Colonies will benefit.[98]

This motion was a long way from demanding immediate independence from Britain, and it displays caution. This would not be the case at the 1955 Congress.

The 1955 Congress saw Mr J. Wood of the National Union of Mineworkers, Scottish Area, provide the following motion:

> That this Congress condemns the colonial policy of the Tory Government, which has led to increased armed repression and has worsened economic conditions and relations between Britain and the colonial countries.
>
> Congress demands full trade union and democratic rights for all peoples and a peaceful settlement for all colonial peoples who are fighting for independence against British imperialism.[99]

Wood justified the motion by stating that 'for the last 200 years, British imperialists had forcibly occupied those countries and drawn wealth from them into their own coffers, with consequences of poverty, degradation and death for millions of colonial people.'[100] Such an utter condemnation of imperial policy would have been tempered in previous years by the General Council, but not this time. Perhaps it was because of the argument made by J. G. Grahl of the Fire Brigades Union in seconding the motion. Grahl claimed that the struggle by colonial peoples for independence was the most important feature of the postwar world and that these poor people were currently suffering at the hands of the same capitalist imperialists that the trades unions constantly fought at home.[101] Whatever the reason, the motion was passed unanimously without any amendment coming from the General Council. Full anti-imperialism would be the policy of the STUC at all future Congresses.[102]

When the Nyasaland Emergency was declared on 3 March 1959, the STUC had been attacking imperialism at their Congresses for over four years. The STUC opposed the creation of the Central African Federation in 1953 because it went against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants.[103] Nothing more, however, appeared on the topic of the Federation until the Emergency. The Emergency in Nyasaland was greeted with an emergency motion by the General Council. The Council charged the British Government with responsibility for advancing the inhabitants of the Protectorate towards self-government. The motion claimed that it

may take some time for Nyasaland to obtain full independence, but the British Government could not leave the Africans in a political community dominated by racist white settlers that treated them as second-class human beings.[104] The resolution that passed unanimously at the 1960 Congress went much further. Entitled 'African Peoples' Rights,' it called for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Nyasaland and recognition of 'the right of the African peoples to majority representation in the legislatures.'[105] In 1961, a resolution calling for outright independence for Nyasaland passed easily. The STUC did not discuss the matter of Nyasaland again at the Annual Congress. Perhaps the delegates and the General Council felt that, by calling for independence for the Protectorate, there was nothing left to relate to the British Government and their membership. By 1962 their attention was placed squarely on Dr Malan's apartheid regime in South Africa.

The anti-imperialism shown by many delegates to the STUC and, eventually, the General Council, did not sit well with all members of the Scottish working-class. In fact, members of the Orange Order, a large, international, Protestant working-class organization with their headquarters based in Glasgow, showed great enthusiasm for the British Empire throughout the era of decolonization.[106] In the address of the Imperial Grand Master in 1949, the empire was of the greatest importance and its loss 'would mean world disaster.' The Imperial Grand Master 'asked the brethren from overseas to use their influence to keep the Empire intact, and help it to remain as a great power in the world, united and strong.'[107] The Order also claimed pride in the work of their members throughout the British Empire 'in keeping the Commonwealth together.'[108] This unwavering enthusiasm for the British Empire is, perhaps, explained by the Orange Order's close connections to Northern Ireland, which is viewed by many as a symbol of Britain's imperial legacy. Whatever the reason, the Orange Order demonstrated imperial enthusiasm throughout the era of decolonization.

While the Orange Order definitely preached a loyalty and enthusiasm for empire, that does not mean other working-class men and women wanted to see its demise. Many members of the working class viewed the empire as integral to their economic well-being. Even Tom Johnston, the firebrand Labour Member of Parliament (MP) and arguably the best-ever Secretary of State for Scotland, was a staunch supporter of the empire because he believed it brought huge benefits to everyone involved in Britain and its colonies.[109] Being a member of the working class was not synonymous with anti-imperial sentiment. Being a delegate to the STUC, however, usually meant exactly that.

The intimate connection between business and empire from the seventeenth century to the beginnings of the twentieth century did not fall away during the era of decolonization. John Lean and Sons, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and the African Lakes Corporation depended heavily on imperial markets and resources for the health of their businesses. The difference was that these commercial leaders understood a rise in nationalism in their primary spheres of operation demanded they remain silent on political issues if they wanted to continue their businesses in the future. This was exactly what happened. The STUC, on the other hand, did not feel the same about remaining silent from 1955. Their members filed motion after motion at the annual Congresses, and the General Council submitted additional resolutions to the British Government throughout the years as imperial problems developed. But the anti-imperialism of the STUC did not permeate the views of all members of the working class. Other organizations like the Orange Order lent unyielding public support to the continuance of the British Empire. Overall, business leaders and workers expressed their views on the empire in vastly different ways. They did demonstrate, however, a fundamental interest in all things imperial, either through their actions or proclamations, as the era of decolonization rapidly passed into history.

2
The Church and the Empire

The British Government established the Central African Federation in 1953 with the aim of furthering the economic growth of the territories of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia while simultaneously countering South African influence in the region.[1] In reality, the Federation amounted to domination by a white minority government based in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The Africans in the Protectorate of Nyasaland, afraid that such a system would allow the white settlers controlling the government of Southern Rhodesia to impose the colour-bar over all three territories, railed against the imposition of the Federation. Assessing the effects of this debate over Nyasaland, the historian Stephen Howe claimed that 'Of all colonial issues, that which attracted most controversial attention in the early 1950s was the fate of Britain's Central African territories.'[2]

This controversy continued throughout the decade and incited the Church of Scotland missionaries, who vociferously denounced the Federation and called for African self-government. During the late nineteenth century, Scottish missionaries had been central to the establishment of a British Protectorate over Nyasaland in order to shield the indigenous population from the ravages of the Arab slave trade. They believed it was their duty to ensure that Africans in Nyasaland were not abused by any form of government over the territory as they moved towards eventual self-government. But given that missionaries had stood at the forefront of the British Empire and its civilizing mission in the nineteenth century, why did their opinions change during the era of decolonization?[3] Did the Church of Scotland turn against the British Empire after the Second World War, thus compelling their charges in the field to follow?

The key to understanding the Church of Scotland's position towards the British Empire during the era of decolonization is the larger-than-life figure of the Right Reverend George MacLeod. MacLeod served as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from May 1957 to May 1958. Although he had drawn the ire of many on the right inside and outside the Church during his life, he drew praise from all quarters after his death in June 1991. The *Glasgow Herald* declared MacLeod 'the greatest Scottish churchman of the century' and then went on to describe him as 'the most remarkable Scot of the twentieth century.'[4] MacLeod, who was never afraid to speak his mind, held strong pacifist and socialist beliefs acquired during the course of a very colourful life.[5] After distinguishing himself in the First World War for conspicuous bravery, MacLeod returned to Scotland deeply affected by the horrors he witnessed in the trenches and determined to train for the ministry.

MacLeod was ordained in 1924 as a Church of Scotland minister. His path to the Moderatorship of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, however, would not be a typical one. In 1930, he left his position at St. Cuthbert's Church in Edinburgh to become minister at Govan Old Parish Church. His decision to take this posting was not the path normally taken by a future Moderator. The Govan Old Parish Church was in a very deprived section of Glasgow where he came face-to-face with the massive social problems caused by high levels of poverty amongst the working class. The position would take its toll on his mental and physical health, and in 1938 he resigned to found the Iona Community. One of the goals of the Iona Community was to rebuild the ruined abbey using the combined efforts of ministers, students, and unemployed labourers.[6] Although MacLeod was seen as a maverick by many within the conservative Church of Scotland, the Iona Community provided him with a high profile, supplemented by his brilliant oratorical skills. In 1957, MacLeod fully returned to the mainstream of the Church of Scotland with his election as Moderator. Thus, he came into office during the heated debates over the Central African Federation and the high levels of nationalism that this produced amongst indigenous Africans in Nyasaland (a truly Scottish protectorate).[7]

MacLeod, however, was not the anti-colonial crusader that many, both enemies and friends, made him out to be. His thoughts on the matter of empire proved much more nuanced. MacLeod only spoke against empire in regards to the Central African Federation after the declaration of an Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959 in which over 1,300 Africans were detained and 51 killed (this violent suppression occurred

because the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, believed that a 'murder plot' had been arranged in the case of Dr Hastings Banda's arrest).[8] In fact, he thought strategically rather than ideologically about his actions and those of the Church of Scotland when discussion turned to the empire in general and the Central African Federation specifically. As this chapter will illustrate, many of the missionaries of the Church of Scotland were strongly anti-empire. But this does not describe MacLeod or the Church of Scotland before the spring of 1959. If anything, MacLeod and the Church remained strong defenders of Britain's imperial mission to educate the peoples of the world in the ways of Western governance before transferring power.[9] This chapter shows that the Church of Scotland missionaries in Central Africa did not take their cue from MacLeod prior to May 1959.[10] They formed their opinions about the Federation and the British Empire through firsthand knowledge of the state of affairs on the ground. Meanwhile, the most radical prescription offered by MacLeod back in Scotland prior to the declaration of an Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959 was to fight the potential imposition of the colour-bar by the white minority regime that controlled the Central African Federation.

The historiography on the Church of Scotland and the end of the British Empire is thin, but growing. The most important historian to take up this theme is T. M. Devine. In 'The Break-up of Britain?' Devine states that after 1945 'the Church of Scotland vigorously supported the cause of black nationalism in Africa and, through its annual General Assembly, criticised the government for not conceding independence more quickly.'[11] Along the same lines, but argued in greater detail, J. H. Proctor claims that missionaries played a major role in the rise of African nationalism because they oversaw the education of nationalist leaders at mission schools. He contends that the Church felt compelled to promptly transfer power to black Africans or else risk losing them as parishioners in a post-colonial era.[12] Yet despite the claims of Devine and Proctor, there is no evidence showing that the Church of Scotland felt compelled to call for the dissolution of the British Empire in any colony prior to the momentous General Assembly of May 1959.

David Maxwell's chapter in the *Oxford History of the British Empire's* Companion Series volume on *Missions and Empire*, however, offers another interpretation. According to Maxwell, the missionaries on the spot were helping determine the policy of the Church at home, but not to the extent claimed by Proctor. Maxwell asserts that 'in Nyasaland missionaries attached to the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian successfully

mobilized the socially conservative Church of Scotland against the federation imposed by the British government.'[13] Many high-ranking Church officials, as will be outlined below, found themselves wary of the Central African Federation while being dead set against moves by the Federation's white minority government to obtain Dominion status. They were convinced that Dominion status for the Federation would lead to the imposition of government-imposed racial discrimination in the country. For the Church of Scotland, whose members preached the equality of all men in the eyes of God, the separate and unequal conditions fostered by the colour-bar could not be tolerated. But the leaders of the Church, including MacLeod, remained convinced that the Africans benefitted from the additional training in self-government that accompanied protection for Nyasaland.[14] However, when the Federation appeared to be turning away from an experiment in economy building and towards white minority domination, as evidenced by the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959, the Church and MacLeod became vehement in their opposition.

The missionaries had been dead set against the inclusion of Nyasaland in a federation for many years because they knew of African resistance to the idea. According to Andrew Ross, a former missionary interviewed for the Scottish Decolonisation Project, as far back as 1927 the missions in Nyasaland told the government that they did not want to take part in a federation with the countries south of the Zambezi. The missions said no again in 1938, and they continued to fight the imposition of the Federation right through its adoption and, of course, beyond. For Ross, the goodwill that existed between Africans and the whites of the colonial service was replaced by bitterness in the 1950s after this betrayal.[15] With the imposition of the Central African Federation, the Africans felt that the British Government had shirked its legal duty to protect them and their territory.

John Stuart, when discussing missionaries in Nyasaland, argues that they were not, as a rule, against the empire. He claims that the experience of the Central African Federation turned them against imperialism.[16] As shown by Ross' testimony, the missionaries of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland felt that they held a responsibility towards the people of Nyasaland to protect them from a minority white regime in Southern Rhodesia that did not believe in equality. MacLeod and many ministers of the Church at home also felt a strong responsibility to protect the indigenous Africans of Nyasaland. But unlike the missionaries on the ground, they never showed ready acceptance

or enthusiasm for decolonization in Central Africa until after the Emergency of 1959.

For the Church of Scotland at home, missionary displays of enthusiasm for colonial independence went too far. J. W. C. Dougall, General Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland, was upset that some of his ministers were associating themselves with the views of the independence-seeking Nyasaland African Congress and not adhering to the Church line of trying to influence change within the Central African Federation.[17] Yet for an influential missionary like Andrew Doig, who served as a representative of the Nyasaland Africans in the Assembly of the Central African Federation, independence was the only right course of action. Doig did not care if the white settlers thought of him as one-sided because 'it was more important that I held the confidence of the African electorate or potential electorate [those he represented in the Assembly] than that I satisfied a few here and there in the European community.'[18] Doig also made clear his admiration for a Scot who led Nyasaland out of the Federation. This, of course, was the Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod.[19] Interestingly, and perhaps most tellingly, Doig never mentioned George MacLeod or the Church of Scotland as leading Africa out of empire. This is because MacLeod and the Church maintained a reformist outlook towards the Federation until the fateful year of 1959.

This missionary contempt for the Central African Federation and empire was noticed by conservative elements in the British Government and the Federation. On his return from a visit to Nyasaland in March 1959 Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, informed the Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, that he was 'much impressed by the evidence of the persistent fomenting by the Church of Scotland of opposition to Federation.'[20] This opposition also led to a show of open hostility towards Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, during his visit to Livingstonia in August 1958.[21] According to the official report, Dalhousie was treated 'with the greatest discourtesy' on his arrival, being booed by the Africans as the missionaries stood 'smugly' by.[22] The former Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, in looking back on his time in office, blamed the Church of Scotland for the problems associated with trying to convince the Africans in Nyasaland to accept the federal system of government. He singled out MacLeod for leading the left-wing of the Church in its hostile and uncomprehending interest in Central African affairs.[23] But it was neither the Church of Scotland

nor MacLeod who inspired the missionaries into their anti-Federation and anti-empire stance. As Stuart has argued, the missionaries on the ground were well informed about the extent of African opposition to the Federation, and this was why they opposed its implementation in 1953.[24] This opposition, however, was out of step with the opinion of the Kirk at home.

The Church of Scotland and George MacLeod in Africa

As the Second World War was coming to an end, the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland presented its report to the General Assembly in May 1945.[25] Under the heading of 'Empire Interests' they explained the importance placed on Colonial Development by the British Government. They quoted the report entitled 'Mass Education in African Society' (Colonial Number 186, 1944), which stated that three things needed to be done for the peoples of the Colonial Empire:

1. improve their health and living conditions
2. improve their economic well-being
3. develop political institutions and political power until the day arrives when these people can become effectively self-governing.[26]

This accorded with most of the sentiments expressed by the missionaries cited above, although self-government was achieved much earlier than the Church would have dared to predict at this time.

In addition to being committed to eventual self-government for all colonial peoples, the Church of Scotland was vehement in its opposition to racial discrimination by white settlers against the indigenous inhabitants of Britain's African colonies and protectorates. In 1951, the Church and Nation Committee made its viewpoint on racial discrimination clear in regards to South Africa and its policy of apartheid.[27] They stated that the United Kingdom Government had a moral and legal responsibility to ensure that Africans in the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland would not be incorporated into the Union of South Africa, which would fundamentally alter their lives.[28] Similarly, the proposed federation of Nyasaland with Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia would create the same problems, as the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia would determine the well-being of the vast majority of the populations in these territories: the indigenous Africans.

In 1953, the Church and Nation Committee went even further in declaring the need to respect the rights of every individual in a multi-racial society:

> The recurring difficulty of the multi-racial state is to achieve harmony within its own borders, give freedom to all its citizens and yet remain within the Commonwealth. The time calls for sympathy, understanding and constant thought and there is urgent need for bold action. Delay in facing the grave issues may be dangerous; courage and sincerity in facing them may yet find a way of peace and prosperity. Human rights must be recognised and the opportunity for a free and full life given to all.[29]

This sentiment was further evidenced in the Committee's Supplementary Report on the Central African Federation from May 1953. The Church was very concerned that the creation of the Central African Federation went against the expressed wishes of the African population, especially in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. According to the report,

> The Scheme ... does not meet the basic opposition of Africans nor of many people in our own land. In the minds of Africans, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, there is a deep fear of domination of the Federation by Southern Rhodesia and an extension thereby of the baneful effects of Colour-Bar. It is largely because of this fear that Africans have refused to cooperate. Many in this country feel that, if the Scheme is set up in the face of African opposition, a great principle of our Colonial Policy and indeed one of the principles of the Atlantic Charter will have been departed from.[30]

The report went on to state that the Church of Scotland must not say anything that 'would foment strife or encourage unlawful action' against the Federation, although 'it must still deplore that Federation will be set up without the consent of Africans.' But the success of the scheme moving forward would depend on the ability of all peoples of the Federation to work together. The Church wanted the Africans to give the Federation a fair trial because the Government said it was meant 'to conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all the inhabitants.' The paragraph concluded, however, with a sense of looming disaster: 'The Church of Scotland prays that the fears which are in the hearts of many in this country and in Africa may not be realised.'[31] At

the end of the report, the Committee stated that it would remain vigilant in protecting the rights of Africans: 'The Church of Scotland must assure the Africans, and especially those under its care, of its constant watchfulness and its sense of obligation to do all in its power to secure the recognition of the rights of the African in his own land.'[32]

After a great deal of debate over the language of the Church's Deliverance on this report in the General Assembly, the following was agreed as the official position:

> The General Assembly, noting that Central African Federation seems now inevitable, still deplore the fact that the consent of the Africans has not been obtained; they call for action to be taken by the Governments and all concerned to reassure Africans and convince them of the sincerity of the proposed partnership, and earnestly urge all concerned to give the Federal Scheme a fair trial in the hope that it may prove beneficial to the three territories.
>
> The General Assembly assure Africans of the Church's constant watchfulness and sense of obligation to do all in its power to secure the removal of disabilities affecting Africans and the recognition of the right of the African to his own land.[33]

For the Church of Scotland it was now time to simply watch and be vigilant. MacLeod would be one of those watching closely as the missionaries began to openly show their displeasure with the Federation and the British Empire in general.

Given the strong African protests and criticisms coming from various groups within Britain, including the Church of Scotland, a preamble was added to the Federal Act to serve as a safeguard. Its two main sections proclaimed that both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would remain under the protection of the British Government, as the Federation would help promote the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants while enabling 'the Federation, when the inhabitants of the Territories so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth.'[34] As it turned out, the preamble lacked any force in law and the word 'inhabitants' did not mean the same thing to the white settler-dominated government in the Federation that it meant to the British Government.[35] In August 1957 Sir Roy Welensky, speaking to the Federal Assembly, argued that 'The pledge that independence could not be granted before a majority of the inhabitants wanted it did not mean that the Natives had the right to veto anything which would be in the best interests of the Federation.'[36]

During this debate, a Rhodesian member claimed that 'the majority of the inhabitants' really meant 'the majority of the voters,' who were mostly white. With the true intentions of the white settler government laid bare, many within the Church of Scotland now feared that the Federation might attempt to push for Dominion status, thereby severing the link of protection offered to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia by the British Government. MacLeod, as Moderator of the Church of Scotland, decided to make a trip to the Federation in January of 1958 to see the situation on the ground for himself.

MacLeod's trip to the countries of Central and East Africa in early 1958 did not change his opinion regarding the Central African Federation. He had long been hesitant to endorse the Federation for the very same reasons proclaimed in the General Assembly's Deliverance of 1953: it went against the wishes of the African majority.[37] On his trip, MacLeod spoke to many people, both Africans and Europeans, about the Central African Federation. He found himself faced with fears that the Africans, especially in Nyasaland, would be incorporated into a Dominion without a voice. In a two-part article he wrote for *Life and Work* magazine, MacLeod proclaimed that the 'Africans in Nyasaland have in fact been "sold down the river".' He added that 'Such is the opinion not just of radicals and liberals but of many Europeans there who still favour the present form of Federation.'[38]

MacLeod was clear to state that Nyasaland and its overwhelmingly indigenous population owed much to the Church of Scotland. In turn, it was the responsibility of the Church of Scotland to protect (as in Protectorate) them from harm. He did not want to see the Federation turned into a Dominion along the lines of South Africa. After all, the whites in South Africa 'do not believe in a multi-racial society. They do not believe in partnership. They believe in apartheid. It is the gradual coming of this that the Africans in Nyasaland fear as something that may well be imposed upon them, if they lose our Protection.'[39] MacLeod echoed his critics when he said it was not the role of the Church to interfere in the politics of Nyasaland.[40] Instead, they were simply trying to prevent new policies from being forced upon the Africans of Nyasaland. In his closing comment he averred that 'the Churches had better move now to prevent Independence, to assure a continuing Protectorate for Nyasaland within the Federation, to prevent developments of more dire consequence slithering through the Commons in 1960, as "the first step towards them" slithered through in these last months.'[41]

MacLeod's critics were vocal, to say the least. The all-white Zomba Congregation of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland sent a scathing

letter to the Editor of *Life and Work* following the publication of MacLeod's two articles in April and May 1958. The elders, who were all white, called the articles irresponsible and uninformed. In fact, one of the classic arguments used by the defenders of the Central African Federation was that people in Britain did not really understand the situation in Africa, and, accordingly, articles such as those by MacLeod only served to 'inflame elements of suspicion and distrust' in Nyasaland while also misleading readers living outside the area. Even more interesting, they claimed that 'as these views were published while Dr MacLeod was Moderator, Africans are likely to understand them to be an official statement of the viewpoint of the Church of Scotland, and it would be appalling if this expression of his personal sentiments were to be construed in this way.'[42] However, as shown above, MacLeod was not expressing any sentiments about the Central African Federation that had not been aired by the Church before in its Deliverances. The Church was wary of the Federation from the beginning because it threatened the progression of Africans towards self-government as outlined in the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and subscribed to by the British Government.[43] Any move towards the establishment of a racist regime based around inequality, which Federal politicians had threatened with their rhetoric, would not be condoned by the Church of Scotland or MacLeod.

One of the most powerful Scottish voices of dissent against MacLeod was Sir Gilbert Rennie, the High Commissioner for Rhodesia and Nyasaland in London and an elder in the Church of Scotland.[44] In argument, his support for the Federation was based on more than economics. In an article critical of MacLeod's April and May 1958 contributions to *Life and Work*, Rennie agreed with MacLeod's statement, made during his visit to Nyasaland in January of that year, that there were three phases in a man's life: childhood, adolescence, and manhood. But Rennie stated that MacLeod was interested in skipping the adolescent stage and taking the Africans of Nyasaland directly to manhood (independence). For Rennie 'in Nyasaland at present, African political ambitions far outstrip African capacity, and a period of adolescence is essential.'[45]

The problem with Rennie's claim is that MacLeod never stated before May 1959 that he wanted to bring the Africans of Nyasaland immediate independence. MacLeod definitely felt that there was more work to be done in preparing Africans for self-government, but a racially unequal Federation was not best suited for this purpose. Nyasaland was a Protectorate and needed to remain a Protectorate of the British Crown, according to MacLeod. Again, this was not a man pushing for

independence for Nyasaland, along the lines of Dr Hastings Banda and his Nyasaland African Congress (later the Malawi Congress Party).[46] In fact, in private correspondence with Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, MacLeod regretted what Kwame Nkrumah placed at the base of his statue in Ghana: 'Seek ye first the political kingdom and all these things shall be added unto you.'[47] In other words, gain political power first and then worry about how to run the country afterwards. MacLeod wanted to see progress towards this goal of African control of Nyasaland, but the process of training would not happen overnight. Progress, however, is the key word here. Progress towards self-government would not be possible if, as he feared, the Federation would achieve Dominion status and legalize racial segregation and discrimination, the equivalent of South African apartheid, in Nyasaland.

It was not just MacLeod who was targeted by those who favoured the continuing growth of the Central African Federation into a racially discriminatory Dominion. The Church of Scotland and its missionaries also came under assault. An article appearing in *The Economist* on 27 June 1959, entitled 'Nyasaland at a Standstill,' attempted to determine why the Africans in the Protectorate were dead set against the Federation. The correspondent, who remained nameless, claimed that the reason for resistance was

> the irresponsible missionaries of the Church of Scotland, who have created a native Kirk staffed by nationalistic dominies; who are indeed, themselves, in many cases, men of 'extreme left-wing political views', to quote the secret white paper which has unravelled their fatal role in Nyasaland's resistance to federation. ... And it is a fact that the Scottish missions were not burned in the February disturbances, unlike the Catholic missions that suffered in the Leopoldville riots; this is no doubt the final proof of the Church of Scotland's guilt in taking sides ... [48]

There was a second, confidential report written by the same correspondent, which went into further detail about the reasons for pointing the finger at the Church of Scotland. Here the correspondent quoted the white paper of the Federal Government: 'This policy of encouraging African opposition to federation ... has been pursued without restraint in churches and schools, and especially so since the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland advised in 1958 that Christians should take part in all kinds of activity, including politics.'[49] This attack on MacLeod, written after the General Assembly of 1959

where MacLeod responded to the Emergency by calling for Nyasaland's immediate extrication from the Federation and independence under indigenous African leadership, serves as a Whig interpretation of history. In 1958 MacLeod, although frustrated by the policies of the Federation, was still trying to make the scheme work because of the economic and social benefits reaped by Nyasaland.[50]

The white paper, used throughout by the special correspondent, also railed against the Africanization of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland and renaming it the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP). The Federal document stated that this was a deliberate policy meant only to pander to popular sentiment amongst the Africans.[51] Here, MacLeod was in complete agreement with them. He supported the Africanization of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland because it was strategically in the best interests of the Church and, he claimed, the Federal Government. In a letter to J. M. Greenfield, the Central African Federation Minister of Law, he outlined the case for allowing a banned Church of Scotland minister, Tom Colvin, to re-enter Nyasaland.[52] He then countered, point by point, the charges made against the Church of Scotland in the Federation white paper. Most important, however, was the penultimate paragraph of MacLeod's letter. In it he explained why Africanization of the Church of Scotland was the best course of action:

> There is of course a general move by the Foreign Mission Committee in all lands to assist the creation of indigenous churches partly because of the imperialist smear that attaches to churches run from this country. The Africanisation of the Nyasaland Church is completely comparable to what has happened in India. I am sure it is a right policy, with all sorts of complications, but it does allow the Church to grow as part of its own background. I believe such a Church in Nyasaland would in fact prove a moderating influence in African opinion in a way it would not do if tied to this country. If it appears tied to Government its moderating influence is at an end. I feel quite confident that the last thing that Government, either Federal or Territorial, wishes to do is to make the Church either ineffective by reason of this smear or alternatively extremist and nationalist in order to assert its independence.[53]

This letter revealingly states, in unequivocal terms, that Africanization was the only way to allow the Church to grow in Nyasaland, because it would be free from the taint of imperialist dominance.[54] Moreover, he claimed that it would do the Federation a great deal of good because the

Church of Scotland in Nyasaland could help to tone down the potentially explosive nationalism in the Protectorate.

Was MacLeod correct when he said that the CCAP was a moderating force between the Federation and African nationalism? From their public pronouncements, this appears to have been the case. The Synod of Blantyre of the CCAP could never be accused of pulling punches in regards to the functioning of the Central African Federation. In the Statement of the Synod of Blantyre of the CCAP Concerning the Present State of Unrest in Nyasaland from May 1958, the Synod began by outlining its grievances about the operation of the Federation. All of its concerns and fears mirrored those of MacLeod. Most tellingly, however, was the Synod's reason for releasing a public statement:

> We see no hope of a peaceful, and righteous, future for all the people of this land (whatever be their race) under the present form of Federal Government. It is not for us to say what the alternative should be – whether independence with its possible financial disabilities, or some new form of Federation, or a complete revision of the present form, or some other course. What we do say is that no political scheme can succeed which does not take full recognition of the equal worth of all men in the sight of God and plans to build a just society on that premise. While the present situation continues, it is likely that extremists will gain more and more support simply because moderate opinion is not considered. Hate and greed for personal privilege increase rapidly and know no racial bounds.[55]

In a letter to the Reverend Jack Stevenson, Editor of *Life and Work*, Tom Colvin, as representative of the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre, explained that the statement was drafted to make the people of Scotland aware of the present political situation. It had achieved for the Synod 'a good deal of attack locally … but also a welcome relief of the tension that was growing up on the African side between the Church and the Politicians. The statement was by no means strong enough, for Congress liking, but it has re-established relationships.'[56] Thus, the statement managed to do what MacLeod claimed was the purpose of the Africanized CCAP: it reopened dialogue with the African nationalists – a crucial step if the CCAP hoped to act as a moderator between the nationalists and the Federal Government.

Just as important, the Synod expressed its statement in a moderate tone. In the Minutes of the Third Meeting of the General Assembly's

Committee on Central African Questions, Andrew Doig, who should be remembered for his pro-independence interview with the Scottish Decolonisation Project quoted above, claimed that the statement 'did not even make the claim for secession – which is now the dominant view amongst Nyasaland Africans.'[57] In fact, the Synod followed up its statement with an appeal in *Life and Work*. In this short article they claimed that

> There can be no possible doubt about the view of the majority of people in this land – they want Protectorate status to continue at the present time.
>
> This Synod appeals to the people of Scotland through the Church of Scotland to remember their ancient links with the people of this land and consider their political responsibilities towards us as exercised by the United Kingdom Government.[58]

Thus, the Church in Nyasaland was not responsible for the radicalization of the indigenous Africans. That accomplishment belonged to Federation politicians who were hell-bent on instituting racial inequality in Nyasaland.

The momentous swing against continuing imperial rule in Central Africa came with the Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa.[59] Although the oral testimonies of the missionaries claimed that they always favoured the pace of independence, MacLeod did not push this agenda until after the declaration of Emergency in March 1959. The Supplementary Report, dated 6 May 1959 and written by MacLeod and Kenneth MacKenzie, was agreed to by the Church of Scotland in its Deliverance of 25 May 1959, following a rousing speech by MacLeod in front of the General Assembly demanding immediate independence for the Africans of Nyasaland.[60] The Report stated that 'The time has passed for working with nicely balanced arrangements relating the Colonial Government, the European inhabitants, and the African population. The time has come for a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people.'[61] MacLeod and his Committee had spoken and convinced the Church of Scotland to go along with their conclusion. Thus, for the first time MacLeod showed himself to be in favour of full and immediate independence for the Africans of Nyasaland. This led to the perception of MacLeod as an anti-colonialist. This perception remains in Scotland to this very day.

Overall, the Church of Scotland and MacLeod were not interested in pushing Nyasaland towards rapid independence before the State of

Emergency was declared in March 1959. In his two articles from *Life and Work* magazine in mid-1958, MacLeod never called for self-government or independence for the Africans of Nyasaland. He wanted to safeguard the rights of the Africans as members of a British Protectorate. He did not push an anti-imperial agenda until his outrage, and that of his fellow members on the Committee anent Central Africa, reached a boil with the State of Emergency and the violence this brought to the indigenous Africans of Nyasaland.[62] At this juncture, MacLeod felt that the only way to protect the Africans of Nyasaland was to separate them from the white minority government of the Central African Federation as well as the British imperial state, which had enabled all of this. Therefore, MacLeod should be considered a much more complex and nuanced person than his rather generic classification as a left-wing radical prescribes. After all, MacLeod was not against the British Empire and its mission to educate the Africans in Western ways before the spring of 1959.[63] He was against the establishment of a racially discriminatory regime as the Federation continued to move away from the British Government's stated goal of equality for all people within the Federation's borders. When this no longer seemed possible, he felt it necessary to protect the people of Nyasaland by demanding they be set free.

So what does this mean for our impression of Scotland's role in decolonization? According to Devine, Scottish interest in and enthusiasm for empire rapidly declined during the Great Depression of the 1930s.[64] To Devine, 'no single cause conspired to erode Scotland's emotional attachment to empire. But the profound crisis which overwhelmed the nation in the period between the world wars in the twentieth century was a major factor.'[65] By following the interest shown by the Church of Scotland and its most visible leader in the issues surrounding the Central African Federation, there can be no doubt as to the high priority that empire had in the Scottish collective consciousness during the era of decolonization. From the time of the Act of Union in 1707, Scotland had counted on its national church to act as a surrogate parliament. This it did very effectively throughout the 1950s when Church membership reached all-time highs.[66] As Devine notes, this surrogate parliament 'spoke for the country on matters of contemporary political and social importance as well as religious issues through its General Assembly. The proceedings of this body were then widely reported and discussed in the Scottish press.'[67] Thus, what captured the Church's imagination, and MacLeod's imagination, captured the public's imagination. Both the Church and MacLeod would continue to follow and engage with the empire religiously until it ceased to exist in the early 1970s.

3
Debating the Empire in Public

On Friday, 7 October 1960 an article appeared in *The Scotsman* newspaper describing a press conference held the previous day in Edinburgh. The press conference announced the formation of a new organization dedicated to the spread of information about the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the Scottish public. Named the Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland (SSG), the organization claimed to be non-political and concerned with ensuring that Scots were given the facts about the Federation and not the tainted propaganda provided by many within the Church of Scotland.[1]

Although never mentioned, their target was the Scottish Council for African Questions (SCAQ), an anti-imperial propaganda organization formed in 1952 to voice displeasure at the creation of the Federation. Established by an Edinburgh lawyer, Gerald Sinclair Shaw, the SCAQ was comprised of numerous Church of Scotland ministers and missionaries, foremost among them Reverend Kenneth MacKenzie, as well as leading Scottish academics like Professor George Shepperson.[2] The SCAQ was immediately suspicious of the SSG and aired their grievances in the Letters to the Editor section of both *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald* newspapers. A battle had broken out over the type of information Scots were being proffered about the Federation as its end rapidly approached. But while the SCAQ was willing to admit its anti-Federation bias, the SSG refused to reveal its pro-Federation sentiments and connections. They claimed to be fully independent with a singular desire to counter the inaccurate propaganda disbursed to the Scottish public. As this chapter will show, this was a mendacious claim.

Both the SCAQ and the SSG were organizations that operated solely through volunteer labour. The people who volunteered for both

organizations were, in many ways, obsessed with this most controversial of imperial issues in the postwar period. Accordingly, the amount of time demanded of the volunteers made it necessary for them to come from the classes of Scottish society that had the financial means to support unpaid effort. Thus, these volunteers were either from the business and professional middle classes or the aristocracy.[3] The existence of these two completely voluntary propaganda organizations reinforces the argument made throughout this book that whether Scots categorized themselves as proponents, opponents, or victims of empire, one conclusion is clear: they were aware of and constantly engaged with the empire during the era of decolonization.

The Scottish Council for African Questions (SCAQ)

As mentioned above, the Scottish Council for African Questions appeared in 1952 as a reaction towards the British Government's policy of creating a Central African Federation (CAF), 'irrespective of the wishes of the Africans.'[4] Composed mainly of Churchmen and intellectuals, the Council's origins can be traced to February 1952 when a meeting of protest against plans for the Federation was organized in the Church of Scotland's General Assembly Hall in Edinburgh. 'At that meeting 1200 people were present' to listen to speeches by the missionary MacKenzie and the future head of an independent Malawi, Dr Hastings Banda.[5] Given the success of the meeting, Shaw, MacKenzie, and Sir Gordon Lethem, amongst others, decided that something more permanent was needed. Eventually it was decided that the Scottish Council for African Questions should be formed. It would last until 1976 and, in the intervening 24 years, take up any and all topics related to Africa. But the main arena of interest remained the fate of the three Territories of Central Africa: Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia.

While the object of the SCAQ could be succinctly put as 'arousing in Scotland a greater interest in British Africa and to help in the promotion of full political rights for all, whatever their colour, race or creed, in British Africa,' its constitution went even further:[6]

1. To strengthen and further the best traditions of British policy in relation to Africa, especially with regard to the moral and legal obligation to safeguard the rights of all communities against domination by any minority or majority.

2. To promote in Scotland a fuller understanding of the aspirations of the people of Africa and an informed sympathy with them in their problems.
3. To promote in Britain policies ensuring the economic and social development and the equitable political rights of all communities in Africa.
4. To assist peoples in Africa in their struggle against unfair discrimination and inequality of opportunity in their educational, economic, and social progress and to foster in all non-self-governing territories responsible forms of self-government.
5. To encourage practical projects of development which will provide a living experience in Africa of economic, social, and political co-operation, in the true sense of the word, amongst people of different races.[7]

The SCAQ wanted a movement towards independence sooner rather than later in Africa, which was in direct conflict with the desires of the Federal regime in Central Africa to maintain white minority rule for as long as possible. Even more interesting, and underscoring the close affiliation of many SCAQ members with the Church of Scotland, was their stated goal of pressuring governmental officials to ensure the economic and social advancement of indigenous peoples in a Westernized world. Independence for Africans was not enough. The civilizing mission was alive and well within the Constitution of an anti-imperial propaganda organization during the era of decolonization.[8]

The SCAQ was composed of numerous branches throughout Scotland. The cities of Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen all had branches. However, the main centre of activity resided with the first branch in Edinburgh, founded by Shaw. In almost all instances the branches would organize their own activities and compose letters to members of the British Government on areas of concern in Africa. However, in perceived critical situations, such as the drafting of a memorandum for the consideration of the Monckton Commission in 1960, they would issue a combined statement.[9] The branches, though separate, worked very closely together as all were bound to adhere to the SCAQ's Constitution.

So what, exactly, were the propaganda methods employed by the SCAQ to increase Scottish interest in Africa while at the same time winning adherents to their anti-Federation point of view?[10] The first method was the organization of lectures by like-minded, distinguished Scots. This was the preferred technique used by the SCAQ to convey

their message to the Scottish public. Perhaps the most famous speech organized by the SCAQ featured Banda on Monday, 25 April 1960. Held in the Central Hall in Edinburgh, 'every one of 1,100 seats were occupied and people were standing at the back both upstairs and downstairs.'[11] The vast majority of the speakers were Africans, intellectuals, or clergy. Speeches of note included Mr Anthony Sampson on 'Black and White in Johannesburg' (Tuesday, 30 April 1957); Mr M. W. K. Chiume, member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council and the Nyasaland African Congress, on 'What Nyasaland Africans are Thinking Today' (Wednesday, 28 January 1959); Tom Colvin, the missionary banned from the Federation, on 'Nyasaland and its Future' (Wednesday, 11 February 1959); Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union, on 'Problems facing Central and East Africa Today' (Tuesday, 30 June 1959); Guy Clutton-Brock, a white founding member of the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia, whose speech on Tuesday, 26 January 1960 was meant to counter propaganda emanating from Rhodesia House; George Shepperson, Reader in Imperial and American History at the University of Edinburgh, on 'The Challenge of Pan-Africanism' (Monday, 25 February 1963); and Dr Terence Ranger, who was exiled from Southern Rhodesia in 1963 (Friday, 11 October 1963).[12] The speeches hosted by the SCAQ sometimes occurred as often as twice a month and proved to be a huge success. But these did not constitute the only lectures of importance for the SCAQ's cause.

Members of the SCAQ also presented lectures to branches of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and Adult Education Councils in Scotland. Of the members, the two most active in adult lecturing were Shepperson and MacKenzie.[13] These courses were meant, especially in the case of the WEA, 'to support the educational needs of working men and women who could not afford to access further or higher education.'[14] Shepperson began teaching courses for the South East Scotland District of the WEA during the 1951–52 academic year, just as the SCAQ was getting started.[15] These courses were either weekend schools, such as the one he presented on 26 and 27 April 1952 entitled 'Africa in the Modern World,' or one-day schools, such as his 7 December 1952 class in Galashiels entitled 'Africa Today.' As the 1950s progressed, Shepperson changed the titles of his classes from these safe choices to the more informative and provocative 'The Colour Bar' (Bathgate, 27 March 1955), and 'The Rise of Nationalism in Nyasaland' (Edinburgh, 13 May 1962). Although the syllabi for these courses are not available in the archives, his membership in the SCAQ leads to the assumption that these classes were sympathetic towards the plight of Africans in the

Federation, especially in relation to the white settlers who dominated the government.

MacKenzie, who was a driving force behind the SCAQ along with Shaw, most certainly provided his students with a version of events that was sympathetic towards Africans.[16] In the late 1950s and early 1960s, MacKenzie served as the Secretary on the Church of Scotland's Committee anent Central Africa, which was charged with investigating and reporting back on the troubles in the region. The Committee was headed by the Reverend George MacLeod, following his stint as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1957–58.[17] According to someone who knew MacLeod well, MacKenzie was influential in convincing MacLeod to turn against the Central African Federation in 1959.[18] This statement makes sense when it is considered that MacKenzie, 'the Kirk's foremost authority on African affairs,' was responsible for briefing MacLeod on the situation in Central Africa.[19]

MacKenzie taught his first course for the WEA, 'Racial Policies in South Africa,' in Alloa on the weekend of 5–6 October 1957, following his return from Northern Rhodesia. It is evident from the title that this course was meant to inform the students about the colour-bar and, given MacKenzie's background, condemn the practice. Shortly following the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959, MacKenzie gave a lecture in Edinburgh entitled 'Political Effects of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland' (14 June 1959).[20] In early 1961, and fast on the heels of the formation of the SSG the previous October, MacKenzie delivered a one-day lecture entitled 'Nyasaland Grows Up' for the Linlithgow Adult Education Council, part of the Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Committee (2 March 1961).[21] His other courses for the WEA included 'The Crisis in Central Africa' (Edinburgh, 7 April 1963), a two-part course 'Continued Revolution in Africa I & II' (Edinburgh, 8 and 15 March 1964), and one-day schools on 'Africa Today' (Cowdenbeath, 18 October 1964) and 'The New Nations of Africa' (Hawick, 7 March 1965).[22] Combined, these lectures from a leading member of the SCAQ served to increase awareness of the British Empire in Central Africa amongst adult learners in Scotland. It is also highly likely that the lectures helped fulfil the SCAQ's agenda of propagandizing against the CAF.

In addition to the organization and presentation of lectures throughout Scotland, the SCAQ and its members wrote letters to Members of Parliament (MPs) and to newspapers, crafted and signed petitions, and engaged in debates about the CAF. For instance, Kenneth MacKenzie wrote frequently to Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament pressing them to uphold Britain's guarantees about the protectorate

status of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.[23] He also called on all Scots to take an active role in protecting the peoples of Nyasaland by writing to their MPs. In 'Our Brethren in Revolt,' written following the Nyasaland Emergency, MacKenzie asked his readers:

> Are you prepared to write to your M.P., to the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, suggesting:
> (a) That the Africans in detention should be given a fair trial now:
> (b) That Nyasaland be given a Territorial Constitution permitting an absolute African majority in the Legislative Council:
> (c) That the 1960 Conference reviewing the Federation should be held in this country and not in Central Africa:
> (d) That at that Conference Nyasaland Africans get a chance to discuss secession:
> (e) That at that Conference some federal functions be returned to the Territorial Governments.
> (f) That there be no Dominion status for the Federation without the consent of the majority of the inhabitants of the races within the two Northern Territories.[24]

In order to rouse his fellow Scots into action, MacKenzie indicated that MPs were saying the people of Scotland did not care nearly as much about the people of Nyasaland as the newspapers claimed. He was dedicated to overturning this perception.

In addition to MacKenzie and Shaw, letters to newspapers appeared by numerous members of the SCAQ. On the debate about the formation of the SSG, for instance, SCAQ members Winifred Hardie, W. Calder, and Lethem wrote in along with MacLeod, whose sympathies with the organization made him, for all intents and purposes, an honorary member following the Nyasaland Emergency in March 1959.[25] A petition distributed by the branches of the SCAQ in 1959 called on Scots to join them in telling the British Government 'that it would be wrong for Britain to concede [claims amongst Europeans in the Federation for Dominion status] unless they are acceptable to a majority of both Africans and Europeans in the Protectorates.'[26]

MacKenzie never shied away from the spotlight in his quest to inform the Scots about the CAF. He even tried his hand at debating no less a figure than James Graham, the 7th Duke of Montrose, immediately following the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland. This debate, for the 'In Perspective' program, was broadcast on Friday, 3 April 1959.[27]

The debate did not feature any fireworks with MacKenzie holding to an anti-Federation line and Montrose espousing the beliefs of the Dominion Party, the main opposition party in the Federation that would eventually morph into the Rhodesian Front and pass the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) for Southern Rhodesia in November 1965. They were in grave disagreement over the fitness of the Africans to run their own affairs in any of the Territories of the Federation, although Montrose was willing to let Nyasaland leave along with the portions of Northern Rhodesia that did not contain the copper mines because this particular resource was so important to the Federation economy. What is even more interesting about this debate is what the Duke of Montrose took away from it. In a letter to Mr Robert Hay, the man in charge of the Duke's estates in Scotland, he claimed that

> It is quite appalling the way the Church of Scotland have been behaving over the Nyasaland affair. As I realised from my private talk with the Rev. Kenneth McKenzie, both before and after our mutual broadcast discussion, he is aware of the true situation as much as I am, namely that it would be a disaster for Nyasaland to become independent, not only financially, but because they are quite unable to produce a fraction of the men required with education, technical or professional knowledge, to form a Government and an administration.[28]

Given MacKenzie's complete dedication to the Africans of the region and his disgust at the behaviour of the white minority regime, Montrose's testimony about what MacKenzie really thought rings hollow. MacKenzie was, after all, helping formulate the Church of Scotland's actions over Nyasaland after the Emergency. This appeared to be his own attempt at influencing a subordinate in the hopes that Mr Hay would relate this propaganda to other Scots.

A final, very important point is the influence that the founder of the SCAQ, Shaw, had on MacLeod's famous speech to the 1959 General Assembly. The Deliverance that passed the General Assembly as a result of this speech stated the following:

> The General Assembly, recognising that the time has come for a radical revision of the Territorial Constitution for Nyasaland, earnestly recommend to Her Majesty's Government that effective power be given to the African community in that land, which admits the possibility of an African majority in the Legislative Council.[29]

This move to transfer effective power to Africans in Nyasaland was a major step in the process of dissolving the Central African Federation. MacLeod took inspiration in preparing his speech from an op-ed column written by Shaw. The column, entitled 'Nyasaland Parallel with Cyprus: Africans unalterably opposed to Federation they distrust,' appeared in *The Scotsman* on 17 March 1959. In the article, Shaw described the manner in which the Federation was imposed on four million Africans in the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland by 30,000 European voters of Southern Rhodesia in the 1953 referendum. Shaw continued that 'it is surely impossible to deny that this was an act of racial discrimination of the first magnitude. Nothing can hide the fact that Federation was imposed upon four million unwilling Africans.'[30] Shaw went on to describe in detail the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and how these needed to be altered to properly consider African opinion before the 1960 constitutional review conference. Otherwise, Dominion status might be granted to the Federation, and Britain's pledge to protect the two northern Territories would be abandoned.

This column made a powerful impact on MacLeod. In a letter to Shaw right after the 1959 General Assembly, MacLeod expressed his indebtedness. 'If you heard my speech you would hear some interesting figures of the "muffling" of African Representation. You would recognise them as having been culled from your own article in the Scotsman in March: for which many thanks! That was a terrific indictment!'[31] By waging a public battle to inform the Scots about the situation in the CAF, Shaw had helped influence the writing of, perhaps, the most important speech ever made on behalf of Africans to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The SCAQ, through the labours of Shaw and MacKenzie, had played a major role in giving the Africans a voice, especially in Nyasaland. This voice would reverberate throughout Britain and help destabilize the foundations of the white settler-dominated Federation.

Overall, there is little doubt that the SCAQ helped build awareness of the events unfolding in the Central African Federation during the 1950s and early 1960s. However, the mere existence of this propaganda organization is owed to the level of importance many Scots placed on the British Empire during the era of decolonization. In fact, the SSG may never have developed if not for the effectiveness of the SCAQ in putting forward an anti-Federation message through their propaganda. The SCAQ was doing its part to ensure that the Scots did not forget their duty to protect the indigenous peoples living in the Federation, even if it was from kith and kin.

October 1960

The announcement of the SSG's formation brought out an immediate response from many within the SCAQ mainly because of what was stated and who was present at the press conference on 6 October 1960.[32] First, the SSG chose Brigadier Bernard Fergusson to lead the press conference because of his interest in Central Africa and his supposed reputation for integrity and impartiality.[33] Fergusson's speech, however, appeared to be anything but impartial. According to *The Scotsman*, Fergusson stated that 'The Church of Scotland has been pronouncing hitherto on the subject of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with a voice briefed from the anti-Federation lobby only.'[34] This quote was verified in a similar article by *The Glasgow Herald*.[35] Sir Gilbert Rennie, the High Commissioner for the Federation, also attended the press conference and spoke to the attendees.[36] Rennie, known for running propaganda campaigns for the Central African Federation in Britain, 'welcomed the formation of the group as a means of counteracting inaccurate and prejudiced views and propaganda in Scotland.'[37] For his role as Chairman, William Thyne, a successful Edinburgh printer and paper manufacturer, claimed that the group's aims were to disseminate factual information about Central Africa that would serve to enlighten public opinion in Scotland.[38] The Letters to the Editor columns of *The Scotsman* lit up in response to the emergence of the SSG.

The first person to respond was Reverend MacLeod, the man responsible for leading the Church of Scotland to call for an end to white minority rule over the peoples of Nyasaland in the momentous General Assembly of 1959. MacLeod took Brigadier Fergusson's attack against the Church personally. 'Writing personally as one who convened the committee which "briefed the Church of Scotland" till last Assembly, am I unduly sensitive in resenting the obvious implication that we did not examine the evidence on both sides of the case?'[39] MacLeod also wanted a deeper probing into the source financing the SSG since the group planned 'to address groups, especially Church bodies ... to present the Monckton Report in a balanced way' and to 'disseminate information in the form of pamphlets, booklets and a weekly newsletter.'[40] MacLeod ended the letter by defending himself and the Committee anent Central Africa along the lines of Thyne: 'we are completely independent, entirely non-political. Our only concern is to see that the true facts are disseminated throughout Scotland.'[41]

Reverend Thomas Maxwell's letter to *The Scotsman* appeared on the same page as MacLeod's. Maxwell was perturbed that his name had

been listed as a member of the newly formed SSG. He was also disillusioned by Fergusson's attack on the Committee anent Central Africa: 'Indeed the fact that I have been a member of the Assembly's Special Committee ... and in cordial agreement with its reports to the Assembly, would seem to make me an unhelpful member of a group, one of whose spokesmen ... made an unjustified attack on the ... committee.'[42] This was just the beginning. The criticism would get much worse.

The next letter was printed in *The Scotsman* on Monday, 10 October 1960. A truncated version of the same letter appeared in *The Glasgow Herald* on the same day.[43] In the letter, by John M. Kellet, Thyne's objectivity was attacked due to the fact that he owned a farm in Southern Rhodesia. 'That such a person could be disinterested in the present political and emotional circumstances is surely asking too much of human nature.' He also condemned the SSG for the arrogant assumption that Scotland had been missing out on what was occurring in the Federation.

> A glance at the programmes during the last two winters of such organisations as the Royal Commonwealth Society, the United Nations Association, the Workers' Education Association, the Universities' Extra-Mural Department, the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland ... to mention only a few, will show how untrue and ridiculous this suggestion is.[44]

The Scots, according to Mr Kellet, were anything but apathetic towards the future of the Central African Federation. They wanted and received all the information they desired about the British Empire during the era of decolonization.

A correspondent who went simply by the name Enquirer asked numerous questions regarding the formation of the SSG. But the most interesting and important part of the letter dealt with the assertion by Thyne that the SSG was non-political. According to Enquirer, the future of the Federation was a purely political affair that was the source of bitter party strife both in Britain and the CAF. As a result, the SSG would have to be a political body if it planned to express views and distribute literature that might influence the Federation's future.[45] The Reverend L. David Levison poured additional scepticism onto this non-political assertion. He went even further, however, in stating that the only men who have interests in a vital political problem and claim to be non-political 'have always been on the extreme Right wing of political thought, and I refuse to be taken in.'[46] Although Thyne would prove

to be less right-wing than Levison assumed, the point about the group being political was one that Thyne would acknowledge in his attempt to answer the flood of letters appearing in the press.

Thyne responded to the criticisms levelled against the SSG in a letter printed on 12 October 1960. He began by restating the purpose of the group:

> Those of us who have close associations with the territories concerned have been aware, from personal contacts and through correspondence, that the facts of the situation are not always presented accurately, either in the Press or elsewhere. Both African and European suffer from the publication of distorted facts. A study group was therefore formed to work independently of any political party; and I, more than anyone else, was responsible for its formation.[47]

He did accept that the Federation was a political affair, although he claimed that important matters such as these should be above party politics. The confusion, perhaps, arose from his belief that if political parties were not involved, the issue was no longer political. But in the most interesting section of the letter he continued to try to convince readers of *The Scotsman* that the formation of the SSG was in their best interests and declared that no one associated with the group should feel any embarrassment about being involved. In Thyne's opinion they were, after all, an informational organization and nothing more.

On the same day that Thyne attempted to clear the air, a column by Hardie, Honorary Secretary of the SCAQ, appeared in the letters section. Hardie provided historical background to the SCAQ and outlined the organization's aims. She also declared that while the members of the SCAQ came from all political parties, the Council never made a claim to be non-political. The SCAQ 'is proud of the fact that, since its inception, it has consistently condemned the imposition of federation on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in [line with] ... the bitter opposition of the great majority of Africans in those territories.'[48] The SCAQ was proud of its propaganda against the continuation of the Federation because, in their minds, they were upholding Britain's obligation to protect the indigenous peoples of Central Africa, especially in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Such a political topic needed a political response. If this revelatory letter was, however, the SCAQ's plea for the SSG to come clean as a pro-Federation propaganda organization, it fell on deaf ears.

Margaret Gray found the formation of the SSG insulting to Scots and their knowledge of imperial issues. She believed that the Scots were

intelligent enough to take the information presented by sources like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and made available in the newspapers about the Central African Federation and arrive at their own conclusions. The inaugural meeting of the SSG for her was 'an insult to our Scottish brains.' The Scots could get by just fine without the interference of the SSG and its propaganda: 'I suggest to this body, who are so anxious to educate, that they divert the money set aside for Federation propaganda to the building of schools and colleges for Africans who, if treated rightly, can become worthy partners of liberal-minded whites.'[49] She would not be the only correspondent to feel offended by the SSG's desire to educate the Scots about the empire: a topic they understood quite well.

A final letter of importance condemning the formation of the SSG appeared in *The Scotsman* on 17 October 1960. The letter said that there was no need for another group to educate the Scots about the situation in Central Africa given the existence, since 1952, of the SCAQ. The author, W. Calder, believed that Thyne and his group obviously had an axe to grind against the perspective of the SCAQ. He then wondered, 'What kind of people do these gentlemen think Scots folk are? The imputation lies that we, a people usually credited with shrewd political insight, are a lot of suckers. There must be many like myself who resent an attempt to "educate" us in the way some would like us to go.'[50] This letter was an attempt by Calder to make plain the level of engagement of the Scots with political issues in general and Central Africa specifically. Also of interest, Calder's letter was discussed with MacKenzie in private correspondence before it appeared in *The Scotsman*. Although MacKenzie's replies are unknown, given the tone of Calder's correspondence, MacKenzie provided him with material used to craft the letter. Calder promised MacKenzie at the end of the first letter that he would do what he could 'to expose the hypocrisy of Rennie and the Groupers.'[51] MacKenzie never involved himself in the debate that followed the October 1960 press conference, but there should be little doubt that he stayed abreast of developments and, perhaps, even had a hand in what others published.

The SSG generated a great deal of negative publicity in the correspondence columns of *The Scotsman* in the weeks following the press conference. But there was also a lot of sympathy amongst the correspondents for the work of the new group. For instance, the Reverend John Gray, Convenor of the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland, believed that he would be able to gain additional insight through the information released by the SSG because it provided him

with the point of view of, most likely, those supporting Federation in Central Africa. He did not feel that the information that was in circulation in Scotland had shed proper light on this perspective before.[52] The Reverend Dr J. Kennedy Grant went further and ridiculed the correspondent (John M. Kellet) who called Thyne's views about Southern Rhodesia into question simply because he owned a farm in Southern Rhodesia. This, for Grant, was the type of smear often used by self-claimed 'liberals' against 'white settlers.' Grant, who was a Rhodesian, felt that 'nothing but good can come from the efforts of a group seeking to reach the truth and to put it before their fellow countrymen.'[53] The SSG, to their minds, were offering valuable information that would only increase Scottish knowledge of the situation. Despite the controversy, the SSG had arrived. But where did it begin and what was its focus?

The formation and functioning of the Scottish Study Group

The inaugural meeting of what became the Scottish Study Group occurred on 8 April 1960 in Edinburgh. Thyne, Councillor Melville Dinwiddie, former BBC Controller in Scotland, and Rennie, the High Commissioner for the Federation, attended.[54] The beginnings of the Group can be traced back to almost a year earlier, when Thyne started corresponding with Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. Thyne introduced himself as the owner of a farm near Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia and claimed that other whites in the Territory asked him to lay certain points before Home. He requested a meeting with the Secretary of State to discuss the problems in the Federation from the perspective of the settlers.[55] Following the meeting between the two men on 18 April 1959, Home sent a letter thanking Thyne for his analysis of the situation and his suggestion that the British Government needed to dispatch a Parliamentary or fact-finding mission to the Federation and not simply rely on the report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry (the Devlin Report).[56] Thyne, buoyed by Home's reception to his approach, wrote back and offered to become an informational conduit between his white settler friends and Home.[57] It is obvious from this correspondence that Thyne was motivated to act by the Nyasaland Emergency because he felt it might harm the long-term solvency of the Federation. Home's warm reception, in turn, encouraged Thyne to become more deeply involved in the quest to save the Federation.

Thyne next appears, discussing the possible formation of an informational group, in early 1960. In a letter to Home, reopening their

previous correspondence, Thyne claimed that over the past few months a friend of his, a Member of the Federal Parliament named James Swan, had been home in Scotland on leave. While home, Thyne helped Swan meet newspaper editors and arranged a discussion with the English-Speaking Union in Edinburgh. This activity meant that the two men saw a great deal of each other. According to Thyne, they used these meetings and the time together to discuss the opinions of Scots towards the Federation following the Emergency in Nyasaland. They came to the conclusion that public opinion of the Federation was at an all-time low in Scotland. With the approach of the constitutional review conference at the end of 1960, they believed that it was time to act in order to maintain the status quo in Central Africa. They agreed that 'there should be a Scottish Committee, or small group of people in Scotland, recognised by the Federal Parliament, who could disseminate information on affairs in these Territories.' In the letter, Thyne provided the names of influential Scots who would be interested in helping this proposed propaganda organization 'improve goodwill and understanding between this country and the Territories concerned.'[58] Home responded that he thought this was a worthwhile endeavour to increase knowledge in Scotland about the Federation.[59]

In a separate letter to the High Commissioner, Rennie, Thyne claimed that the desire to create the group emanated from the lack of proper Scottish knowledge about the situation in the Federation. Thyne contended that the people of Scotland knew very little about what was really happening in the Federation and yet, to his dismay, this did not stop them from voicing their anti-Federation opinions. The Scots, for Thyne, felt passionate about the situation in Central Africa, but they had been misled by anti-Federation propaganda. This was a situation that needed to be put right.[60]

The SCAQ was not blindsided by the announcement of the existence of the SSG in October 1960. They knew that this organization was brewing from June 1960. They were tipped off about its formation by Robin Barbour in a letter dated 25 June 1960. Barbour received an invitation from Dinwiddie dated 24 June asking him to join the SSG, most likely as a Correspondent and not a Member. Dinwiddie offered to send Barbour information to help him 'form a balanced judgment on the vital issues that have to be discussed and decided during the next year [at the constitutional review conference].'[61] Barbour explained to Shaw that he felt compelled to join the SSG 'since it might be useful to have a liaison officer, or a spy, or something between the two, serving on both bodies.'[62] It is unknown whether Barbour agreed to become a

Correspondent of the SSG, but the information was out there and the SCAQ was able to prepare for the appearance of its propaganda rival.

The SSG functioned as a propaganda organization with the full financial support of the Federation. Even though Thyne felt passionate about the need to re-educate a Scottish public tainted by anti-Federation propaganda, he was not willing to pay for it. Much of the propaganda sent out to members of the SSG originated from Rhodesia House in London, the headquarters of the High Commissioner for the Federation. This alone undermines Thyne's contention in the press that his group was non-political. Even more importantly, however, Thyne expected Rhodesia House to pay for the postage used to disseminate the propaganda to the SSG's members and correspondents. Rhodesia House, the mouthpiece for Sir Roy Welensky and the Federation Government, was paying all of the expenses related to the group including the printing or purchasing of the propaganda and its diffusion.[63] MacLeod wondered where the money was coming from to fund the SSG in his letter to *The Scotsman* in October 1960. He, most likely, had a suspicion that the Federation was funding the entire enterprise, and he was right.

So what, exactly, were the Terms of Reference for the SSG and did they match the wording used by Thyne in private correspondence? The Terms were distributed to every potential Member of the SSG as the mandate of the organization. They were

1. To disseminate in Scotland, reliable information about Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with the express purpose of promoting a better understanding of, and a sympathetic outlook on, affairs in the Federation, and of countering inaccurate and prejudiced views and propaganda in Scotland.
2. To arrange for Europeans and Africans with first-hand knowledge of the Federation to address groups and societies, especially Church bodies, in Scotland.
3. To use every endeavour to make certain that the Monckton Report is presented in a balanced way by Press and Radio in Scotland and that Scottish Members of Parliament and Members of the House of Lords are made aware of all shades of opinion in Scotland on Federal affairs.[64]

The Terms underscore that this was a propaganda organization through and through. They wanted to influence the recipients' attitudes in order to convert them to the SSG's way of thinking. Creating a sympathetic outlook on affairs in the Federation, ensuring that the Monckton Report,

crafted in preparation for the 1960 constitutional review conference, was presented in a balanced manner, and informing Scottish MPs and Lords about the opinion of those in Scotland who favoured the continuation of the Federation lays bare their intentions.

Thyne distributed propaganda from many sources to the Members and Correspondents of the SSG. The main, though by no means exclusive, source of this propaganda was Rhodesia House in London. Rhodesia House produced a Newsletter each Friday about the Federation that was trimmed down for the purposes of the SSG to take into consideration mainly political, constitutional, and some economic matters. The Newsletter makes for rather dull reading, but one constant was the extended coverage of the Federal Prime Minister's speeches. The Newsletter also made a point of playing up everything done by the Federal Government to provide for indigenous Africans. The Newsletter from Friday, 26 April 1963 is instructive. It included an article on 'More African Housing Planned for S.R.' and in 'N. R. Mercy Flight to Katanga' discussed how the Federal Ministry of Health provided blood and drugs to the victims of violent rioting in the area within hours of receiving urgent requests for assistance from the Katangese authorities.[65]

Additional propaganda included the dissemination of statements by leading Central African politicians. Thyne distributed one to the SSG on 5 December 1960 that focused on Sir Edgar Whitehead's comments about the need to gradually advance African interests in economics, politics, and land ownership.[66] The key, however, was gradual advancement and never the rapid moves to self-government favoured by the SCAQ and many within the Church of Scotland. According to Thyne, in a personal letter to the Southern Rhodesian settler A. J. L. Lewis, Africans could only advance at a slow rate. 'At every turn in this country – Church of Scotland, Government, most newspapers – it is represented that the Nationalist leaders are speaking for the majority: hence the demand, although they are not ready for it, for an African controlled Parliament, and one man one vote.'[67] The propaganda disbursed by Thyne to the SSG never betrayed his sentiments. He was a staunch supporter of the Federation and, although he never mentioned the SCAQ by name, it is obvious that all of his work on behalf of the SSG aimed at undermining the propaganda generated by this anti-Federation rival organization.

Overall, Thyne wanted to see the continuation of the Central African Federation, and he believed that sending pro-Federation propaganda to influential Scots might help turn the tide of public opinion in Scotland that had been moving in the opposite direction since the Nyasaland

Emergency and the Church of Scotland's subsequent calls for decolonization. Thyne asked the Members of the SSG to target Church groups in an attempt to change the opinion of the Kirk, that most important of Scottish civil society institutions, from within.[68] The SSG occasionally helped sponsor lectures by pro-Federation speakers, such as the visit by Mr Godwin Lewanika in January 1962, but for the most part they relied on their Members to spread the information culled from the propaganda chosen by Thyne.

Thyne and Welensky

Lord Home encouraged Thyne to take an active role in the politics of the Central African Federation and James Swan channelled this energy into the formation of the SSG. But the most important relationship sustaining Thyne and his work on behalf of the Federation was that with Welensky, the Federation Prime Minister between 1956 and 1963.

On 3 March 1960, Thyne composed his first letter to Welensky about the formation of the SSG. They would continue to correspond until Thyne's sudden death on 24 August 1978. Thyne explained that Scotland needed to be enlightened about the true situation in the Territories that comprised the Federation. With the foundation of the group he wanted to inform the Scots about 'the genuine desire of the Federal Government to further, in the proper way and in due course, the well-being of the African.'[69] This became a major focus of the propaganda distributed by the SSG over the ensuing years. Thyne attached an outline of the proposed group that ended by asking Welensky whether he found the organization acceptable. If Welensky was in agreement that the group should be started as an unofficial propaganda organization for the Federation in Scotland, he would appoint Thyne as the Convenor.[70] Welensky's response, written entirely by J. M. Greenfield, Minister for Law in the Federation, agreed with the formation of Thyne's proposed group.[71] The letter ended with an expression of thanks for taking up this very important work on behalf of the Federation.[72]

This correspondence makes it clear that Welensky approved the formation of the SSG as a propaganda organization working on the Federation's behalf. According to an article by Andrew Cohen, Welensky was never one to hide the Federation's funding or support of public relations campaigns in Britain. Welensky had hired Voice and Vision, a London public relations firm, to try to improve the image of the Federation in Britain following the outcry over the handling of the Nyasaland Emergency.[73] Cohen claims that a man named David Cole, head of a

Salisbury-based public relations company and the person responsible for arranging Voice and Vision to run the campaign, told Welensky that the Federation should not be viewed as directly supporting this propaganda. An independent campaign would be more effective at winning over public opinion in Britain. At the same time that Welensky was agreeing to the creation of Thyne's propaganda group (March 1960), he was rejecting the offer of a secret campaign by Voice and Vision because 'the allegiance which would be shown by the consultants to the Federation would inevitably be linked to the Federal government [and] as such it would be better to openly employ them.'[74] Cohen claims this would turn out to be a prophetic move by the Federation Prime Minister because of the damage done to South Africa by a tacit campaign in the 1970s. The experience of the SSG shows that Welensky was no prophet when it came to propaganda. Obviously he felt that the SSG could get away with a secret campaign on behalf of the Federation while Voice and Vision could not. And despite the cries of conspiracy by MacLeod and others, the SCAQ and their anti-Federation compatriots never produced any evidence directly linking the SSG to the Federation. Welensky and the Federation were never irreparably harmed by their tacit support of Thyne and his Scottish Study Group.

As Thyne and Welensky became better acquainted, their letters were more direct. One of the major topics of conversation was the African nationalists. The first letter attacking the nationalists was written by Thyne shortly after the public launch of the SSG at the October 1960 press conference. Thyne believed that the 'undreamed of difficulties' faced by Welensky emanated from the extreme views of the nationalist leader in Nyasaland, Dr Hastings Banda.[75] This struck a chord with Welensky, who would later admit to Thyne that the Federation was unravelling because of Nyasaland. For Welensky, this was even more tragic because neither he nor Malvern ever wanted Nyasaland included in the Federation.[76] It had been forced on them by the British Government to make the creation of the Federation more palatable.[77]

Thyne's attacks on the nationalists became even more pronounced in mid-1961. Interestingly enough, Thyne only aired these attacks in his letters to Welensky. The two men had met for the first time in Salisbury in January 1961, and obviously hit it off because their correspondence picked up in its frequency and warmth during the year. They were now feeling secure enough with each other to share their innermost, uncensored thoughts on the African nationalists.

A letter from Thyne on 6 July 1961 claimed that even though Welensky had made reasonable proposals for the further advancement

of Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Kenneth Kaunda and the other 'extremists' would still create numerous difficulties. He hoped that moderate Africans would come into power in the Northern Rhodesian and Federal parliaments and that this would allow them to 'keep their more unruly brethren in order.'[78] But the problems for the Federation went well beyond its Central African borders. Thyne was having trouble controlling the negative propaganda against the Federation in Scotland:

> I regret to say that some of the publicity and some of the Press reports on events in the Federation are not what they ought to be. Goodness knows, some of us here do all we can to put things right, but there seems to be an odd quirk in the minds of a lot of the editors on this whole question, and it still amazes me that they should listen to extreme African opinion – people like Dr. George McLeod and others – and ignore the sane council and advice of people like yourself and moderate Africans, and very many others.[79]

This quote shows that Thyne and the SSG were losing the propaganda battle to the SCAQ and anti-Federation opinion leaders like MacLeod. MacLeod, by standing up for the rights of indigenous Africans to self-determination, was becoming a major target of Thyne's hostility, at least in his letters to Welensky. In response, Welensky attacked the African nationalists, especially Kaunda in Northern Rhodesia, for their violent nature. Welensky was quick to point out that although Kaunda claimed to be in favour of non-violent methods to achieve his aims, he was a hypocrite because the violence in the territory was being perpetrated almost exclusively by his party's members.[80]

The final attack on the nationalists to appear in this correspondence occurred in a letter from Thyne to Welensky dated 8 January 1962. As public opinion in Scotland continued to turn against the Federation, Thyne wished that the Scots were aware of the fact 'that a large number of educated, civilised and decent Africans think quite differently from some of their extremist leaders.'[81] According to Thyne, these nationalist leaders did not care for the interests of their fellow Africans. They were concerned solely with seizing power for themselves, which Thyne believed would be infinitely worse for everyone in the Federation. Thyne and Welensky would lose this battle, but their exchanges on paper further solidify Thyne's position as an all-out supporter of Federation even as he attempted to hide his true feelings from the Scottish public.[82]

Endgame

The SSG continued to disseminate its propaganda on behalf of the Federation through 1962 and into 1963. Following the Victoria Falls Conference of June and July 1963, which determined that the Federation should come to an end, Welensky was quick to write to Thyne and express his gratitude for the work that the SSG had done on his behalf.[83] In his response, Thyne admitted that the SSG was not able to make much headway against the entrenched anti-Federation opinion in Scotland. He singled out the Church of Scotland and *The Scotsman* for their dedicated opposition to the CAF, which left him 'exasperated and distressed.'[84] In retrospect, there seems little that Thyne or the SSG could have done to change opinion in Scotland following the pronouncement by the Church of Scotland against the settlers' handling of the Nyasaland Emergency in 1959. The very reactionary and condescending nature of the SSG also did not endear them or their efforts to a Scottish public that prided itself on its understanding of imperial affairs. The timing and the message were simply all wrong.

On 4 August 1964, Thyne sent a letter to Welensky informing him that the SSG had suspended its activities and referred its members to a London organization called the 'Friends of Rhodesia.'[85] Although he continued to take an active interest in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland was now the independent Malawi, and Northern Rhodesian independence lay just around the corner on 24 October 1964. The maintenance of the Federation, which was the primary concern of the SSG from the very beginning, no longer existed as of 1 January 1964, making the group obsolete. The SSG had failed to alter Scottish public opinion on the Federation following the disastrous handling of the Nyasaland Emergency. MacLeod, MacKenzie, the SCAQ, and the rest of the anti-Federation lobby controlled Scottish public opinion on this topic well before the appearance of the SSG. This was a propaganda organization that was doomed to fail from the beginning.

Overall, the high profile enjoyed by the SCAQ and the SSG reiterates the strong attachment of the Scots to the British Empire. Even after the SSG ceased operations, Thyne turned his attention to opposing the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia. Thyne, perhaps surprisingly for some, remained engaged with the empire as it rapidly disintegrated. Although Thyne despised African nationalists, he also harboured great hostility for the far right-wing Rhodesian Front, even going so far as to categorize their members as 'stupid.'[86] He believed that UDI was a 'drastic step which would [mean] ... ruination

for the whole country, black and white alike.'[87] For him, the British Empire brought stability to the region and that would be lost with UDI. The SCAQ, meanwhile, survived as an organization and continued to tackle issues in Africa even after the British Empire collapsed on the Continent. Involvement with the British Empire had been ingrained in the Scots, and even following its demise many in Scottish society remained engaged with the consequences left in its wake. The Scots, that nation of empire builders, maintained a powerful interest in the British Empire throughout the era of decolonization and beyond.

Plate 1 Doulton Fountain with the author. The fountain is a terracotta reminder of Glasgow's powerful connection to the British Empire. It was originally unveiled at the 1888 Empire Exhibition held in Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow. © Bryan S. Glass.

Plate 2 Right Reverend Dr George MacLeod. In 1959, MacLeod convinced the Church of Scotland to call for the decolonization of Nyasaland. © The Iona Community.

Plate 3 New College, University of Edinburgh. The General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland is located behind this imposing façade. © Alamy.

Plate 4 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in action. © Alamy.

Plate 5 Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Fear of Banda and his Nyasaland African Congress led Sir Robert Armitage, in consultation with Federation officials, to declare the Nyasaland Emergency on 3 March 1959. © Alamy.

Plate 6 Sir Roy Welensky (left), Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, at the 1960 Constitutional Conference. Welensky supported William Thyne's Scottish Study Group in its dissemination of pro-Federation propaganda. © Alamy.

Plate 7 Ian Smith signing Southern Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain on 11 November 1965. This followed the dissolution of the Central African Federation on 31 December 1963. © Alamy.

4
Covering the Empire in Print

Today's world is dominated by news constantly streaming across the Internet. Newspapers, the source of Everyman's information for the better part of 300 years, do not carry the same influence they did even 60 years ago. The first intruder was television, supplemented by cable networks in the 1980s. The mid-1990s then brought the Internet, where news stories are just a Google search away, to the masses. In the early- to mid-1950s, however, newspapers remained the ready source of information on world events for the Scottish populace.

This chapter focuses on Scottish newspaper coverage of the outbreak of the Mau Mau insurgency in late 1952, Britain's reaction towards the Suez Crisis after Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser's nationalization of the canal in July 1956, and the Nyasaland Emergency in 1959. These three events represented major international emergencies on the African continent for Britain, and they attracted the attention of the leading Scottish newspapers. The suppression of Mau Mau in the Kenya Colony, the intervention of Franco-British forces in the Canal Zone during the Suez Crisis, and the declaration of a State of Emergency in the Protectorate of Nyasaland have been portrayed by historians as imperial events.[1] While there is no doubt that Britain's suppression of Mau Mau and the attack on nationalists in Nyasaland were actions by a colonial power over colonized subjects to maintain control, Suez is not as clear-cut. The Suez Canal was the 'swing-door of the British Empire,' and keeping it open to Britain and the Commonwealth meant that the actions taken by the Franco-British forces constituted an imperial manoeuvre.[2] But of the three leading Scottish newspapers, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* were adamant that Suez was not an imperial land grab. For them, Suez represented a dangerous international situation in which economics and national prestige were at stake. Only

the *Daily Record* believed that the actions of the British Government constituted an extension of Britain's power through force. Mau Mau, on the other hand, was depicted as an act of colonial policing against Kikuyu terrorists meant to restore law and order. This order was necessary if steps could be taken to progress all Kenyans towards independence. The Nyasaland Emergency, which was, chronologically, the last of these major imperial events, involved the arrest of nationalist leaders in the Protectorate because they were agitating for majority representation and the right to secede from the white settler-dominated Central African Federation. No matter what the Scots thought about these events, and opinion seemed especially divided on the Suez issue, the vast quantity of space devoted to Mau Mau from October through December 1952, Suez from August through December 1956, and Nyasaland from February through June 1959 is a testament to the Scottish appetite for all things imperial.

This chapter compares coverage of these three major imperial events by three of Scotland's largest and most respected newspapers in the 1950s, *The Scotsman*, *The Glasgow Herald*, and the *Daily Record*.[3] *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald* were the two most popular daily broadsheets in Scotland. The *Daily Record*, a tabloid, was the best-selling newspaper in Scotland throughout the 1950s, and was popular with the working classes, especially around Glasgow, the second city and workshop of the British Empire. Circulation numbers bear out the large readerships enjoyed by these three news mainstays. During the latter half of 1956, at the heart of the Suez Crisis, the daily circulations for the three papers were as follows:

The Scotsman: 54,564
The Glasgow Herald: 74,157
Daily Record: 381,802[4]

With a total Scottish population of 5,096,000 at the time of the 1951 census, and 510,523 copies of these newspapers being sold each day, more than 10 per cent of the people were, prima facie, reading one of these newspapers. When it is considered that some of these copies were purchased by pubs, train stations, hotels, and clubs, not to mention the concept of individual subscribers sharing the paper with family members and friends, the readership had the opportunity to increase rapidly beyond the raw numbers sold. Nonetheless, 10 per cent of the news market share means that these newspapers possessed substantial

influence over the Scottish public in the 1950s. It is difficult to know exactly what the Scottish newspaper-reading public thought about the coverage, other than the glimpses provided through selected letters to the editor. Nonetheless, the consistency of the position taken by the newspaper editors likely indicates that along with influencing the opinions of their readers on these three hot topics, they were also representing the views of their subscribers.

Newspapers in Scotland

Newspapers remain a conduit of information today, although their influence is not what it was during the era of decolonization when television was in its infancy and the Internet did not exist.[5] Perhaps as a result of this, many historians have neglected the role newspapers played in the history of the British Empire. At best, newspaper coverage is used as supplementary material for archives. Accordingly, comparisons of the ways various phenomena have been handled from newspaper to newspaper are almost completely absent from the historiography.[6] But newspapers played a major role in either moulding or reflecting Scottish opinion on the British Empire. The vast coverage of imperial events in all three of the leading Scottish dailies accordingly demonstrates that the Scots wanted to read about them. Whether it was the Independence of India, the Malayan Emergency, or the problems facing South Africa, the Scots wanted to know about the empire, and newspapers brought this information directly to them. As a main supplier of information on the empire, the editors of these three papers were in a position to determine what the people read and even to help sway the way they thought about the empire and Scotland's place in it.

The three newspapers under review all included, as most do, editorial columns, or leaders, written by the editors and representing the paper's official view. They also featured letters to the editor, which provided the opinions of their readers. The editorial columns remained very consistent over the course of these three events, with the one exception being *The Scotsman* coverage of Mau Mau. As historians of the media, and newspapers in particular, have contended, these editorial columns represent attempts to influence the opinions of readers.[7] It may be the case, however, that these newspapers were simultaneously feeding their readers what they wanted to hear. In the 1950s, Scottish readers would have been very aware that *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald* were papers of the business and professional middle classes and that they consistently endorsed the Unionist Party (the name for the Scottish

Conservative Party until the mid-1960s). The *Daily Record*, on the other hand, was a paper read mainly by the working classes.[8] Whether each of these papers was either trying to sway its readers or to reflect their opinions in the editorial columns is not of critical importance. The high level of coverage of imperial events shows that no matter where a Scot was on the social scale, he or she took an active interest in the British Empire.

Letters to the editor, on the other hand, are viewed as being written by a small, self-selecting cadre of readers, which go through a process of editorial selection that obscures their representativeness.[9] While certain individuals appear in the letters column on a few occasions, overall the three Scottish newspapers under review appear to do a very competent job of balancing. For instance, in the case of the Suez Crisis the number of letters both for and against the Government's actions is fairly well balanced over the course of the period studied.

Letters to the Editor (August – December 1956):

The Scotsman
For Government policy: 70
Against Government policy: 57
Neutral: 4

The Glasgow Herald
For Government policy: 37
Against Government policy: 26

Daily Record
For Government policy: 10
Against Government policy: 12
Neutral: 1

The *Daily Record* printed far fewer letters to the editor on a daily basis than the two broadsheets. However, these numbers are further reduced because the *Daily Record* decided on 15 November 1956 to cease printing letters about the Government's policy in Egypt. They claimed that time would determine who was right and who was wrong.[10] Another unsurprising point to note here is that the two newspapers supporting the Government's actions in Egypt, *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald*, printed more letters in favour of the Government, and the one newspaper opposed to the action, the *Daily Record*, printed more letters critical of the policy. Overall, however, the numbers are quite balanced even though the editorial columns are anything but.

As stated above, the three papers featured here were chosen because they were the premier national newspapers in Scotland at the time. In the 1950s, as remains the case today, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* were well-respected broadsheets in Scotland. These papers were read mainly by members of the middle and upper classes, and they took a staunchly pro-imperial stance in their editorials from the nineteenth century through most of the 1950s.[11] They also supported the Unionist Party. The *Daily Record*, on the other hand, took a more populist tone, was read mainly by the working classes around Glasgow, and supported the Unionist Party until 1956 and then switched to backing the Labour Party after being purchased by the Mirror Group. But being a paper for the working classes does not mean the *Daily Record* failed to take an interest in the empire. The *Daily Record* dedicated numerous pages to imperial issues whether its stance was in favour of the imperial government's actions (Mau Mau) or against them (Suez and Nyasaland).

The Scottish Labour Party and the Unionist Party dominated general elections in the nation during the era of decolonization. For instance, in the 1950 General Election, Labour won 46.2 per cent of the Scottish vote, while the Unionists took 44.8 per cent. In 1955, Labour secured 46.7 per cent, and the Unionists won 50.1 per cent, helping lead the Conservatives to a comfortable victory.[12] The Liberals, who had a policy of Scottish Home Rule, found miniscule support at this time.[13] In fact, their percentage of the Scottish vote stood at 6.6 per cent in the 1950 General Election and fell to a pathetic 1.9 per cent by the time of the 1955 General Election.[14] The number of votes received doubtlessly correlated to the popularity of the party's message, indicating that a Home Rule platform did not secure the votes of many Scots. Although newspapers supporting the Liberal Party did exist in Dundee and Aberdeen, these papers are not consulted here because they would not have appealed to the vast majority of Scots (although they did enjoy local popularity).

The Scots were heavily bound to the British Empire, and they followed parties and papers that placed a premium on Scottish incorporation in Britain and involvement in its empire. While the Unionists may have been more closely associated with the British Empire, Labour did not want to lose this symbol of global power for the country, especially before the Suez Crisis. In fact, neither party held a monopoly on imperialism. According to Paul Ward,

> Elements of the British and Scottish left also embraced imperialism. Lord Rosebery, Liberal Prime Minister in the 1890s, led the Liberal Imperialist wing of the party and saw the Empire as the mission of

> the British, enabling Scottishness to survive within the greater whole. Among the Clydesiders, John Wheatley and Tom Johnston saw the Empire providing benefits for the Scottish working class. Even where imperialism was not fully embraced the context of politics and culture in all parts of the United Kingdom was imperial. The meanings of Empire and imperialism were often disputed, but this was as variants of the fact of Empire rather than as significant opposition to that fact.[15]

The Scots were still thinking heavily about the British Empire throughout the era of decolonization (1945–1965), even if actions like Suez and the Emergency in Nyasaland soured the support of many. The empire had played too large a role in the lives of Scots for two centuries. The coverage of Mau Mau, the Suez Crisis, and the Nyasaland Emergency by the three national Scottish dailies demonstrates the ongoing connection to all things imperial for the Scottish population in the 1950s.

Coverage of Mau Mau

The Mau Mau campaign of violence began in the Kenya Colony in 1952 by members of the Kikuyu tribe with the intention of ejecting the British colonists. Mau Mau had been simmering for many years as a result of Kikuyu displacement from land in the two areas known as the White Highlands and the Rift Valley. Once removed, these men, women, and children were 'repatriated' to the Kikuyu Reserves. To make matters worse, the colonial government had banned the Kikuyu Central Association in 1940, which had served as the voice for those members of the tribe opposed to British settlement and government. These 'agitators,' as the British referred to them, therefore lost the ability to air their grievances before the colonial government. Only those Kikuyu loyal to the British Government, who were also closely associated with the Church missionary societies and schools, maintained a voice through the Local Natives Council.[16] A group of several thousand squatters who had been evicted from the White Highlands and settled in Olenguruone radicalized the Kikuyu practice of oathing in 1943 as they were being threatened with another eviction by the colonial government. From this point on, Mau Mau grew into a collective effort amongst many disenchanted Kikuyu to fight British rule and the injustices it perpetrated on their people.[17]

The Mau Mau, as the movement would come to be known by 1948, had, by 1951, created the following oath, which sent chills down the

collective spine of Europeans in Kenya and the British reading about it at home:

a. If I am sent to bring in the head of my enemy and I fail to do so, may this oath kill me.
b. If I fail to steal anything I can from the European may this oath kill me.
c. If I know of an enemy to our organisation and I fail to report him to my leader, may this oath kill me.
d. If I ever receive any money from a European as a bribe for information may this oath kill me.
e. If I am ever sent by a leader to do something big for the house of Kikuyu, and I refuse, may this oath kill me.
f. If I refuse to help in driving the Europeans from this country, may this oath kill me.
g. If I worship any leader but Jomo, may this oath kill me.[18]

This general oath was supplemented by six more oaths for those dedicated to fighting British colonial control in Kenya. Although the Mau Mau began to obey these oaths in 1949 by destroying farm property and using violent intimidation against other Africans who voluntarily served on British-owned estates, the first killings would not occur until May 1952. But the first high-profile killing, and the point of departure for this section, was the assassination of Chief Waruhiu wa Kungu, the government's Paramount Chief for Central Province and the senior African official under Kenya's colonial administration. An outspoken British loyalist, he was brazenly gunned down on the morning of 7 October 1952.[19] Soon, a State of Emergency (20 October 1952) would be declared in Kenya by the newly arrived Governor Sir Evelyn Baring. Kenya had Scotland's attention.

This section investigates coverage of the Mau Mau uprising in the Scottish press from the murder of Chief Waruhiu on 7 October through the end of December 1952. While all three newspapers constantly ran stories about Mau Mau following the murder of Chief Waruhiu, the first editorial columns appeared after the State of Emergency was declared by Governor Baring on 20 October 1952. Three themes resonate from the editorials of *The Scotsman*, *The Glasgow Herald*, and the *Daily Record*. These themes are the following:

1. The maintenance of law and order is paramount.
2. Land Problems are the root cause of the violence.
3. Mau Mau is a barbaric and backward-looking movement.

Through these themes it becomes evident that the most pro-imperial of the newspapers is the *Daily Record*, followed by *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman*. This indicates that pro-imperial sentiment was not the domain solely of newspapers with middle- and upper-class readerships. As a working-class newspaper, the *Daily Record* excelled in the vitriol with which it portrayed the Mau Mau rebels and the unqualified support it showed for the British Government's actions in crushing this anti-imperial uprising.

Newspaper coverage placed utmost importance on the maintenance of law and order in Kenya. In one of the first editorials to appear after the declaration of a State of Emergency, the *Daily Record* stated that a firm hand was needed if the safety and security of the entire population was to be assured. This was only possible if the terrorism of Mau Mau was crushed.[20] Similarly, *The Scotsman* commented on 21 October that 'whatever grievances may underlie the unrest in Kenya, it is clear that the first duty of the Government is to ensure public safety, and they should not be hampered in the discharge of their task by factious criticism.'[21] The following day, *The Scotsman* criticized Labour politicians Fenner Brockway and Leslie Hale for their ill-timed arrival in the colony, because their presence might encourage rather than deter the troublemakers. This was counterproductive when the first essential was to restore law and order.[22] *The Glasgow Herald* showed concern in the immediate aftermath of the State of Emergency being declared and claimed that the extent of Mau Mau's activities, with 40 murders already being committed, 'proves the hold their use of black magic can obtain on the African mind.'[23] Accordingly, if government officials wanted to prevent the crisis from spreading and infecting more Africans with the poison of Mau Mau unrest, they needed to put down the uprising quickly.[24]

The declaration of the State of Emergency was just the beginning of a conflict that would last until 1960. As the violence of the insurrection increased, so too did the attention paid to it by the Scottish press. In early November, all three papers, with differing degrees of enthusiasm, called for more police powers to deal with the situation. *The Glasgow Herald* proclaimed that 'full support must be given to the local officials in their effort to stamp out this barbarous lawlessness.'[25] *The Scotsman* provided a more temperate endorsement of the use of increased force. Its editorial argued that due to the seriousness of the situation in Kenya, the Government needed to be given the chance to solve the problem before anyone offered criticism. But *The Scotsman* also carefully stated that the Government should maintain links with the

Africans or risk being viewed as a front for white settler opinion.[26] For its part, the *Daily Record* thought it was an encouraging development that the Kenya Police were getting more power 'in a further attempt to crush the Mau Mau.'[27] Thus all three papers hailed an increase in police powers in early November as a positive step in the fight against Mau Mau.

One of the most imperial statements made by any newspaper during this 85-day period came from the *Daily Record* on 26 November 1952. In this particular leader, with a title, 'Evil v. Good,' that is very revealing about the newspaper's attitude towards the insurrection, the newspaper stated that the new powers invested in the Government to deal with Mau Mau terror were about salvation, not repression. Mau Mau was an evil force that threatened the lives of all law-abiding citizens in the colony. But most importantly, ending the Mau Mau terror would restore law and order, which was essential to launching full economic development and advancing the political aspirations of 'African elements which are still not antagonistic to British rule.'[28] According to the newspaper, this was exactly what all political parties in Britain wanted. This editorial was in response to a statement in the House of Commons by the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttelton, which explained to the British public that the level of violence gripping the colony was quite substantial. *The Glasgow Herald* also weighed in on this statement with a similar take, although not charged with the same overt paternalism displayed by the *Daily Record*. The editor wanted to ensure peace through force, because this would allow 'moderate African opinion the chance to assert itself.'[29]

By late November and into December, *The Scotsman* displayed concern about the methods being implemented by the Government to try and ensure law and order. *The Scotsman* still believed that it was of critical importance to restore law and order in the colony, but it did not agree with the implementation of collective punishment as one of the preferred methods for securing it.[30] Collective punishment was a risky plan because the innocent might be punished as well as the guilty.[31] Re-establishing relations with the wider Kikuyu community would prove very difficult in the wake of collective punishment. The *Daily Record* and *The Glasgow Herald* took a different line on this issue. The *Daily Record* claimed that collective punishment was necessary to prevent a race war from breaking out in the colony since Mau Mau intended to push all non-Africans, both Europeans and Asians, out of the territory and these groups would fight to stay.[32] *The Glasgow Herald* stated that there was a need 'for stern action to restore peace and order in Kenya'

and that collective punishment constituted illiberal measures that were needed to end 'a brutal and barbarous campaign of terror.'[33] This disagreement over the issue of collective punishment constitutes only one of the differences between the Scottish papers on how best to handle the uprising and foster good relations between colonizer and colonized.

Why would a Unionist Party-supporting paper like *The Scotsman* begin to question the methods used by the Government to restore law and order in Kenya, an end it strongly supported? The answer may lie with an independent columnist who was publishing in *The Scotsman* immediately following the declaration of a State of Emergency. Colin Legum was a journalist and politician from South Africa who went into political exile in Britain for his stance against the apartheid regime. He flew out to Kenya as soon as the State of Emergency was declared to provide first-hand reports on the situation. His first article in *The Scotsman* appeared on 30 October 1952 and claimed that the British were utilizing strong-arm tactics in their effort to end the Mau Mau rebellion.[34] In a follow-up column on 13 November, Legum stated that the repressive measures being implemented were not working and the opinions of moderate Africans were being ignored.[35] He claimed that the restoration of law and order would only be successful in the long term if the British worked closely with moderate Kikuyu who opposed Mau Mau. If this type of collaboration did not occur, Legum feared that another South Africa might develop in the colony. While there is no reference to Legum's columns in the editorials, the newspaper's calls for the Government to tread carefully when trying to restore law and order may mean that the South African exile was having an effect on the editors. Or, perhaps, *The Scotsman* was thinking about the long-term implications for British influence in the region following the end of empire. Whatever the motivation, readers of this national newspaper were being provided with a more critical appraisal of the Government's application of force in Kenya than was the case for those following *The Glasgow Herald* or the *Daily Record*.

The second theme to emerge from the editorials was that land problems constituted the root cause of the Mau Mau violence. The first of the newspapers to bring up the land issue was *The Scotsman*, immediately following the declaration of an Emergency. *The Scotsman* claimed that by looking at Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham's *Race and Politics in Kenya* (1946), it was clear that because Africans were being treated as a source of cheap labour on land taken by white settlers, bitterness would eventually ensue.[36] This is exactly what happened. Although the Kikuyu never occupied the area known as the White Highlands, the fact of the

matter was that their land was vastly overpopulated. If a solution to this Kikuyu land hunger was not found, it would prove impossible to eliminate unrest long term.[37] This did not mean, however, that the paper advocated the end of the British Empire in the colony. Quite the opposite, as reflected in the column written by Legum. Legum declared that the land hunger of the Kikuyu must be addressed if 'peaceful development for this important British colony in Africa' was to be ensured.[38] *The Scotsman*, rather than condemning or avoiding the difficulties facing the empire, was offering solutions to a Government that seemed oblivious to the causes of the trouble.

The Colonial Secretary, Lyttelton, was singled out by two of the newspapers for failing to see the problems caused by land shortage. *The Glasgow Herald* complained that Lyttelton did not seem interested in examining the land problems that contributed to the violence perpetrated by Mau Mau.[39] *The Scotsman* attacked Lyttelton for claiming that missionaries were responsible for stoking unrest by discouraging tribal dances because they were un-Christian.[40] It was the lack of land, and the fact that the white settlers were hoarding vast tracts of it while the Kikuyu suffered a massive shortage, that underlay Mau Mau violence. If the colony sought peace and prosperity, the Government needed to build strong links with the Africans instead of appearing to submit to the wishes of the European settlers.[41]

The *Daily Record*, conversely, was quick to come to the Colonial Secretary's defence. When providing an overview to its readers about Lyttelton's statement in the House of Commons following his visit to Kenya, the paper claimed that

> He dismisses, forthrightly, the mistaken theory that the Mau Mau secret society is the expression of economic discontent.
>
> It is something far more sinister and no people can progress as Kenya plans to progress if it is shackled by powers of barbarism and evil.[42]

Mau Mau, for the *Daily Record*, came down to a simple case of a return to barbarism against the enlightenment of Western ideas and ideals. Land had nothing to do with the problem.

This leads to the third and final theme of the Mau Mau coverage in the mainstream Scottish press: that Mau Mau was a barbaric and backward-looking movement. There were a number of editorials that touched on the barbarity of Mau Mau, with some even calling it a case of evil versus the goodness of the Christian values inherent in British society.[43] According to a column in *The Scotsman*, 'Viewed very generally

these Kikuyu troubles can be regarded as a result of the "impact of civilisation" on a people whose roots are still in touch with savagery.'[44] This language, which demeaned the Kikuyu engaged in perpetrating Mau Mau, had a dehumanizing effect. The more careful editorials stated that the British had the responsibility of making the Kikuyu come to terms with the world or they would be left behind. Kenya was viewed as a colony with a bright future, but Mau Mau and its desire to look backwards rather than forwards was dangerous because it held the country back from its potential.[45] The Mau Mau movement, with its penchant for killing or beating Kenyans who refused to take the oath, made the accusations of barbarism easy to digest for the public in Scotland.[46] The Scottish press, in its coverage of debates in the House of Lords, quoted well-respected members of this chamber discussing the barbarity and primitivism of the Kikuyu, laced with racist invective. The second Lord Tweedsmuir, son of the famed author John Buchan, claimed in a Lords' debate on Kenya that Mau Mau lifted the curtain on the old days of savagery before the white man came. The Earl of Munster, the Under Secretary at the Colonial Office, went even further by claiming that

> It is sometimes said that Mau Mau is a demonstration of African Nationalism, but it does not seem to me that a return to the law of the jungle by an organisation whose background is associated with many of the evils of tribal witchcraft, is the kind of nationalism which would commend itself to any of those seeking political advancement of the African.[47]

In other words, Mau Mau had nothing to do with African advancement towards self-government. It was simply a barbaric reaction by an uncivilized people desperate for a return to the primitive state in which the British found them. It is impossible to know how the Scottish public responded to such claims, but they were printed for all to see and digest.

Overall, the three major Scottish dailies did not mince words when discussing the problems facing Kenya in light of the Mau Mau insurrection. While the *Daily Record* was the most consistently pro-empire, both *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* lent their support to the maintenance of Kenya as a colony. The broadsheets, however, understood the more complex problems at the heart of Mau Mau and its grievances and knew that it was necessary to tackle these endemic issues if Kenya was to remain an important component of the British Empire.

Coverage of Suez

The Suez Crisis developed following Egyptian President Nasser's decision to nationalize the Suez Canal on 26 July 1956. The Canal had been jointly owned by Britain and France since 1875, when the Egyptian Government was forced to sell their shares to the British for £4,000,000 as a result of external debts.[48] As mentioned above, the importance of the Canal to Britain as a connection to the British Empire cannot be overestimated. As the 'swing-door of the British Empire,' it allowed oil to flow rapidly from the Middle East to Britain and the rest of Western Europe.[49] Communications and goods also took advantage of the shortcut through the Canal when the other option remained the slow, and much more expensive, trek around South Africa. Nasser had wanted to build the Aswan High Dam with money from the United States and Britain, but when this was pulled on 19 July 1956 the old tensions between Egyptian nationalism, which had developed following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, and the British Government came to a head rapidly with nationalization of the Canal.[50] This act, viewed as revenge by many in the British Government, was forecast by a Treasury official almost two months before. Michael Johnston claimed that Nasser 'will undoubtedly be appalled by the apparent breach of faith by the two governments and will seek an occasion to revenge himself. There is not much he can do against the US but a lot he can do against us. Obvious examples are renewed pressure on the Suez Canal Company or stirring up trouble in the Gulf.'[51] Nasser did take revenge through nationalization as a means to use proceeds from the Canal to finance the building of the Aswan High Dam. From the British perspective, the Suez Crisis had begun.

This section investigates coverage of the Suez Crisis by the three major Scottish dailies from August through December 1956. As the abundance of newspaper coverage testifies, Suez captivated the Scottish press and people during the final months of 1956. Although many historians and journalists consider the Suez Crisis to be a last gasp attempt at British imperial muscle-flexing to protect the 'swing-door of the British Empire,' only the *Daily Record* agreed that the use of force constituted an act of imperialism. The *Daily Record* could not support the Government's action because of the negative international implications it had for Britain. This must not, however, be conflated with a rejection of the British Empire. On the other hand, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* claimed that the entire Suez Crisis was nothing more than an international situation with strong economic and Cold War implications. Despite the perception of *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman*, it

appears clear that the Suez intervention by Franco-British forces at the end of October 1956 constituted an act of imperialism as defined above and should be discussed as such.

The editorial columns covering the Suez Crisis among the three Scottish newspapers revolved around five major questions and concerns:

1. Was the Suez Crisis an imperial event or an international situation?
2. Should force be used?
3. What were the economic implications of Suez?
4. Did the use of force at Suez have a direct impact on Soviet policy towards the Hungarian rebellion?
5. Was there collusion?

When combined, the answers to these five questions provide a comprehensive overview of how national newspapers presented the Suez Crisis to the Scottish public. If Suez really was the beginning of the end of the British Empire, the newspaper-reading public in Scotland had a front-row seat to the details of its nascent disintegration.

The first question attempted by the three dailies was whether the Suez Crisis constituted an imperial event or an international situation. The *Daily Record* was no friend of Colonel Nasser, referring to him in the aftermath of nationalization as 'Grabber Nasser.'[52] But their editorials always pushed for an international, diplomatic solution to the seizure of the Canal. In their first editorial following the seizure, the *Daily Record* stated that the future of the Canal was an international concern and Britain should not attempt to go it alone and reclaim the waterway by force.[53] In the overheating climate of the Cold War this seemed like sound advice, especially following the warning by the Soviets in mid-August that any use of force on Nasser could erupt into 'a large conflict possibly outside the Middle East.'[54] Additionally, any act of perceived colonial aggression would harm Britain in the eyes of the world, and most importantly for the economic well-being of the country, in the eyes of Commonwealth partners:

> Britain can ... [ill] afford a reputation for colonialist belligerency: we might fail to intimidate Nasser, but succeed in permanently estranging India. It is very important that Parliament should debate these issues before further decisions are taken.[55]

The threat of international condemnation for any potential action was the cornerstone to the newspaper's argument that Britain needed

to handle everything through international channels such as the United Nations Security Council. For the *Record*, taking the matter to the United Nations Security Council would also force Russia to put its cards on the table.[56] The possibility of a third world war erupting as a result of armed intervention at Suez greatly concerned the newspaper, which took its role seriously as a voice for the common soldier.[57] Thus, because the *Daily Record* believed the Suez Crisis needed to be handled as an international situation with an international solution, it feared that the use of force, unsanctioned by the United Nations, might taint Britain with the tag of aggressive colonizers and harm the country's world reputation.

The Glasgow Herald and *The Scotsman* fully supported the actions of the Government from the beginnings of the Crisis, through armed intervention around the Canal Zone in late October/early November, and until the end of the period under review. Both newspapers argued consistently that there was nothing colonial about Britain's plans or subsequent actions regarding Suez. This was a response to the charges levelled against the United Kingdom mainly by the United States. *The Scotsman* claimed more than a month before armed intervention began that the United States did not want to get involved in the Suez dispute because they were afraid of being viewed as a 'colonial' power or thought to support a 'colonial' policy.[58] US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was singled out for his anti-colonial rhetoric by *The Glasgow Herald*. Dulles was, after all, a politician during an election year, and he needed to be careful to avoid supporting anything misconstrued as a colonial policy because the word 'colonial' was dirty to US ears.[59] But that did not stop the *Herald* from attacking Dulles for his 'customary ineptitude' in claiming that the British case against Egypt before the Security Council smacked of colonialism.[60]

Following the armed intervention by Franco-British forces, which began on 31 October and ended on 7 November, and the massive damage this caused to Anglo-American relations, the *Herald* began to change its tune and argued that the British Government should do everything in its power to keep the United States on its side. The *Herald* stated that the United States saw Suez as a colonial adventure. Given the negative connotations ascribed to this word by the ex-colony, the British could not afford to alienate the Americans. The Atlantic Alliance was too important to risk, so the British needed to capitulate to US demands and withdraw troops from the Suez region.[61] The defiant *Scotsman*, on the other hand, said that the Americans had it all wrong, claiming that the Suez intervention was meant to protect the West against Soviet

expansion. The editor believed that the only explanation for this error was that old beliefs about colonialism died hard in the United States.[62] A little over a week later, *The Scotsman* used the example of Vice President Nixon and the metamorphosis he had undergone since the presidential election. Whereas Nixon utilized anti-colonial rhetoric before the election, he was now calling for conciliation and wanted to assist Britain with the difficulties that had arisen for her owing to the intervention. According to the editor, the United States 'cannot afford to isolate herself from Britain and France in the self-righteous anti-colonialism which Mr. Nixon favoured a month ago.'[63] The Americans needed the British as much as the British needed the Americans.

Overall, the problem for the British was that the perception of colonialism harmed them in the realm of world opinion, as exemplified by US opposition to intervention. Whether this was right or wrong is inconsequential. What mattered was that the vast majority of the international community stood up against the British and their collaborators and shamed them for their actions. The *Daily Record* understood this.[64] Even though *The Glasgow Herald* began to come around by late November, its editors failed to recognize the consequences of any perceived imperial action until it was too late. *The Scotsman* never recognized the difficulties caused by this perception.

The second, and closely related question, was whether force should be used against Nasser to reclaim the Canal. Given the nature of the situation following nationalization, the *Daily Record* did not believe there was justification for force to be utilized.[65] The only defence for following a policy of belligerence would be 'if Colonel Nasser himself became a military aggressor. It should then be the action of the United Nations.'[66] Fighting alone to secure oil supplies was nonsensical because it might cause a major outbreak that could open the Middle East to the Russians, damage the Anglo-American alliance, break the Commonwealth, and needlessly waste British lives.[67] As letters to the editor testify, Scots worried that this might actually lead to a third world war and the loss of more young men.[68] Given that most of these fighting men would come from the working classes, the demographic targeted by the *Daily Record*, it is easy to see how these letters could affect the editor.

As was commonplace with Suez coverage, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* agreed that Britain had the right to use force against the recalcitrant Nasser. In early September, they lambasted Labour for forswearing the use of military force without permission from the United Nations: 'The prosperity and security of the British people must be guaranteed in one way or another against the tantrums and

caprices of Egyptian rulers.'[69] For the editor of *The Scotsman*, the United Nations was not a satisfactory solution to the world's problems because the Soviet Union maintained a veto on the Security Council and could scuttle any proposals it opposed.[70] Accordingly, the editor viewed it as a serious mistake to renounce the use of force until the United Nations was capable of efficiently policing the world.[71] Until that time 'we are undoubtedly right to prepare and have at instant call the forces to save ourselves and the other users of the canal if we are driven to use them.'[72] These two dailies would soon have their way as the attack on Nasser, though cloaked in lies, lurked just around the corner.

On 31 October 1956, just two days after the Israelis engaged Egyptian forces on the Sinai Peninsula, Franco-British forces began their assault on Egyptian airfields following the expiration of an ultimatum to both Israel and Egypt to cease hostilities. The editorial columns of all three newspapers focused on the war in the northeast corner of the African continent. The *Daily Record* vehemently opposed the use of force because it predicted the international repercussions for such a step. The column condemned Prime Minister Anthony Eden for splitting the Commonwealth, alienating the United States, and flouting the United Nations. The thoughts of everyone at the newspaper went out to all of the British soldiers and sailors who were required to carry out their orders and prosecute this conflict. But the column ended on a note of outrage. 'In these circumstances we believe the use of force can settle nothing and achieve nothing. IT IS THE CULMINATING BLUNDER IN A DISASTROUS POLICY.'[73]

The Glasgow Herald, on the other hand, trumpeted Eden's 'bold and resolute action' and heaped scorn on Hugh Gaitskell, Member of Parliament (MP) and leader of the Opposition, for verbally abusing the Prime Minister.[74] *The Scotsman* echoed the sentiments of its fellow broadsheet and told its readers that the move to intervene militarily was actually done to protect the Arabs. According to the column, Eden had taken a course that was necessary if Britain wanted to see 'an orderly approach to full nationhood among the Arab States.'[75] Any Scot reading all three of these papers on 1 November 1956 would have noted the stark contrast between the tabloid and the broadsheets. While the *Daily Record* would continue to attack the Government's policy, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* attempted to justify the use of force.

As the hostilities began, *The Scotsman* praised the peace-keeping nature of the Franco-British mission. Its editor claimed that the action taken by British and French forces was meant 'to limit and contain a war that could set the whole Middle East in flames.'[76] This police action

intended to stop a dangerous conflict from turning catastrophic, while safeguarding the Suez Canal, something that the United Nations was not quick enough to prevent.[77] For *The Glasgow Herald*, the line was the same. Intervention by Britain and France preserved the peace.[78] The editor viewed the Government as resolute and valiant in undertaking the Suez mission. Without their intervention, the newspaper surmised that all of the Arab States would be embroiled in the conflict; potentially even the Great Powers.[79] The Government had possibly prevented the outbreak of another Korean War or even a third world war. There was no doubt in the minds of these editors that the swift action of their Government had saved the world from increased tensions and hostilities. Little did they know that the Government had colluded to make the intervention a reality.

The editors also engaged the economic implications of the Suez Crisis in their columns. The *Daily Record* called on Prime Minister Eden to resign because his actions led to a blockage of the Canal that would not be cleared for months, costing Britain hundreds of millions of pounds.[80] *The Glasgow Herald* countered, however, that the economic costs of Suez could only be determined by a comparison with the economic and political costs of inaction.[81] Since the conflict between Israel and Egypt was so close to the Canal, *The Scotsman* claimed that Britain and France had been forced to take action to prevent extensive damage to this most important of waterways and its most valuable commodity: cheap transportation of oil to Western Europe.[82] In the end, economic arguments existed for both those opposing and championing intervention. It all came down, quite simply, to whether the speculation about the costs of inaction would have exceeded those of action.

The fourth question debated in the Scottish press asked whether the use of force at Suez had a direct impact on Soviet policy towards the Hungarian rebellion. Only two of the major dailies discussed this very controversial topic in their editorial columns. The *Daily Record* derided the British Government for flaunting the United Nations and attacking Egypt because it prevented Britain from being able to take the moral high ground and condemn the Soviets as they crushed the Hungarian rebels: 'Britain has always been part of the conscience of the world. ... [But] today the British people are unhappy that their Government cannot condemn Russia for defying U. N. O. Britain has shown the example. We are just beginning to pay the price of Eden's war.'[83] An occasional columnist for the *Record*, the Labour MP Dick Mabon, utilized even more forceful language. To him, Britain's actions may have influenced the Russian decision to 'crucify the liberty-loving people of Hungary.'[84]

The Scotsman also weighed in on the allegation that British action over Suez gave the Soviets an excuse to extirpate the Hungarian rebellion. The editor claimed that the situation was caused by simple Russian tyranny. The intervention, after all, 'may well have prevented a conflagration' and this action could be built upon by the United Nations, making its presence in the region a formidable one.[85] For *The Scotsman*, given the timeline of events in Hungary, there was little the British could have done to stop the bloodshed by the Soviets. The Hungarian rebellion began well before Franco-British intervention at Suez, and the Soviets were not about to risk losing one of their satellites in Eastern Europe. The Hungarian rising would have been dealt with mercilessly even if nothing had transpired in Egypt.[86] Despite this argument, the British were still hard-pressed to condemn Soviet action when they were concomitantly involved in a conflict seen by much of the world as a colonial deed.

The final question that provided heated debate in the House of Commons and within the Scottish press asked whether there had been collusion between Britain, France, and Israel over the latter's attack on Egyptian forces on the Sinai Peninsula. Did Britain and France know that Israel was going to attack? Was the choice of the Canal Zone as the place of intervention planned in advance to regain control of the international waterway? At the time the charge of collusion was based on rumour. The dark truth of the Protocol of Sevres was not public knowledge. In this atmosphere of assumption, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* used their editorial columns to defend the Government against these charges. Meanwhile, the *Daily Record* said that there was no reason to engage in assumption. History would determine who was right and who was wrong.[87] A letter to the editor of *The Glasgow Herald* echoed this sentiment. According to the correspondent, Robert Main,

> We are left with the most important question of all: Why did we join with the French in an attack on Egypt? If we accept that the Israeli invasion of Egypt was an action conceived and initiated solely to weaken the Egyptian military machine, and if we accept that our Government, together with the Government of France, acted only to ensure the maintenance of the Suez Canal as a vital waterway, and to safeguard our nationals in Egypt, then we can say that, however imprudent such action may have been, it was an action justified by the prevailing circumstances. But if we feel that this action was designed primarily to regain control of the Suez Canal and secondly to depose the Egyptian dictator, and that the idea of an Anglo-French

> police force was a belated concession to world opinion, then we can but hang our heads in shame.[88]

If proven true, collusion for this neutral correspondent would completely change how he viewed the Suez intervention. The editorials of the two broadsheets would not qualify their condemnations of collusion rumours.

At the start of the armed intervention, the leader of the Opposition, Hugh Gaitskell, levelled the charge of collusion against Eden and the Government. *The Scotsman* did not mince words when relaying its disdain for Gaitskell to its readers. The editorial said that it was regrettable that Gaitskell 'should have thrown doubt on the Prime Minister's integrity by repeating the theory sponsored by Russia and apparently the United States that Israel's attack on Egypt was a matter of collusion between the British and French Governments and the Government of Israel.'[89] *The Glasgow Herald* stated unequivocally that the time was ripe for Israel to carry out a pre-emptive strike against the military build-up of Egypt. Collusion had not occurred.[90]

Both papers were quick to attack the Shadow Foreign Secretary Aneurin Bevan's claims of collusion in a House of Commons Debate with the Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd on 5 December 1956. The *Herald* called Bevan's vitriolic attacks naïve and unrealistic.[91] *The Scotsman* said this was a weak case because Israel was trying to eliminate the Egyptian Government, and it was Franco-British intervention that prevented this.[92] If they were colluding, why stop the Israeli onslaught? Finally, following Eden's last appearance in the House of Commons on 20 December 1956, in which he denied the collusion claim for the final time as Prime Minister, both papers attempted to shame those who kept pushing this view. The *Herald* averred that the collusion argument had been started by a *Washington Post* diplomatic correspondent for political purposes. It was thus nothing more than a distasteful party political stunt.[93] *The Scotsman* dared the Opposition 'to prove their case or abandon the charges.'[94] No solid proof would be forthcoming during Eden's lifetime. On 9 January 1957 Prime Minister Eden resigned. Management of the Suez Crisis had taken a physical toll on him. The mental strain of hiding collusion from the public probably also did him no favours.

In Scotland, as in the rest of Britain, the general public remained divided on the issue of Suez. Those reading these three major Scottish dailies had been inundated with editorial columns and letters to the editor for more than four months with the vast concentration appearing

between 31 October and the end of the year. The number of editorials appearing in each newspaper within the course of two months is staggering when it is remembered that the *Daily Record* never produced more than two in a day and *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* never more than four each:

The Scotsman: 50
The Glasgow Herald: 56
Daily Record: 27

Overall, the papers remained fairly consistent with their individual messages. *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald* supported the Government's actions, while the *Daily Record* shunned the Government for putting the British people in harm's way when the matter needed to be handled solely by the United Nations Security Council.[95] The Scots, always interested in imperial matters, received an extensive amount of information on events as they unfolded in Egypt.

Coverage of Nyasaland

The historical connections between Scotland and Central Africa make the Nyasaland Emergency a very different matter than either Mau Mau in Kenya or Suez in Egypt. As outlined in the introduction, the Scots played the key role in establishing a British Protectorate over the region in the late nineteenth century. It is thus unsurprising that Scottish newspaper coverage of discontent in the Protectorate proved plentiful and emotionally charged. Many Scots, especially within the Church of Scotland, had been complaining about Nyasaland's forced inclusion in the white settler-dominated Central African Federation since 1953. In this context, the unrest and the ensuing declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland on 3 March 1959 only served to intensify emotions.[96]

The initial problems in Nyasaland occurred when it was incorporated into the Central African Federation in 1953 against the strong objections of the indigenous Africans. African mistrust was further exacerbated by the lack of political progress accrued under the federal scheme. The white settlers controlled the Federal Government and made it clear that their political agenda would be pushed through despite African protests.[97] These protests were led by the Nyasaland African Congress, which was dedicated to self-government for the Protectorate and secession from the Federation. With the Africans gaining very little political power and

facing a constitutional review conference in 1960 that held the potential of the Federation gaining full political autonomy, or Dominion status, the Nyasaland African Congress looked outside its borders for a new and dynamic leader. They asked Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, a long-time opponent of Nyasaland's incorporation into the Federation, to return home after nearly 40 years overseas to lead the Party. Finally, on 6 July 1958 Banda arrived in Nyasaland. Over the next seven months Banda rallied support for Congress' position through spellbinding speeches that he delivered around the country. Banda called for civil disobedience against the Nyasaland and Federal Governments to achieve Congress' goal of independence. Many times this disobedience turned into conflict between indigenous Africans and police.[98] By February, the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, decided to declare a State of Emergency based off of an intelligence report that stated if Banda were arrested, a 'murder plot' would be carried out by Africans against himself, senior civil servants, missionaries, and European women and children. The Emergency was formally declared on 3 March 1959.

The three main Scottish newspapers did not disappoint their readers in terms of coverage of the Nyasaland Emergency. This section reviews newspaper coverage from late February 1959, on the eve of the Emergency being declared, to June 1959, in the wake of the momentous decision by the Church of Scotland's General Assembly to call for a transfer of effective power to the African community in Nyasaland.[99] For this four-month period the following number of editorial columns appeared about Nyasaland:

The Scotsman: 19
The Glasgow Herald: 13
Daily Record: 17

It must also be noted that many of the basic news articles produced by *The Glasgow Herald* were filled with opinion. While the number of editorials is substantially lower than what Suez produced, the situation also developed much faster and did not carry with it the possibility of sparking a third world war.

As with coverage of Suez, all three papers maintained fairly consistent messages throughout. *The Glasgow Herald* remained a staunch supporter of the British Government and sided with the Federal Government against Banda and his party, the nationalist Nyasaland African Congress. The *Daily Record* thoroughly supported the right of Nyasaland's indigenous Africans to gain independence immediately from the settler-dominated

Federal Government and called on the British Government to listen to the Church of Scotland's advice on how best to handle the situation. Finally, *The Scotsman* placed strong emphasis on Scotland's historic connection to Nyasaland and her obligation to protect its indigenous population from the race-based policies of the Federal Government, headed by Sir Roy Welensky.

The debate on whether the Federation should continue with or without Nyasaland is the only theme that appears in the coverage of all three newspapers. This debate is embedded in every editorial column that appeared. *The Glasgow Herald* sought to maintain the status quo, while the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman* argued for an end to Nyasaland's participation in the Federation. Additional themes, however, are evident when comparing just two of the three papers. These themes include thoughts on the leader of the nationalists in Nyasaland, Banda, views about the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Welensky, and Scotland's strong historical connection to Nyasaland. Overall, though, each paper placed a great deal of emphasis on the Nyasaland Emergency for its target audience: the imperially engaged Scottish public.

The eruption of violence in Nyasaland caught the attention of the three major Scottish dailies in late February 1959. The first of the three major papers to run an editorial column on the violence in Nyasaland was *The Glasgow Herald*. On 23 February, the *Herald* published 'Nyasaland in Ferment,' which would prove to be, arguably, the most balanced editorial to appear in any of the three newspapers over the four months under review. In it, the editor discusses how Nyasaland, although weak and small, had proven to be the staunchest opponent of the European-dominated partnership that was the Central African Federation. This hostility began when Nyasaland was incorporated into the Federation in 1953 against the strong objections of the African population. In the intervening six years, the Federal Government had done nothing to alleviate these fears. The enmity between Nyasaland Africans and the settler government in Salisbury would need to subside in order for partnership to have a chance:

> For Nyasaland partnership would have to mean co-operation within the federation between an African state and a predominantly European central government. Unfortunately such a solution, though the best of sense economically, is political nonsense so long as almost all Nyasaland Africans are frantically opposed to federation. With Sir Roy anxious to secure an influence for the settlers that they cannot

> hope to retain and Dr. Banda blind to economic realities, the British Government may have little choice to keep power in their own hands until the outlook for the federation is more certain.[100]

As long as this basic distrust existed, the *Herald* believed that only the British Government could help ensure the success of the Federation. This would be a misplaced hope.

The editorial columns of both *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* lit up on 27 February 1959 with the declaration of a State of Emergency in Southern Rhodesia. This Emergency was declared by the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, in response to the rising violence in Nyasaland. With Armitage ready to declare an Emergency in Nyasaland, Whitehead wanted to get any potential Southern Rhodesian 'subversionists' in detention so that he would have the Federal troops available for use in the north.[101] The *Herald* and *The Scotsman* could not have reacted more differently when analysing this news. The *Herald* believed Whitehead was doing the right thing by preventing potential violence in Southern Rhodesia, and it called on African leaders in Nyasaland to bring the violence there to an end because it was damaging indigenous interests.[102] *The Scotsman*, on the other hand, railed against Whitehead's decision: 'For Sir Edgar, all trouble is caused by mischievous and irresponsible agitators. And anyone who represents the African dislike of Federation and the fear of the prospect of domination is by definition an irresponsible and mischievous agitator.'[103] *The Scotsman* held that if Whitehead wanted an answer to the unrest in the Federation, he need only look in the mirror. It was Southern Rhodesian political leaders who had ridden roughshod over African fears of white domination, thereby imperilling 'the whole idea of a multi-racial state in Central Africa.'[104] The solution was to engage the indigenous Africans, who were the vast majority of the inhabitants, by granting them say over their political future. This was just the beginning of what would become a heated divide over Central Africa between Scotland's leading broadsheets.

When the State of Emergency was declared on 3 March 1959, all three Scottish newspapers weighed in on the situation and possible solutions. The *Daily Record* stated unequivocally that only the British Government had the power to solve the crisis in Central Africa. Its editor demanded that the British Government construct a new constitution for Nyasaland that would allow it to leave the Federation if that proved to be the will of the majority. This would be the true equality that was supposed to be a hallmark of the Federation when it was first established in 1953.[105]

For *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman*, attention turned to the role of Banda in the need for an Emergency. *The Glasgow Herald* said that the arrests of the leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress, led by Banda, were well deserved given that these men were responsible for the disorder that afflicted the Protectorate. Banda was singled out for trying to force the British and Southern Rhodesian populations into believing that Nyasaland needed to be written off as a loss for the Federation. The editor also attacked Banda for not holding a clear idea of how an independent Nyasaland would support itself economically.[106] The *Herald* believed that the Nyasaland Africans needed Federation more than they would admit, and this point was becoming increasingly difficult to get across with Banda and his nationalists standing in the way.[107] *The Scotsman*, on the other hand, claimed there was no evidence that either Banda or any of his colleagues had called for violence. Figuring out who was responsible for the immediate violence, however, was unimportant because the underlying cause was clear: African fears that the Federation would gain Dominion status at the 1960 constitutional talks. The solution was to give Nyasaland Africans the right to opt-out of the Federation, and the violence would end.[108] Banda was not the problem; he was merely defending his people against the threat of their homeland losing the protection of the British Government by being incorporated into a racially divided Dominion.

The battle over Banda's reputation in the Scottish press was an ongoing saga. *The Glasgow Herald* consistently attacked Banda for supposedly hurting his people and their interests.[109] Its editor believed that Nyasaland and its indigenous population were not developed enough to warrant self-government. This would only come with patience and practice.[110] But this was impossible as long as they were being directed by 'half-educated' leaders who stoked their resentment against Armitage's projects for improvement.[111] The *Herald*'s Colonial Correspondent referred to Banda, that 'fire-eating little London doctor,' as 'emotional and voluble to the point of hysteria' and a 'fundamentally silly man.'[112] If such a man existed, it would prove impossible to negotiate with him. Perhaps this is why the *Herald* believed it was better for him to be locked away in prison.

Meanwhile, *The Scotsman* was doing its best to convince the newspaper-reading public that Banda was level-headed and in favour of co-operation. *The Scotsman* portrayed Banda as a very practical politician who only wanted the majority to rule in Nyasaland.[113] The editors also went to some length to quiet the contention of Armitage that Banda had authorized the 'murder plot' against Europeans, Asians, and

moderate Africans.[114] The idea that Banda would look to kill Europeans or just simply drive them out of Nyasaland seemed farcical. After all, he was never anti-European, which the paper attempted to demonstrate by using one of Banda's own quotes: 'I am not anti-European. I couldn't be after spending most of my life among them.'[115] Both papers spent considerable time discussing the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress as the Emergency unfolded. Their opinions of him could not have differed more. The Scots, however, had plenty to ponder about the leader of the African nationalists in Nyasaland thanks to two of their leading newspapers.

While Banda's character and reputation were being questioned, the Prime Minister of the Federation, Welensky, was the target of criticism from *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Record*. The *Record* began the assault on the day the Nyasaland Emergency was declared by going after Welensky for leading the white settlers in withholding from the indigenous peoples of Nyasaland 'the freedom and equality to which they are entitled.'[116] *The Scotsman* added that Welensky and his friends constantly displayed intolerance towards opposition to the Federation.[117] This was never more evident than with Welensky's attempt to defile the character of the African leaders after their arrests.[118] *The Scotsman* went so far as to label Welensky an unsophisticated and aggressive politician who dominated by force of personality rather than through sound policy. However, it was also made clear that Welensky was not unique amongst Rhodesian politicians. They all seemed to behave in this way, including Welensky's predecessor as Prime Minister of the Federation, Lord Malvern.[119] Sound policy, after all, would mean extending the franchise to all adults in the Federation, regardless of race. For the Africans, there was nothing Welensky had done to make them believe that partnership meant anything other than continued white rule.[120] This was because continued white rule was Welensky's goal for the foreseeable future. This did not go over well with the Scots, who felt it was their historic duty to protect the peoples of Nyasaland.[121]

Another theme that resonated with *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Record* revolved around Scotland's strong historical connection to Nyasaland and the need to protect its indigenous population.[122] This connection was also well known amongst the Scottish people, especially those within the Church of Scotland. Just after the declaration of Emergency, the Presbytery of Edinburgh wrote to all of its Members of Parliament asking them to remember the special bond between the peoples of Scotland and Nyasaland while also urging them to maintain Nyasaland's status as a Protectorate.[123] The Reverend Andrew Doig, who

had extensive experience living and working in Nyasaland as well as representing Nyasaland Africans in the Assembly of the Central African Federation, wrote a featured column for *The Scotsman*. In this column he stated that Nyasaland Africans felt power had shifted from Britain, which protected them, to the Federal capital of Salisbury, which did not. This was made clear by the introduction of Federal troops in Nyasaland to handle the Emergency. Doig said that Britain's historical obligation to protect the indigenous peoples, as established by the Scots in the nineteenth century, meant that the British Government should have sent British troops. Britain was, after all, the Protecting Power, not Southern Rhodesia.[124]

According to the *Daily Record*, the historically significant connection between Scotland and Nyasaland was, specifically, the work of Scottish missionaries. At the centre of this historical connection was the missionary Dr David Livingstone. Following his example, many Scots devoted their lives to the peoples of Central Africa, and especially Nyasaland. Given that the Church of Scotland still boasted a large contingent of missionaries on the ground in Nyasaland, the *Record* thought it would be wise for the British Government to enlist their help in obtaining 'unbiased information' about the causes of the Emergency and how this unrest could be solved.[125] Dick Mabon MP, who had written for the *Record* during the Suez Crisis, went even further and demanded that the Church of Scotland speak up for the Africans because the Church had an historical obligation to defend them.[126] In a follow-up column, Mabon claimed that he knew the Reverend George MacLeod, Convener of the Church's Committee anent Central Africa, would take an active role in supporting the Africans of Nyasaland.[127] A third column by Mabon was his most powerful endorsement in favour of intervention by the Church of Scotland. It was sparked by the news that Dr J. W. C. Dougall, Secretary of the Church's Foreign Missions Committee, had been asked to address Scottish Tory MPs. In this piece, Mabon declared that

> I believe that of all the influences which can be brought to bear on the Government to reach a just solution in Central Africa, the Church of Scotland, at this moment in history, possesses the most powerful. I hope this encouraging movement in the Kirk will gather momentum in the vital weeks before the Assembly meets in Edinburgh.[128]

Mabon would be proven right. The Church of Scotland played a major role in helping bring the Federation to an end with their Deliverance on

Nyasaland at the 1959 General Assembly. This Deliverance was guided and inspired by MacLeod and his Committee anent Central Africa, just as Mabon hoped, because MacLeod believed in the need to protect the indigenous Africans just as the Scots had been doing since the nineteenth century.

On 6 May 1959, the Church of Scotland's Committee anent Central Africa released their Supplementary Report, which had been written in the wake of the Emergency. The Supplementary Report called for a daring and creative transfer of power to the Africans of Nyasaland.[129] This Report brought a challenge from Sir Gilbert Rennie, the High Commissioner for the Federation in the United Kingdom, in the form of a pamphlet entitled 'Why not be fair?' Rennie was attempting to sway the opinion of members of the Church of Scotland in the lead-up to the General Assembly, but in the eyes of *The Glasgow Herald* he failed miserably.[130] The Committee's report, and its associated Deliverance, would pass the General Assembly following MacLeod's momentous speech on 25 May 1959. In the immediate aftermath, the three Scottish dailies had plenty to say. *The Glasgow Herald* said it was a mistake to attempt a rapid conversion of 'Nyasaland's primitive society' into a democracy, which would doom that country to 'perpetual economic stagnation.'[131] The editor of the *Herald* hoped that the Federation could be salvaged because that was the only way to ensure progress for Nyasaland.[132] The *Daily Record* believed that the future of Nyasaland was the most important subject debated at the General Assembly in years.[133] Once the Deliverance passed, the *Record* heaped praise on the Church of Scotland for doing the right thing in standing up for 'justice and human dignity.'[134] The British Empire could not have been of greater interest to the national paper of the Scottish working class in mid-1959.

Like the *Daily Record*, *The Scotsman* heaped praise on the decision of the Church of Scotland to support the Deliverance of its Committee anent Central Africa. Its editor argued that it was probably the most important debate of the entire General Assembly because 'the Church was able to speak with knowledge of conditions there, and with a consciousness of its obligations to the African Christians.'[135] *The Scotsman* also claimed that the Nyasaland Africans deserved the right 'to judge what their own interests are, to appoint their own leaders, and make their own mistakes – like the rest of us.'[136] If they failed because they were not advanced enough, as the *Herald* claimed, that was fine because at least their wishes and, more importantly, their human dignity had been respected. This decision by the Church, Scotland's de facto parliament, also marked a serious departure from the past. *The Scotsman*'s belief

that passage of the Deliverance was 'not a new and sensational departure provoked by the current crisis, but a collective decision which is completely consistent with its past record on this question' is simply untrue.[137] The original report of the Committee anent Central Africa, submitted to the General Assembly in January 1959 before the outbreak of strife and the declaration of a State of Emergency, did not mention a desire to push for African independence.[138] This was triggered by the Emergency and the Church's belief, as orchestrated by MacLeod, that the empire had gone awry in Nyasaland. Scotland was beginning to break its centuries-long connection to the British Empire over the fate of the Nyasaland Africans, even as interest in all things imperial remained high.

Overall, the amount of space dedicated to Mau Mau, Suez, and the Nyasaland Emergency in the three national Scottish newspapers displayed the importance of imperial issues to newspaper editors. *The Scotsman*, *The Glasgow Herald*, and the *Daily Record* provided an information overload to the Scottish newspaper-reading public on these topics, and that underscores the argument of this book that the Scots had an appetite for all things imperial, whether they thought of themselves as proponents, opponents, or even victims of empire. Moreover, the dedicated focus on Africa shows that this continent was a preferred destination.[139] Newspapers are in the business of selling their information to the general public. As such, they focus on stories that will hold the interest of their potential readers. The vast exposure of the imperial situations in Kenya, at Suez, and in Nyasaland demonstrates that these three newspapers knew coverage of these stories infatuated the Scottish public. The Scots were not absent-minded when it came to the British Empire.

5
Teaching the Empire

Although the British Empire crumbled and fell after the Second World War, there remained a great amount of interest in, and even enthusiasm for, this multinational endeavour in Scotland. Far from being absent-minded imperialists, the Scots were actively invested in their imperial heritage. The historical curricula taught to Scottish schoolchildren during the era of decolonization remained replete with imperial content, reflecting the continued investment in empire on behalf of both educators and the Scottish people. Teachers as well as government officials placed a premium on teaching Scottish schoolchildren about their imperial heritage, which becomes clear when looking at the textbooks used by leading primary and secondary schools as well as the questions they posed to pupils on the Leaving Certificate Examinations. Any pupil educated in the state-funded Scottish educational system during the era of decolonization would have come away with an appreciation of Scotland's contribution to the British Empire.

From a curriculum standpoint, Scottish schooling from 1945 to 1965 was a devolved system. Educators assigned textbooks at the local level, and the schools and teachers often determined which books should be used in the classroom to prepare gifted students for the Scottish Leaving Certificate and the less able students for more immediate employment.[1] This chapter explores the textbooks assigned by 50 different schools across Scotland and investigates what each age group read. It also acknowledges that textbooks published after the Second World War tended to give a more balanced assessment of the British Empire, rather than the overt imperial enthusiasm of earlier textbooks, while admitting that Britain's world power status was beginning to dissolve.[2] Although great variation existed in the textbooks chosen, one constant stands

out: in the era of decolonization, Scottish children were taught extensively about the empire and its role in the making of modern Britain. Moreover, a high level of engagement with the topic at school reflected Scottish interest in all things imperial, and may even help to explain the extraordinary interest that many Scots had in the British Empire, its history, and its future during a period of great uncertainty.

A devolved system of education in which teachers determine what is taught to their students makes researching this topic a difficult endeavour. Given the sheer number of schools in Scotland, both primary and secondary as well as independent and state sponsored, this chapter focuses mainly on senior secondary education. This educational level lends itself comparatively easily to data collection, due to the fact that there was a core group of 53 semi-autonomous senior secondary institutions that the rest of the public schools looked to when determining their curricula. These schools received substantial funding from the government, and were not amongst the private institutions that determined their own curricula and stayed somewhat aloof from the educational system that encompassed the vast majority of Scottish children. These well-established, semi-autonomous schools, therefore, had a significant role to play following the passage of the 1936 Education (Scotland) Act, which founded hundreds of new senior secondary schools in Scotland and made secondary education universal.[3] The curricula of these semi-autonomous institutions served as the model for the teachers and administrators of the new schools when they were determining what to teach their pupils about Scottish history.[4]

Before delving into specific examples that either appeared in textbooks or were related through oral testimonies, it is necessary to define what constitutes empire in the teaching of children.[5] In the teaching of children, the vast majority of imperial material in textbooks covered Britain's formal empire – quite simply, the part painted red on the map. Formal control dominated the imperial questions posed by the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations. Additionally, formal control was a concept that children of all ages and ability levels easily understood. Therefore, the vast majority of this chapter focuses on what Scottish children learned about the formal British Empire.

The Educational System in Scotland

The educational system in Scotland should not be conflated with the English system, as this was one of three major components of Scottish civil society preserved to Scotland in the Act of Union of 1707.[6]

Education, along with the Scottish religious and legal systems, has remained independent of centralized control at Westminster over the past 300 years. It is critical to acknowledge the differences between the Scottish and English educational systems, especially when discussing what was taught to students about the British Empire. There has been a recent attempt to unravel the mysteries surrounding the teaching of history in English state schools during the course of the twentieth century.[7] In stark contrast to the Scottish situation, English educationalists and schools shied away from the teaching of empire to their pupils. In 1902 the inventor of Empire Day, Lord Meath, found it shocking that school leavers knew nothing about the Indian Mutiny. He was equally distraught that school textbooks virtually ignored the subject of empire altogether.[8] For the first 40 years of the twentieth century, Lord Meath's complaints fell on the unsympathetic ears of the English Board of Education. At times, the board appeared downright dismissive of imperial history as a subject because it could be used for propagandistic purposes. At first they attempted to cloak their hostility in the guise of disinterest among students for the subject. According to J. W. Headlam-Morley, writing in 1918, 'We cannot get boys and girls to be interested in subjects such as the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia.'[9] But by the late 1930s, some English school officials no longer attempted to conceal their animosity towards the historical study of the empire. These officials feared that the study of empire could provoke violence or intolerance, leading them to ban the celebration of Empire Day in their schools.[10] By keeping the history of the British Empire from their students, the Board of Education, local education authorities, and teachers were creating absent-minded imperialists, as Bernard Porter has so eloquently dubbed the English.[11] This would not begin to change in English schools until the empire came crashing down in the mid-1960s. Only then did it appear safe to teach the children of a declining Britain about their place in the world.

Absent-minded imperialists would never be a description ascribed to the post-Second World War Scots. The centrality of imperial content in Scottish school curricula must be understood in the larger context of the developing education system in Scotland during the first decades of the twentieth century. According to the Scottish Education Department (SED) Report of 1947, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act 'represented the largest single advance in the history of secondary education in Scotland.'[12] The Act stated that primary education needed to end at the age of 12, mandated that free secondary schooling was to be provided for all children who could benefit from it, and offered resources for the

education authorities that allowed them to carry out this legislation.[13] The 1918 Act, however, was not as important as the SED report made it out to be. After all, it did not make secondary education available to everyone. By stating that free secondary schooling would be made available only to those who could benefit from it, the education authorities were differentiating between the 'intellectually able' and the rest. According to the Scottish Education Department, only the intellectual elite needed to be provided with secondary education, and this select group constituted between 5 and 10 per cent of the population.[14] The rest of the children should leave school at the age of 14 and enter the workplace where they belonged. The Scottish Education Department, at the end of the First World War, believed the Scottish masses did not need to waste time taking advanced courses that were not right for them. What they needed was 'severe instruction in the duties of citizenship,' meaning they needed to get a job and help the economy.[15]

Real change began with the truly monumental legislation of the 1930s, most importantly the 1936 Education (Scotland) Act. First and foremost it brought about secondary education for all students.[16] As the Scottish Education Department hailed in 1947, 'At last secondary education was officially recognised for what it is – a stage in the schooling of every child, not a particular kind of education to be provided for some but not for all.'[17] This would not ensure that every student had the opportunity to attend senior secondary school, but it increased the number attempting to achieve a Scottish Leaving Certificate from the previous 5 to 10 per cent to almost one-third of the school-age population. The leaving age also increased from 14 to 15 as of 1 September 1939, allocating three years from the completion of primary school at age 12 to the time when a child could leave education for good and enter the workforce.[18] Accordingly, a new type of secondary course was established for the vast majority of students: the junior course. Before discussing the junior course in detail, though, it is important to turn our attention to what Scottish children learned about the empire in primary school.

Primary Education

In 1943, prior to the start of the period under consideration, Thomas Nelson and Sons publishers, a Scottish company founded in 1798, had a travelling salesman by the name of Mr D. G. Jenkins who, based on the archives, appears to have been the person responsible for the sale of education books in Scotland. Dubbed an Educational Traveller, Jenkins

visited primary schools around the country trying to sell teachers and administrators new textbooks for pupils. He provided his bosses with updates on which books were being used and where. Jenkins obviously proved to be a valuable commodity to Thomas Nelson and Sons, as he was still the Educational Traveller in charge of Scotland in 1948. The archives provide little information on the sale of textbooks in 1948, but the records for the year 1943 offer a glimpse into the primary textbooks assigned in different places around Scotland.

Many of the book series that were being used by Scottish schools in 1943 have proven rather difficult to find, but certain volumes of one series, *Highroads of History*, are available. According to Jenkins, writing on 6 March 1943, the primary schools in Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire were using this series of books.[19] The series, however, was becoming fairly outdated, with the newest volume published in 1929 and the oldest in 1909. There appear to have been a total of seven volumes in the series, one for each year of primary school. Of the seven, four are available: the first, third, sixth, and seventh.[20] Of these four, only the first lacks imperial content. The third book, subtitled 'Britons of Renown,' includes chapters on George Washington, Pitt the Elder (Lord Chatham), Captain Cook, and William Wilberforce.[21] The sixth book, covering Modern Britain from 1688 to 1907, includes 16 chapters with imperial content (34.8 per cent of all chapters).[22] The seventh book features an entire section called 'The Expansion of the Nation,' which focuses on 'that great but unconscious movement which converted Britain into the British Empire.'[23] These 20 chapters dominate the book, which includes 44 chapters in all (45.5 per cent). Perhaps even more impressive, the book closes with an epilogue by the former Prime Minister, the Earl of Rosebery, who made it very clear that this textbook was intended mainly for Scots. He stated that 'you all know that Scotland became united to England first by our King James the Sixth going and taking possession of England – which I am happy to think the Scottish have kept ever since – and then by the Treaty of Union in 1707.'[24] Moreover, he hoped the Scots would take great pride in Britain because of the greatness of the British Empire, which 'is a greater empire at this moment, not only than any that have existed in the world before, but even greater than has ever been dreamt of in the world before.'[25] Part of Scotland's greatness, then, stemmed from its partnership in a great country that held a great empire.

So what, exactly, do these textbooks reveal about Scottish primary education in Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire during the early part of the twentieth century? They show that Scottish schoolchildren in

these two counties, during the imperial heyday, were learning a good deal about the British Empire. Perhaps even more importantly, they were being instructed to celebrate their part in the greatest state in the world, made great because of the British Empire.[26] The education in imperial history would last throughout the era of decolonization, although the tone would become less celebratory over time.

Dollar Academy, one of the semi-autonomous schools discussed at length in the senior secondary section below, includes both a junior school and a senior school, which is reflected in the textbook list from the early 1950s. The junior school should not be conflated with the junior secondary schools discussed above. The junior school at Dollar Academy was similar to a junior high school in the United States. These were the final two primary years (from ages 10 to 12) before pupils began their senior secondary education. The purpose of the junior school curriculum was to prepare students for the transition from primary school to secondary school.

The textbooks used for the Dollar Academy junior school included *Young Citizens* and the three volumes of the *'No Lumber' Scottish Histories*.[27] Of these books, only volume III of the *'No Lumber' Scottish Histories* is applicable to the study of the British Empire. This volume was taught during the junior II year, also known as primary 7 (P7), the final year before transitioning into the senior secondary school. The *'No Lumber' Scottish Histories* were written chronologically, with the third volume covering the modern period from 1714 onwards. This volume provided the students with an understanding of their world as being shaped by the British Empire. The book is divided into 12 different sections, with sections II, 'The Making of our Empire,' and VI, 'Our Growing Empire,' being devoted wholeheartedly to the study of the British Empire.[28] Additional individual chapters also discussed the empire at length, including those on 'Britain's New Industries,' 'Improvements in Travelling,' and 'In the British Commonwealth of Nations.' Overall, 15 of 47 (32 per cent) chapters are overtly about the British Empire. Many others speak about the cooperation between Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations during the First and Second World Wars. This is a very straightforward and patriotic history that was intended to stoke imperial enthusiasm when read by Scottish schoolchildren. The introductory paragraph to section VI, 'Our Growing Empire,' testifies to this:

> In 1837 a girl queen, Victoria, came to the throne of Britain. Her long reign, which lasted till 1901, was a time of great prosperity, for during

> it our industries became the most important in the world, and our colonies abroad grew to be the great Empire which we know today. We have read of the founding of our Empire in different parts of the globe; we are now going to learn something of the later story of these lands beyond the seas – lands to which many families went out to settle during the hard times in Britain.[29]

As students at Dollar Academy transitioned into senior secondary school, if the textbooks were taught verbatim and thoroughly studied, they would have taken with them an understanding of the accomplishments of the British peoples overseas in constructing the British Empire. Some may have even thought about the last sentence in the statement above, which refers to the British Diaspora, and reflected on fellow family members who left Scotland to find a better life for themselves.[30] Scotland and its people were inextricably linked to the British Empire, and at schools like Dollar Academy this fact was reflected in the education of young Scottish citizens.

George Watson's College, located in the heart of the capital city, Edinburgh, included a primary as well as a senior secondary school. George Watson's offered three reading lists from the 1950s that provide a plethora of knowledge about what textbooks were assigned to their primary as well as secondary children. In 1952–3, pupils in the last three years of primary school were taught from F. W. Tickner's *Building the British Empire*. This book, the fourth and final volume of the University of London's *Headway Histories*, was meant to reflect the goal of the series: 'explain to young readers the place occupied by British history in the story of the World.'[31] *Building the British Empire* put its mission into practice with 12 of its 21 chapters (57.1 per cent) including explicit imperial content, and the other nine moving the chronology forward from 1603 to the mid-twentieth century. The chapters that discussed the empire openly in their respective titles included: 'William Pitt and Empire Expansion,' 'George III and Empire Losses,' 'Empire Builders,' and 'The British Commonwealth of Nations.'

In 1956–7, Tickner's text was still being taught to students in the final three years of primary school at George Watson's. Additionally, another one of the *Headway Histories* volumes was added to the primary pupils in the fourth, fifth, and sixth years. *Famous Men and Famous Deeds* introduced pupils to some of the most famous men and women of all time, from Alexander the Great to Queen Victoria. This book features 17 chapters and, from an imperial standpoint, focuses on George Washington and his founding of the United States of America, as well as Queen

Victoria and the expansion of the British Empire during her reign. While this book does not include a great deal of imperial content, it does introduce children to the First and Second British Empires. Overall, the textbooks used to teach history to primary school students at George Watson's were overflowing with imperial content.

According to both the Head of History at Dundee High School and the Deputy Rector at North Berwick High School, Cameron's *History for Young Scots* was used frequently in primary school. The Head of History at Dundee went so far as to state that it was the most popular textbook in use during the 1960s.[32] *History for Young Scots* was divided into two books. The first book includes 28 chapters, and only one of those contains imperial content as its remit only extends to the Union of 1707. The final chapter in this book, which contains sections on the Darien Scheme and the Act of Union, touches on imperial endeavour.[33] In the second book, five of the 27 chapters discuss the empire (18.5 per cent). Those chapters are 'The Industrial Revolution: The Rise of Glasgow,' 'The Foundation of the British Empire,' 'The Foundation of the United States,' 'The Growth of the British Empire,' and 'Britain and the Commonwealth.' The *History for Young Scots* is a straightforward, chronological history that was probably one of the first historical texts Scottish children ever encountered in the 1960s if it was as popular as the Head of History at Dundee claims. These textbooks, however, only came out in 1963 and 1964 as the empire was quickly drawing to a close. Despite this, the empire remained a major component, although the tone of the textbooks is not overly celebratory. The second book clearly points out that Britain's days as a world power had come to an end, and the future was with the three remaining megapowers: the United States, the Soviet Union, and an emerging China. But Scottish children were told not to despair, for Britain was viewed as having a role to play in this new world order if it stuck close to its partners in the Commonwealth and engaged with both Europe and the United Nations. The end of empire beckoned, yet young Scots continued to learn about this critical component of their heritage, even if it was from a more critical perspective.[34]

The Junior Secondary Course

Junior secondary courses were meant for the less able students, who comprised approximately 70 per cent of the population, while senior secondary school was for pupils who had a realistic chance of passing the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examination. Due to the devolved nature of Scottish education during this entire period, there was no

standardized test for the whole of the nation that was given to determine who was placed on track for a three-year junior course and who received the five-year senior course. The education authorities allocated students 'to five-year courses on the basis of a mixture of attainment tests, intelligence tests, recommendations from primary teachers and parental preferences.'[35] Everyone not chosen for senior secondary school would be placed in the junior school, where courses would focus on more practical approaches to classroom work.[36] For many, this more practical approach meant an end to education at the new school leaving age of 15, but it did not mean that students would leave school without some knowledge of history.

Although this chapter focuses mainly on the textbooks used by senior secondary school pupils, it is important to discuss the learning of history amongst the masses of Scottish secondary students in the junior schools. A report from the Scottish Education Department (SED) in 1955 provides a great deal of information about what the students who attended junior secondary school were learning. Most importantly, the SED viewed history as an essential subject that should be taught. Decentralization prevented this from always occurring, but it is obvious that the SED wanted history placed at the centre of the curriculum. They believed that students 'must have some knowledge of the neighborhood they live in, of their own country, and of the world, and ... since some knowledge of the past is essential to an understanding of the present, of history.'[37]

The SED also laid out the themes it believed should be covered in history during the three years of junior secondary education. Moving chronologically from early man to the present day, the first year did not lend itself to the study of the British Empire. The SED suggested, however, that if anything should be deleted from the syllabus, it should come from the first and second years since the third year would bring history up to the present and make it relevant to the lives of the pupils studying it. The themes that are overtly about Britain's empire (others, of course, may have touched on the subject) are as follows:

Second Year:

1. Great Voyages and Discoveries
2. Beginnings of Empire
3. Great Men of the 17th Century
4. Reign of Queen Anne
5. The Early Hanoverians
6. Scotland in the 18th Century

7. Struggle for Empire between Britain and France
8. American Independence

Third Year:

1. The French Revolution
2. Napoleon
3. Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions with special reference to Scotland
4. Victorian Britain
5. British Empire, 1783–1950 (Here the focus was placed on British expansion – explorers, traders, missionaries, soldiers; Canada and Australia)
6. British Empire, 1783–1950 (Here the focus was placed on South Africa or India; the Commonwealth today)
7. The Present Day[38]

Out of a recommended 16 themes per year, almost half had the possibility of containing instruction about the British Empire for junior secondary pupils. More research needs to be conducted on what exactly these junior secondary students were learning from their teachers about the British Empire. For this chapter, however, it will suffice to note that the educational authorities in Scotland viewed the empire as an important topic for all young Scots to learn about. It was an integral part of their heritage and defined what it meant to be both Scottish and British in the pre-nationalism era.

Senior Secondary Education

The Scottish Senior Secondary Education system was meant to prepare the ablest students for life as the leaders of Scottish society. Accordingly, it was believed that these future leaders needed a broad general education that would encourage lifelong learning and intellectual development.[39] Scottish popular opinion, in fact, had always viewed general education as the only type of real education.[40] One of the critical components to a general education, according to the SED, was history. Although the SED would exercise its greatest influence over the curricula of senior secondary schools with the Leaving Certificate, preparing for these exams did not necessarily consume pupils and teachers in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, as curricula were individualized by each teacher in each school.

As the number of senior secondary schools proliferated following the implementation of the 1936 Education (Scotland) Act, the education authorities needed a model to turn to when designing their curricula. They possessed a ready-made model of success in the 53 quasi-independent secondary schools that were receiving state funds from the government and had been in existence since at least the nineteenth century.[41] These schools were successful secondary public institutions with longevity to prove it.[42] Of the 53 quasi-independent secondary schools in existence during the period under consideration, 50 still exist today. All 50 of these remaining schools were contacted and asked whether they retained records of history books or syllabi, and whether the schools provided any curriculum guidance to their teachers between 1945 and 1965. Of the 50 schools, 14 responded to these enquiries for a response rate of 28 per cent. The 14 responses came from locations throughout Lowland and Highland Scotland.[43] Of the responding schools, three stand out for the quantity and quality of the information provided. They are discussed in depth here. A full accounting of what the remaining responding schools provided is included in Appendix B. Despite the fact that there were only ten useful responses, the richness of the available information provides a credible glimpse into history education in general and teaching about the empire specifically in the postwar world.[44]

Ayr Academy

Ayr Academy, located in the town of Ayr on the southwest coast of Scotland opposite the Isle of Arran, has been in existence since 1233. Their archives included information about the scheme of work in history for first- and second-year secondary students. This scheme of work was compiled 'for the information of the Head Teachers and staff at the Academy's Primary Feeder schools.'[45] This information was provided so that the primary school teachers could better prepare their students for academic life at Ayr Academy. The scheme of work for history was as follows: in the first year of secondary school, all pupils would be taught history before 1500, and in the second year, history since 1500. The two textbooks for secondary 1 (S1) and secondary 2 (S2) came from *A Scottish History for Today* by Ian Gould and John Thompson, which appeared in three volumes beginning in 1957. Volumes I and II of the Gould and Thompson series were the assigned textbooks for S1 and S2 pupils at Ayr Academy.[46] A report by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the entire county of Ayrshire in the early 1960s claimed that history instruction in these schools still ran 'very close to the textbook.' The Inspector was not impressed as he believed this placed a massive burden on the memories

of the teacher and the pupils. Moreover, he worried that this reliance on the textbook ran the risk of boring students who otherwise would find history inherently fascinating.[47] Nevertheless, heavy reliance on textbooks is good news for historians when curricula are not forthcoming.

The first volume of *A Scottish History for Today* includes three sections broken into 31 chapters. The sections make plain that this was the volume most heavily used for the pre-1500 history taught to S1 students. Part one discusses the beginnings of man through the consolidation of Scotland as one kingdom in the early eleventh century. The second part reviews the Wars of Independence against the English as well as Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France. The third section goes through the reign of Mary Queen of Scots and ends on the precipice of the creation of the empire.[48]

Volume two holds a great deal more of interest for the topic of empire as the authors set out to 'give some account of the great events outside Scotland which have influenced the growth of the nation, in the hope that pupils will learn how close and long-standing are Scotland's ties with Europe and the New World.'[49] Such a statement reveals that Gould and Thompson wanted to educate Scottish schoolchildren about their global past because this internationalism played a major role in defining what it was to be a Scot. Chapter 4 discusses the Darien Scheme in depth as a brave attempt by the Scots to start their own empire for economic gain, and how its failure contributed to the Act of Union of 1707. Chapter 7 analyses the early years of what would become the British Empire, with colonization in North America and the English East India Company on the subcontinent. Chapter 8 studies the ongoing wars between Britain and France in the long eighteenth century as 'they fought for control of the trade, the empty lands and the sea-roads of the world.'[50] In other words, they were fighting wars about empire. Chapter 9 examines the birth of the United States of America, and is the last overt chapter on empire until chapter 19, entitled 'The Work of Explorers.' In this chapter, David Livingstone plays a prominent role, as do many other Scots including Mungo Park, the great explorer of the Niger River, and John McDouall Stuart, the first man to prove that there was no inland sea on the continent of Australia. This chapter is, in fact, a celebration of Scottish contributions to the British Empire: 'So we have seen that Scots played a great part in missionary work and exploration in South and Central Africa.'[51] Chapter 22 is simply titled 'The British Empire in 1914,' and it focuses on the extent of the imperial project on the eve of the First World War. This chapter is meant to fill in the chronological story of the empire after the United States earned its independence

in 1783. Chapter 26 on the Second World War states that it was not Britain that stood alone against Germany and Italy in 1940, but the Commonwealth. This focus on the Commonwealth remains strong in chapter 27 with discussions of how the world has changed following 1945: 'It is no longer an Empire ruled by Britain, but a family of nations. We hope that these Commonwealth countries and their friends will be able to work through UNO for a better world.'[52] Given that this edition of the book was published in 1964, it is evident that the Scots who wrote this book understood that the British Empire was at an end and that cooperation through international frameworks like the Commonwealth and the United Nations was the future. Another international organization that would come to dominate thinking in the era of Scottish nationalism would be the European Community, which remains a focus of nationalists to this day.

The textbook coverage for Ayr Academy students in their second year at secondary school was filled with the history of the British Empire. Although numbers are not available for the percentage of students who continued to take history at Ayr Academy following the first two compulsory years, the HM Inspector's Report for the whole of Ayrshire does give us an indication about the numbers: 'In the third and subsequent years about half of the certificate-course pupils take history.'[53] The last section of this chapter will deal with the questions that were asked of those students taking the History Leaving Certificate Examination, but a number of around 50 per cent is very encouraging for the continued inculcation of young Scots in their imperial history.

Dollar Academy

Dollar Academy, located approximately eight miles east of Stirling, was founded in 1818. The archivist at Dollar Academy, Mrs Janet Carolan, was a pupil from 1947 to 1960, and she remembers being taught early and often about the British Empire. According to her, the students at Dollar 'were all aware that the sun never set on the British Empire!'[54] Mrs Carolan also produced a list of books for all classes for the academic year 1951–2 from the school's archives. Such lists are rare and provide very valuable information. In fact, it was the only such list in the school archives for the 20-year period beginning in 1945.

The strong imperial content of the junior II history course, as outlined above in the primary section, remained an integral component of history in the senior secondary school at Dollar Academy. *Beyond the Sunset* is a book about the daring of explorers meant to stir the imaginations of boys and girls so that they would strive to know more about the world.

This book was taught in first-year secondary school history classes.[55] The book provides sketches of all major adventurers no matter their nationality, but Britain is well represented. Sections on the North-West Passage and the North-East Passage include people like Martin Frobisher, Henry Hudson, John Franklin, Richard Chancellor, and Anthony Jenkinson. The section on Australia and the Pacific discusses Captain James Cook and Captain Charles Sturt. The chapter on Africa celebrates two of Scotland's foremost explorer-heroes, Mungo Park and David Livingstone. It is interesting to note that the book may have appealed to a Scottish school because of the in-depth treatment afforded Park and Livingstone. Livingstone receives 14 pages in the book, far more than anyone else, and Park is afforded six. Chapter 11 on the exploration of the North and South Poles contains sketches of Robert Falcon Scott and Ernest Shackleton amongst others. The final chapter on Mount Everest includes details of the numerous British expeditions to the summit, all ending in failure or tragedy by the time the book was published in 1934. Perhaps fittingly for a book about Scots and empire, the last adventurer profiled is Lord Clydesdale, the future 14th Duke of Hamilton, who successfully flew over the top of Mount Everest in 1933.[56]

The emphasis of the second year was on ancient, medieval, and early modern English and Scottish history.[57] The third year at Dollar Academy focused on *This England, 1714–1940*. This text centres heavily on British social history, going into great detail about what it was like to live in the country and the city during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From disease and crime to the jobs undertaken by men and women, and from the plays that intrigued the British to the clothes they wore, the author aimed to present a picture of life for all social classes in modern British history. Although not the central topic, empire remained a key component of these discussions. The entire third chapter analyses the Seven Years' War with France in the eighteenth century and labels it as 'The First World War.' Chapter 5 discusses the American Revolution in great detail, and the final 145-page chapter on 'Britain Since 1815' includes twenty pages devoted solely to the rapid growth of the British Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[58] While the approach to this text was a bit different from what came earlier in the Dollar Academy curriculum, teaching students about the British Empire remained a staple of their education.

The final book under consideration was taught to secondary school pupils in the fourth and fifth years at Dollar Academy. *A Survey of British History, Book IV: 1783–1939*, which was intended 'to give grammar school pupils of 15 to 17 years of age a general description of the history of

Great Britain in the century and a half before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939,' meant that it should prepare these senior secondary students for the Scottish Leaving Certificate.[59] This textbook is crammed with lessons about the British Empire, and the English authors claim that students 'will find appreciably more ... about the British Empire than is usual in books of this kind.'[60] While there is a great amount of imperial content in this textbook, the high level of imperial content is anything but novel in Scotland. Perhaps they were referring to the lack of imperial content in textbooks used in England. If so, this would lend support to the argument made by the recent study cited above. Thirteen of the 33 chapters in the book deal overtly with the British Empire. For example, Chapters VIII, XVI, XXI, and XXXI have the following titles: 'The British Empire, 1783–1815,' 'The British Empire, 1815–65,' 'The British Empire after 1865,' and 'The British Empire, 1906–39.' Additionally, the book is divided into four chronological parts, with an opening chapter for each that discusses the state of the British Empire at the beginning of the period. Unlike the pro-empire angle of many books already reviewed, this text attempts objectivity by stating that the British Empire was built on governmental and popular motives that were both good and bad.[61] The politics of the authors aside, the mere fact that this book was assigned to pupils studying history as they prepared for the Scottish Leaving Certificate shows that the British Empire was of the utmost importance to the teachers at Dollar Academy and would be a major component of the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examination.

George Watson's College

George Watson's College first opened in 1741 as George Watson's Hospital. The hospital was meant to provide poor children with the same educational opportunities as those more financially fortunate. Of the schools contacted, George Watson's College provided the greatest amount of information. Their Head Librarian, Mrs F. Hooper, was able to find three textbook lists amongst their archives from 1951–2, 1952–3, and 1956–7. The first list is very important because it allows for a direct comparison between what was being taught in Edinburgh to what Dollar Academy was teaching about the British Empire just north of the Firth of Forth.

The textbooks used to teach pupils at George Watson's College during their senior secondary years were filled with imperial content, as was the case at Dollar Academy. The first year covered topics in ancient, medieval, and early modern British history. Since none of these books progress through 1707, the British Empire was not taught. The second

year, though, was a different story. In both 1952 and 1953, James Mainwaring's *Man and His World, A Course in History and Geography: Book II The Evolution of the Modern World* and C. F. Strong's *Today through Yesterday: Book Two King and Parliament 1603–1837* provided students with a great deal of information about the British Empire.

Of these two, Mainwaring's text is a book about Britain's interactions with the world. In the preface, Mainwaring claims that his aim was 'to show Great Britain as an element in a world fabric.'[62] As the Mainwaring text takes an interdisciplinary approach to history by factoring in geography, cultural anthropology, economics, and politics, the students were offered a well-rounded Anglo-centric history of the world. This book begins by discussing the empires of Spain and Portugal and quickly moves along to the English challenging them first in religion and then overseas during the Tudor period. Soon, the reader is stuck in an English, transitioning to a British, Empire with chapters entitled 'French, English and Dutch in North America,' 'Dutch, French and English in India,' and 'How England gained Canada and lost her Colonies.' Later in the book the focus turns to 'Part Three: Man and his World across the Seas,' with chapters on the discovery and colonization of Australia in 'Australis Terra – The Land of the South-East'; the development of 'Canada and the U.S.A.' from colonies to, respectively, a Dominion and an independent Republic; and the discovery of Africa and Britain's colonization of 'The Dark Continent,' while the story behind the growth and dominance of the British East India Company and its eventual loss of power is covered by 'The British in India.' Chapters on 'China and Japan' and 'Changes in the Moslem World' also consider the British imperial presence. Overall, at least ten of the nineteen chapters deal with the British Empire in great detail. In fact, it would be next to impossible for pupils assigned this book to be unaware of the empire when they finished.

Strong's text is more of a political history than the wider-ranging Mainwaring, but this does not mean it lacks imperial coverage. Five of the twenty chapters in Strong discuss the empire at length. 'Dutch William and Anne' looks closely at the Act of Union of 1707 and its popularity with Scots because it gave them access to English overseas trade. 'Britain and France across the seas' discusses the American colonies and the successes of the East India Company. 'William Pitt and the British Empire' investigates Pitt the Elder and his execution of the Seven Years' War with France, referred to elsewhere as the First World War. 'The United States gain their freedom' is a chapter title that is self-explanatory. Finally, 'The empire and new ways of selling things' reveals the vast markets opened to the British through imperialism,

which, in turn, fostered invention and ingenuity amongst them and provided the capital to improve life at home in the archipelago. Overall, the Strong text is a very straightforward and sometimes overly simplistic read that, nonetheless, would have inspired the imaginations of the second-year pupils at George Watson's College.[63]

The third year in 1951–2 included more of the Mainwaring text. In fact, it was the main text used, although the *Philips' Intermediate Historical Atlas for Schools* was introduced to give students additional visual aids to understand what various parts of the world looked like during historically pivotal times, such as the settlement of the North American colonies in 1783.[64] In 1952–3 a brand new textbook appeared, replacing the Mainwaring text. It would still be in use for the 1956–7 academic year. T. Davidson's *From the French Revolution to the Present Day* was first published in 1951, and provided the pupils and teachers with an updated account of history to the 1950s. What is even more interesting about the book is that it reveals a great deal about Dr Davidson. Dr Davidson, when he published the book, was the Rector at Clydebank High School, not one of the 53 semi-autonomous schools used in this analysis. He was, however, the former Senior History Master at the Royal High School in Edinburgh, an institution on the list.[65] Given the focus of Davidson, it is safe to assume that the historical knowledge appearing in the text was being taught to the students at both Clydebank High School and the Royal High School.

From the French Revolution to the Present Day was the third volume in a three-volume set called *Our Historical Heritage*. This volume, as Davidson explains in the preface, is focused on 'Britain and the World in the last one hundred and fifty years' in order 'to give an introduction to that heritage of history with which every young British citizen should be familiar.'[66] Thus, Britain's history was a history of interaction with the wider world of which empire played a conspicuous role. While the empire seeps into a number of the 27 chapters, those that deal directly with the British Empire include 'Ireland since the Union of 1800'; 'The British Empire (1),' which deals with the Old Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; 'The British Empire (2),' covering Britain and India; and 'The British Empire (3),' which discusses Britain in Africa, including sections on Egypt and the Sudan, British West and East Africa (complete with subsections on Mungo Park, David Livingstone, and the 'Grab for Africa'), and a section on the types of colonial government in use besides Dominion status. According to Davidson, as of 1951 these included responsible government, enjoyed by Northern Ireland, Malta, and Southern Rhodesia, and colonies, which included Barbados,

Jamaica, and Sierra Leone. The chapter on 'The Versailles Settlement (1919–20)' explains the creation of Mandates. Finally, the chapter on 'The Post-War World' discusses the state of the Dominions in 1951 and the problems the British encountered in Palestine following the Second World War. Davidson's work, while focusing more on Britain and the World than the British Empire, ensured that students studying and being taught from this textbook would know their historical heritage as an imperial power.

The fourth-year history curriculum at George Watson's College focused mainly on the early modern period with coverage beginning with the ascent of the Tudors in 1485 and ending around the Act of Union of 1707. The books used in the fourth year were the second volume of H. A. Clement's *The Story of Britain* and the first volume of T. K. Derry's *British History*. While the empire appears briefly in both of these volumes, as Clement explains in the preface to the third volume, used in the fifth year, one of the main features of the modern era has been the British Empire, and that is why he made a conscious effort to focus on it in that volume and not in volume two.[67]

The fifth year, also known as that stage in senior secondary education when almost all of the pupils would sit the Leaving Certificate Exam, was filled with imperial content at George Watson's College. Two textbooks were taught to pupils sitting the History Higher exam, and one for those pupils sitting the Lower exam. The first book used for the History Higher pupils was A. J. Grant's *Europe: The Story of the Last Five Centuries*. While this textbook was assigned mainly in preparation for the European paper of the History Higher exam, it did contain some imperial content. Grant's work has a rather large remit and, accordingly, chapters are quite wide ranging. Those on Britain, however, contain imperial content. In 'Great Britain in the Eighteenth Century,' Grant claims that

> The history of the foreign relations of Great Britain can easily be told in relation to the growth of the Empire. It is characteristic of the century that it can be so told; for Colonial and Indian questions appealed to the statesmen of this time more strongly than any other issue; and there was hardly a war fought during these hundred years in which imperial considerations did not play a primary or at least an important secondary part.[68]

Thus, half the chapter is dedicated to the rise of the British Empire during this pivotal century. The chapter entitled 'Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century' contains information on the growth of the British

Empire, the problems in Ireland including Gladstone's attempts to solve the Home Rule crisis, the Indian Mutiny, imperial interests in Egypt and the Sudan, the death of General Gordon, and the Boer War. 'The Latest Age: Between Two Wars' discusses the Edwardian period and features a section on Joseph Chamberlain, that staunch imperialist, and his belief that protective tariffs would help expand and enrich the British Empire. Finally, the chapter on 'The Second World War' claims that the end of the war was momentous in that it was the beginning of the end of the British Empire. So, in the end, four chapters out of 25 from this supposedly European history textbook included information on the empire, and for the reasons stated by Grant above. Any discussion on Britain's foreign relations in the modern era usually includes a heavy focus on the empire, and for good reason. The British Empire was a force unlike any other either before or since.

The second text taught to History Higher students during the fifth year at George Watson's College was T. K. Derry's *British History from 1760 to 1945*. Derry's text, as the only purely British history taught to pupils during this critical fifth year, provides a wealth of information regarding the importance given to the British Empire on the Leaving Certificate Examination. The chapters on the British Empire include 'The American Revolution,' 'The English in India,' 'India and the Indian Mutiny,' 'Britain and the World,' 'Disraeli and Gladstone,' 'The Imperialist Heyday,' and 'Commonwealth and Empire.' Thus, seven out of 31 chapters are heavily imperial, with discussions about the empire occurring in numerous others. Of greatest interest here is the chapter entitled 'Britain and the World,' which reviews the development of the British Empire after the battle of Waterloo and the final defeat of Napoleon. The empire was made increasingly secure and, therefore, more profitable with the Battle of Trafalgar and the acknowledged supremacy of the Royal Navy. According to Derry, this allowed emigration to places like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa to reach unprecedented levels because Britain ruled the oceans and, thus, controlled the world. It was a position virtually unchallenged until the final 30 years of the nineteenth century.[69] Students preparing for the British paper in 1951–2, 1952–3, and 1956–7 would have been well informed about the empire as a direct result of the Derry text.

The final textbook used in the fifth year was not designated on the list as 'for Higher only,' which means it was definitely the text used by those pupils who wanted to sit the History Lower exam. H. A. Clement's *The Story of Britain: Volume Three from 1714 to 1952*, as discussed above, placed a vast amount of emphasis on the empire.[70] Part I of this textbook,

which includes the first four chapters, is entitled 'Winning and Losing an Empire (1714–83),' and it focuses on the Seven Years' War and the American Revolutionary War. Additional chapters with imperial content include 'The Napoleonic Wars,' where the colonies gained as a result of the defeat of France are reviewed; 'Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' which discusses the legacy of the British Empire across the Irish Sea; and 'Palmerston and Foreign Affairs (1830–1865),' which contains subchapters on the Opium Wars against China, the Indian Mutiny, and Palmerston's Gunboat Diplomacy towards the Chinese over the *Arrow* incident in 1856.

Part IV of *The Story of Britain*, entitled 'Britain in the Modern World (1870–1914)' discusses Gladstone's Irish policy in detail, the Scramble for Africa, and the Entente Cordiale of 1904. Finally, Part V on 'Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Developments' includes a 20-page chapter entitled 'The British Empire,' which deals with Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, the Scramble for Africa, the Boer War, Egypt and Sudan, and the transformation of the empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations. Part V also contains a chapter entitled 'India from Clive to the Present Day.' As evidenced by the preceding list, the Clement text is bristling with imperial content. Ten of the 23 chapters are either all about the empire or include some overt content, making it one of the most imperial textbooks ever written that did not have 'empire' in the title.

The sixth year at George Watson's College, which was an optional year for those pupils who had passed the Leaving Certificate Exam in the fifth year, continued the imperial textbook tradition. The Grant text was being taught during all three of the academic years under discussion. During 1951–2 and 1952–3, however, the sixth year introduced a new British history text. Robert M. Rayner's *England in Modern Times (1714–1939)* is a heavily detailed textbook with 50 chapters.[71] Of these, 17 overtly focus either in whole or in part on the British Empire. With 34 per cent of the chapters discussing the British Empire, any students either taught or reading from this book would have been hard-pressed to miss the importance of the empire. Rayner's text would be replaced for sixth-year students in 1956–7 by the Ashley, Plumb and Thomson volumes of the Pelican History of England. Since they were taught together, it makes sense to analyse them together. Maurice Ashley's *England in the Seventeenth Century (1603–1714)*, J. H. Plumb's *England in the Eighteenth Century (1714–1815)*, and David Thomson's *England in the Nineteenth Century (1815–1914)* include between them nine chapters with overt imperial content out of 54, for a total of 16.7 per cent. While this is lower than seen in most of the other textbooks analysed

here, this may be skewed because of the relative lack of content in the Ashley volume on the seventeenth century. Only one of Ashley's 17 chapters, entitled 'The Peace of Utrecht and the Growth of the First British Empire' touches on the topic. If just the other two volumes on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are counted, the percentage of chapters with imperial content rises to 21.6. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were, after all, more about the empire than the seventeenth. In fact, Thomson's comments in the preface to his volume on the nineteenth century that 'the main motif of the period, as I understand it, is the remarkable accumulation of material wealth and power which the English people achieved during the century.'[72] As with most of these textbooks, the imperial content of the Plumb volume focuses on the Seven Years' War, the loss of the American colonies, the move east to India, and the problems facing Britain in Ireland. The Thomson volume discusses the rapid expansion of the empire in the nineteenth century, the prestige and wealth associated with it, and the power struggle this set off in Europe, which eventually led to the First World War.[73] But no matter how the material was interpreted, one thing remained constant: the British Empire was always lurking in the textbooks ensuring that the students of George Watson's College were being well educated in this part of the country's history.[74]

Senior secondary education in Scotland from 1945 to 1965 was dominated by textbooks that placed a high priority on the history of the British Empire. If the teachers taught their students from these textbooks, which was obviously occurring in Ayrshire, the empire proved inescapable. That is not to say some teachers did not deviate heavily from the textbooks, and they may have even tried to avoid teaching pupils about the empire. But any teacher paying attention to the Leaving Certificate Examinations would have known that imperial topics were a high priority for the Scottish Education Department. In turn, this must have had an effect on his or her curriculum. As the Leaving Certificate section demonstrates, students sitting the Higher or Lower examinations would have been hard-pressed to succeed if they entered the room as absent-minded imperialists.

Leaving Certificate

After completing at least five years in a senior secondary school, students would sit their examinations. The Senior Leaving Certificate (which became the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examination in 1950 and the Scottish Certificate of Education in 1962) would determine the future

career prospects for many Scottish children, so the stakes were incredibly high. According to Lindsay Paterson, during the 1950s and 1960s around one-third of all Scottish children began senior secondary school, with the other two-thirds attending a junior course.[75] Overall, only 8.5 per cent of school leavers in 1952 and 13.1 per cent in 1960 attained a Scottish Leaving Certificate.[76] This was the educational Promised Land, and following the Second World War the social aspirations of many ordinary people were directly tied to whether they could gain admittance to a senior secondary school and then whether they would be able to earn the Leaving Certificate.[77]

The Scottish Higher or Senior Leaving Certificate was instituted in 1888, and it has 'held a revered position in Scottish education ever since.'[78] During the period in question the Leaving Certificate was altered, beginning with the 1950 examinations, to drop the minimum Group qualifications. Prior to 1950, in order to earn the Leaving Certificate a student would need to pass two subjects at Higher level and three at Lower level. Higher English was required and either history or geography needed to be taken at either the Higher or Lower level.[79] After 1950, a student would only be put forward for the subjects that his or her teachers felt confident he or she could pass. Thus, 'a single pass on either the Higher or Lower Grade would entitle a candidate to an award, except where the pass was Arithmetic.'[80] To represent this alteration, the name of the certificate was changed to the Scottish Leaving Certificate. But no matter the name of the certificate being issued, one of the appealing aspects of the Leaving Certificate for education authorities and politicians alike was that it gave them some say over the curricular developments in the schools (and still does).[81] Although Scottish education remained a highly devolved affair in which teachers determined how students should be taught, the Leaving Certificate and its corresponding syllabi did help direct Senior Secondary education.[82]

While it would be difficult, if not impossible, to track down every textbook that was used in Scottish schools between 1945 and 1965 to teach students about history, the Leaving Certificate Exams for the entire period are extant and available in the National Library of Scotland. The questions posed on these exams over this 20-year period convincingly show that the British Empire was a major part of the curriculum for students looking to take the History Lower (later Ordinary) or Higher exams for the Leaving Certificate.[83] In fact, with just one exception,[84] both the History Lower/Ordinary and British History Higher exams between 1945 and 1965 could be passed by students who only wanted to write their essays on imperial themes.[85]

In close analysis of the exams, certain themes consistently appeared. The subjects that occurred with the highest frequency on the exams, both Lower and Higher (British paper only), were as follows:

1. Questions about Pitt the Elder or the Seven Years' War (20 in total over 20 years)
2. Questions about the American Revolution (18 in total over 20 years)
3. Questions about the Act of Union of 1707 (17 in total over 20 years)
4. Questions about India (17 in total over 20 years)
5. Questions about Gladstone's Irish policy (13 in total over 20 years)
6. Questions about Australia (11 in total over 20 years)
7. Questions about South Africa (11 in total over 20 years)
8. Questions about Canada (nine in total over 20 years)
9. Questions about Disraeli and the British Empire (seven in total over 20 years)
10. Questions on Africa (five in total over 20 years)[86]

The questions range from being overtly about the British Empire to those that are easily approached and answered from an imperial perspective. All of the questions about topics such as Pitt the Elder and the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, India, Australia, South Africa, Canada, and the rest of Africa are overtly imperial. Questions about the Act of Union of 1707 and Gladstone's Irish policy may not be imperial topics for some, but they could be comprehensively answered that way. Examples of the questions asked on the Leaving Certificate Examinations (broken down according to the categories listed above, with an 'H' designating a question on the Higher exam and an 'L' for the Lower exam) include

1. Pitt the Elder or the Seven Years' War
   a. To what causes do you attribute the success of Britain in the Seven Years' War? (H, 1948)
   b. What were the causes of the Seven Years' War and how did William Pitt, the Elder, conduct it? (L, 1956)
2. American Revolution
   a. Explain the causes of the revolt in the American colonies. (L, 1947)
   b. Do you consider that the American colonists were justified in rebelling against Britain? (H, 1964)

3. Act of Union of 1707
   a. Explain the causes and the effects of the Union of 1707. (H, 1949)
   b. Explain briefly how the Revolution of 1688–9 affected the position of the Scottish Parliament. Give an account of the friction between Scotland and England in the years 1689–1707. (L, 1957)
4. India
   a. Explain the causes of the Indian Mutiny and estimate its effects. (H, 1946)
   b. How do you account for the increased opposition to British rule in India in the first quarter of the twentieth century? (L, 1958)
5. Gladstone's Irish Policy
   a. Give an account of Gladstone's Irish policy from 1868 to the first Home Rule Bill (1886). What effect had the Bill on the Liberal Party? (L, 1958)
   b. What do you understand by the Irish Question in the second half of the nineteenth century and why did Gladstone fail to solve it? (H, 1964)
6. Australia
   a. Trace the main stages in the development of the Australian colonies from the convict settlement of 1788 to the Commonwealth of 1900. (H, 1950)
   b. Give an account of the exploration and settlement of Australia from Captain Cook's voyage to the discovery of gold in 1851. (L, 1954)
7. South Africa
   a. Examine the view that the discovery of gold was the main factor in bringing about the South African War of 1899–1902. (H, 1952)
   b. What is meant by the policy of Apartheid? Describe the circumstances in which it has been adopted by the South African government. (L, 1959)
8. Canada
   a. Outline the geographical and political development of Canada in the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901). (L, 1953)
   b. Why was a union of Canada formed in 1840 and why did it give way to a federation in 1867? (H, 1961)
9. Disraeli and the British Empire
   a. "Imperium et Sanitas." How far do you agree that imperial development and social welfare were the chief interests of Disraeli's government (1874–1880)? (H, 1946)
   b. Explain and criticise the foreign and imperial policy of Disraeli. (L, 1954)

10. Africa
    a. What problems have confronted the British Empire in Africa (apart from the Union of South Africa) since 1945? (L, 1955)
    b. Outline Britain's relations with Egypt from Disraeli's purchase of Suez Canal shares till 1939. (L, 1958)
    c. What is meant by Central African Federation and what arguments have been advanced for and against it? (L, 1961)
    d. What geographical factor delayed European expansion into Africa? Give an account of the journeys of either James Bruce or Mungo Park or David Livingstone showing his contribution to the opening up of the continent. (You may illustrate your answer by a sketch map). (L, 1962)
    e. Give an account of two of the following subjects concerned with the British Empire in the nineteenth century: -
        i. Major acquisitions of territory
        ii. The importance of sea power
        iii. The development of responsible government
        iv. Missionary activity
        v. Emigration (L, 1964)

The questions on African history are of the utmost importance given the strong Scottish focus on the empire there, which is why all five of those questions appear above. It is interesting to note that the first question about African history does not appear until 1955, and all of the questions are relegated strictly to the Lower exam. In 1962, a Modern Studies exam at the Ordinary level (formerly Lower level) was introduced, and this included a multitude of additional questions on Africa. It appears that as decolonization in Africa accelerated during the 1950s, the Scottish Education Department officials took notice and began cultivating questions for the Lower exam pupils. The introduction of Modern Studies as a Lower exam allowed students with greater interest in current affairs to be tested on their knowledge. This same forward thinking was not present in the creation of questions for the British paper of the Higher exam, which changed at a much slower pace. Questions appearing on the Modern Studies Lower exam included

1. Describe the social and economic effects of European penetration on the native population of the Rhodesias or Kenya. (1962)
2. What political and economic reasons were advanced for the formation of the Central African Federation? State briefly the grounds of opposition to its formation and indicate what problems have been encountered since the Federation was set up. (1963)

3. Some Commonwealth countries are federations. Taking an actual example, say briefly why it was considered necessary to have a federal constitution. (1964)
4. Give some account of the problems facing African countries which have recently gained independence. (You may refer to some of these: economic development, government, education, foreign aid and foreign relations). (1964)

As is obvious from the examples above, the Central African Federation, and especially Scotland's paramount role in Nyasaland and the controversy surrounding it, made an impression on the civil servants of the Scottish Education Department and the teachers who came together to formulate the exams. The Scots were being tested about recent history with these exams while being asked to comment on the future. English schoolchildren were supposedly kept away from imperial history until the empire was consigned to the dustbin of time.[87] This was not the thinking that dominated the doyens of Scottish education in the 1950s and early 1960s as they made studying the empire central to historical education.

Overall, 112 of the 459 questions asked of students who sat the Lower exam (24.40%) between 1945 and 1965, and 105 of the 489 questions posed on the British paper of the Higher exam (21.47%) either overtly focused on the British Empire or could be answered from an imperial perspective. While a student with little imperial knowledge could pass the Leaving Certificate Examination, the sheer quantity of empire-based questions demonstrates that the Scottish Education Department, and their teacher-advisers, believed in the importance of teaching Scottish children about their nation's global interactions.[88]

Many Scots were direct beneficiaries of the British Empire from the Act of Union through decolonization. Scots migrated to all parts of the British Empire in huge numbers to seek opportunities not available to them at home. They also went out as soldiers, businessmen, missionaries, doctors, nurses, engineers, foresters, and civil servants. Scots from all social backgrounds turned the far-flung regions of the British Empire into their lands of opportunity. The British Empire put this geographically and demographically small nation into positions of power and influence throughout the world, which would have been very difficult without the Act of Union of 1707. The Scots, however, possessed the qualities of perseverance, a powerful work ethic, and, at least for those at or near the top of the social order, an excellent education system.

This should not, however, undermine the fact that many Scots were also the victims of the success that their kith and kin enjoyed from the empire. The horrific working conditions in Scotland during the early decades of industrialization, which was driven in part by the rapid expansion of imperial markets, brought tremendous suffering to the working classes.[89] But whether individual Scots categorized themselves as proponents, opponents, or victims of empire, one thing seems perfectly clear: they were aware of and engaged with it. When primary and secondary education was made mandatory for all Scottish children, with the respective legislation of 1872 and 1936, schools were there to educate their charges about the empire and its historical legacy. The Scots, whether they liked it or not, were a nation defined, in no small part, by their substantial role in the creation of the British Empire. Education was the way to inform young minds about this heritage.

6
Witnesses to Decolonization

As decolonization began in earnest following the Second World War, Scots were still flocking to all parts of the British Empire in order to earn a living that would have been difficult for most to find at home. They went out as missionaries, bankers, District Officers, electricians, doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, traders, foresters, and business moguls. This chapter focuses on the Scots who were first-hand witnesses to the process of decolonization, and asks whether they remained emotionally tied to the British Empire following its collapse. Essentially, how did these Scots view the end of the British Empire? This chapter contends that during the years between the end of the Second World War and the height of decolonization in the 1960s, these Scots maintained a vested interest in the maintenance of an empire that made separatist nationalism unthinkable.[1] These Scottish empire-builders, whose livelihoods depended on the continuation of the British Empire, would prove to be the staunchest supporters of this multinational effort.

Following the end of the empire, those Scots who had worked in overseas imperial endeavours returned home. Their overarching belief that independence came too soon, especially in Africa, revealed their overall sentiments about the end of empire. Many of them did not want to see it end when it did. This chapter seeks to understand the feelings of the Scots who answered the questions posed by the Scottish Decolonisation Project, an oral history project that aimed to record 'the memories and experiences of Scottish men and women who were involved with or who lived through the period of decolonization in the various parts of the British Empire.'[2] The interviews conducted by this project demonstrate that the vast majority of Scots who witnessed the dissolution of the British Empire remained staunch defenders of this global system, which had given them so many opportunities for professional and personal

growth. In doing so, this chapter further demonstrates that the Scots, whatever their attitudes towards the British Empire, found it to be of unending interest.

The Scottish Decolonisation Project

Thanks to the Scottish Decolonisation Project, many Scottish voices and opinions about the British Empire have been saved from oblivion. The views of these Scots who witnessed the end of the British Empire have only appeared in one popular history.[3] In the 1980s, the Department of Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland and the late Professor D. C. M. Platt of the University of Oxford were responsible for creating the Scottish Decolonisation Project. The 107 interviews were turned into transcripts, which contain thousands of pages of the reminiscences of the last generation of Scottish empire-builders. Of these, 89 discussed their thoughts on the granting of independence to territories as diverse as Malaya and Nyasaland. These 89 interviews comprise the main source for the conclusions drawn here.[4]

The questions asked of the participants in the Scottish Decolonisation Project were lengthy, diverse, and thorough. Questions posed came from three different sources: Professor Platt, Mrs Susan Steedman, who administered most of the interviews, and Dr Patrick Cadell, Keeper of Department Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland. Most of the interviews were recorded and transcripts were created for all 107 respondents.[5] Questions that elicited responses about the British Empire included the following:

1. We (Britain) made mistakes, no doubt. Are there things which you think we should or should not have done?
2. Do you know what the "locals" thought of British rule? Or think now?
3. What did they expect to get out of de-colonisation? Do you think they got it?
4. Did you know that Independence was coming? If not, when did you learn and how did it affect your work?
5. As Independence drew near, did you feel any change in atmosphere?
6. Did you ever discuss politics or Independence with local friends?
7. Did you notice any signs of changes taking place?[6]

Overall, answers to these seven questions provided the core of the material regarding the respondents' thoughts and proved that these Scottish

empire-builders were not afraid to defend the British Empire long after its collapse.

Empire-builders may seem like an inappropriate term to describe the Scots who were present at decolonization, but the vast majority of the interviewees thought they would spend their entire careers in the empire, if not their natural lives. The process of decolonization came upon many of the colonies quickly, especially following Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech in 1960. This rapid dissolution of the British Empire, especially in Africa and the Middle East, could not have been easily predicted in 1945. Many of the Scots interviewed thought that decolonization occurred too quickly, which did not benefit the vast majority of colonial peoples. Moreover, most of them believed that the British Empire was a force for good in the world. As a group, only the Scottish missionaries stand out as being anti-empire and in favour of rapid decolonization. The economic depression of the 1930s and the appearance of the social welfare state in Britain did not dampen the imperial enthusiasm of the Scottish empire-builders. As the stories of these Scots attest, most remained enthusiastic members of the British Empire through its death throes and beyond.

A Nation of Empire-Builders at the End of Empire

There are a number of themes running through the interviews of the non-missionaries in the Scottish Decolonisation Project. One theme that permeates virtually every interview is the unyielding support for the British Empire by these Scottish empire-builders. This sentiment is encapsulated in the words of Mr W. P. G. Maclachlan, a member of the Managerial Staff of the Burmah Oil Company, who stated that

> Yes, I think there is a tendency to think that we were horrible old conquerors who came and just sat down on the top of people and we were terribly apologetic about what we did in our Colonies. I think we have got a hell of a lot to be proud of and I think ... it would be quite wrong not to record that.[7]

Beyond general support for the empire itself, those involved in the empire project espoused one or more of the following five sentiments:

1. Indigenous peoples are worse off now than they were under British rule.

2. Independence was only wanted by the educated, urban members of colonies, protectorates, and mandates.
3. They felt pride in a specific Scottish contribution to empire.
4. The British Empire decolonized too soon.
5. Unlike their nineteenth-century forebears, many Scottish missionaries were enthusiastic supporters of decolonization.

The idea that the people of the former colonies, mandates, and protectorates were living lives much worse than what they experienced under British control was shared by 11 of the interviewees. The most revealing of these interviews was that of Lieutenant Colonel F. D. Carson, who was responsible for training Arab troops in the Aden colony between 1955 and 1957. He lamented the loss of British power and prestige following the Second World War and criticized decolonization on the whole:

> I believe that ... those countries in Africa which we colonized, which we ran very fairly and have now got independence, every single one of them has gone wrong ... and the change has been too rapid. ... people were clamouring [for] independence in those days [which made it difficult to deny them their freedom]. I suppose to a certain extent the yellow peril, the Japanese, started the thing off, by defeating the white man in the Far East and the white man was no longer invincible to the black and everybody else .... And I dare say that was the beginning of the change, or the rapid change.[8]

For Mr Ian Fraser, an employee for Standard Chartered Bank in Ghana (1955–7), the Africans did not possess the necessary experience to properly run the country, and this explained why Kwame Nkrumah led them to financial ruin.[9] Mr J. E. Hodge, Inspector General of Police in Nigeria between 1934 and 1964, claimed that Britain's major mistake in the empire was decolonizing too fast, but this is exactly what leading Nigerians wanted.[10] He went on to say that prominent Nigerians thought, along the lines of famed seventeenth-century English author John Milton, that it was 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.' He stated they got their wish, and Nigeria has 'certainly gone to hell now.'[11] Independence had not been good to the former British colonies, mandates, and protectorates.

Many of these Scottish colonial returners believed that the rise in corruption, another problem associated with independence, had made the lives of the indigenous peoples worse. According to Mr Albert

Goodere, an Administrative Officer (AO) in Northern Nigeria (1952–62), the AOs kept corruption in check while there, but things had deteriorated with the coming of independence.[12] Mr Murray Lunan was the Director of Agriculture in Tanganyika (Tanzania) from 1939 to 1968, and he greatly lamented the increase in corruption following independence. According to Lunan, although the Tanzanians would publicly state that their lives improved after independence, in private they would reflect fondly on the days of British Mandated control.[13] Corruption only benefited a small cadre at the top of society and harmed the masses, making life for the vast majority worse than had been the case under British control.

In the eyes of many interviewees, only the educated indigenous peoples of the British Empire actually wanted independence. Sir Ian Scott, secretary to the last two Viceroys in India (Wavell and Mountbatten), recalled that in the villages decolonization did not mean anything. The people concerned themselves with making it through each day. But independence meant a great deal to the sophisticated Indians in the towns.[14] Mr L. R. Macdonald, a policeman in Nigeria from 1947 to 1964, said the intelligentsia in Nigeria wanted independence, and he admired Nnamdi Azikiwe for pushing ceaselessly for it.[15] In Sudan, educated youths were at the heart of the independence movement because they wanted to gain control of their country and resented the British for trying to remain in power.[16] The villagers did not have any concept of a large Sudanese state. Their 'political and social organisation was round the tribe and the tribal chief and he was the be-all and end-all of their whole life.'[17]

Most of the Scots interviewed, however, went beyond showing the masses as detached from the decolonization process. They claimed that the rural masses were vehemently against decolonization. In the northern part of Nigeria, educated youths cheered the departure of the British because they understood this would provide them with opportunities. The ordinary Nigerians, however, were horrified at the idea of the British leaving because, due to tribal animosities, they might 'be at the mercy of many people of whom they were afraid.'[18] Mr A. Trevor Clark, a Senior District Officer in Nigeria, reinforced these sentiments. Nigerian peasants were not thrilled about the British leaving because they lived in fear of those with education who would take control once the British left.[19] The fear that the peasantry had of their own elite was something that the Colonial Service officers definitely noticed.

Were these fears justified? The interviewees who testified that the people were worse off now than before decolonization certainly thought so. In Nigeria, according to Miss Jean McAree, a secretary to the

Colonial Office (1957–66), 'all the fanatics wanted Independence,' but the poorer people were sorry when the British left because some of these elite Nigerian fanatics mistreated their servants and staff.[20] The ordinary Africans yearned for a return to British rule because they were suffering from the 'exactions and tyranny of post-independence under African rule.'[21] This was the opinion of Mr Kenneth Willison Simmonds, who served in the Colonial Administrative Service in Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, and Aden over a 30-year career from 1935 through 1964. According to these interviewees, there was a dark side to the post-independence world, and the victims were not the educated elite.

Another theme emanating from these oral testimonies was pride in the distinctive Scottish contribution to the British Empire. This theme is especially important because it demonstrates that Scottish national identity was closely bound to the British Empire. The Scottish contribution was viewed as distinctive from and superior to that of the English.

The Scots were often likely to head abroad in search of opportunity, given the limited options at home. Perhaps this international impulse also made them believe that they were a superior form of empire-builder.[22] For Jock Donaldson, a Colonial Field Survey Officer in Tanganyika and Gambia (1953–5), the English were the worst of the empire. The English acted snobbish, aloof, and pretentious, and this angered the Africans. If the Scots ran the empire without English interference, he claimed that independence would have occurred in a much more constructive way. He stated that 'if they had recruited D.C.s a hundred percent and all the political people from Scotland and not south of the border ... we would not have had the hatreds that happened with some of the Africans towards the colonial regime.'[23] Mr L. R. Macdonald, a policeman in Nigeria and an admitted Anglophobe, continued the attack on the English. He averred that the English were not liked anywhere and that all classes of 'Scots, generally, got on far better with the natives than the lower middle-class, middle-class English person did.'[24] J. D. Erskine, an electrical engineer in Malaya, claimed that he was better at industrial relations than his English bosses, who used him to handle strikes. He argued that the English seemed oblivious to the fact that approaching independence meant that they needed to change their attitude towards the indigenous peoples.[25] For these empire-builders, the Scots were far better at indigenous relations than their English counterparts. Why, exactly, may never be known, but one thing is certain: many Scots were proud of what they and their kinsfolk had accomplished in the British Empire.[26]

A third of all Scottish Decolonisation Project respondents lamented the fact that the British Empire decolonized too quickly. What, in their estimation, caused the British Empire to decolonize when it did? The problems associated with holding India to the empire had been manifesting themselves for years prior to the Second World War. The weakened state of Britain after this conflict was not conducive to maintaining control over the subcontinent. This is what Mountbatten realized upon his arrival in 1947. Victor Noel-Paton, Lord Ferrier, took Mountbatten to task for rapidly decolonizing India. He stated that the Indians were incapable of running their own affairs, and this was evidenced by what happened following independence:

> Well look around what's happening. The Sikhs are murdering each other, Pakistan is divided from India. After producing for the Great War to the Second War the greatest volunteer army the world has ever seen. The Indian Army was the largest volunteer force the world has ever seen and what happens? Now it is divided. Pakistan is going one way. India is going the other.[27]

But, on the whole, only sheer force would have allowed the British to maintain control of India following the Second World War, and this was a force they were not willing to use. The British had lost the taste for empire in India.[28]

Africa, however, was a different story. By mid-century, Africa had not reached the level of development enjoyed by India or many of Britain's other colonies in South and Southeast Asia. Accordingly, many of the interviewees said this made them feel that Britain would not decolonize in these regions for at least 25 years. Despite the highly publicized independence of the Gold Coast in 1957, much of the African empire remained in British hands in 1960. On 3 February 1960, Macmillan gave a speech to the Parliament of South Africa in which he stated that 'the wind of change is blowing through Africa.'[29] For Mr John Whitfield, who was in the army and then transferred into public service in Kenya, Macmillan's speech 'seemed to have started the rot if you like right through Africa. I mean all the countries suddenly decided they must become independent.'[30] Mr Jock Scott, a District Officer in Tanganyika from 1947 to 1962, did not know that the British Mandate was ending there until he returned from leave in 1960 to find that the way was being prepared for independence on the heels of Macmillan's speech.[31] Even Reverend Dr Andrew Ross, discussed in greater detail below, who was clamouring for African self-determination in Nyasaland, did not realize

independence was coming until Macmillan and Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod 'were going to start releasing people.'[32] Rapid decolonization in Africa by the British Government began in earnest after Macmillan's speech. This speech, however, was inspired in no small part by the reaction of the British public, and the Scots in particular, to the Emergency in Nyasaland.

In addition to Nyasaland, what other issues forced Macmillan's hand in 1960? Outside influence cannot be discounted, as many Scottish interviewees pointed out. Mr R. Hunston, a printer for the Church of Scotland in Ghana, said the spirit of decolonization came from

> Africa, amongst the Africans. I think they had been pushed into it a lot, I think America had a lot to do with this. I think America has had a lot to do with this around the world. I think America has been jealous of Britain and its colonial policy and I think America has yelled and screamed about Britain, France, Belgium – all those places pulling out and I think often they have pulled out ... we weren't there quite long enough to teach them some of the niceties of self Government, of self whatever you like and I think we've given way often to outside pressures. It would have been uncomfortable to stay on when you are not really wanted.[33]

Trevor Clark, a Senior District Officer in Nigeria between 1949 and 1959, also declared that the unfortunate reason for rapid decolonization was external pressure: 'I do believe that it could have been done more slowly if there had not been the external pressures from the rest of the world.'[34] He said that this was the only force capable of seeing Nigeria to independence so quickly. After all, when he arrived in 1949 'I certainly didn't think ... that it was going to be independent by 1960. No way.'[35] In the end, the 'Wind of Change' speech made decolonization the official policy of the British Government in Africa. The question of whether the speech was influenced by outside pressures, such as that coming from the United States during the 1950s, remains unanswered.[36]

In the face of impending decolonization, why did so many of the Scots interviewed wish that the British Empire had continued? Mrs Alexander Grant, wife of a legal practitioner in Nigeria, stated that 'I don't think that anybody could deny the benefits of the [British Empire] in Africa and throughout Africa. It brought its people into a way of life which they could never have known before ...'[37] The benefits of the British model of civilization implemented in these colonial and mandated territories were viewed by the interviewees as being in the best interests of the

Africans. Mrs Hope Garland, who served as a secretary in East Africa for a decade between 1949 and 1959, claimed that the Europeans

> taught the East Africans so much – how to farm, about soil erosion (I won't say how to grow groundnuts) how to become mechanics, teachers, accountants, nurses and so forth. Many more black babies survived. We also built hospitals, schools, roads, the Kenya Uganda Railway, dams and so forth. Sanitation was practically an unknown word before the white settlers invaded the country, and I am pretty sure many of the diseases related to poor hygiene were more or less stamped out. Malaria was well controlled.[38]

But the feeling amongst the respondents was strong that the British could have accomplished a great deal more if they had just been given extra time. The rapid approach of decolonization turned everything upside down. According to Mr Murray Lunan, who served as the Director of Agriculture in Tanganyika during a career that spanned 30 years,

> Nyerere himself has admitted that [Britain granted independence too quickly] and a lot of the trouble that arose afterwards was that power was given to the people without the necessary background of education or experience. I mean when we got the order that the next Director of Agriculture would be an African, our senior African was a Provincial Agricultural Officer ... And he was shot up straight to be Director of Agriculture. Now he was a very decent worthy sort of chap but he just was lost.[39]

This lack of proper training, for Mr T. D. Thomson of the Nyasaland Administrative Service, was the fault of the British, who had failed to fulfil their responsibilities to the colonized peoples. He felt that in another generation the people 'might be capable of running their own affairs and I have no occasion to change my mind over that.'[40] Ultimately, the British Empire had ended and these Scots had been left to contemplate what might have been.

Unhappiness at the premature decolonization of the British Empire is a theme that strongly reverberates through the interviews of these Scottish imperial servants. This is not to claim that these expatriate Scots, as a whole, wanted to see the British Empire continue indefinitely. Almost all of them accepted the right of the indigenous peoples to self-determination. They believed, however, that decolonization came about too fast for the good of the nascent states and their populations.

Missionaries and empire

What is very interesting about the theme that independence came too soon is that it runs parallel to the thoughts of the missionaries in Africa investigated in the book *A History of African Christianity, 1950–1975*. This work claims that

> The large majority of white missionaries ... accepted ... the legitimacy of a movement towards self-government but greatly hoped it would not come too fast; they welcomed the increased subsidies most governments were now offering the missions for schools and hospitals. In practice they deeply distrusted the rise of political parties and were inclined to see "communism" – a vague and abusive word – under every bed. Existing government was good enough and should not be challenged, at least in public.[41]

Thus, the book contends that missionaries in Africa were not ready for decolonization when it abruptly came upon them. However, these are not the feelings of the vast majority of the Scottish missionaries interviewed for the Scottish Decolonisation Project.

Given the strong support for the work of the British Empire shown by the vast majority of Scots interviewed here, the missionaries were conspicuously pro-decolonization. This is even more surprising when thinking about the general perception of the imperial role of missionaries. Many historians have viewed missionaries as being at the forefront of the British Empire. The recent book *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* claims that Scottish missionaries, and their societies back home, were responsible for infusing the Scots with a passion for empire that transcended both class and gender. Through the use of missionary periodicals, biographies of the heroic deeds of missionaries (Livingstone foremost among them), and numerous church publications, the vast majority of Scots came to think of themselves as a race of empire-builders.[42] Clearly, the missionaries did play a substantial role in convincing the Scottish public that their nation was making a unique and important contribution to empire in the nineteenth century.

What changed this missionary mindset by the time of decolonization? Perhaps the answer lies elsewhere. T. M. Devine's 'The Break-up of Britain?' posits that after 1945 'the Church of Scotland vigorously supported the cause of black nationalism in Africa and, through its annual General Assembly, criticised the government for not conceding

independence more quickly.'[43] While this argument fails when tested by the documentation available from the Church of Scotland at the time, a different source is a bit closer to the mark.[44] A chapter in the *Oxford History of the British Empire*'s Companion Series volume on *Missions and Empire* entitled 'Decolonization' claims that 'in Nyasaland missionaries attached to the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian successfully mobilized the socially conservative Church of Scotland against the federation imposed by the British government.'[45] The missionaries were, on the whole, against the Central African Federation, as outlined below, but they failed to mobilize the Church of Scotland to stand up to the scheme until the Nyasaland Emergency was declared in March 1959. With that caveat, the Scottish missionaries during the period of decolonization had a markedly different attitude towards empire than did missionaries from other denominations or even their Scottish forbears.[46]

Eight out of ten missionaries interviewed for the Scottish Decolonisation Project oozed enthusiasm for decolonization and the end of the British Empire in their respective colonies/mandates/protectorates. Of the other two, the Reverend T. W. Tait was stationed in Aden, where he worked in a hospital with mostly Muslim patients who, he claimed, were particularly difficult to convert to Christianity. His interview does not project glowing imperial enthusiasm, but, rather, an apathy that consumes those who fail to make an impact in this world. It also appears that he is a bit confused when asked whether the British made any mistakes in Aden. He claims that the British were hurt by

> their attitudes perhaps, the Mad Mitch situation certainly didn't help.[47] I think that was quite a wrong thing. ... Yes I think ... that Britain tended to use kid gloves, I think away back at the ... time [there] was a killing up in the ... if they had caught three or four people and ... I am not a person that would be supporting capital punishment, but I think if they had made an example of three or four people, perhaps many many many lives would have been saved ... [48]

It seems strange that he attacks Lieutenant Colonel Colin Campbell Mitchell for using force against nationalist insurgents in Aden while condemning the British for being too soft on criminal elements who were, apparently, flaunting law and order. Given the capricious nature of this interview, it is safe to say that not much may be made of his answers in general. The second missionary, Miss C. H. Denham, showed strong pro-imperial sentiment with her answers. In addition to claiming that

the rural Nigerians were wary of independence because they did not feel the same level of trust towards their own people as they had for British District Officers, she stated that the British should have intervened in the Biafra War.[49] She maintained that the British Government needed to intercede because Nigeria 'was a new country. They had only had independence for about four or five years and that's what we felt that the Government at home should have remembered that.' In other words, the Nigerians did not know how to run the country because of inexperience, so the British should simply invade and set them straight. This outlook aligns well with the vast majority of the Scottish Decolonisation Project interviews, but represents a significant outlier from the sentiments of the additional eight missionaries who offered their opinions on the process of decolonization.

The vision of missionaries as builders and defenders of the British Empire, at least following the Second World War, is undermined by many of the testimonies found in the Scottish Decolonisation Project. One of the Scottish missionaries in Nyasaland, Mr Herbert Bell, recounted the story of a white settler's reaction to the possible return of Dr Hastings Banda. The settler rose to his feet and began saying that there were people from the European community, some of them connected to the Church of Scotland, who were inspiring the Africans to revolt. He made a plea for white solidarity:

> Now his call was to stand together, that we whites have got to resist this, otherwise there is going to be trouble, and it is rather serious because there is some among us who, acting in a rather treacherous way and look like giving these Africans encouragement in their various ideas, and yet we know, don't we, that they are not ready for it, they won't be ready for another hundred years, they are only just down from the trees.[50]

Mr Bell discussed the hostility that the white settlers had for the Church of Scotland missions. The settlers claimed that the missions included the more mischievous of the European elements.[51] He stated that when he went out in 1953, he knew that independence was coming and rather than fight it, as the settlers were prone to do, he was motivated to play a useful part in independence 'instead of resistance all the time.'[52] While there is no reference in this testimony to any guidelines laid down by the Church of Scotland for its missionaries, including Mr Bell, the hostility shown by the white settlers indicates that the missionaries were not perceived by Europeans in the colonies as being defenders of empire.

They were viewed as favouring the liquidation of the empire and this perception is only strengthened by the subsequent interviews.

The remaining seven missionaries who commented on the process of decolonization agreed that the British Government was correct in granting independence to the colonized peoples when it did. Miss J. D. Auchinachie, who served as a Church of Scotland missionary in India from 1935 to 1968, said that she understood why the educated people, really the only ones who talked about politics in India, wanted their freedom: 'In a way it's like having children growing up, I suppose, and when they become adolescent. Nowadays, anyway, they want their freedom, and they all go and take a flat or something.'[53] Young adults want freedom from their parents, which she believed was perfectly understandable: 'You can understand that ... in fact the missionaries were very much at one with them in that.'[54] Here it is apparent that this missionary was very supportive of independence. The educated Indians, to her mind, had reached a stage where they were ready and perfectly capable to run their own affairs. She was not willing to stand in the way of such progress.

The idea of progress features heavily in the account of Miss Myra Brownlee, who was a missionary in education in India from 1944 to 1960. Although an ardent supporter of Indian independence, Brownlee believed that once India achieved political autonomy, the Indians were solely responsible for running their affairs. When violence broke out in the north during partition, one of her Indian colleagues asked her why the British troops were refusing to intervene. She responded that 'you wanted Independence and now you are wanting our soldiers to stand as a buffer between you and the consequences of Independence?'[55] To involve British soldiers in the internecine affair would have meant a regression in the progress of India. Indians needed to stand on their own without British assistance.

In line with Miss Auchinachie's sentiments above, the Reverend A. K. Mincher, a Church of Scotland Minister in Eastern Nigeria, explained his joy at the coming of independence for Nigeria and the idea that the colonized peoples he worked with were maturing. With this growth, they were able to handle their own affairs and do away with paternalist British rule.[56] He claimed that

> Well we were all very happy ... I would say that all of the ordinary people wanted their Independence that was to say that they were not daddy's little boys any more, we are grown ups and I think that was, I think that, that was what they really thought of, but of course

> you see there are always the pushing boys who want to be top dog and the leader you see and they were inclined to give the impression that they were throwing off the yoke of colonialism and they may have felt that genuinely but I don't think in general that the ordinary people, apart from the ambitious men, I don't think they really felt that they were at all [oppressed].[57]

He continued with the theme of a growing maturity amongst Nigerians, which allowed for independence. Later in his interview he claimed that the Ibos were 'quite happy with a good District Officer and missionaries whom they thought were helpful to them, but naturally they wanted to be adult[s].'[58] But while these sentiments accorded with the opinions of other missionaries, he disagreed with almost every other Scot interviewed for the project when claiming that the ordinary people also wanted independence. As witnessed in the testimonies above, the ordinary, uneducated indigenous peoples of the British Empire were more concerned with subsistence and safety than independence. Independence was the desire of the educated segment of colonial society.

A. B. Doig served as a Church of Scotland Minister in Nyasaland from 1939 to 1961. He was involved in upsetting the white settlers by speaking of 'the importance of free scope for African initiative and representation.'[59] As might be expected, and given the account of Mr Bell above, the white settlers

> came down like a ton of bricks on me and it must have been difficult for them. I mean, for a period I was also a Minister of the European Congregation in Milange, which is the settlers' district, but I think they were very gracious about it. We never lost friendship over it although we might argue pretty strongly on it. But it also faced me with another big problem, if this is not digressing. I was appointed by the Governor to represent African interests. I only accepted on the understanding that in no way would I be told by the government what to say, that I must be utterly independent and that if the Governor didn't like it he had the solution – he could remove me. And the Governor at that time was Sir Geoffrey Colby and he's passed from the scene now. But Geoffrey Colby freely accepted that I must be utterly free to do what I felt was right.[60]

As an outspoken advocate for African rights, what he 'felt was right' was for the people of Nyasaland to be given the opportunity to rule their own country. When the settler-run newspaper *The Rhodesian Herald* criticized

him of being one-sided, he said this did not bother him because 'it was more important that I held the confidence of the African electorate or potential electorate than that I satisfied a few here and there in the European community.'[61]

With independence as his main goal for Nyasaland, it is unsurprising that Doig found the Central African Federation to be an abhorrent structure where white rule undermined the rights of the indigenous peoples.[62] Accordingly, for Doig the most important British official at the time was another Scotsman, Iain Macleod, who deserves credit for Macmillan's momentous 'Wind of Change' speech in 1960. Doig claimed Macleod made a tremendous impression because

> he led. I was impressed with the way that he – I mean, after all, he had no African experience, he had no African language but in an amazing way the Africans trusted and they listened to him. Maybe again he was saying some of the things they wanted to hear, but I think it took a tremendous courage on Iain Macleod's part to do the things he did. And certainly Nyasaland wouldn't have been brought out of the Federation without his conviction on it.[63]

Macleod should not be given credit as a lone voice calling out for decolonization, but it seems probable that without his ardent anti-colonialism the British Empire would have continued in many parts of Africa much longer than was the case. For a pro-independence missionary like Doig, it is easy to understand his admiration for Macleod.

Beyond Doig's ardent calls for decolonization, he also spoke with great pride about the exceptionalism of the Scots, and especially the Scottish missionaries in the empire. This mirrors the national sentiments of many of the other interviewees outlined above. When claiming that the people of Nyasaland never changed their attitude towards the British, even after learning they would obtain independence, Doig added the qualification that

> we've always got to draw distinction between Scots and other Britishers. It goes back in history. It was the representations of the Church of Scotland that made Nyasaland a Protectorate and the church influence in Malawi has been predominantly from Scotland and the tradition is that Nyasalanders learn to speak their own language with an Aberdeen accent, this kind of thing. And so that's been the history of it and I don't think anything will break that link

> and they do a distinction out there between those of us who are Scots and those who weren't.[64]

To him, the Scots were a cut above the other imperial races of the British Isles. The independent Malawians recognized this and took pride in the legacy of British rule Scottish style. For Doig, the Scots were exceptional imperialists, an observation that fits nicely with his Scottish national pride and reiterates that Scottish national identity and British imperialism were not irreconcilable concepts.[65]

The Reverend Colin Forrester-Paton arrived in the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1946 and departed in 1960, three years into independence. In his interview he claimed that the high point in his career was the full Africanization of the churches in the Gold Coast. In order to achieve this end, he was responsible for training Africans to take over the top posts of education and finance in the churches. However, he thought that Africanization was 'not fast enough, I mean many people thought it should have been faster, including the church.'[66] This comment is in line with his sense that the major British mistake was that 'the process of preparation for self-government and independence began far too late and a lot of attitudes in nineteen forty eight for instance [were] still not really forward looking in that respect.'[67] Forrester-Paton regretted that the British had not begun training the Africans sooner in anticipation of independence. This regret, however, is indicative of his passion for self-determination and his remorse that an independent Ghana was not as successful as he would have hoped. There is no doubt that the education of the elite is a necessary component if a colony is going to effectively transition into an independent state. But given the long history of the British Empire, and other interviews discussed above, there is uncertainty as to whether many officials believed in the immediate post-war period that the Gold Coast would achieve independence so soon. This may have been a major factor in causing the mistake that Forrester-Paton so laments.

The final missionary who deserves extended mention here is the Reverend Dr Andrew Ross.[68] Ross is an interesting figure because he served as the UK's first designated lecturer in the history of missions following his return from an independent Malawi. He was appointed in 1966 to the University of Edinburgh's Faculty of Divinity, where he remained one of the most influential and well-respected scholars in Scottish church history for the rest of his life.[69] In his interview for the Scottish Decolonisation Project, Ross took a very balanced view of

the situation in Nyasaland where he was a missionary. He claimed that the relationship between the indigenous peoples of Nyasaland and the British was always amicable until Nyasaland was thrust into the Central African Federation (CAF). Thus, the focus of his recollection was the betrayal that the people of Nyasaland and the missionaries felt when the territory was handed over by Britain to the Rhodesian-dominated Federation:

> I think it is very important to understand that Nyasaland Africans, even the Nationalists, had right up until the forties, really felt that Britain was their friend and it was just a matter of pushing the old girl along and things would be alright, then suddenly in the period forty nine and fifty one, I mean it is very important to understand that between forty nine and fifty one a terrible thing happened, Nyasaland was made to join the Central African Federation against its will and Africans really felt betrayed, for the first time they started really being aggressive about independence, because up till then they really had thought, they had been a Nationalist movement for a long time, but in many ways a kind of friendly movement in a way, yes they had complained and they had marches and so on but they really felt it was nudging the old girl along a bit more quickly but it was all going to happen.[70]

The perception of betrayal by the British Government seemed hard to deny for Ross. Therefore, when he arrived in 1958 as a minister for the CAF-opposed Church of Central Africa Presbyterian he frequently spoke out against the Federation.[71] He did this so effectively that the British and Federal authorities painted him as a troublemaker from the outside who was inciting problems for the Government; but in his mind he was simply doing the job that the Church dispatched him to accomplish.[72] Overall, the experience of Ross provides compelling proof that Scottish missionaries were at the forefront of the decolonization effort and not the stereotypical builders of empire on a civilizing mission that dominates the public perception.

Scottish missionaries appear to have played an enthusiastic role in the process of decolonization. Of the ten missionaries interviewed by the Scottish Decolonisation Project, four of them spent time in Nyasaland. Of the other six, two were in Nigeria, one was in Ghana, one in Aden, and two more in India. Overall, eight were in favour of decolonization, one opposed, with the testimony of the other tainted by indecision. Of course, with a small sample size such as this, political scientists

would claim that no effective conclusions could be drawn about the missionaries in general. However, given the pro-decolonization spirit circulating amongst the Church of Scotland missionaries following the Second World War, as pointed out by other examples in this work, it seems to be a safe bet that the vast majority of the Scottish missionaries who witnessed independence throughout the empire wholeheartedly cheered it on. This was despite the fact that their superiors back home in Scotland were not sending the same message until the momentous General Assembly of May 1959.

Overall, the sentiments expressed by the interviewees included in the Scottish Decolonisation Project reflect the passion the Scots felt for the British Empire. Whether they stood in favour of its continuance or fought for its dismemberment, these men and women played key roles in the waning years of the empire. As witnesses to decolonization, they served on the front lines during one of the most contentious times in Britain's long and storied international history. The Scottish nation produced a fair share of empire-builders from the beginnings of the eighteenth century, and as it came quickly to an end the majority of those who relied on the British Empire for their livelihoods did not relish the moment. The front-line members of this nation of empire-builders stood proud as a major component of their national identity slipped into history.

Epilogue

As this work demonstrates, the Scots maintained a high level of interest in the British Empire throughout the defined era of decolonization (1945–65).[1] Scottish businesses operated heavily in the empire, the Church concerned itself with all imperial aspects, Scottish organizations debated its mere existence, and newspapers printed numerous columns, editorials, and letters to the editor about imperial events, while schoolchildren were taught about Scotland's place in the British Empire and the world. Meanwhile, Scots who witnessed decolonization first hand returned home to vividly recount their imperial experiences some 20 to 40 years later. It was still that fresh in their minds. Every Scot alive during the empire's dying days was affected by its sudden end, even if he or she did not grasp how much at the time. Scotland had lost a major outlet for its educated, its adventurous, its wealthy, and its poor. So what, then, did the Scots think about the empire after its eclipse?

The real end of the British Empire in the minds of many Scots appears to have occurred with the declaration of the State of Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959 and the Church of Scotland's livid reaction. The mere foundation of the Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, was a desperate attempt to try to win the Scots back to the cause of continued imperial rule in Central Africa, a cause that in the estimation of the Group's leader, William Thyne, had been done great harm by the Church of Scotland. But a general Scottish turn against empire did not mean that they ceased to be interested in the topic. A great deal of attention was paid to the continuing drama in Southern Rhodesia, capped off by the Rhodesian Front's Unilateral Declaration of Independence against Britain on 11 November 1965. The Scots, through the newspapers and the Scottish

Council for African Questions, also kept a close eye on South Africa and its apartheid regime. The Scots and their identity had been too closely tied to the British Empire to suddenly lose all interest even if their enthusiasm waned.

One of the major components of Scottish identity to this day is the martial tradition that reached legendary status throughout the empire via the exploits of the Scottish regiments of the British Army. Although greatly outnumbered by the Irish fighting in and for the empire, the Scots, and especially the Highlanders, were viewed as heroes for all British peoples. Following the Seven Years' War, Prime Minister William Pitt praised the Highland regiments for conquering territory 'in every part of the world' for the British Empire. Pitt had heavily recruited Highland soldiers into the British Army to fight on the world stage because of the 'remarkable courage' and 'almost suicidal tenacity' they had shown fighting the Government forces during the last Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–46.[2] The status of the Highland regiments, especially the Black Watch, the Cameron Highlanders, the Gordon Highlanders, and the Sutherland Highlanders, would reach mythical proportions during the reign of Queen Victoria as the press rapidly expanded to cover every nuance of imperial warfare.[3] This fame was amplified by war artists, sculptors, novelists, and composers who found the kilt and tartan of the regiments perfectly pictorial and worthy of excessive attention.[4] Well into the twentieth century the Scots and their famous Highland regiments were viewed by many as 'the military spearhead of empire.'[5] Although the Highland regiments were coated in layers of myth and legend, especially the idea that they were composed mainly of Highlanders, the Scottish population felt a strong connection to the idea of the Highland regiment as a symbol of their nation, Scotland the Brave.

There are a great number of histories available on the Scottish regiments.[6] In fact, almost every Scottish historian of renown, at some point, turns to the topic of the martial legacy that informs Scottish history. Work, however, still needs to be done on what Scots in the military thought about the end of the British Empire. The Scottish Decolonisation Project offers just one glimpse of military opinion on decolonization with the interview of Lieutenant Colonel F. D. Carson. As outlined in Chapter 6, Carson was very critical of decolonization and its outcomes. This hostility towards decolonization by the military, and especially members of the Highland regiments, makes sense. After all, the Scottish regiments were born as imperial fighters and when their field of operations disappeared, the need for these multiple military

units faded too. Regimental reorganizations, so unpopular in Scotland, were the result.[7]

Another example, which is quoted in almost any work on Scottish history covering the late 1960s, is that of Lieutenant Colonel Colin Campbell Mitchell, who was single-handedly responsible for retaking the Crater district in Aden from nationalists beginning on 3 July 1967. Mitchell, also known to many as Mad Mitch, commanded the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, which had been formed in 1881 with the amalgamation of the 91st (Princess Louise's Argyllshire) Regiment and the 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders) Regiment.[8] The conflict was caused by a mutiny of Aden's indigenous police, who were supposed to be assuming control from the British. Three British soldiers were killed. According to Mitchell, this uprising at the end of June 1967 was due to 'weak British policy' there, 'where political expediency had for so long dominated military judgement that the result was this episode of needless sacrifice.'[9] He claimed that if the British Government had shown strength in Aden, rather than making 'soothing noises' to the United Nations Decolonization Committee, the British would not have wasted 130 years of British rule 'by leaving nothing but chaos behind.'[10] Mitchell refused to be weak and led his famed Highland regiment into the Crater District of Aden with pipers flanking him and playing the Regimental Charge of 'Monymusk.' Mitchell took Aden with relative ease as the mutineers hardly put up a fight. One Arab was killed in the action.[11] This action, and Mitchell's later autobiography, demonstrated that he and his Highland regiment felt immense pride in the empire and anger at the political expediency of its handover to nationalists. It remains to be seen what others in the Scottish regiments thought about decolonization, but if the examples listed here are anything to go by, and given the strong connection between the very existence of the regiments and the continuation of empire, there is a strong likelihood that soldiers were greatly disappointed by its end.

Scottish support for Mitchell's successful retaking of Crater and his popularity afterwards demonstrated that the Scots remained very interested in the empire even if its disintegration was irreversible.[12] The fact that he led a famed Highland regiment with bagpipes skirling into the action also touched on Scottish national pride.[13] This military action brought such publicity to the British Government's attempts to disband the Argylls that, in the end, the regiment was preserved. Pro-imperial Scots savoured one final day of warmth under the imperial sun, which had been rapidly setting in the minds of most since 1959.

Involvement in the British Empire was one of the formative experiences of modern-day Scotland. Scottish identity during decolonization remained closely associated with their significant contributions to the empire. As the material benefits of empire quickly disappeared, Scotland's psychological attachment to it was all that remained. When the imperial component of their identity was undermined, the Scots responded in a variety of different ways. First, some Scots stuck to the time-tested route to power and fortune by going to the land of opportunity in the British Isles: the south of England. Others emigrated in a mass exodus mainly to the Old Dominions (Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, or Australia). Some Scottish Home Rulers continued calling on the British Government to create a devolved parliament for Scotland, where Scottish issues could be handled closer to home. Others, mainly within the middle class, turned to an independence-seeking nationalism that argued Scotland could do better on its own and, along the lines of argument deployed by colonial nationalist movements, deserved the opportunity to control its own destiny free from English interference. A final grouping sought comfort in the British social welfare state as designed and implemented by Clement Attlee's postwar Labour Government.[14]

One of the most significant moments for the nationalists occurred on 2 November 1967, just a matter of months after Mitchell's successful re-taking of Crater. On that date, Mrs Winifred Ewing, the Nationalist candidate, defeated Labour in their safest Scottish constituency of Hamilton.[15] This spectacular victory for the Scottish National Party (SNP) did not appear out of nowhere though. At the 1966 General Election the SNP fielded candidates to contest 23 of the 71 Scottish constituencies. This number was up from the 15 who contested the 1964 General Election. Even more importantly, the SNP candidates more than doubled their percentage of the vote with just eight more candidates.[16] The empire, which had kept the nationalists at bay both economically and psychologically, could no longer prevent their advance.[17] The nationalists would soon be viewed as a competent alternative to the major parties, especially since their national focus made them appear more in touch with the problems afflicting the average Scot.[18] At the 1970 British General Election, the first to be held following Ewing's victory, 59 SNP candidates garnered 11 per cent of the vote.[19] The number of candidates and the support they received from a Scottish electorate adjusting to its post-imperial reality was mushrooming as the 1960s turned into the 1970s.

By the early 1970s, with the vast majority of the empire only existing in memory, Scotland's future within Britain appeared bleak as the SNP won multiple victories. This included 21.9 per cent of the vote and seven seats at the February 1974 election, and 30.4 per cent of the vote and eleven seats at the October 1974 election.[20] The Scots felt neglected by Westminster in the early 1970s as the SNP's two main messages, that the oil discovered in the North Sea belonged to Scotland and not the centralized British state in London and that Scotland could govern itself better than the English-dominated British parliament, started to find adherents. The epoxy of empire and its attendant opportunities and psychological impact were no longer available to hold the British state together.

In 1979, Scotland came tantalizingly close to voting through a devolution settlement. This devolution jumble decreased support for the SNP and triggered the General Election that brought Margaret Thatcher to power. The bonds between Scotland and England suffered through the 1980s with the predominant perception that Thatcher was attempting to ruin Scotland.[21] But the Scots' distaste for Thatcher did not translate into direct support for the SNP. The SNP, although hurt by the 1979 devolution debacle, never dropped below 11.7 per cent of the vote, which occurred in 1983.[22] However, Scots seemed more secure in voting for Labour and the Liberals in the 1983 and 1987 General Elections, perhaps because these parties had the only real chance of removing Thatcher and her perceived anti-Scottish agenda from power.[23]

When Tony Blair and New Labour took control of Westminster in 1997, they pushed for a devolved Scottish Parliament that Blair believed would quash nationalist sentiment. Blair, who attended Secondary School in Edinburgh, felt strongly about the importance of the Union between Scotland and England. The revised devolution gamble was instituted as a means of protecting this Union. However, with the SNP winning a majority of the seats in the 2011 Scottish Parliament election, an outcome that was not thought possible by Blair and New Labour given the proportional representation system used, Scotland and its people came face to face with a referendum on independence. The SNP, which was an insignificant fringe element in twentieth-century Scottish politics before the end of empire, had grown to be one of Scotland's dominant parties in less than 50 years. The power of the SNP in the twenty-first century can be interpreted as a legacy of the failed empire. Whatever the outcome of the SNP's rise, the political bond between the Scots and the British state has experienced a level of strain unknown since the last Jacobite Rebellion ended on Culloden Moor in 1746.

Empire and Britain went hand in hand, and the loss of the one may spell the eventual disintegration of the other. The high levels of Scottish interest in the British Empire and its fate during the era of decolonization demonstrate what this outlet meant to the nation. With the empire, the British state offered the Scots opportunity, prestige, and power on a global scale. When this outlet closed it may well have ended Scottish interest in Britain too as this once-proud nation of empire-builders looks to reinvent itself and cultivate partnerships with other, potentially more powerful, partners around the world.

Appendix A: Questions from Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations with Imperial Content

1946

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer three essay questions from fifteen possible options. There were two questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Describe the history of South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union of 1909.
2. Write notes to show the importance of any two of the following: Warren Hastings, Viscount Castlereagh, Robert Owen, David Livingstone, the Irish Land Acts, Louis Pasteur, Joseph Chamberlain, the Parliament Act of 1911.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Estimate the importance of the Revolution of 1688 in the history of Britain.
2. Explain the causes of the Indian Mutiny and estimate its effects.
3. 'Imperium et Sanitas.' How far do you agree that imperial development and social welfare were the chief interests of Disraeli's government (1874–1880)?
4. Write notes on two of the following: John Wilkes, George Canning, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, the development of transport in the 19th century, Charles Stewart Parnell, the Commonwealth of Australia Act.

1947

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer three essay questions from fifteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. What were the causes of the Act of Union of 1707, and what were its main provisions?
2. Explain the causes of the revolt in the American colonies.
3. Do you consider that Gladstone or Disraeli rendered the greater services to Britain?
4. Write notes on two of the following: Horatio Viscount Nelson, William Wilberforce, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, Daniel O'Connell, Guiseppe Garibaldi, Abraham Lincoln, Cecil Rhodes, the Statute of Westminster (1931).
5. What steps have been taken since the Indian Mutiny to give Indians an increasing share in the government of India?

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Explain the importance of the seventeenth century in the history of the colonies.
2. How far is it fair to blame George III and Lord North for the loss of the American colonies?
3. Discuss the opinion that Gladstone's best work was done before 1880.
4. Describe the chief stages in the constitutional development of Canada from 1763 to 1914.
5. Write notes on two of the following: Henry Grattan, the People's Charter, the Marquis of Dalhousie, the Congress of Berlin (1878), the Franco-British Entente of 1904, the Union of South Africa Act.

1948

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer three essay questions from fifteen possible options. There were three questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Trace the career of the elder Pitt to 1763, showing the special qualities which place him among our greatest statesmen.
2. Why were Britain and France unfriendly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and why did this unfriendliness give place to the Entente of 1904?
3. Write notes on two of the following: John Wesley, the Stamp Act, the Duke of Wellington, the Durham Report, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, the Congress of Berlin, Charles Stewart Parnell, David Lloyd George.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. To what causes do you attribute the success of Britain in the Seven Years' War?
2. On what grounds may George Canning be regarded as a great foreign minister?
3. Trace the development of the East India Company's power from 1763 to 1858, and explain the chief Acts of Parliament which dealt with it.
4. How far is it true to say that Gladstone was successful only in his economic policy?
5. Write notes on two of the following: The Highland Clearances, Edmund Burke, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the Bank Charter Act (1844), John Bright, Cecil Rhodes.

1949

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer three essay questions from fifteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Compare the work of Lord Castlereagh and George Canning as foreign ministers.
2. Do you consider that Gladstone's ministry of 1868–74 or Disraeli's ministry of 1874–80 did more for the people of Great Britain?
3. Write notes on two of the following: George Washington, the Continental System, Robert Owen, the Reform Act of 1832, the Marquis of Dalhousie, Otto von Bismarck.

4. Describe the main types of government among the overseas countries that make up the British Empire and Commonwealth.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Explain the causes and the effects of the Union of 1707.
2. Estimate the influence of George III on British politics between 1760 and 1783.
3. Explain and criticize Gladstone's policy to Ireland between 1868 and 1894.
4. Write notes on two of the following: Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville; Marquis Wellesley; the Anti-Corn Law League; Lord Palmerston; the British North America Act (1867); Joseph Chamberlain.

1950

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer three essay questions from fifteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Trace the events that led to the Act of Union of 1707, and describe its main provisions.
2. What were the problems that gave rise to the Seven Years' War, and how were they dealt with in the peace treaties?
3. Trace the chief steps in the development of South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union Act of 1909.
4. Write notes on two of the following: James Watt, Warren Hastings, the Jacobins, the Combination Laws, the Monroe Doctrine, Count Cavour, Louis Pasteur, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, Mahatma Gandhi.
5. Why is Ireland partitioned at the present day? Give the arguments for and against the ending of partition.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were six questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Trace and account for the growth of the English colonies during the period 1603–88.
2. What are the reasons for the hostility between Britain and the Bourbon Powers in the reign of George II?
3. Do you consider that the loss of the American colonies had already become inevitable when the fighting began in 1775?
4. 'A conservative in domestic but a liberal in foreign policy.' How far do you agree with this estimate of Lord Palmerston?
5. Trace the main stages in the development of the Australian colonies from the convict settlement of 1788 to the Commonwealth of 1900.
6. Write notes on two of the following: Charles James Fox, 'the Peterloo Massacre,' New Model Trade Unionism, Charles Stewart Parnell, the Jameson Raid, the Parliament Act, 1911.

1951

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were seven questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Describe the foreign policy of Cromwell and show how far it was successful.
2. With what aims did Britain enter the War of Spanish Succession and how far did she achieve those aims by the Treaty of Utrecht?
3. Outline the course of the War of American Independence and give reasons for the British failure.
4. Outline the main steps in the development of Australia from 1788 to 1900.
5. What claims has Disraeli to be considered a great statesman?
6. Write notes on two of the following: The Rebellion of 1715, Edmund Burke, British sea power 1793–1801, David Livingstone, the causes of the American Civil War of 1861, Guiseppe Garibaldi, the Irish Question 1910–22, General Smuts.
7. 'The unchanging East.' Discuss this phrase in the light of twentieth century developments in either India or China.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Compare the foreign policy of England in the reigns of Charles II and William III.
2. Why did Britain enter the Seven Years' War and why was she successful?
3. Explain the causes and results of the Indian Mutiny.
4. Write notes on two of the following: John Wilkes, George Canning, the Durham Report, the Irish Land Acts, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, Joseph Chamberlain.

1952

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Give an account of the foreign policy of William III, explaining his objects.
2. In what circumstances did European trading companies become powerful in India in the first half of the eighteenth century? Outline the main events in the struggle between the British and the French in India up to the Treaty of Paris (1763).
3. What were the developments in international affairs that led Britain to abandon her policy of 'splendid isolation' at the beginning of the present century?
4. Write notes on two of the following: Walpole's Excise Bill, the American Declaration of Independence, the Peninsular War, the Durham Report, the Great Exhibition of 1851, Cecil Rhodes, the Parliament Act of 1911, Woodrow Wilson.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Why were the parliaments of England and Scotland united? For what reasons was the Union unpopular at first in Scotland?
2. How far was the British government to blame for the loss of the American colonies?
3. Was Disraeli more successful in his foreign, or in his domestic, policy?

4. Examine the view that the discovery of gold was the main factor in bringing about the South African War of 1899–1902.
5. Write notes on two of the following: Adam Smith, William Wilberforce, Lord Castlereagh, the British North America Act (1867), Gladstone's Home Rule Bills, Keir Hardie.

1953

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Describe the growth of English colonies in the seventeenth century. Explain very briefly the motives of the colonisers.
2. Describe the struggle between the French and British in North America between the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession and the end of the Seven Years' War. Give reasons for the British success.
3. Outline the geographical and political development of Canada in the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901).
4. Write notes on two of the following: the South Sea Bubble; Warren Hastings; the effects of the Industrial Revolution either on the cotton industry in England or on the linen industry in Scotland; Wellington's military career; the Highland clearances; the repeal of the Corn Laws; the causes of the Franco-Prussian War.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. 'A glorious war followed by a shameful peace.' How far is this a true description of the War of the Spanish Succession and the Peace of Utrecht?
2. On what grounds may the younger Pitt be considered inferior to his father as a war minister?
3. Compare the foreign policies of Castlereagh and Canning.
4. Explain the chief landmarks either in the history of Canada from its conquest to the British North America Act (1867) or of South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union of 1910.

5. Write notes on two of the following: Edmund Burke, the Reform Act of 1832, the Marquis of Dalhousie, Charles Darwin, Irish Home Rule, the Commonwealth of Australia Act (1900).

1954

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were six questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Describe the events leading up to the War of the Spanish Succession. Was Britain justified in going to war?
2. Describe the friction between Scotland and England from 1689 to 1707 and explain how this led to the Union of the Parliaments.
3. Give an account of the events that led up to the American War of Independence. Do you consider that the war was caused chiefly by British tyranny?
4. Explain and criticise the foreign and imperial policy of Disraeli.
5. Give an account of the exploration and settlement of Australia from Captain Cook's voyage to the discovery of gold in 1851.
6. Write notes on two of the following: Robert Clive, Lord Shaftesbury (1801–85), Italian unification (1859–61), Cecil Rhodes, the suffragette movement, the consequences of the Sarajevo murder, the union of Scottish churches (1929).

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were seven questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Can the Revolution of 1688 be rightly considered to mark a turning point in English foreign policy?
2. Discuss the view that for Britain the Seven Years' War was not primarily a European struggle.
3. How far was George III responsible for causing the War of American independence and for the defeat of Britain?
4. Explain the different stages of Gladstone's Irish policy. How far was it statesmanlike?
5. What changes did British foreign policy undergo between 1900 and 1907?

6. Either (a) Wool and gold: how far have these two affected the development of Australia? or (b) Estimate the importance of Cecil Rhodes in South African History.
7. Write notes on two of the following: John Wilkes, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, the Marquis of Dalhousie, the state of British agriculture in the second half of the nineteenth century, Lloyd George's Budget of 1909.

1955

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. What were the main achievements in home and foreign affairs of Queen Anne's reign? Does the reign deserve to be called a glorious one?
2. Give an account of the British and French colonies on the mainland of North America about the year 1750 and show what advantages each side possessed.
3. Write notes on two of the following: the causes of Lord Durham's mission to Canada, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its importance, the causes of the Great Trek, Paul Kruger.
4. What problems have confronted the British Empire in Africa (apart from the Union of South Africa) since 1945?

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. How far did England and Scotland gain or lose by the Union of 1707 in the fifty years that followed?
2. Why was Britain more successful in the Seven Years' War than in the War of the Austrian Succession?
3. *Either* Compare the importance of Lord Bentinck and the Marquis of Dalhousie in the history of India. *Or* To what extent had Canada become a nation by 1914?
4. Discuss the view that the Gladstone government of 1880–1885 was a failure.

5. Write notes on two of the following: John Wesley, Henry Grattan, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the Jameson Raid, Joseph Chamberlain, the Russo-British Agreement of 1907.

1956

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were eight questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. What changes resulted from the Revolution of 1688–9 either in England or in Scotland?
2. Give an account of the colonization of the North American mainland in the seventeenth century.
3. What were the causes of the Seven Years' War and how did William Pitt, the Elder, conduct it?
4. Give a reasoned justification for the claim that either Gladstone or Disraeli was a great statesman.
5. Describe Britain's relations with Germany between the issue of the Kruger Telegram (1896) and the outbreak of war in 1914.
6. Write notes on two of the following: the course of the Indian Mutiny, the career of Mahatma Gandhi, Australian exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century, the passing of the Commonwealth of Australia Act and its main provisions.
7. Write notes on two of the following: Walpole's Excise Bill, George Washington, the Scottish iron industry during the Industrial Revolution, Richard Cobden, Giuseppe Garibaldi, the formation of the Labour Party (1900), the Parliament Act (1911).
8. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus: what part have these Mediterranean territories played in British history up to 1945?

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. In what respects did the foreign policy of Canning resemble or differ from that of Castlereagh?
2. Do you consider that the renown of Disraeli should rest more on his foreign or on his domestic policy?

3. *Either* Compare the achievements in India of the Marquis Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings. *Or* What new conditions caused the Australian colonies to demand self-government in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and how far was the demand satisfied by the Act of 1850?
4. Write notes on two of the following: Horatio, Viscount Nelson, the development of inland transport in the reign of George III, Sir Robert Peel's financial policy, 1841–46, the British attitude to the American Civil War, General Charles Gordon, the Second Boer War.

1957

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Explain briefly how the Revolution of 1688–9 affected the position of the Scottish Parliament. Give an account of the friction between Scotland and England in the years 1689–1707.
2. Give a brief account of the steps towards Free Trade taken by Peel and Gladstone. What were the advantages of Free Trade at that time?
3. Describe the attempts to give Ireland Home Rule between 1886 and 1914.
4. Write notes on two of the following: the problems facing British rule in South Africa between 1815 and 1836, the Uitlanders in Transvaal up to the outbreak of the Great Boer War (1899), the problems facing British rule in Canada between 1815 and 1838.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Discuss the opinion that in his foreign policy Lord Palmerston was more enlightened during 1830–41 than after 1846.
2. Explain the importance of Irish affairs in United Kingdom politics during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
3. Describe the main stages in the economic development of either South Africa or Canada in the nineteenth century.
4. Why did Britain enter the war against Germany in 1914?

1958

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Describe the events in George III's reign that led up to the American War of Independence.
2. Give an account of Gladstone's Irish policy from 1868 to the first Home Rule Bill (1886). What effect had the Bill on the Liberal Party?
3. Answer two of the following:
   a. Outline the territorial expansion of the British Empire in India in the first half of the nineteenth century.
   b. How do you account for the increased opposition to British rule in India in the first quarter of the twentieth century?
   c. How did the discovery of gold affect Australia?
   d. Describe the movement for federation in Australia and what it achieved by 1901.
4. Write notes on two of the following: the South Sea Bubble, James Watt, the Continental System, David Livingstone, Lord Shaftesbury, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904.
5. Outline Britain's relations with Egypt from Disraeli's purchase of Suez Canal shares till 1939.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Why was Britain more successful in the Seven Years' War than in the War of the Austrian Succession?
2. Do you consider that the Gladstonian ministry of 1868–74 or that of 1880–85 was the more beneficial to the country?
3. *Either* – Explain the causes and immediate results of the Indian Mutiny and its effects on British policy in India. *Or* – Describe the chief steps in the inland exploration of Australia during the nineteenth century.
4. Write notes on two of the following: Edmund Burke, Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, George Canning, the Poor Law of 1834, the Disruption of 1843, the Franco-British Entente of 1904.

1959

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Outline the growth of the English colonial empire on the mainland of North America in the seventeenth century. Explain briefly why Scottish colonial development during this period was more backward.
2. Show how and where the British established themselves in India before the Seven Years' War. State briefly the main reasons for British success in India in that war.
3. Give an account of the movement towards, and the reaction against, Free Trade as shown by the policies of Peel, Gladstone and Joseph Chamberlain.
4. Writes notes on two of the following: the events leading to the British North America Act of 1867, the relations of Canada with Britain from the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 to the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the opening up of South Africa by white settlers from 1815 to 1854, the causes of the Boer War of 1899–1902.
5. What is meant by the policy of Apartheid? Describe the circumstances in which it has been adopted by the South African government.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Do you consider 1707 as important a date in the economic history of Scotland as in her political history?
2. Explain the importance of the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Paris (1763) in the history of the British Empire.
3. What were the main points at issue between Britain and her American colonists and to what extent do you consider George III responsible for failure to avert war?
4. Contrast the foreign policies of Disraeli and Gladstone.
5. *Either* – Give an account of the relations between Britain and the Boers in South Africa between 1815 and 1881. *Or* – Give an account of the history of Canada from 1763 to 1840 showing how the racial problem was dealt with.

1960

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. What were the main terms of the Act of Union of 1707? Show very briefly how it resulted from the Revolution Settlement of 1689 in Scotland.
2. Give an account of the career of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and indicate his importance in British history.
3. What were the main terms of the Anglo-French Entente of 1904? Trace its effects on British foreign policy up to 1914.
4. Answer two of the following –
   a. What was the importance of convicts in Australian history?
   b. What is meant by the White Australia policy and why has it arisen?
   c. What were the causes of discontent that led to the Indian Mutiny?
   d. What progress was made towards self-government in India between the end of World War I and the attainment of independence in 1947?
5. Write notes on two of the following: The Scottish linen industry in the eighteenth century, the Stamp Act, Lord Castlereagh, Robert Owen, the Oxford Movement or the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, Charles Stewart Parnell, the Parliament Act, 1911, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Was the American War of Independence caused more by political or by economic grievances?
2. Do you consider that Disraeli's government was more beneficial in domestic or in foreign and colonial policy?
3. *Either* – In what ways was the settlement of Australia affected by geographical factors? *Or* – 'There was no movement which could be described as national.' How far is this a satisfactory description of the Indian Mutiny?

4. Write notes on two of the following: John Wesley, the foreign policy of Castlereagh, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, General Charles Gordon, Charles Stewart Parnell, the Parliament Act (1911).

1961

Lower Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. In what ways did the revolution of 1688–9 increase the power of the English Parliament? What was its effect on the Scottish Parliament?
2. What grievances did the American colonists have against the British government in the years 1763–1775?
3. Describe Gladstone's Irish policy. Did he show himself in this matter to be a great statesman?
4. Write notes on two of the following: the Durham Report, railway development in Canada, relations of Boer and British in the first half of the nineteenth century, the second Boer War 1899–1902.
5. What is meant by Central African Federation and what arguments have been advanced for and against it?

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were four questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. How far did Britain gain the object with which she entered the war of Spanish Succession?
2. Compare the services to Britain of the Elder and the Younger Pitt.
3. *Either* – Why was a union of Canada formed in 1840 and why did it give way to a federation in 1867? *Or* – Explain the causes of the Great Trek and show how it led to the establishment of the Boer Republics in South Africa.
4. Write notes on two of the following: the results of the Rising of 1745, the Enclosure Movement of the 18th century, the Irish Act of Union, 1800, railway development, 1825–1850, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Joseph Chamberlain.

1962

Ordinary Grade Exam (please note the change in terminology here from Lower Grade to Ordinary Grade):

The first section of this exam that included marking places on the map and providing short answers was eliminated. Only the essays remained. The students needed to answer five essay questions from sixty-two possible options. There were twelve questions on this exam with imperial content:

1. What geographical factor delayed European expansion into Africa? Give an account of the journeys of either James Bruce or Mungo Park or David Livingstone showing his contribution to the opening up of the continent. (You may illustrate your answer by a sketch map).
2. Write notes on two of the following: the growth of Glasgow in the eighteenth century, the 'Fifteen' Rising, Scottish road engineers, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, Andrew Carnegie, the growth of State education in Scotland since 1872.
3. Discuss two of the following population movements affecting Scotland and show their importance: Irish immigration in the nineteenth century, depopulation of the Highlands in the twentieth century, the 'drift south' to England since 1921, overseas emigration since 1945. What steps have been taken since 1945 to provide more employment in either the Highlands or the Lowlands?
4. State the main terms and discuss the importance in British history of the Act of Union.
5. As a subject of Queen Anne would you have approved or disapproved of the Duke of Marlborough and the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht?
6. Write notes on two of the following: Pepys's Diary, the Royal Society, the 'Killing Time' in Scotland, the South Sea Bubble, the Wealth of Nations.
7. Explain why European traders and adventurers were able to exert so much influence in India in the 18th century. Give an account of the campaigns of Arcot and Plassey, showing the qualities of leadership displayed by Clive.
8. What causes of complaint against the British government might a colonist have had before the American War of Independence? Discuss the importance of the British defeats at Saratoga and Yorktown.
9. Write notes on two of the following, showing what they were and why they were important: the Jacobins, George Canning, Cardinal Newman, Charles Darwin, Garibaldi and the Thousand, Charles Stuart Parnell.

10. Give a short character sketch of Queen Victoria. What arguments are there for and against considering her reign a glorious one for Britain?
11. Show the importance of the following in the development of Canada:
    a. The 'United Empire Loyalists'
    b. Either Alexander Mackenzie or Simon Fraser or Thomas, Earl of Selkirk
    c. The Canadian Pacific Railway
12. What are the main steps by which Canada has become fully independent in the twentieth century?

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from eighteen possible options. There were five questions on this exam with imperial content. There were no changes to the Higher Grade Exam in 1962. It still consisted of 2 papers (British and European), and each paper was divided into two sections. The questions listed are only from section two of the British paper. Please see footnote 85 of Chapter 5 for further clarification.

1. What were the chief provisions of the Act of Union of 1707 and why was it unpopular in Scotland during the remainder of Anne's reign?
2. To what extent did George III influence British politics in the years 1760–83?
3. 'A conservative in domestic, but a liberal in foreign policy.' How far do you agree with this estimate of Lord Palmerston?
4. *Either* – Outline the main steps in the territorial expansion of British India in the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. *Or* – Compare the contributions to the welfare of India of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie.
5. Write notes on two of the following: John Wesley, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville; the Reform Act of 1832, Richard Cobden, Gladstone's Home Rule Bills, James Keir Hardie.

Modern Studies (Ordinary Level):

The inaugural year for the Modern Studies Ordinary Grade Exam was 1962. The most important component of the Modern Studies exam was the section entitled Commonwealth Studies. There are nine questions from the Commonwealth Studies section. The questions that focus on Africa include:

1. Describe the social and economic effects of European penetration on the native population of the Rhodesias or Kenya.
2. Account briefly for the origins of the main racial groups in the Union of South Africa. Outline the case for and against the policy of apartheid, giving examples of its operation. What actions has the British government taken in recent years with regard to South African racial policy?

1963

Ordinary Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer five essay questions from sixty-two possible options. There were eleven questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Explain how the Union of 1707 came about. What in your opinion was the most important factor making for union?
2. Describe the work of Scottish missionaries and soldiers in India in the nineteenth century. What contribution was made to the westernisation of India by the Earl of Dalhousie? Has there been a distinctively Scottish contribution to Indian affairs? Give reasons for your answer.
3. What were the main terms of the Treaty of Utrecht? Was that treaty fair to Britain's allies?
4. Describe the military achievement of Clive in India and Wolfe in Canada.
5. Explain briefly what is meant by the following: the old colonial system and 'no taxation without representation.' Give an account of the events in George III's reign leading up to the revolt in the American colonies.
6. Give an account of two of the following aspects of the work of the younger Pitt:
   a. his commercial and financial policy in time of peace
   b. either the India Act (1784) or the Canada Act (1791)
   c. his policy of repression after the outbreak of the French war
   d. his conduct of the wars against France
7. Describe the part played by Disraeli in two of the following:
   a. The second Reform Act
   b. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares
   c. The Congress of Berlin

   d. His relations with Queen Victoria
      What light do the topics of your choice throw on the character and views of Disraeli?
8. Explain the importance to Ireland and to Britain of three of the following:
   a. The Act of Union (1801)
   b. Daniel O'Connell
   c. The potato famine
   d. The Land League
   e. The first Home Rule Bill
9. *Either* – Describe the extension of British power in India from Wellesley to Dalhousie. (A sketch map would help.) *Or* – What were the causes of the Indian Mutiny? How do you account for the failure of the Mutiny?
10. Write short notes on two of the following: the Athenian Age in Edinburgh, the Naval Mutinies of 1797, the Berlin Decree (1806), Peterloo, Mehemet Ali, David Livingstone, Florence Nightingale, 'the Crofters War,' Lord Lister.
11. *Either* – Sketch the career of Gandhi, showing his importance in Indian history. *Or* – Trace the course of events in the twentieth century leading to the independence of India in 1947, showing why partition came about.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from sixty-one possible options. There were ten questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. What were the chief demands of the Scots in negotiating for union with England, and how far were they met?
2. Make notes and comment on the historical significance of two of the following: James Watt, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, Adam Smith, cultural life in late eighteenth century Edinburgh.
3. How far is it true to say that in the Treaty of Utrecht Britain's interests were safeguarded at the expense of her allies?
4. Do you consider that the American colonists were justified in rebelling against Britain?
5. 'Britain's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.' Show the effect of the American War of Independence and the French Revolutionary War on Irish affairs.

6. To what extent did Castlereagh and Canning pursue different foreign policies?
7. Discuss the opinion that in his foreign policy Lord Palmerston was more enlightened during the period 1830–41 than after 1846.
8. What contributions to Free Trade were made by Peel and Gladstone respectively?
9. Why have the last two decades of the nineteenth century been described as the great age of British Imperialism?
10. *Either* – Describe the contributions made to Indian history by Lord Dalhousie. *Or* – What problems faced British governments in India between 1918 and 1939 and how did they deal with them?

Modern Studies (Ordinary Grade Exam):

1. Select any one African country which is a member of the Commonwealth and describe the natural resources which may assist in its economic development. (Natural resources may be taken to include minerals, soils and climate, vegetation, power resources.)
2. Attempt either (a) or (b)
   a. What political and economic reasons were advanced for the formation of the Central African Federation? State briefly the grounds of opposition to its formation and indicate what problems have been encountered since the Federation was set up.
   b. Give an account of two of the following indicating their importance in African affairs: Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Nkrumah, the Secession of the Union (now Republic) of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

1964

Ordinary Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer five essay questions from sixty-two possible options. There were thirteen questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Explain the principal terms of the Treaty of Union (1707). What were the chief economic consequences of the Union for eighteenth-century Scotland?
2. What was the importance of either Captain Cook or Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the history of Australia and New Zealand?

3. *Either* – Indicate the chief stages in the exploration and economic development of Australia up to 1900, showing the part played by Scotsmen. *Or* – Discuss the Scottish influences on the history of New Zealand.
4. Suggest reasons why Darien was chosen as a possible Scottish trading post. What disadvantages lay in the choice, and how far were they the cause of failure compared with other factors? How did failure affect the Scottish attitude to England?
5. How did Whigs and Tories differ in their views on the conduct of the War of the Spanish Succession and the making of the Peace of Utrecht?
6. Indicate the extent of the British and French colonies in North America on the eve of the Seven Years' War. (You may find a sketch-map helpful). How would you account for British success in North America by 1763?
7. What services were rendered by Clive and by Warren Hastings to British rule in India?
8. Write notes on two of the following: the Secret Treaty of Dover, Coffee Houses in the reign of Queen Anne, the Act of Union (1707), John Wilkes, the Declaration of Independence, Captain Cook.
9. Do you think Disraeli was a great statesman? Make out a case to support your answer.
10. Give an account of two of the following subjects concerned with the British Empire in the nineteenth century:
    a. Major acquisitions of territory
    b. The importance of sea power
    c. The development of responsible government
    d. Missionary activity
    e. Emigration
11. Account for the discontent of the Irish peasantry at the beginning of Gladstone's first ministry (1868). What measures were taken to solve Irish problems up to the Second Home Rule Bill (1893)? Which one of these measures do you consider the most successful and why?
12. *Either* – Explain the importance of convict settlements, wool, and gold in the development of Australia. *Or* – Outline the main features of the settlement and development of New Zealand from the establishment of the New Zealand Company (1839) to the end of the gold rushes (1870).
13. Discuss either the 'White Australia' policy or the Maori Problem and either the part played by Australia in the Second World War or the Social Insurance in New Zealand.

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from sixty-one possible options. There were seven questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Examine the importance of the Revolution Settlement of 1689 in bringing about the Union of 1707.
2. Discuss the circumstances leading to the growth of French and British influence in India in the eighteenth century and explain the ultimate triumph of the latter.
3. How do you account for the success of the American colonists in the struggle against Britain?
4. What do you understand by the Irish Question in the second half of the nineteenth century and why did Gladstone fail to solve it?
5. Sketch the career and estimate the importance of Joseph Chamberlain.
6. How far would you approve, and how far condemn, British foreign policy between the end of the Boer War and the outbreak of the War of 1914–1918?
7. *Either* – Trace the course of events by which Australia achieved Dominion status. *Or* – How have the problems of relations between Maoris and Europeans been dealt with in New Zealand?

Modern Studies (Ordinary Grade Exam):

1. Some Commonwealth countries are federations. Taking an actual example, say briefly why it was considered necessary to have a federal constitution.
2. Give some account of the problems facing African countries which have recently gained independence. (You may refer to some of these: economic development, government, education, foreign aid and foreign relations.)

1965

Higher Grade Exam:

The students needed to answer four essay questions from sixty-one possible options. There were eight questions on this exam with imperial content.

1. Do you agree with the dictum that the Union of 1707 was 'an economic necessity for Scotland, a political necessity for England'?

2. Do you consider William Pitt the Elder a great imperialist statesman? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Discuss the influence of George III in Britain and in the colonies in the period 1760 to 1783.
4. Discuss the view that Palmerston in his foreign policy supported 'liberal' causes.
5. Give an account of the Irish Problem as it developed from Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill of 1886 to the Irish Treaty of 1921.
6. Trace the course of settlement in southern Africa in the nineteenth century by the Boers and the British. Explain the circumstances which led to hostilities between them.
7. Write notes on two of the following: Robert Owen, Thomas Chalmers, the Bank Charter Act, The Great Exhibition of 1851, the political importance of Queen Victoria, the Parliament Act, Jan Christian Smuts.

Appendix B: Additional Responding Secondary Schools

Of the remaining 11 schools that responded, Perth Academy and Stirling High School looked through their extant archives, but found that textbook lists, sample syllabi, and curriculums had not been saved over the years. A third, Tain Royal Academy, stated that they would be in contact if they found anything, but nothing was forthcoming. A fourth, George Heriot's School, sent the following response from their Head of History: 'I don't think there's much we could do without spending a lot of time on research – which I'd be happy to do so long as I got the PhD for doing it!'[1] This, however, did not mean that it was impossible to determine what was taught at George Heriot's School. Another source, Inverness Royal Academy, would shed light on this.

High School of Dundee

The High School of Dundee, founded in 1239, is the largest independent school in Tayside and Fife today. The current Head of History at the school stated that 'It is worth emphasising that attitudes were shaped by other subjects, notably Geography & English (I can well remember studying 'A Pattern of Islands' in English at school for example). Imperial attitudes … pervaded the school curriculum & were not restricted to History books.'[2] According to the Head teacher, it was not out of the ordinary for history to go hand-in-hand with subjects like english and geography, and there could be a great deal of overlap (some schools even incorporated history under english). *A Pattern of Islands* – an autobiographical travel narrative – fits this scenario perfectly. Arthur Grimble was a former Colonial Service officer who served in the South Pacific. Grimble's account was intended to paint a positive picture of British imperialism to the students who read it. In fact, Grimble states on the jacket that he wrote the book to supplement his inadequate pension and

> to record that, for all its admitted faults of principle, the old system of British imperialism did not always work out in practice as ruthlessly as some of its accusers (especially in America) would have the world

> believe today. This, of course, amounts to no plea for the perpetuation of autocratic rule in British colonies. Heaven and the Colonial Office forbid it, even in the teeth of reactionary Secretaries of State! But I do protest that not less love than self-interest went into the building of the British Empire, old style; and I don't see why we should be ashamed of the love, now that we are by way of scrapping the autocracy.[3]

Whether teachers would have agreed with Grimble's analysis that the British Empire was as much about love as economics is debatable and will, most likely, remain unknown without their testimonies. Regardless, if the anecdotal evidence presented throughout this appendix and Chapter 5 is correct, when combined with the information about reliance on history textbooks in the classroom, it appears Scottish students were being taught extensively about the British Empire, and their youthful awareness of its existence during these formative years likely lasted throughout their adult lives. When combined with the fact that so many Scots had followed the British Empire in search of opportunities, many Scots children knew of kinsmen and women who were expatriates. Their knowledge of these global connections made many Scottish youngsters children of the world without even leaving the shores of Scotia. The British Empire had made this possible, and teaching its history was as much a lesson in Scottish history as world history.

George Heriot's School

George Heriot's School was founded by a bequest from the estate of the late George Heriot, Jeweller and Goldsmith to the Court of King James VI and I, in 1628. Originally established as a hospital for the upbringing and education of 'puire fatherless bairnes, friemenes sones of that Toune of Edinburgh,'[4] the school eventually began admitting all able pupils, although the school, to this day, remains true to Heriot's will and provides education for orphans, known as 'foundationers.'

Despite the Head of History wanting a PhD to help me uncover textbook lists or sample curriculums from the school between 1945 and 1965, the Archivist at the Inverness Royal Academy, Robert Preece, was able to recall a textbook that he used in senior secondary year three as a pupil at George Heriot's. After receiving my email, Mr Preece remembered studying I. M. M. MacPhail's *A History of Scotland for Schools*. While this book came in two volumes, with the

first dealing with Scottish history from earliest times to 1747 and the second volume from the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 to the present, if the textbook lists from Dollar Academy and George Watson's College are anything to go by, modern history was taught in the third year. Dr MacPhail, the author of this textbook, was also the Principal Teacher of History at Clydebank High School, so it may be possible to infer that his text was also taught at that institution in the late 1950s and into the 1960s.[5]

Although MacPhail's text was meant to eschew political history, 'mainly because it is assumed that the pupil will be familiar with some textbook of British history,'[6] the empire is alive and well within its pages. The chapter entitled 'The Rise of Glasgow' discusses how merchants in Glasgow engaged in trade with the American plantations, which, in turn, created great wealth for the merchants, such as the Tobacco Lords, and for the city of Glasgow, helping to fuel investment in the Industrial Revolution. 'North and South Britain' is a chapter that discusses the American War of Independence at length and its deleterious, if temporary, effect on Glaswegian trade. But the chapter also analyses the Highland regiments and their contributions to empire building, and Henry Dundas' central role in the rapid growth of the Scottish presence in the East India Company. Finally, the chapter entitled 'The Scots Overseas' is necessarily filled with stories related to the Scots in the British Empire. The Scottish Diaspora in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand is covered in great detail here as is the Scottish contribution towards the growth of the British Empire in Africa, with the Scottish missionaries and David Livingstone being given their own subchapters. The Scottish contribution to India is also included, but as MacPhail observes, 'The whole of this book would be needed to give an adequate account of the achievements of the Scots in India.'[7] Perhaps most revealingly, the final subchapter is called 'Empire-Builders' as a tribute to all of the Scots, both distinguished and common, who played an integral role in the development of the British Empire.

Overall, only three of the 19 chapters in MacPhail's textbook touch on Scots and the British Empire, but the coverage within those chapters is extensive. Even when the Scots were supposedly getting Scottish, and not British, history they could not escape their involvement in the British Empire. The empire was part and parcel of what it meant to be a Scot, and the schools and textbooks were ensuring that the last generation of Scottish schoolchildren raised under the British Empire was well educated about their nation's collective imperial legacy.

Hutchesons' Grammar School

Hutchesons' Grammar School, located in the southern part of Glasgow, was founded in 1641. According to the Senior Master, Alec Dunlop, Hutchesons' was part of Glasgow's scheme of education from 1876 until it gained full independence in 1976.[8] As an established, semi-autonomous institution, Hutchesons' is the perfect example of a model for the new senior secondary institutions that began to appear in the 1930s. Mr Dunlop did not attend Hutchesons', but was at a comparable senior secondary school in the 1960s where, he said, the teaching of the British Empire slowly went out of fashion as decolonization reached its climax. If true, this means that Scottish education went in the opposition direction from English education where, according to David Cannadine, the British Empire only became a popular topic once the empire came to an end. Perhaps this hints at the idea that nationalism lay in the future of a post-imperial Scotland once one of the most powerful components of Scottish national pride, the empire, came crashing down.

Unfortunately, textbook lists from Hutchesons' Grammar School no longer exist. According to Mr Dunlop, 'it is only within the last ten years, really, that this School has shown any but the most superficial interest in its own history, and as a result I do not have book lists back to the year … which ought to exist but don't.'[9] This, however, did not prevent Mr Dunlop from contacting a former Head of History at Hutchesons' who was a student at the school in the 1950s and had memories of the curriculum. He relayed that

> Yes we studied the development of the British Empire especially in America and India and the importance of the Empire in the 19th century. I suppose this really did help us to understand the mid 20th century end of Empire. I don't remember any jingoistic teaching. I certainly gained huge knowledge and understanding of Europe and European and British expansion world wide which generally has served me well.[10]

The recollections of the former pupil are in line with the material taught in the textbooks that were in use at this time. As the Leaving Examination section of Chapter 5 shows, the British Empire in America and India played a major role in the questions that students were tested on from 1945 to 1965.

Inverness Royal Academy

Inverness Royal Academy dates from 1792 when it replaced the city's Grammar School, which had existed since 1668. But the history of education in Inverness stretches back much further, as the Grammar School developed from an earlier school that began with the founding of a Dominican Priory in 1223. This extensive history means that Inverness Royal Academy was a cornerstone of education in the Highlands well before the extension of primary and secondary schooling to all Scottish children in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

As noted above, the Archivist at the Inverness Royal Academy provided the name of MacPhail's textbook on Scottish history as one he was taught from as a pupil at George Heriot's School in Edinburgh. Unfortunately, he could not find any textbook lists mentioning what was taught to pupils at the Inverness Royal Academy following the Second World War, but he did manage to find a Prospectus that provides a broad outline of the Curriculum from the ten-year period beginning in 1945. The Prospectus states that during the first three years of history (secondary levels 1 through 3), pupils were exposed to 'An introductory survey of British History studied in broad outline, with some account … of the more important movements and personalities of subsequent world history.' The fourth year looked closely at British history in fuller detail from 1485 to 1789, and the fifth year focused heavily on 'British History from 1789 to the present day, together with the chief developments in world history in the same period.'[11] The sixth year was set aside for more advanced study for 'Bursary Competition candidates,' emphasizing that the fifth year was normally the age when students sat the Leaving Certificate Examination.

While it is impossible to know exactly what students were learning about the empire at Inverness Royal Academy, the curriculum outline makes it clear that there were plenty of opportunities to teach the pupils about the empire, especially in years four and five. Whether this occurred or not is impossible to say, but if the teachers were paying attention to the Leaving Certificate Examination there is no doubt that the empire would have received extended treatment.

Kirkcudbright Academy

Kirkcudbright Academy, located in the far southwest of Scotland, has existed in its present form since at least 1576, when it is first mentioned

in the Town Council minutes. Despite this rich history, the Depute Rector was unable to uncover any textbook lists or curricula from the time in question. She did, however, have quite a bit to say about the empire and its demise:

> Your timeframe is interesting given Scotland was very anxious in the 19th and 20th centuries to demonstrate its commitment to the concept of the United Kingdom and her Empire – the graveyards of northern France testify to that. But by the end of the period which you are studying the Scottish National Party was about to win its first seat in the House of Commons and the idea of being 'British' was coming under pressure.
>
> As a lover of old, interesting books I have occasionally bought school history books from charity shops and am both fascinated and appalled by the descriptions of the 'natives' at work in 'British' India. Mind you, the rot really set in in 1776 didn't it???[12]

The most interesting thing about this statement is her focus on the rise of the Scottish National Party in the mid-1960s. As expressed in the introduction, there is no doubt that Britain was coming under pressure as the empire dissolved around the Scots. After all, the empire was a source of sustained Scottish pride in the Union, especially as it brought so many advantages to a nation that was otherwise at a major disadvantage in terms of geography, demography, economy, and natural resources. The loss of this major source of Scottish national pride was hard to swallow. Being British no longer brought with it the same advantages. The new nationalist way forward would appeal to many Scots.

Madras College

Just the name of the next secondary school conjures up the British Empire. Madras College, located in the ancient city of St. Andrews, was founded in the early nineteenth century by the Reverend Dr Andrew Bell. Bell made his fortune educating the children of East India Company soldiers in Madras, India, and he used that money to found Madras College in his hometown. The school exists as a memorial to the vast riches afforded to Scots through the British Empire so it would only be natural to find imperial content taught to the pupils.[13]

The archivist at Madras College, who was formerly a History teacher in the early 1970s, claims that the most popular textbook taught to students preparing for the British paper of the History Higher exam

at the time was *An Illustrated History of Modern Britain*, which was first published in 1950 and was in continual use through the 1970s. This textbook begins just as the American colonists gained their independence in 1783, so the Introduction is built around this topic and its influence on the future development of Britain. The chapter on William Pitt the Younger also delves into the American Revolution, while discussing his take on the slave trade, his impressions of the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings, and his imperial policy. The Indian Mutiny is discussed in the chapter on Palmerston as is his gunboat diplomacy towards the Chinese. The Irish problem appears in the chapter on Gladstone and Disraeli as does the purchase of Suez shares and the crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India. The chapter entitled 'End of an Era' covers Gladstone's problems in Ireland in great detail and goes into the personality of Joseph Chamberlain and his push for a new Imperialism that would allow Britain to remain the most powerful country in the world through the mechanism of empire trade. All of these instances of imperial content precede the last three chapters of the book, which deal solely with imperial topics: 'The British in India,' 'The British in Africa,' and 'Canada; Australia; New Zealand; the Changing Commonwealth.' In total, eight of the 30 chapters, or 26.7 per cent, contain substantial imperial content. It would have been difficult to miss the empire in this textbook and for good reason: students needed to be prepared for the high number of questions on the Leaving Certificate Examination that focused on the British Empire.[14]

While *An Illustrated History of Modern Britain* is the only textbook mentioned by the Archivist at Madras College as being taught in the 20-year period following the Second World War, there is another interesting piece of information that needs to be taken into consideration. As discussed in Chapter 5, the textbooks used in the first two years of secondary school at Ayr Academy were volumes one and two of Gould and Thompson's *A Scottish History for Today*. The importance here is that John Thompson was the Rector of Madras College in the early 1960s when these books were published. While it is not guaranteed that pupils in their early secondary years were taught from *A Scottish History for Today*, there's a strong possibility that the Rector's opinion played a role in curriculum development. As historians, circumstantial evidence may not be preferred but it is better than no evidence at all. With that said, the imperial content in the Gould and Thompson books is substantial, with the third book, which was not taught at Ayr Academy, featuring nine imperial chapters out of a total of 29 (31 per cent).[15] It may be impossible to prove that Madras College used Gould and Thompson without

testimony from a former pupil or teacher or the discovery of textbook lists, but the chances seem pretty good that Thompson had an influence on what pupils at his institution learned about British history.

North Berwick High School

North Berwick High School, located in East Lothian, was founded in 1893 and merged with the much older Burgh School in 1931. North Berwick sits on the North Sea east of Edinburgh, and is most well-known within history circles as being the family home of William Dalrymple, who is the author of works on India including *White Mughals* and *The Last Mughal*. His family once owned much of the area around North Berwick.

As related in the primary section of Chapter 5, the Deputy Head at North Berwick High School knew that Cameron's *A History for Young Scots* was used following the Second World War in Scotland. But she was not a teacher at North Berwick during the years in question, and she could not find any trace of textbook lists or sample syllabi. Her recollections, however, did pinpoint Scottish history books by Thomson that were still being taught in the 1990s, although she claims they appeared to be from much earlier. The only Thomson to write Scottish history textbooks was the Reverend Thomas Thomson with his *A History of the Scottish People from the Earliest Times*, which appeared in six volumes in 1895, well after the author's death in 1869. Thomson had earlier written *The History of Scotland for the Use of Schools*, which was published during his lifetime in 1849. Thomson's work must have been well regarded for it to be published so long after his death and to remain in use a century after its publication. The book contains both chronological and thematic chapters, and sources appear in footnotes for further reading by interested students. Only volumes five and six, covering 1625 to 1706, and 1706 to the date of publication in 1895 (the segments after 1869 were obviously written by someone else), are applicable to this book. Volume five includes chronological chapters that discuss the Darien Scheme and the need for an Act of Union by both Scotland and England. It also contains two thematic chapters on Scottish society in the seventeenth century. The second of these analyses the Darien enterprise and the foundation of the Bank of Scotland (both by William Paterson). The sixth volume includes a great deal more on the British Empire. Eight of the 16 chapters (50 per cent) discuss the British Empire in depth beginning with Pitt and the Seven Years' War, going through the War with the American colonies, the

abolition of slavery, and the Indian Mutiny, and ending with Gordon of Khartoum and Gladstone's Irish policy. This work's longevity is impressive, but it is perhaps more important for this monograph to see the high level of imperial content included in books that were being used in Scottish schools from 1895 onwards. The first half of the twentieth century, for those who went to secondary school, included plenty of imperial history if Thomson's multivolume work is a reliable indicator.

Robert Gordon's College

Robert Gordon's College was founded by a wealthy merchant of the same name in 1750. Based in Aberdeen on the North Sea coast, the school was originally designated as a 'Hospital' for the accommodation and education of boys. This was in the same vein as the foundation of George Heriot's and George Watson's in Edinburgh. The name would not be officially changed to Robert Gordon's College until 1881 when the boarding school was transformed into a day school.

The archivist at Robert Gordon's College provided the school's Prospectus for 1945–6 and claimed that history was a compulsory subject from 1945 to 1965. When this Prospectus appeared in 1945 the Leaving Certificate could only be earned if students passed a group of five subjects on the exam (two at Higher level and three at Lower level). In fact, until 1950 history was a mandatory subject for all students in senior secondary schools throughout Scotland. At Robert Gordon's College, the required subjects in the first, second, and third years were english, history, geography, mathematics, science, and art. In the fourth and subsequent years the subjects of study changed, but history remained mandatory:

> The Fourth Year marks the beginning of more intensive study for the Senior Leaving Certificate; combinations of subjects are made with a view to satisfying the requirements of the examinations for this Certificate and for entrance to the Universities, as well as with the intention of giving every pupil the opportunity of completing a sound course of education as a necessary preparation for commercial or industrial pursuits. All pupils will continue the study of English, History, Mathematics, and one language other than English…[16]

History was, obviously, of great importance to the faculty at Robert Gordon's College as the Second World War ended, but the mandate that students take history in the fourth, fifth, and sixth years most likely did

not survive the changes to the Leaving Certificate Examination introduced in 1950.

Evidence of the emphasis placed on the empire at Robert Gordon's College exists in the form of an exam paper from 1953 unearthed by the school archivist. This internal exam asked students to answer the first question and then they needed to choose four other questions to complete. The questions with imperial content were

1. Giving two or three lines to each subject, say who or what SEVEN of the following were, and why they were important in history: Sarah Jennings; Treaty of Limerick (1691); Darien Scheme; Battle of Blenheim; Joseph Addison; Frederick the Great; Fort Duquesne; Thomas Brindley; Stamp Act (1765).
2. For what reasons did Britain enter into war against France and Spain (War of Spanish Succession) in 1702, and what did she gain as a result of the struggle?
3. Why were there unrest and fighting in India in the middle of the 18th century? How were Britain and France concerned in this? What did Robert Clive do to uphold Britain's power?
4. Suggest reasons for Britain's defeat in the American War of Independence (1775–1783). What were any disasters she suffered during the war?

Overall, the first question, which needed to be answered by every pupil, contained three identifications that dealt directly with the British Empire. Then the pupils had three more overtly imperial questions that they could answer out of the remaining seven options. This means that a pupil could answer the vast majority of the exam with only imperial knowledge. This high percentage of imperial questions was a good reflection of the importance of the British Empire on the Leaving Certificate Examinations, both Lower and Higher. As outlined in Chapter 5, however, almost all of the British papers of the Leaving Certificate Examination could be answered solely with imperial content. The existence of this internal examination, however, shows the importance of the history of the British Empire to the pupils at Robert Gordon's College in 1953.

Appendix C: Questions Asked by the Scottish Decolonisation Project

At the top of the questionnaire it stated the following: Please ignore any question which does not apply, or which you would prefer not to answer. Please enlarge on/expand, any question you find interesting or which you find provokes another thought or answer.

The aim is to record *how life was lived* and *if things changed at independence*.

Questions from Professor Platt:

1. What were the high points / was the high point of your career?
2. What do you think you were able to achieve?
3. Who were the influential people in the British Service at the time?
4. What were they like and what were they able to do with their lives? (Were there people you met in the course of your work / career who made a special impression on you, British or Local?)
5. Are there people you would like to describe, good or bad?
6. Much change took place during your career. What would you single out for Posterity?
7. We (Britain) made mistakes, no doubt. Are there things which you think we should or should not have done?
8. You are a professional. What would you like to say about your career which you would like to be known by historians?

Questions from Dr Patrick Cadell:

1. Do you know what the 'locals' thought of British rule? Or think now?
2. What did they expect to get out of de-colonisation?
3. Do you think they got it?
4. Do you think the established view of your area is a true picture of the time?
5. Is there something you would like to correct or add to the story?
6. Do you have any letters or papers you would like to have preserved for posterity / be prepared to donate to the archives?

Questions from Mrs Susan Steedman:

Recruitment:

How did you come to live in ……?

When did you go? And when did you leave?

Did you have a family history of foreign service?

What were the influences which led you to take up your appointment?

Did you know what to expect? And were you surprised by what you found?

Were you given training before leaving Britain?

If so, what did it consist of and was it useful?

What did it leave out?

Were you given medical advice? Vaccinations etc?

Clothing lists etc?

Your Work:

What were your first impressions on arrival?

Did you find it easy to settle down? Was there an organisation to help

you?

How did you find your work?

Did you find it organised in a familiar way or were concessions made to

local conditions?

Were all the decision makers British?

Were any local people employed at the top end?

If not, was there a policy to train local people to take the top jobs?

Did you know that Independence was coming?

If not, when did you learn and how did it affect your work?

Were women employed?

Housing:

Can you remember what your first house was like?

Could you describe the sort of house you lived most of the time in?

What was it built of?

How was it roofed? Floors made of? Walls covered? Windows etc?

How many rooms did it have? Was the kitchen indoors?

Did you have electricity? Plumbing? Flush w.c.? What did you cook on?

How did you keep cool / warm?

Was the house owned by the Company?

Was it furnished for you? Did you have anything of your own?

Did you have trouble with insects / ants in furniture etc? How did you
cope with these?
Did you have a number of servants? Did you have women servants?
Where did they live / sleep? Were their families with them?
How did you communicate with them? (in their language or yours)
Was it difficult to get servants? (was it a popular job)
Did you look after their medical needs / feed them / become involved with
their families?

Recreation:

What did you do for 'fun'?
Club life (was this 'mixed'?) Dancing / theatricals / films / lectures / books / records / dinner parties (were local people invited, ever? If so did
they come and did they bring their wives?)
Sports football / cricket / tennis etc shooting / sailing etc swimming.

Communications:

Were these good?
Road / rail / water to travel about and meet people, shop etc.
Postal services / telephone / radio / telegraphic services.
Newspapers (from U.K.?)

Food and drink:

Did you 'live off the land' or did you import food stuffs?
If so, what did you import?
What did you miss?
What about the water? Was it ample? Pure enough or did you filter it?
If so, what system did you use?
What were the easiest things to get? And what was scarce?
Did you ever do your own cooking?
Looking back, do you remember some foods that you ate regularly and miss now?

Safety:

What about law and order? Did you feel safe in the house?
Was there a lot of theft / murder? Were there bandits?
Were you, or friends of yours attacked and robbed?
Did you carry or own a weapon? Or ever have to use one?
Were the police considered to be honest and incorruptible?

Were you (or yours) ever offered bribes? Why? What happened?
Or were you obliged to bribe people for services?

Behavior:

What was thought of as bad behavior amongst ex-Patriots?
How was this dealt with?
Were the same 'faults' or 'crimes' by British and by local peoples punished in the same ways?
What happened if a British man drank / gambled / womanized?
Was he excused? Was he excluded from clubs or private functions?
What happened if he married a local girl? Were they welcomed?
Or if he was known to have a mistress at home 'a sleeping dictionary'?
What happened to the children of these liaisons?
Was there any organisation to care for them?

'Good' deeds:

Was there interest shown in local need?
Lepers / blind etc? If so, how?
Scouts and guides / Church groups etc.
Schools etc
Or interest taken in local culture / history / archaeology / plants etc
Was an effort made to mix cultures or not really?
Were these really because of lack of common ground or lack of interest?

Missionaries:

What are your thoughts on these?

Discrimination:

Or this?

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What about attitudes?

Did any ex-Pats you knew intend to stay for the rest of their lives or did they all intend to retire 'home'?

Did you ever feel that 'Britain' (the public, the politicians, the press) really understood your way of life, or your ambitions or strivings in your foreign service?

Did you have 'visiting firemen?' And feel that they comprehended your situation?

Can you remember any in particular and how they were entertained?

As Independence drew near, did you feel any change in atmosphere?

Did you ever feel threatened or 'disliked' for being foreign?

Did you ever discuss politics or Independence with local friends?

Did you notice any signs of changes taking place?

Did you try to maintain a completely British way of life, (porridge, bacon and eggs for breakfast etc,) or did you find you adapted to another life-style?

What about clothes and fashion? Did you try to follow what was going on in London or Paris or did you find you had a local 'style'?

Was there still a 'fishing fleet' of girls who came to look for husbands, or were more men arriving already married, than previously.

What would you say was your happiest memory of life in .....?

Did you ever have experience of difficulties with animals?

Were there any local / religious formalities or taboos that you had to be aware of or became involved with?

Appendix D: The Very Reverend George MacLeod's Speech to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 25 May 1959, Presenting the Report of the Committee anent Central Africa and Moving the 'Deliverance'[1]

Moderator; the number of documents in this case is a measure of the fluid nature of the issues before us. There is the First Report – in your Blue Books at page 539. It gives background. It was written before the emergency. But it is significant that its Deliverance requires no change. It is not a panic Deliverance.

Then there is the Second Report. (In your lockers last Friday). In the light of the emergency. It has only one Deliverance – about effective power for the Africans. It is the one that has caused the most comment in the Press in the last four days. Even this is not a panic clause. But for one factor it might have gone into the First Report – before the emergency. It is really the fulfillment of an appendix in that First Report. I shall expand and explain its purport before I sit down.

Then there are less official papers in your lockers. There is a reply of the High Commissioner for the Federation, 'Why Not Be Fair?' Despite its emotional title, he had a perfect right to reply. We have had so little response since 1952 from London to all our warnings and protests about our duties to protectorates that it is refreshing for the Church occasionally to get a reply.

Then there is our printed reply to Sir Gilbert Rennie – subscribed by your Committee.

Finally there is a piece of irresponsible journalese called 'The Kirk's New Face in Nyasaland'; a reprint from 'The Central African Examiner.' Had we had time we might have replied to that in a document entitled perhaps 'The Central African Examiner's New Face in Nyasaland.' For it used to be a liberal paper. It no longer courageously holds the ring

between contending parties in the Federation. The paper might now be better entitled 'Lord Malvern's Meanderings.' This document is not justified. The article is deficient in history, ignorant of the true nature of the Church, and most unworthy of innuendo. Our only surprise is that the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Committee should have so misjudged the temper of the Kirk as to give it their imprimatur. We still think well enough of that Committee not to get it mixed up in our minds with 'Huggins's Haverings.'

You think I am being rude? I am not. I am being charitable. This is what Sir Godfrey Huggins (now Lord Malvern) said last Friday to impressionable white students in Bulawayo – according to 'The London Times' and the 'Manchester Guardian.' He said that one of the least stabilising influences in Nyasaland had been the Church of Scotland. And he went on (I quote) 'Europeans here are sensible enough not to care two hoots what is said in the House of Commons in London. The formula for those in control of the Federation must be: for overseas critics, as much contempt as you can, and, for our own people, keep the public sweet.' I charitably suppose that he was havering. But if I really thought that those student parliamentarians were seriously taking in his words, and if I were an African in Nyasaland, I would rather risk sedition than allow myself to be further merged with the white majority in Southern Rhodesia. I have an uncomfortable feeling that that last sentence may be omitted owing to pressure of space in the popular press, so I repeat it twice.

Moderator, we dismiss this reprint from the 'Central African Examiner.' I hand it back to the Leader of the House. He will be the first to agree that I have the highest authority for that it will not do him any mortal harm!

I now only want to do three things:

to say a word about our Committee;
a word about this added deliverance;
finally, to say why we hold the line we do.

Your Committee is not a bunch of starry-eyed eggheads. Never a meeting but we have had the advice of missionaries on furlough, some of whom have given years and years of service in the Federation.

We have also had on it the Convenor and Secretary of the Church and Nation Committee, who followed this issue throughout the years till we were set up, and the Convenor and Secretary of the Foreign

Mission Committee. We are not a 'pirate landing party.' It is the old crew carrying on.

Here may I peculiarly thank Kenneth MacKenzie, once of the Federation, now of St. Colm's. He has been a tower of strength. At question time I shall not hesitate to ask him to reply to more detailed questions. Not least, we have had on the Committee a representative of Government, Sir Gordon Lethem. He worked for Government in different parts of Africa for twenty years, the last three being as acting Governor of the Northern Territories in Nigeria. His last assignment abroad was as Governor of British Guiana for five years. The problems of race and government (through him) have also weighed with our Committee. We are not starry-eyed, and our Report is unanimous. Sir Gordon Lethem will in due time second the Report.

Now about the Deliverance to our Second Report. It reads, 'The General Assembly, recognising that the time has come for a radical revision of the Territorial Constitution for Nyasaland, earnestly recommend to Her Majesty's Government that effective power be given to the African Community in Nyasaland.' That is not a late suggestion out of the blue. It is in fact a confirmation of a suggestion in the Blue Book – arising from its Appendix III. Why was it not in our First Report? Because we were then still hoping for a revised constitution for Nyasaland before this Assembly. It was in the middle of 1957 that a revised constitution was first hoped for. 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.' One of the sicknesses in Nyasaland has been this weary delay. Short of it, Andrew Doig, who was on the African Affairs Board and who wrote the Appendix, could only make guesses, not knowing whether the new constitution would be balances between races or in fact be inter-racial. You will note that his best suggestion gives in the Legislative Council a majority to the Africans. But in the Executive Council a majority remains with the Governor and the Officials. Is that suggestion outrageously risky? Why, even the highest authorities have suggested that Nyasaland might become a black territory within the Federation. We are still without an official new Constitution: so we made a general Deliverance.

And it is this that brings me to my last point; why we hold to our position. In a sentence, we believe that a new 'détente' is required, especially since the emergency. Some creative act of trust (daring if you like) that will put back the ship of state on to a more even keel; some creative act of trust in the Africans again, including the release of all such detainees as cannot have criminal activities laid at their door. If it is risky, we believe it is nothing to the risk of making no creative act of trust. I am

glad Brigadier Fergusson has proposed in essence the direct negative. There are yards of his motion with which every one of us agrees, but it is counter-motion all the same. And you must see it so. Deleting our Deliverance, as it does, it is a vote of no confidence in the burden of our Report.

I think the essential difference between us is most quickly revealed in a story. There was an Englishman fishing in Mull. He was driven mad by his Highland ghillie, John, who persisted in agreeing with everything the Englishman said, however outrageous, as is the manner in the West Highlands. On the last day out the Englishman was determined to say something with which John could not possibly agree. As there was a strong breeze blowing up the loch, whipping up white horses on every wave, and as John was pulling into it, making no headway at all, the Englishman suddenly shot at him, 'There is not much wind today.' To which John, after a split second replied, 'No, sir, but what there is of it is boisterous.' Brigadier Fergusson underrates the extent of the storm. We don't yet believe it is a tornado. No one need yet pull for the shore. But, before God, this storm is boisterous. Courageous action must be taken before it blows us out.

It is no good suddenly one morning arresting hundreds in Southern Rhodesia, keeping a hundred in prison as it is this day, and introducing legislation whereby they might be held without trial for five years. It is no good suddenly one morning arresting more hundreds in Nyasaland, giving them no trial and officially stating that there may never be a trial, and keeping them in prison as of this day. It is no good, in face of that, to refer to some light alleviations in the Africans' lot, saying, 'What a good boy am I.' It is no good (in face of that) 'Healing the hurt of the daughter of my people lightly, crying, 'Peace, peace, when there is no peace.'

What we say, *for the time being*, is 'Some one must speak for the Africans.' We do not say it to be difficult. We say it as the only realistic way to peace.

There are two misapprehensions I really must scotch before I close. One is that we are paying no attention in our Report to the difficulties of the Europeans. We are forgetting them. Sir Gilbert says in effect that we forget amendments to the Land Apportionment Act with its safeguards for the African people from exploitation. But that is not the main gravamen – the main weight of the Land Apportionment Act. In S. Rhodesia there are eleven Africans for every white man. The vast majority of the Africans are on the land. Only one-tenth of the whites are on the land. Yet (in the apportionment) the Africans (11–1)

get 63,000 square miles: the Europeans (far less than 1–11) get 75,000 square miles. Further, 80,000 Africans have been moved to conform with the Act. Another 90,000 are to be moved before the apportionment is complete.

Europeans have done marvels for the country. They are essential to the country. But it seems to us that Europeans have plenty to speak for them – to enact for them. We believe that, *for the time being*, someone must speak for the Africans.

There is another misapprehension to be scotched. It is the assertion that all this trouble started with the African National Congress and that Dr. Banda put the lid on it. It is the assertion that African opposition has always been in the hands of a few dissidents. Now they are safely tucked away. Peace is round the corner. If only a few idealists would not go on bleating.

This simply must be nailed and you must bear with me for a minute or two. In 1952 the African Representative Council in N. Rhodesia and the Provincial Councils of Nyasaland (till then accepted as representative of African opinion) voted solidly against Federation: that is why there were only two Africans at the London Conference of forty who drafted Federation. In the same year (1952) the Blantyre Mission Council recorded itself as against Federation – save on certain conditions which were never fulfilled. In January 1953 Nyasaland Chiefs (paid for by collections in the villages) came to Britain to say they were opposed; and seeking protection. Later in 1953 a referendum was taken in S. Rhodesia deciding for Federation. The British Government could not point to a single African group who were in favour in the Northern Territories. Yet no referendum took place in N. Rhodesia or Nyasaland – sworn to our protection – either of whites or of blacks. Federation was then in effect imposed by a decision in S. Rhodesia which the heavily weighted white legislatures in the other territories simply subscribed.

In May 1954, when the Colonial Secretary visited Nyasaland he was presented with a memorandum from the African Protectorate Council (recognised by Government as representative of African opinion) and from the African members of the Legislative Council. The memo specifically stated that Federation had been imposed; and they were still opposed.

Thus and thus muffled, what, if you were an African in the Protectorates, do you see looming up before your eyes at the 1960 Conference? The five Governments seated round a table. Confine it to the Protectorates: the representatives will be chosen from this sort of

situation in N. Rhodesia: 65,000 Europeans will have 14 members in the Legislative Council: 2 million Africans will have 8 members. In Nyasaland: 6,000 Europeans will have 6 seats: 2.5 million Africans will have 5 seats.

Please note that I have not mentioned the African National Congress. But I do say – against that sketch – that (a) it is nonsense to suppose that a few dissidents have been responsible: (b) nonsense to suggest that Dr. Banda upset a quiet applecart. Rather he inflamed timber that was already dry as dust before his coming. It is the African people who fear that as Federation was imposed in effect by a S. Rhodesian referendum Dominion will be brought nearer by an overweighted conference in 1960.

For the time being some one must speak for the Africans. We must make a daring gesture; together with the release of all such detainees against whom no criminal libel can be laid.

I close with a reminiscence. I have not thought it up for the occasion. I put it in print a year ago. When I was at Blantyre last year in your name I met the most brilliant man I met in my whole Moderatorial Year. He was an African. He had an equally brilliant wife – utterly composed. Without an atom of bombast he held forth on Picasso and Sartre, the decay of France and the future of Europe. For four hours he quietly dominated the discussion. He told me, this brilliant Government school teacher, that there were not four European houses where he felt at home. One early morning in March, he and his wife were awoken and without a change of clothing were marched out of the Protectorate into S. Rhodesia, leaving his one year old son for any one to look after. Not many days ago his wife was released and is in close arrest at her house. He is still in prison and a few days ago he wrote thus to the man who was our host that night. 'We are all well here, all things told. Food has improved a bit. We have more time outside to play football or to just talk. Community feeling is excellent. We pray together every morning and every evening. We hope and pray that the same spirit will make the truth that has been so grossly neglected, make us all a community that looks for the good in all.' I would like to think that if the most brilliant man in this country were similarly arrested and held without trial for nearly three months he would still be writing like that…

Moderator, the Ship of State, that is, the Federation, is dangerously heeling over to starboard, and the heavy list is occasioned by the weight of the detainees battened down beneath the hatches on the starboard side. They must be brought up on to the centre of the deck and be

divided off, either for trial or for home. Only so will the Ship of State find a more even keel for the days that lie ahead.

Till that happens, and for the time being, some one must speak for the Africans. And that some one will be the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Notes

Introduction

1. Although it appears that the findings of this book would refute the well-known argument by Bernard Porter that the vast majority of the people in Britain were hardly aware of the empire, it actually proves his notion that 'the Scots…may well have been more imperially aware and enthusiastic than the English.' Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. xiv.
2. Within the burgeoning literature on Scottish involvement in the British Empire, especially during the nineteenth century, stands the work of Richard J. Finlay. In his book *A Partnership for Good? Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880* Finlay reiterates the historical consensus that 'support for the Empire was one of the few issues which commanded a general consensus in Scottish intellectual and political circles.' But he goes further and states that the role the Scots played in the empire 'was a source of great pride and they rejoiced in their self-proclaimed status as a "race of Empire builders".' Finlay, pp. 14–15. The idea of the Scots being a race of empire builders is evident in Lord Rosebery's Rectorial Address to Glasgow University students on 16 November 1900. In his speech Rosebery proclaimed that 'An Empire such as ours requires as its first condition an imperial race – a race vigorous and industrious and intrepid.' For the entire speech see: 'Empire's Needs,' *Daily Sun*, 7 December 1900, p. 6.
3. This definition is derived from the Oxford English Dictionary.
4. This definition is derived from: John Hutchinson, 'National Identity,' in *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism*, ed. Athena S. Leoussi (London: Transaction Publishers, 2001), p. 215.
5. This definition is derived from: John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 1.
6. Harry Goulbourne believes that the current Scottish plea for independence is 'very much a post-imperial phenomenon.' Harry Goulbourne, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Post-imperial Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 89.
7. J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject,' *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975): pp. 601–21.
8. John M. MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire,' *History Compass*, 6, no. 5 (2008): pp. 1244–63.
9. The article also served as the vast majority of chapter 26, 'End of Empire,' of Devine's reissued *The Scottish Nation 1700–2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 618–30.
10. This argument may also be found in R. J. Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850–1950,' *Scottish Geographical Journal*, vol. 113,

no. 1 (1997): p. 19. Even though the argument is the same, I did not become aware of this article until after reading Devine's from nine years later. This, therefore, accounts for the extensive treatment of Devine's version and the relegation of Finlay's to a footnote.

11. T. M. Devine, 'The Break-Up of Britain? Scotland and the End of Empire,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (2006): p. 174.
12. Ibid., pp. 178–9.
13. Edwin Muir, *Scottish Journey* (London: Heinemann, 1935), p. 110. Quoted in Devine, p. 179.
14. Devine, pp. 179–80.
15. Devine provided justification for this conclusion in his later book *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750–2010*. But this justification was based solely on the way the Scots reacted to the decolonization of India. As discussed below, the decolonization of India was a foregone conclusion long before the Second World War.
16. James Mitchell also places a great deal of faith in the ability of the welfare state to hold Britain together. He argues that 'the Welfare State provided Scots with reason for supporting the constitutional status quo. The National Health Service helped cement the Union. Identification with the state was facilitated by the existence of policies and institutions perceived to provide shelter from the cradle to the grave, and furthermore, all of these were fundamentally British institutions.' See James Mitchell, 'Scotland in the Union, 1945–95: The Changing Nature of the Union State,' in T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, eds., *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 93.
17. In a 1998 article, John M. MacKenzie argues that everyone in Glasgow knew during the 1940s and 1950s that it was a city built on empire. All social classes, including the working class, understood that the Glaswegian economy was based on imperial markets. In addressing the working class directly, MacKenzie claims that 'none would have been in any doubt that this was an imperial city whose workforce was highly dependent upon the export opportunities of empire.' John M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 8 (1998): p. 229.
18. Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1981), pp. 129–30.
19. Ibid., p. 128.
20. Scotland's economy was dependent on heavy industry during the heyday of empire, including engineering, shipbuilding, and coal-mining industries that were export oriented. Most of these exports went to the empire, and with its demise Scotland's industries were left without markets. In reaction, the British Government poured huge sums of money into these industries to help keep them solvent.
21. For instance, banking and financial services in Scotland have never compared favourably with those in England. This discrepancy has only widened in the most recent financial crisis.
22. For a recent popular study on Scots in London, see: David Stenhouse, *How the Scots Took over London* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2004).

23. Please see the discussion below about the works of Graeme Morton and Lindsay Paterson. This is a theme that also comes out in the oral testimonies recorded in the Scottish Decolonisation Project. See Chapter 6, 'Witnesses to Decolonization.'
24. David Stewart, *The Path to Devolution and Change: A Political History of Scotland under Margaret Thatcher* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 7–13 and passim. In this monograph, Stewart claims that Thatcher was not against Scotland but against the postwar consensus that the Scots relied heavily on following the dismantling of the British Empire.
25. Breuilly, p. 322.
26. Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830–1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).
27. Breuilly, p. 1.
28. Morton, p. 55.
29. Ibid., pp. 189–90. This argument is also subscribed to by the historian Colin Kidd. See: Colin Kidd, 'Popular Sovereignty Not Just for Nationalists,' *The Scotsman*, 21 January 2012, available from: http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/opinion/comment/colin-kidd-popular-sovereignty-not-just-for-nationalists-1–2070134.
30. Morton, p. 9.
31. Ibid., p. 4.
32. Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), p. 4.
33. Ibid., p. 50.
34. Ibid., p. 51.
35. Ibid., pp. 5–6, 103–31.
36. Ibid., p. 62.
37. Ibid., p. 61.
38. Treatment of the Home Rulers versus the nationalists during the interwar period may also be found in Richard J. Finlay, '"For or Against?": Scottish Nationalists and the British Empire, 1919–39,' *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 71, nos. 1 and 2 (1992): pp. 184–206.
39. Hanham, p. 140.
40. 'Home Rule All Round' was an idea that originated with Lord Milner and the Round Table Movement. The call of the Round Table for a federal United Kingdom, with devolved assemblies in the component nations of the United Kingdom, was even championed by the Conservatives in the decade between 1909 and 1919 as long as it was associated with the idea of imperial federation. For a discussion of 'Home Rule All Round,' see: Hanham, pp. 106–7.
41. Hanham, p. 139.
42. For the argument that Scotland was an internal colony of the English, please see the oft-cited and oft-repudiated account by Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* 2nd ed. (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999). Many Scottish nationalists in the late 1960s claimed that unionism survived due to internal colonialism. Billy Wolfe, a leading member of the Scottish National Party, claimed in his Party Conference speech of October 1970 that Scotland was being held back 'by the burden of London's continuing imperial paternalism

and pretensions.' See: Billy Wolfe, *Scotland Lives: The Quest for Independence* (Edinburgh: Reprographia, 1973), p. 148.

43. In his posthumously published book *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism A Study*, Sir Reginald Coupland referred to the proper nationalists as 'extreme nationalists' to separate them in his mind from normal nationalists, who have been referred to here as Home Rulers. Home Rulers wanted devolution of authority to Scotland. This would allow a Scottish government to handle strictly Scottish issues, while international relations and defence remained under the control of the House of Commons in London. See: Sir Reginald Coupland, *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism A Study* (London: Collins, 1954), p. 405.
44. Hanham, p. 163.
45. Andrew Dewar Gibb was the Regius Professor of Law at Glasgow University from 1934 to 1958.
46. John MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire,' *The International History Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1993): p. 738.
47. Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scottish Empire* (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1937), p. 315. It is interesting to note the connection that the Scottish National Party of today wishes to make with the European Union if they gain political independence from the United Kingdom. In his time, Gibb was not thinking in terms of independence. He just wanted the Scots to be able to utilize their talents to the greatest advantage of Scotland and themselves.
48. MacKenzie, p. 737.
49. One of the interesting historiographical notes is that Hanham sympathizes with the interwar nationalists against those in favour of Home Rule. He goes so far as to condemn MacCormick for pushing a Home Rule agenda that would give the Scots second-class status in the United Kingdom. Hanham's exact words in an otherwise balanced historical account of Scottish nationalism are:

    'MacCormick preferred to opt for a purely provincial Scotland managed by local politicians without any sense of a higher national purpose. Celtic Scotland was not to follow Celtic Ireland into independence, but was to opt for second-class status within the United Kingdom, with its literary standards set by the *Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* or by the English press, rather than by the national poets.' See Hanham, p. 162.
50. The wording of the Scottish Covenant was as follows:

    'We, the people of Scotland who subscribe this Engagement, declare our belief that reform in the constitution of our country is necessary to secure good government in accordance with our Scottish traditions and to promote the spiritual and economic welfare of our nation.

    We affirm that the desire for such reform is both deep and widespread through the whole community, transcending all political differences and sectional interests, and we undertake to continue united in purpose for this achievement.

    With that end in view we solemnly enter into this Covenant whereby we pledge ourselves, in all loyalty to the Crown and within the framework of the United Kingdom, to do everything in our power to secure for Scotland a Parliament with adequate legislative authority in Scottish affairs.'

    Quoted in Hanham, p. 171. The last section is particularly revealing of their status as Home Rulers and not nationalists.
51. Hanham, p. 171.

52. Quoted in Hanham, p. 171.
53. Porter, pp. 318–19.
54. This is discussed in John M. MacKenzie, 'The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture,' in Stuart Ward, ed. *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 23.
55. Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The Second World War and British Culture,' in Brian Brivati and Harriet Jones, eds., *From Reconstruction to Integration: Britain and Europe since 1945* (London: Leicester University Press, 1993), pp. 40–1; David Cannadine, 'Apocalypse When? British Politicians and British "Decline" in the Twentieth Century,' in Peter Clarke and Clive Trebilcock, eds., *Understanding Decline: Perceptions and Realities of British Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 261–2.
56. For a comprehensive analysis of the historiography surrounding the 'minimal impact' thesis, see: Stuart Ward, 'Introduction,' in Stuart Ward, ed. *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 1–5.
57. MacKenzie's most cited book on this subject is *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984). In this work, MacKenzie states that an imperial world view permeated all classes in Britain until the 1960s. See pp. 254–7.
58. Ward, p. 12.
59. John M. MacKenzie, 'The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture,' in Stuart Ward, ed. *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 25–6.
60. Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire 1939–1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 3.
61. G. K. Evans, *Public Opinion on Colonial Affairs*, June 1948 (London: HMSO, 1948). Quoted in Webster, p. 4.
62. Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 208.
63. Ibid., pp. 210–13.
64. Ibid., p. 216. MacKenzie outlines his third implosion of empire thesis in: John M. MacKenzie, 'The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture,' in Stuart Ward, ed. *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 27–8.
65. John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875–1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 31–3.
66. Ibid., 46.
67. H. W. Macmillan, 'Notes on the Origins of the Arab War,' in Bridglal Pachai, ed., *The Early History of Malawi* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), p. 270.
68. The Portuguese wished to expand their empire from Mozambique westwards into the Shire Highlands and across the continent. This led H. H. Johnston, British consul at Mozambique, to declare a protectorate over the region. The protectorate would safeguard the activities of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, the ALC, and the Established Church of Scotland's Blantyre Mission from Portuguese interference. For more on the establishment of the protectorate, see: A. J. Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and*

North-Eastern Rhodesia 1859–95 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 106–72. The creation of the Nyasaland Protectorate went through a number of stages. It began as the Shire Highlands Protectorate in 1889, expanded into the Nyasaland Districts Protectorate in 1891, was renamed the British Central Africa Protectorate in 1893, and was finally designated the Nyasaland Protectorate in 1907.

69. The Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, which had separated with the Disruption of 1843, reconciled in 1929.
70. For a more in-depth look at the ALC's early involvement in Central Africa, please see Chapter 1, 'Scottish Business and Empire.'
71. Michael Fry believes that it was Dundas' actions over India that made the Scots equal partners in the British Empire with the English. For a complete accounting of Henry Dundas' life, see: Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).
72. John M. MacKenzie, 'The Persistence of Empire in Metropolitan Culture,' in Stuart Ward, ed., *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 24.
73. 'New Era in India,' *The Scotsman*, 15 August 1947, p. 4.
74. T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750–2010* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2011), p. 258.
75. 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' 6 May 1959, National Records of Scotland (NRS), CH 1/8/95, p. 682.

1 Scottish Business and Empire

1. P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688–2000*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 2002), p. 29.
2. Peter L. Payne, 'The Economy,' in T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, eds, *Scotland in the 20th Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 16.
3. Peter L. Payne, 'The Decline of the Scottish Heavy Industries, 1945–1983,' in Richard Saville, ed., *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland 1950–1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1985), pp. 99, 110.
4. Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), p. 483.
5. T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 38–9.
6. David Armitage, 'The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture,' in John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 102.
7. Devine, pp. 1–2.
8. Brian Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union 1603–1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 142–3.
9. Devine, pp. 37–9.
10. T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660–1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963), p. 245.
11. Ibid., pp. 246–8.

12. W. Douglas Jones, 'The Bold Adventurers: A Quantitative Analysis of the Darien Subscription List (1696),' *Scottish Economic and Social History,* 21, no. 1 (2001): pp. 37–8.
13. Armitage, p. 107.
14. Andrew Forrester, *The Man Who Saw the Future* (New York: Thomson Texere, 2004), p. 143.
15. Armitage, p. 102.
16. Devine, pp. 45–6.
17. Christopher Smout, 'The Culture of Migration: Scots as Europeans 1500–1800,' *History Workshop Journal,* 40 (1995): p. 114.
18. Armitage, p. 98.
19. Christopher Storrs, 'Disaster at Darien (1698–1700)? The Persistence of Spanish Imperial Power on the Eve of the Demise of the Spanish Hapsburgs,' *European History Quarterly,* 29, no. 1 (1999): pp. 8–9.
20. Armitage, p. 100.
21. Forrester, p. 124.
22. Saxe Bannister, ed., *The Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England and of the Darien Colony, III* (London: Judd & Glass, 1859), pp. 257–8.
23. Ibid., pp. 258–60.
24. The declarations forbidding assistance to the Scots in the English colonies of Jamaica, New York, and Boston can be found in proclamations made by Sir William Beeston and Richard Earl of Bellomont. These are available from Early English Books Online (EEBO) by placing 'Darien' into the search engine at http://eebo.chadwyck.com.
25. Devine, p. 70.
26. Ibid., pp. 71, 74.
27. The bonds of kinship were strong amongst the Scots engaged in business throughout the empire as will become clear in the examples listed below.
28. A. C. Land, 'The Tobacco Staple and the Planter's Problems: Technology, Labour and Crops,' *Agricultural History*, 43 (1969): pp. 79–81.
29. Devine, p. 83. For an in-depth study of the Tobacco Lords, see: T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: a Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, c. 1740–90* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975).
30. Devine, p. 86.
31. Ibid., pp. 85–90.
32. Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832–1914*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. 159.
33. Additional reading on the First Opium War includes: Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–42* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); P. W. Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–42* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).
34. Quoted in: Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815–1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 28.
35. The phrase 'British business imperialism' comes from Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos…*, p. 161.
36. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power* (New York: Free Press, 2008), pp. 119–20.

37. A. J. Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia 1859–95* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 106–72.
38. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade,' *The Economic History Review*, 6, no. 1 (1953).
39. C. R. Fay, *Imperial Economy and Its Place in the Formation of Economic Doctrine, 1600–1932* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 23.
40. Ibid., p. 46.
41. Ibid., p. 47.
42. A. D. Roberts, 'The British Empire in Tropical Africa: A Review of the Literature to the 1960s,' in Robin W. Winks, ed., *OHBE: Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 477.
43. Gallagher and Robinson, p. 3.
44. Ibid., pp. 5–6.
45. It must be noted here that Iran lacked a strong central government, and this caused problems for George Reynolds, the engineer tasked by D'Arcy to find oil in the country. Reynolds suffered difficulties in dealing with local tribes as he prospected for oil in the west and southwest of the country, far from the shah's seat of power in Tehran. See J. H. Bamberg, *The History of the British Petroleum Company, Volume II: The Anglo-Iranian Years, 1928–1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.
46. Yergin, p. 121. The five provinces were Azerbaijan, Gilan, Mazandaran, Astarabad, and Khurasan.
47. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'muslin' is a 'lightweight cotton cloth in a plain weave.'
48. For an account of the early years of John Lean and Sons, see Anthony Slaven, 'A Glasgow Firm in the Indian Market: John Lean and Sons, Muslin Weavers,' *The Business History Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (1969): pp. 496–522.
49. Letter from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 21 August 1946, Glasgow University Archives and Business Records Centre (hereafter referred to as GUA), UGD 2/11/25.
50. Letters from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 6 September 1946, 19 September 1946, 7 October 1946, 17 October 1946, 6 November 1946, 9 December 1946, GUA, UGD 2/11/25.
51. Letter from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 3 January 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/25.
52. Letter from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 4 June 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/25.
53. Letter from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 21 June 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/25.
54. Letter from Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. to John Lean and Sons, 28 July 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/49.
55. Letter from Bell, Russ and Co. Ltd. to John Lean and Sons, 5 September 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/25.
56. Letter from Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. to John Lean and Sons, 10 September 1947, GUA, UGD 2/11/49.
57. Letter from Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. to John Lean and Sons, 28 February 1948, GUA, UGD 2/11/49.

58. For more on Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, see A. A. den Otter, 'Donald Alexander Smith,' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. The percentages are courtesy of Bamberg, p. 3.
59. John Camberlain, 'Oil Empire: The Sun Never Sets on the British Petroleum Company,' 4 July 1955, *Barron's*. Taken from: University of Warwick, BP Archive, 35656.
60. 'Reminiscences of Sir William Fraser by Margaret Hudson,' University of Warwick, BP Archive, 120966.
61. James Bamberg, 'William Milligan Fraser,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed from: http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.txstate.edu/view/article/33256.
62. Ibid.
63. The Scottish shale-oil industry would be forever closed in 1962. For more information on this industry, see the Museum of the Scottish Shale-Oil Industry website at http://www.scottishshale.co.uk/.
64. Fraser to Jacks, 30 November 1932, University of Warwick, BP Archive, 70455.
65. Bamberg, *History of The British Petroleum Company …*, pp. 35–7.
66. Ibid., pp. 41–50.
67. Fraser to Hogg, 4 November 1937, University of Warwick, BP Archive, 105509.
68. Ibid.
69. Barstow to Fraser, 31 March 1943, University of Warwick, BP Archive, 105509.
70. Fraser to Barstow (never sent), 7 April 1943, University of Warwick, BP Archive, 105509.
71. *Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Limited: Annual Reports and Accounts as at 31st December 1950* (London: Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Limited, 1951), p. 22.
72. John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875–1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 20.
73. Stewart and Livingstone had a complicated relationship dating from Stewart's first attempt to raise money for a mission in Central Africa in mid-1861. After raising the money, Stewart went to the region to find it in chaos with fierce fighting between the Yao and the Manganja who, as a result, had stopped cultivating their cash-crops. The slave trade was also prevalent in the region. The anger felt by Stewart towards Livingstone dissipated over the years, and they were in close contact when the great explorer died. McCracken, pp. 21–3, 27–8.
74. McCracken, pp. 31–3.
75. Ibid., pp. 43–4.
76. Ibid., p. 46.
77. H. W. Macmillan, 'Notes on the origins of the Arab War,' in *The Early History of Malawi*, ed. Bridglal Pachai (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), p. 270.
78. It would eventually expand into the Nyasaland Districts Protectorate in 1891, be renamed the British Central Africa Protectorate in 1893, and finally be called the Nyasaland Protectorate in 1907.

79. The ALC had business interests in Northern Rhodesia, especially stores, as late as the mid-1950s, but closed them down because they were losing money.
80. 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr John G. Stephen, for the year ended 31st January, 1954,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
81. See Chapter 2, 'The Church and the Empire,' for further analysis of the economic benefits of the Central African Federation.
82. See especially: 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr John G. Stephen, for the year ended 31st January, 1956,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9. For the Scottish Decolonisation Project, see Chapter 6, 'Witnesses to Decolonization.'
83. 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr J. G. Stephen, for the year ended 31st January, 1958,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
84. For these testimonies, see Chapter 6, 'Witnesses to Decolonization.'
85. 'Minutes of Meeting of Directors held on Friday, 20th March 1959,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
86. 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr J. G. Stephen, for the year ended 31st January, 1957,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
87. 'Minutes of Meeting of Directors on Monday, 18th May, 1959,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
88. 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr Douglas H. Ross, for the year ended 31st January 1959,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
89. 'Statement by the Chairman, Mr Douglas H. Ross, for the year ended 31st January 1960,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
90. 'Minutes of Meeting of Directors on Monday, 31st July, 1961,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
91. 'Minutes of Meeting of Directors on Wednesday, 25th July, 1962,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
92. 'Minutes of the Seventy-first Annual General Meeting of Members on Wednesday, 30th December 1964,' GUA, UGC 193/1/1/9.
93. Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland*, 4th ed. (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), p. 304.
94. The history and structure of the STUC is laid out in Sally Tuckett, *The Scottish Trades Union Congress: The First 80 Years 1897–1977* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1986).
95. Seretse Khama, an African prince from what was then Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana), met and married Ruth Williams, a white English woman, while studying in Britain. This interracial marriage kept him in exile until 1956 when he returned home to eventually lead his country to independence in 1966. He is considered by many to have been the best African leader of the twentieth century not named Nelson Mandela.
96. Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1953, Glasgow Caledonian Archives (hereafter GCA), pp. 259–62.
97. For a discussion of the *Daily Record*'s views on Mau Mau, see Chapter 4, 'Covering the Empire in Print.'
98. Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1954, GCA, pp. 305–6.
99. Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1955, GCA, p. 359.
100. Ibid., p. 360.
101. Ibid., p. 361.

102. The anti-imperialist turn of the STUC's General Council in 1955 is not immediately explainable, and more scholarly work is needed to clarify this alteration in policy.
103. Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1954, GCA, p. 126.
104. Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1959, GCA, pp. 238–40.
105. Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1960, GCA, pp. 342–3. This was in line with the Reverend George MacLeod's calls for a transfer of power in Nyasaland to the indigenous Africans at the Church of Scotland's 1959 General Assembly. For the role of MacLeod in convincing the Church of Scotland to pass its momentous Deliverance, see Chapter 2, 'The Church and the Empire.'
106. The connection of the Orange Order to the British Empire is related to the maintenance of Protestantism in Northern Ireland, which had been strong since the beginning of the seventeenth century when Scottish Protestants were sent to Ulster in Britain's first settler colonization scheme.
107. 'Address of the Imperial Grand Master the Rt. Hon. J. M. Andrews MP,' Report of the Twenty-third Meeting of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World held at Belfast, Northern Ireland on the 14 and 15 July 1949, p. 32, Orange Order Archives, Glasgow.
108. 'Address of the Imperial Grand Master Colonel T. Ashmore Kidd,' Report of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World held at Glasgow, Scotland on the 6 and 7 July 1961, p. 19, Orange Order Archives, Glasgow.
109. Graham Walker, *Thomas Johnston* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 59–91; idem.

2 The Church and the Empire

A version of this chapter was published in article form in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. See: Bryan S. Glass, 'Protection from the British Empire?: Central Africa and the Church of Scotland,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41, no. 3 (2013): 475–95.

1. The dangers posed by the possible incorporation of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia into the Union of South Africa frightened many British officials and gave the white settlers a powerful weapon in their goal of achieving closer association between the Rhodesias. According to Philip Murphy, the spread of Afrikaner influence 'was also, crucially, a means of seeking to persuade those in Britain who were sympathetic towards the plight of the Africans that, far from federation being an instrument of European oppression, it was a means of blocking the northwards spread of apartheid.' See: Philip Murphy, 'Introduction,' in *Central Africa, Part I: Closer Association 1945–1958*, ed. Philip Murphy (London: The Stationery Office, 2005), p. xlv. Nyasaland was added to the mix because, according to civil servant A. B. Cohen, 'Nyasaland would have to come into the federation in order to justify setting it up.' Otherwise it would look too much like the settlers in Southern and Northern Rhodesia were achieving their long-standing ambition of amalgamation. Amalgamation, or its mere appearance, was not acceptable to the British Government. See: Murphy, p. li.

2. Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 196.
3. For an analysis of how the missionaries infused the Scottish population with imperial enthusiasm during the nineteenth century, see: Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).
4. Quoted in: Ron Ferguson, *George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 2001), p. 11.
5. His biographer, Ron Ferguson, states that MacLeod's 'most notable quality has been his radical political vision wedded to his passionate pacifism.' Ferguson, *George MacLeod*, p. 416.
6. Iona holds a special spot in Scottish Christianity. Iona is where St. Columba set up the first Christian Church in Scotland in 563 AD. His work to convert the pagan Picts and Gaels who lived in the region at the time allowed for Christianity to gain a foothold.
7. Nyasaland had been a British protectorate since the late nineteenth century. The famous missionary David Livingstone was based there during the last years of his life, and shortly following his death the African Lakes Corporation (ALC) was established to rid the region of Arab slave traders. For a full description of the ALC's activities in Central Africa and how this led to the establishment of a British protectorate, see Chapter 1 'Scottish Business and Empire.'
8. For a comprehensive account of the Emergency in Nyasaland, see: Colin Baker, *State of Emergency: Crisis in Central Africa, Nyasaland 1959–1960* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1997). According to Baker, the 'murder plot' involved 'widespread sabotage, murder of the Governor and other senior civil servants, missionaries, and other Europeans and Asians, including women and children.' See especially pp. 19 and 20.
9. J. H. Proctor, 'The Church of Scotland and British Colonialism in Africa,' *Journal of Church and State*, no. 475 (1987): p. 477.
10. In 1959 there were 45 Church of Scotland missionaries in Nyasaland with 89,688 communicants. Although there were more missionaries in India (92 for the entire subcontinent), they could only boast 22,003 communicants in 1959. Nyasaland was the centre of Scottish missionary activity in the 1950s. For statistics on the location of missionaries and the size of their congregations, please see: 'Report of the Foreign Missions Committee,' May 1959, National Records of Scotland (NRS), CH 1/8/95, pp. 511–23.
11. Devine, p. 167.
12. Proctor, pp. 485–6. Proctor has a major problem in this article. He states that the Church of Scotland and its leading ministers were not against empire, believing that the Africans needed additional training by the British before the realization of self-government (please see text corresponding to note 9 above). This assertion is followed nine pages later by the contention that the Church wanted to promptly transfer power to the African nationalists or risk losing them as parishioners after the end of empire. Opinions differed amongst individual Churchmen as to the course to take throughout the 1950s, but the Church remained behind the Central African Federation specifically and empire in general until May 1959. Without this delineation, Proctor's argument appears disjointed and contradictory.

13. David Maxwell, 'Decolonization,' in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 290. The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian is a Presbyterian denomination that originally formed in 1924 when the Livingstonia Synod of the Free Church of Scotland (in present-day northern Malawi) and the Blantyre Synod of the Church of Scotland (in present-day southern Malawi) joined. They prefigured the reconciliation of Protestantism in Scotland with the reunion of the two churches in October 1929. For a recent and concise description of the reunification, please see: Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 135–7.
14. Nyasaland was a protectorate, never a colony, of Britain. George MacLeod took this status literally. In his mind, it was the mission of the Church of Scotland to protect the peoples of Nyasaland from harm being imposed by any regime. With the imposition of institutionalized discrimination a distinct possibility for an independent Central African Federation, protection of the indigenous Africans became a central rallying cry of MacLeod and many others. For one such testimony, see the letter from Miss Helen Taylor, Principal at the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Teacher Training College at the Overtoun Institution, Livingstonia, to Jo Grimond MP. The letter, written in the wake of the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland, and dated 24 April 1959, asked for Grimond's assistance in reminding the British people of 'their responsibilities as "Protectors" of this unhappy country.' Letter from Miss Helen Taylor to J. Grimond, 24 April 1959, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections (EULSC), Gen. 2180/3.
15. Interview of Reverend Dr Andrew Ross, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Acc. 10809/74, p. 31.
16. John Stuart, 'Scottish Missionaries and the End of Empire: the case of Nyasaland,' *Historical Research* 76, no. 193 (August 2003): pp. 411–30. In his 2011 book, Stuart further develops this argument. See: John Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire: East, Central, and Southern Africa, 1939–64* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), pp. 98–115. For additional testimonies from missionaries in Nyasaland, please see: Interview of Mr and Mrs Herbert Bell, NLS, Acc. 10809/4, Interview of Mr George Patrick Hall, NLS, Acc. 10809/33, and the letters of Miss Helen Taylor and the Reverend Fergus Macpherson, EULSC, Gen. 2180/3. The missionaries in Nyasaland were not alone in their enthusiasm for decolonization. Of the 107 interviews included in the Scottish Decolonisation Project, ten were given by missionaries. Four of these missionaries were posted in Nyasaland, with the remaining six located in other colonies. All except one of the missionary respondents displayed enthusiasm for decolonization. For testimonies by missionaries located in colonies outside of Nyasaland, please see: Interview of Miss J. D. Auchinachie, NLS, Acc. 10809/3, Interview of Miss Myra Brownlee, NLS, Acc. 10809/8, Interview of Reverend A. K. Mincher, NLS, Acc. 10809/63, Interview of Reverend T. W. Tait, NLS, Acc. 10809/91, Interview of Reverend Colin and Mrs Forrester-Paton, NLS, Acc. 10809/25. For the testimony of the one pro-imperial missionary, please see: Interview of Miss C. H. Denham, NLS, Acc. 10809/16.
17. Dougall to Canon M. A. C. Warren, confidential, 19 November 1958, NLS, Acc. 7548/A140. Most tellingly, this letter was written before the declaration

of the State of Emergency in March 1959. For additional information on Dougall's thinking regarding the Church of Scotland's role in the decolonization of Nyasaland, please see: J. W. C. Dougall, *Christians in the African Revolution: The Duff Missionary Lectures, 1962* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1963), pp. 46–7.

18. Interview of A. B. Doig, NLS, Acc. 10809/17, p. 32.
19. The historiographical consensus is that Iain Macleod was a strategic decolonizer. His goal for decolonizing so quickly stemmed more from a desire to keep these nascent countries within the British sphere of influence rather than because he believed they were ready to rule their affairs effectively. For Macleod, the British sphere of influence was highly preferable to the Soviet. In their highly influential article, 'The Imperialism of Decolonization,' Wm. Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson state that under the auspices of Macleod and Macmillan 'The British were scrambling out of colonialism before the combination of anarchy, pan-Africanism, and pan-Arabism opened the door for Soviet penetration.' This quote is based off of the Colonial Secretary's account of progress in Africa, Cyprus, Malta, and the West Indies: Minute by Macleod to Macmillan, 31 May 1960, PREM 11/3240. Quoted in: Wm. Roger Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez and Decolonization* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 496. Macleod's calculations about the importance of decolonizing in Africa when Britain did are also laid bare in: J. D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa* (London: Longman, 1988). Macleod's thought processes regarding the speed of decolonization in Africa are discussed in the two biographies written about him: Nigel Fisher, *Iain Macleod* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1973), p. 143 and Robert Shepherd, *Iain Macleod* (London: Hutchinson, 1994), pp. 189–90.
20. 'Report by the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs on a Visit to the Territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from the 12th to 21st March, 1959,' National Archives (NA), CO 1015/1976.
21. The discourtesy Dalhousie faced occurred before the declaration of the Emergency, but even though Perth claims he found evidence of the Church of Scotland fomenting opposition to the Federation in March 1959, his trip predated the open announcement of MacLeod and his Committee anent Central Africa against the Federation and for immediate independence for the Africans of Nyasaland.
22. 'Nyasaland Intelligence Report,' August 1958, NA, CO 1015/2044.
23. Sir Roy Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days* (London: Collins, 1964), p. 48.
24. Stuart, p. 416.
25. The Church and Nation Committee was responsible for giving guidance to the Church of Scotland on a number of issues of interest including the British Empire. The reports of the Foreign Missions Committee also provided a great deal of information on the workings of the Church overseas to the General Assembly.
26. 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation,' May 1945, NRS, CH 1/8/81, p. 271.
27. The policy of apartheid was instituted under Dr Malan's National Party government in South Africa beginning in 1948.
28. 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation,' May 1951, NRS, CH 1/8/87, pp. 266–7.

29. 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation,' May 1953, NRS, CH 1/8/89, pp. 340–1.
30. Ibid., p. 363. Despite this plea from the Church, the House of Commons approved the formation of the Federation on 24 March 1953. On 9 April a referendum passed in Southern Rhodesia, and shortly thereafter the formation of the Federation was approved by the Legislative Councils of both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but with all those representing Africans voting against it.
31. Ibid., pp. 363–4.
32. Ibid., p. 364.
33. Ibid., p. 365.
34. 'The Church of Scotland Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, p. 668.
35. Ibid. In this Report, the authors George MacLeod and Kenneth MacKenzie state that the Church of Scotland was not aware that Preambles could not be enforced in a court of law when these were added to safeguard the indigenous African population.
36. Sir Roy Welensky as reported in the *Johannesburg Star*, 14 August 1957. Taken from Ibid.
37. MacLeod's opinion of the scheme was, no doubt, dealt a further blow when the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr Garfield Todd, was replaced by his party on 17 February 1958 for being too liberal for the white settler population. In an article that appeared in *Life and Work* magazine from March 1958 entitled 'Africans Harden into Opposition,' it was stated that 'His fall is taken by the Africans as a sign that there is no hope of success on the "white" side for any policy giving speedy advancement to the African.' See 'Africans Harden into Opposition,' *Life and Work*, March 1958, p. 65.
38. George MacLeod, 'Last Chance in Nyasaland?' *Life and Work*, April 1958, p. 83.
39. Ibid., p. 84.
40. Many vocal critics of MacLeod specifically and the Church of Scotland in general argued that it was not their right to interfere in politics. These detractors believed that the Church should only concern itself with spiritual and moral matters. Perhaps that helps explain MacLeod's approach here.
41. At the end of this quote he is referring to the passage of the Constitutional Amendment Bill and an Electoral Bill in the Federal Parliament to further reduce African representation within the said Chamber. See George MacLeod, 'Churches must move now: Last chance in Nyasaland,' *Life and Work*, May 1958, p. 112.
42. Zomba Congregation of the Church of Scotland to Editor of *Life and Work*, 21 July 1958, NLS, Acc. 9084/68.
43. For a description of what was understood by the self-determination clause (Article III) of the Atlantic Charter when Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to it in 1941 and what it came to mean over time, please see: Wm. Roger Louis, *Imperialism at Bay: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire, 1941–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 121–33.
44. Sir Gilbert Rennie served as Governor of Northern Rhodesia prior to his appointment as the Federation's first High Commissioner in London. According to A. J. Hanna, Rennie had 'been ardent in championing its fair

name against its critics, notably in the Church of Scotland.' A. J. Hanna, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 252–3.

45. Sir Gilbert Rennie, '"Ambition outstrips capacity": A Reply on African Federation,' *Life and Work*, July 1958, pp. 167–8.
46. Dr Hastings Banda was the leader of the Malawi Congress Party and the first President of the independent country. Trained by Scottish missionaries and subsequently in the United States and at the University of Edinburgh, Banda was public enemy number one in the eyes of the white settlers when he arrived home to a rapturous reception by indigenous Africans on 6 July 1958 after 42 years abroad. From Britain, Banda had been the driving force behind African opposition to the Central African Federation (see *Nyasaland Times*, 31 January 1952). Following his arrival home, Banda set about extricating Nyasaland from the Federation. For more on Banda's colourful life and career, see: Philip Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge, 1974). For an excellent account of the rise of black nationalism in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, please see: Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873–1964* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). For an understanding of the importance of the Federation as the catalyst for widespread political activity by the Nyasaland African Congress, please see: John McCracken, 'African Politics in twentieth-century Malawi,' in *Aspects of Central African History*, ed. T. O. Ranger (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 203.
47. George MacLeod to Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, 27 June 1960, NLS, Acc. 9084/68.
48. 'Nyasaland at a Standstill,' *The Economist*, 27 June 1959. Taken from: MacLeod of Fuinary and Iona Community Papers, NLS, Acc. 9084/67.
49. 'Church Accused in Nyasaland,' published for restricted circulation by *The Economist*, 18 June 1959. Taken from: MacLeod of Fuinary and Iona Community Papers, NLS, Acc. 9084/67.
50. George MacLeod, 'Churches must move now: Last chance in Nyasaland,' *Life and Work*, May 1958, p. 112.
51. 'Church Accused in Nyasaland,' Taken from: MacLeod of Fuinary and Iona Community Papers, NLS, Acc. 9084/67.
52. Tom Colvin was denied re-entry to the Federation after standing on a platform next to a Labour politician in Scotland and making disparaging remarks about the Federation. He had been elected General Secretary of the Africanised Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, and he could not take up the post as a result. Not only was this creating animosity amongst the Church in Nyasaland, but it also showed that the Africanised Church sought partnership with Europeans and not a mad dash for African independence, as demanded by the Nyasaland African Congress.
53. MacLeod to Greenfield, 10 July 1959, NLS, Acc. 9084/68.
54. Given that this correspondence took place after the momentous 1959 General Assembly where MacLeod demanded immediate independence for the peoples of Nyasaland, his rhetoric against imperialism makes sense.
55. Reverend Allan Thipa, Moderator, Synod of Blantyre, Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, 'Statement of the Synod of Blantyre of the C.C.A.P. Concerning the Present State of Unrest in Nyasaland,' May 1958, NLS, Acc. 9084/68.

56. Letter from Tom Colvin to the Reverend J. W. Stevenson, 30 July 1958, NLS, Acc. 9084/68.
57. Minutes of the Third Meeting of the General Assembly's Committee on Central African Questions, 7 November 1958, NLS, Acc. 9084/67.
58. 'Then Why this Appeal from the Synod of Blantyre in Nyasaland?' *Life and Work*, July 1958, pp. 168, 170.
59. The British Government appointed the Devlin Commission on 6 April 1959 to enquire 'into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them and to report thereon.' The Commission's Report was officially published on 22 July and claimed that the tactics used by the Government in enforcing the Emergency had turned Nyasaland into a temporary 'police state.' See: *Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry*, p. 1. According to Philip Murphy, the parliamentary debate about this Report on 28 July 1959 occurred just one day after the British Government 'faced fierce criticism in the Commons over the deaths of eleven detainees in the Hola detention camp in Kenya.' The critical findings of the Devlin Commission, combined with public castigation over the Hola deaths, worked together to convince Prime Minister Macmillan and his future Secretary of State for the Colonies, Iain Macleod, that 'the political price of maintaining settler privileges in East and Central Africa was one their government could no longer afford to pay.' See: Murphy, *Central Africa*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv. Macmillan's famous Wind of Change speech lay just around the corner, setting off mass decolonization in Africa. Led by George MacLeod, the Church of Scotland had anticipated this governmental turn against the continuation of empire in Central Africa in May 1959.
60. This speech is available in its entirety in Appendix D.
61. 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' 6 May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, p. 682. The historian of the Federation, J. R. T. Wood, claimed that the arguments of the Committee's experts, particularly George MacLeod, were superficial but yet had a major impact at home. Wood posited that the Committee's report may have determined for the Labour Party the need to exploit the African situation in the 1959 General Election. J. R. T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Durban: Graham Publishing, 1983), pp. 669–70.
62. It is interesting to note that the Committee anent Central Africa submitted its report to the 1959 General Assembly in January 1959 before the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland. In this report there is no mention of the need to push for African independence, just a recommendation 'that there should be adequate and proper representation of Africans' opinions' at the 1960 constitutional review conference. The Supplementary Report was written in light of the Emergency so the Committee and the Church of Scotland could live up to their obligations to protect the Africans of Nyasaland. Please see: 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' 6 May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, p. 677.
63. In fact, in their initial report for 1959 MacLeod and the Committee anent Central Africa were willing to see Nyasaland revert to British colonial rule at the 1960 constitutional review conference rather than have the territory engulfed into a self-governing Dominion that might impose systematized discrimination on the people. Please see: 'Report of the General Assembly's

Committee anent Central Africa,' May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, pp. 663–76. Please note that this Report is dated May 1959 even though it was submitted in January 1959.

64. This argument may also be found in Finlay, 'The rise and fall of popular imperialism in Scotland, 1850–1950,' p. 19.
65. Devine, p. 174.
66. Membership in the Church of Scotland peaked in 1957 with 1.32 million communicants. Please see: Callum Brown, 'Kirk failing in its moral obligation to parishioners,' *The Herald*, 12 May 2008.
67. Devine, p. 167. For a confirmation of the political clout of the Church of Scotland in the 1950s, please see: Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 159.

3 Debating the Empire in Public

1. 'Study Group on Rhodesia and Nyasaland Formed: Independent; non-political,' *The Scotsman*, 7 October 1960, p. 14.
2. Gerald Sinclair Shaw liked to introduce himself to others as 'a friend of Dr. Hastings Banda.' Letter from Sinclair Shaw to Mr Mkandawire, 1 November 1960, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections (hereafter EULSC), MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions.
3. The members of the working class do not factor into this chapter except as recipients of the propaganda.
4. Gerald Sinclair Shaw, 'Speech at Perth in June 1959,' EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
5. Ibid.
6. Letter from Winifred S. Hardie (Honorary Secretary to the Council) to various dignitaries, 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1960 Review Conference,' 30 November 1959, EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
7. 'Constitution of the Scottish Council for African Questions,' EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
8. The civilizing mission is defined as intervening in a territory in order to spread Western values to indigenous peoples.
9. 'Memorandum submitted to The Monckton Commission by The Scottish Council for African Questions,' January 1960, EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
10. For the purposes of this chapter, propaganda is defined as 'the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients' attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced.' For this definition, see: John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 3.
11. Handwritten notes, presumably of Sinclair Shaw, on the inside of an envelope addressed to him, no date, EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
12. The dates and titles of the speeches are available in EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions. The Edinburgh branch of the SCAQ actually

wanted Guy Clutton-Brock to speak to every branch of the organization in Scotland to help counter the propaganda released by Rhodesia House under the auspices of Sir Gilbert Rennie, who would play an important role in the SSG in 1960. For internal correspondence about the significance of Clutton-Brock's speaking engagements throughout Scotland, see: Kenneth MacKenzie to Sinclair Shaw, 27 October 1959, EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions.

13. These men are forever connected in that George Shepperson arranged for Kenneth MacKenzie's archives to be deposited in the Edinburgh University Library Special Collections following the latter's sudden death from a coronary at the age of 50 in 1971. See: Handwritten letter from Margaret MacKenzie (Kenneth's widow) to Sinclair Shaw, 5 April 1971, EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions.
14. This quote is available from the Workers' Educational Association website at http://www.wea.org.uk/about.
15. The South East Scotland District of the WEA catered to about 1,000 students per year in 1958–59. Annual Reports for South East Scotland District of the Workers' Educational Association, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Acc. 11551/31.
16. MacKenzie, who served as a Church of Scotland missionary from 1945 to 1956 in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (Nyasaland: 1945–1948 and Northern Rhodesia: 1948–1956), was described by the Reverend Neil C. Bernard as 'the confidant of African leaders who were planning for independence.' For Reverend Denis Duncan, MacKenzie's 'life interest was Africa and the Africans. No African ever had a greater worker and indeed warrior, for his cause than he had in Kenneth MacKenzie.' 'Kenneth MacKenzie, Minister of Restalrig Parish Church 1968–1971: In Tribute and to his Memory,' EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Folder 64.
17. For more on the Reverend George MacLeod and his views on the Central African Federation, see Chapter 2: 'The Church and the Empire.' At the 1958 General Assembly, MacLeod successfully persuaded the Church to appoint the Committee and report annually until 1962.
18. Informal conversation between author and Dr Lesley Orr, Fall 2010. To read George MacLeod's speech to the General Assembly as Convenor of the Committee anent Central Africa in May 1959, see Appendix D.
19. Ron Ferguson, *George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 2001), p. 299.
20. Annual Reports for South East Scotland District of the Workers' Educational Association, NLS, Acc. 11551/31.
21. This class was part of 'A Course of Ten Lectures on "Other Lands and Other Peoples"' given at the Linlithgow Academy. EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 11.
22. Annual Reports for South East Scotland District of the Workers' Educational Association, NLS, Acc. 11551/31.
23. One such letter elicited a very warm reply from James Callaghan MP. Callaghan, the future Prime Minister, stated that 'You can be assured that we shall continue to press the Government to fulfill its responsibilities towards the Protectorates and to see that the undertakings given to the Protectorates in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution are firmly upheld.'

James Callaghan to Kenneth MacKenzie, 6 March 1959, EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 1.

24. Kenneth MacKenzie, 'Our Brethren in Revolt,' no date, p. 3, EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 19.
25. See the discussion below on the debate in the Scottish newspapers following the press conference announcing the formation of the SSG on 6 October 1960.
26. Petition of the Scottish Council for African Questions, 1959, EULSC, MS. 2495: Scottish Council for African Questions.
27. 'Discussion between the Duke of Montrose and the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie,' 3 April 1959, EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 19.
28. Duke of Montrose to Robert Hay, 18 June 1959, National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), GD220/7/4/176.
29. 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' 6 May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95.
30. Sinclair Shaw, 'Nyasaland Parallel with Cyprus: Africans unalterably opposed to Federation they Distrust,' *The Scotsman*, 17 March 1959, pp. 8–9.
31. George MacLeod to Sinclair Shaw, 29 May 1959, EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions.
32. The press conference was held at the North British Station Hotel in Edinburgh. A total of 22 people attended including journalists from the following newspapers: *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, *Dundee Courier*, *Evening Times*, *The Glasgow Herald*, *The Scotsman*, and *British Weekly*. Minutes of a Meeting of the Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 6 October 1960, York University Archives, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter YUA), William Thyne Papers.
33. William Thyne, 'Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Replies to Readers' Questions,' *The Scotsman*, 12 October 1960, p. 8.
34. 'Study Group on Rhodesia and Nyasaland Formed: Independent; non-political,' *The Scotsman*, 7 October 1960, p. 14.
35. 'Finding the Truth about Federation: Scottish Group's Meeting,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
36. Sir Gilbert Rennie had been Governor of Northern Rhodesia, and showed himself to be such an ardent supporter of Federation that he was made its first High Commissioner in London (1954). According to Hanna, Rennie championed the Federation's 'fair name against its critics, notably in the Church of Scotland.' A. J. Hanna, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 252–3.
37. 'Study Group on Rhodesia and Nyasaland Formed: Independent; non-political,' *The Scotsman*, 7 October 1960, p. 14. For an attack by Sinclair Shaw on Rennie, 'who was constantly making speeches in Scotland about the need to retain the Federation,' see 'Note by Sinclair Shaw on letter to Judith Hart M.P.,' 30 May 1960, EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions. Rennie was also attacked for 'working Sir Roy Welensky's propaganda machine in this country at full pressure. Newspapers continue to carry large expensive advertisements blaring the social and economic benefits of federation and giving not the slightest hint of the opposition of vast African populations and many local white Liberals to the very existence of the Federal Government.' See: John M. Kellet, 'Information on Federation,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 10 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.

38. 'Study Group on Rhodesia and Nyasaland Formed: Independent; Non-political,' *The Scotsman*, 7 October 1960, p. 14.
39. Reverend George MacLeod, 'Central African Study Group: Some Questions and a Disclaimer,' *The Scotsman*, 8 October 1960, p. 6.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid. Sir Gordon Lethem, Honorary President of the SCAQ and a member of the Church of Scotland's Committee anent Central Africa, responded in a similar way to the accusation by Brigadier Fergusson that he was against the Federation: 'I write to express my deepest resentment of the insinuation that my colleagues and myself have been animated – in putting forward reports and recommendations to the General Assembly – by an anti-Federation bias and have been deliberately blind to arguments and facts put forward by the supporters of the Central African Federation in its present form.' Sir Gordon Lethem, 'An Insinuation Resented: Church Committee and Central Africa,' *The Scotsman*, 14 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
42. Reverend Thomas Maxwell, 'Central African Study Group: Some Questions and a Disclaimer,' *The Scotsman*, 8 October 1960, p. 6.
43. John M. Kellet, 'Information on Federation,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 10 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
44. John M. Kellet, 'High-sounding claims,' *The Scotsman*, 10 October 1960, p. 6.
45. Enquirer, 'Non-political politics,' *The Scotsman*, 10 October 1960, p. 6.
46. L. David Levison, 'Sheer hypocrisy,' *The Scotsman*, 10 October 1960, p. 6.
47. William Thyne, 'Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Replies to Readers' Questions,' *The Scotsman*, 12 October 1960, p. 8.
48. Miss Winifred S. Hardie, 'The Scottish Council for African Questions,' *The Scotsman*, 12 October 1960, p. 8.
49. Margaret D. Gray, 'Presenting Monckton report,' *The Scotsman*, 13 October 1960, p. 8.
50. W. Calder, 'Redundant,' *The Scotsman*, 17 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
51. Calder to MacKenzie, 15 October 1960, EULSC, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 19.
52. Reverend John R. Gray, 'An Insinuation Resented: Church Committee and Central Africa,' *The Scotsman*, 14 October 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
53. Reverend Dr J. Kennedy Grant, 'Points from a Rhodesian,' *The Scotsman*, 13 October 1960, p. 8.
54. Minutes of a Meeting held on Friday, 8 April 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
55. Thyne to Home, 9 April 1959, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
56. Home to Thyne, 19 April 1959, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
57. Thyne to Home, 21 April 1959, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
58. Thyne to Home, 15 March 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
59. Home to Thyne, 22 March 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
60. Thyne to Rennie, 3 March 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
61. Melville Dinwiddie, 'Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland,' 24 June 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
62. Barbour to Shaw, 25 June 1960, EULSC, MS. 2497: Scottish Council for African Questions.

63. Thyne to Rennie, 16 June 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
64. 'Terms of Reference,' YUA, William Thyne Papers.
65. 'Newsletter: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland,' 26 April 1963, pp. 4–5, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
66. 'Statement by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in Regard to the National Convention,' distributed by William Thyne to the SSG on 5 December 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
67. Thyne to Lewis, 26 April 1963, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
68. See Chapter 2, 'The Church and the Empire,' for more information on the role of the Kirk as the surrogate Scottish parliament during the era of decolonization.
69. Thyne to Welensky, 3 March 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
70. 'Formation of a Small Committee or Association (suitable name yet to be found) for Promotion of Goodwill and Understanding of Rhodesian Affairs in Scotland,' Bodleian Library of Commonwealth & African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford (hereafter RH), MSS. Welensky 675/10.
71. Memo from J. M. Greenfield to Welensky, 12 March 1960, RH, MSS. Welensky 675/10.
72. Welensky to Thyne, 21 March 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
73. According to Andrew Thompson, a Gallup poll found that 80 per cent of the people in Britain knew about the Nyasaland Emergency. More importantly for the image of the Federation, 30 per cent responded that their sympathies lay with the Africans, while 18 per cent favoured the settlers. Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 212.
74. Andrew Cohen, '"Voice and Vision" – The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's Public Relations Campaign in Britain: 1960–1963,' *Historia* 54, no. 2 (November 2009): p. 116.
75. Thyne to Welensky, 28 November 1960, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
76. Welensky to Thyne, 5 December 1962, YUA, William Thyne Papers. Lord Malvern, also known as Godfrey Huggins, was the fourth Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia (1933–1953), and he became the first Prime Minister of the CAF (1953–1956) following its formation.
77. For a discussion of why Nyasaland was included in the Federation, see: Philip Murphy, *Central Africa, Part I: Closer Association 1945–1958* (London: TSO, 2005), pp. xlix–li.
78. Thyne to Welensky, 6 July 1961, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
79. Ibid.
80. Welensky to Thyne, 21 August 1961, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
81. Thyne to Welensky, 8 January 1962, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
82. Thyne was careful to avoid getting involved in public debates about the Federation because, as he explained to Welensky, he might accidentally reveal his political views and, thereby, harm the purported neutrality of the Scottish Study Group: 'Naturally of course I have my own views – pretty strong ones – but I feel that an expression of these publicly would spoil the work we are doing in Scotland.' Thyne to Welensky, 22 March 1961, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
83. Welensky to Thyne, 30 July 1963, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
84. Thyne to Welensky, 5 August 1963, YUA, William Thyne Papers.

85. Thyne to Welensky, 4 August 1964, RH, MSS. Welensky 775/4.
86. Thyne to Welensky, 22 March 1961, YUA, William Thyne Papers.
87. Thyne to Welensky, 13 October 1965, RH, MSS. Welensky 775/4.

4 Covering the Empire in Print

1. The word 'imperialism' is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means.'
2. The seminal work on the Suez Crisis by Keith Kyle uses the term 'swing-door of the British Empire' to describe the critical importance of the canal to Britain and her overseas possessions, colonies, and Commonwealth partners. But the term is borrowed by Kyle from a speech made by Anthony Eden in the House of Commons on 23 December 1929 in which the future Prime Minister stated that 'If the Suez Canal is our back door to the East, it is the front door to Europe of Australia, New Zealand, and India. If you like to mix your metaphors it is, in fact, the swing-door of the British Empire, which has got to keep continually revolving if our communications are to be what they should.' Keith Kyle, *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East*, Revised Edition (London, I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 7.
3. *The Scotsman*, based in Edinburgh, was founded in 1817; *The Glasgow Herald*, based in Glasgow, was founded in 1783; the *Daily Record*, based in Glasgow, was founded in 1895.
4. These statistics are available from the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC). ABC is the industry body for media measurement in the UK, and current circulation statistics on all member newspapers are available on their website at www.abc.org.uk.
5. For instance, the daily circulation for the three Scottish national newspapers in early 2013 was the following: *The Scotsman*: 32,435; *The Herald* (formerly *The Glasgow Herald*): 43,157; the *Daily Record*: 255,817. With a larger population of 5,222,100 as of 2010, the percentage of people possibly subscribing to one of these papers has decreased to 6.3 per cent. The current circulation statistics for these newspapers are available at www.abc.org.uk.
6. John M. MacKenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire,' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 23–5. One exception to this rule is: Susan L. Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency 1944–1960* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).
7. Simon J. Potter, 'Introduction: empire, propaganda and public opinion,' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 16–17.
8. The *Daily Record* was pro Unionist Party until purchased by the Mirror Group in 1956. The paper then switched its political allegiance to the Labour Party. See: Ewen Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 263.
9. Ibid., pp. 18–19.
10. 'The Great Debate: A Truce,' *Daily Record*, 15 November 1956, p. 2.

11. In his study of newspapers in late-nineteenth-century Scotland, Richard Finlay argues that *The Glasgow Herald* had a large and enthusiastic audience for its pro-imperial message because 'Glasgow, with its strong sense of imperial identity stimulated by the area's commercial and industrial links with the empire' appealed to the city's large business class. This business class, perhaps more than that of any other city in the United Kingdom, was heavily involved in the British Empire. Richard Finlay, 'The Scottish press and empire, 1850–1914,' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 65.
12. The 50.1 per cent of the vote won by the Unionists marks the only time in the history of Scottish elections that one party secured a majority of the votes cast. See: David Seawright, *An Important Matter of Principle: The Decline of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 2–3.
13. Paul Ward, *Unionism in the United Kingdom, 1918–1974* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 13.
14. I. G. C. Hutchison, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 71.
15. Ward, p. 19.
16. Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon, *Imperial Endgame: Britain's Dirty Wars and the End of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 212–14.
17. Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), pp. 24–5.
18. Grob-Fitzgibbon, pp. 214–15.
19. David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), pp. 55–6.
20. 'Firm Hand,' *Daily Record*, 22 October 1952, p. 2.
21. 'Crisis in Kenya,' *The Scotsman*, 21 October 1952, p. 4.
22. 'Next Step in Kenya,' *The Scotsman*, 22 October 1952, p. 6. There is also a damning report in the *Daily Record* about this trip claiming that Jomo Kenyatta paid for the plane tickets of the two Labour MPs and while in Kenya they stayed with the family of the men charged in the murder of Chief Waruhiu. Dudley Hawkins, 'Kenyatta Paid for M.P.s' Kenya Trip,' *Daily Record*, 30 October, 1952, p. 3.
23. 'The Crisis in Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 21 October 1952, p. 4.
24. 'Situation in Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 30 October 1952, p. 4.
25. 'The Kenya Problem,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 8 November 1952, p. 4.
26. 'Kenya Problem,' *The Scotsman*, 8 November 1952, p. 6.
27. 'Kenya Police Get More Power,' *Daily Record*, 12 November 1952, p. 3.
28. 'Evil v. Good,' *Daily Record*, 26 November 1952, p. 2.
29. 'The Emergency in Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1952, p. 4.
30. 'Kenya Crisis,' *The Scotsman*, 27 November 1952, p. 6.
31. 'Kenya Policy,' *The Scotsman*, 17 December 1952, p. 6.
32. 'The Issue,' *Daily Record*, 17 December 1952, p. 2.
33. 'Policy for Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 December 1952, p. 4. It is fascinating to note that Grob-Fitzgibbon's book makes this exact argument in its epilogue: 'If there is one clear conclusion to be drawn from the end of Britain's empire, it is that liberal imperialism can only be sustained by illiberal dirty wars.' Grob-Fitzgibbon, p. 377.

34. Colin Legum, 'Political Ferment in Colony,' *The Scotsman*, 30 October 1952, p. 7.
35. Colin Legum, 'Campaign Against Mau Mau: Force Fails to Crush its Adherents,' *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1952, p. 7.
36. 'Next Step in Kenya,' *The Scotsman*, 22 October 1952, p. 6.
37. 'Kenya Land Problems,' *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1952, p. 6.
38. Colin Legum, 'Jomo Kenyatta's Influence,' *The Scotsman*, 23 October 1952, p. 8.
39. 'Policy for Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 December 1952, p. 4.
40. 'Crisis in Kenya,' *The Scotsman*, 21 October 1952, p. 4.
41. 'Kenya Problem,' *The Scotsman*, 8 November 1952, p. 6.
42. 'Shackles,' *Daily Record*, 8 November 1952, p. 2.
43. 'Evil v. Good,' *Daily Record*, 26 November 1952, p. 2.
44. Francis Daniel Hislop, 'Perspective on Kenya: Kikuyu Flare-Up Likely to Be Last of Its Kind,' *The Scotsman*, 31 October 1952, p. 6.
45. 'Background of Hope in Kenya,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 20 November 1952, p. 4.
46. In a front-page article in the *Daily Record*, the violence of Mau Mau is detailed using accounts of particular individuals who refused to take the oath. One, a Joseph Kiburja, refused the oath and instead tried to preach Christianity, the opposite of this barbarism. He was beaten to death, and other Africans at the scene were compelled to take the oath by rubbing flesh from the dead man's body across their mouths. Dudley Hawkins, 'Four Mau Men Flogged,' *Daily Record*, 8 November 1952, front page.
47. 'Government Under Fire on Kenya,' *The Scotsman*, 30 October 1952, p. 8.
48. The deal brokered by Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli with financing from the Rothschild banking dynasty purchased around 44 per cent of the Canal shares for the British Government. For more information, see: Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation 1918–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 227.
49. Kyle, p. 7.
50. J. C. Hurewitz, 'The Historical Context,' in *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences*, eds. Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 19. The Aswan High Dam was meant to increase the productivity of Egyptian agriculture and support Egyptian industrialization.
51. Michael Johnston to John Phillips, 6 June 1956, FO 371/119055. Quoted from Keith Kyle, 'Britain and the Crisis, 1955–1956,' in *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences*, eds. Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 110.
52. 'Crisis Moves: Nasser on Eve of Mobilising,' *Daily Record*, 6 August 1956, front page.
53. '"Go It Alone" is Folly,' *Daily Record*, 14 August 1956, p. 2.
54. 'Warning by Russia: Don't Use Force on Nasser,' *Daily Record*, 18 August 1956, front page.
55. 'Recall Us Now, Say M.P.s,' *Daily Record*, 3 September 1956, front page.
56. 'Better Late than Never,' *Daily Record*, 25 September 1956, p. 2.
57. This was mainly due to the fact that most of the soldiers coming out of Scotland hailed from the urban working classes living around the conurbation of Glasgow. The *Daily Record*'s role as a stalwart defender of the common

soldier was solidified when it named the British Soldier its Man of the Year for 1956. 'Man of the Year – The British Soldier,' *Daily Record*, 25 December 1956, pp. 4–5.
58. 'U.S. Policy,' *The Scotsman*, 21 September 1956, p. 8.
59. 'Elections and Colonialism,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 20 October 1956, p. 6. The column also claimed that all U. S. politicians were 'running scared' trying to secure re-election, and they simply could not support anything that might be misconstrued as imperialism.
60. 'Muddy Waters,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 5 October 1956, p. 6.
61. 'Atlantic Alliance,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 28 November 1956, p. 6. In a separate leader two days later, the editor reiterated this point and added that Anglo-American unity was of paramount importance given the difficult and dangerous problems facing the Middle East. 'Interim Report,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 30 November 1956, p. 6.
62. 'Transatlantica,' *The Scotsman*, 29 November 1956, p. 6.
63. 'Mr. Nixon's Lead,' *The Scotsman*, 8 December 1956, p. 6.
64. In an editorial written in late November, the *Daily Record* echoed the sentiments of the Canadian Foreign Minister, Lester Pearson, who stated that Britain's life in a dangerous world could only be safeguarded by a united Commonwealth in alliance with the United States. To them, the actions of the British Government placed the Commonwealth on the verge of collapse and severely harmed the Anglo-American relationship because it was perceived as a colonial exercise. 'Danger,' *Daily Record*, 29 November 1956, p. 2.
65. 'No War!' *Daily Record*, 15 August 1956, front page.
66. 'Eden's Chance!' *Daily Record*, 16 August 1956, front page.
67. 'Suez Crisis: The Demand Grows. Recall MPs NOW! NOW! NOW!' *Daily Record*, 1 September 1956, front page.
68. 'We Don't Want a War!' *Daily Record*, 3 November 1956, p. 2 and 'The Great Debate,' *Daily Record*, 13 November 1956, p. 2.
69. 'Parliament Recalled,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 September 1956, p. 6.
70. 'After the Debate,' *The Scotsman*, 15 September 1956, p. 6.
71. 'Mr. Menzies Hits Out,' *The Scotsman*, 26 September 1956, p. 8.
72. 'What Next?' *The Scotsman*, 11 September 1956, p. 6.
73. Emphasis in Original. 'Eden's War,' *Daily Record*, 1 November 1956, front page.
74. 'The Die Cast,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 1 November 1956, p. 6.
75. 'Intervention,' *The Scotsman*, 1 November 1956, p. 8.
76. 'Action Stations,' *The Scotsman*, 31 October 1956, p. 6.
77. 'Britain's Case,' *The Scotsman*, 2 November 1956, p. 6.
78. 'Preserving the Peace,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 31 October 1956, p. 6.
79. 'Mission Accomplished?' *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 November 1956, p. 6.
80. 'Eden's War: *ALL* Pay the Price,' *Daily Record*, 12 November 1956, front page.
81. 'Estimating the Cost,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1956, p. 6.
82. 'Middle East Oil,' *The Scotsman*, 5 November 1956, p. 6.
83. 'Eden's War: A Bitter Day for Britain,' *Daily Record*, 5 November 1956, p. 3.
84. Dick Mabon, MP, 'Tory Night of the Long Knives May Come,' *Daily Record*, 9 November 1956, p. 4.
85. 'Two Crises,' *The Scotsman*, 5 November 1956, p. 6.
86. 'Vote of Censure,' *The Scotsman*, 7 December 1956, p. 6.

87. 'The Great Debate: A Truce,' *Daily Record*, 15 November 1956, p. 2.
88. 'British Policy in the Middle East: Awaiting the Test of Results,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1956, p. 6.
89. 'Intervention,' *The Scotsman*, 1 November 1956, p. 8.
90. 'Collusion by Whom?' *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 November 1956, p. 6.
91. 'Premature Inquest,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 6 December 1956, p. 6.
92. 'Suez Debate,' *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1956, p. 8.
93. 'No Collusion,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 21 December 1956, p. 4.
94. 'Suez Clearance,' *The Scotsman*, 21 December 1956, p. 6.
95. *The Glasgow Herald* did begin to worry near the end of November 1956 that the actions of the Government, even if justified, were harming the British in the realm of global public opinion.
96. For a discussion of the anger felt by many within the Church of Scotland, especially missionaries, towards the inclusion of Nyasaland in the Central African Federation in 1953, see Chapter 2: 'The Church and the Empire.'
97. 'The Church of Scotland Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, p. 668.
98. Colin Baker, *State of Emergency: Crisis in Central Africa, Nyasaland 1959–1960* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1997), pp. 2–19.
99. See Appendix D: 'The Very Reverend George MacLeod's Speech to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.'
100. 'Nyasaland in Ferment,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 23 February 1959, p. 6.
101. Letter from Sir A. Benson to W. L. Gorell Barnes, 2 March 1959, CO 1015/1516, no. 139. Taken from: Philip Murphy, ed. *Central Africa, Part II: Crisis and Dissolution 1959–1965* (London: The Stationery Office, 2005), p. 18.
102. 'Emergency in Rhodesia,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 February 1959, p. 6.
103. 'Central African Crisis,' *The Scotsman*, 27 February 1959, p. 6.
104. Ibid.
105. 'The "Record" says: New deal for Africa,' *Daily Record*, 5 March 1959, p. 2.
106. It must be noted that many commentators in favour of the Federation continually referred to the economic benefits that it supposedly heaped onto the indigenous Africans living within its borders.
107. 'Outlook for Federation,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 5 March 1959, p. 6.
108. 'Nyasaland,' *The Scotsman*, 4 March 1959, p. 6.
109. 'Emergency in Rhodesia,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 February 1959, p. 6.
110. 'Nyasaland's Future,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 March 1959, p. 6.
111. These projects included new roads, the Shire River Scheme, and various construction proposals.
112. 'Scotland's African Colony: The Tragedy of Nyasaland,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 14 March 1959, p. 4.
113. 'Nyasa African Leader Studied in Edinburgh,' *The Scotsman*, 27 February 1959, p. 7.
114. 'Central African Crisis,' *The Scotsman*, 27 February 1959, p. 6.
115. 'Nyasa African Leader Studied in Edinburgh.'
116. 'The "Record" Says: Telling what?' *Daily Record*, 3 March 1959, p. 2.
117. 'Nyasaland,' *The Scotsman*, 4 March 1959, p. 6.
118. 'British Justice,' *The Scotsman*, 9 March 1959, p. 6.
119. George Clay, *Scotsman* Special Correspondent, 'White Rhodesia is waking up,' *The Scotsman*, 16 April 1959, p. 9.

120. 'Missing the Point,' *The Scotsman*, 12 May 1959, p. 6.
121. Welensky was unable to win back Scottish opinion after the Emergency. See Chapter 3, 'Debating the Empire in Public.'
122. The Reverend George MacLeod believed it was the mission of the Church of Scotland to protect the peoples of Nyasaland from harm being imposed by any regime. For a more in-depth discussion of this, see Chapter 2, 'The Church and the Empire.'
123. 'Pledge asked on Nyasaland: Presbytery Writes to M.P.s,' *The Scotsman*, 12 March 1959, p. 9.
124. Andrew Doig, 'Tragic Situation in Nyasaland: Attitude of the Church of Scotland Missions Unjustifiably Misrepresented,' *The Scotsman*, 14 March 1959, p. 10.
125. 'The "Record" Says: Ask the Men Who Know,' *Daily Record*, 6 March 1959, p. 2.
126. Dick Mabon, 'In this African Flare-Up…The Kirk MUST Speak Out,' *Daily Record*, 27 February 1959, p. 10.
127. Dick Mabon, 'African Tragedy…The Kirk Accuses!' *Daily Record*, 6 March 1959, p. 10. There is no evidence that Mabon knew the workings of the Reverend MacLeod's mind or that the two men were ever in contact. Perhaps he was trying to will MacLeod to his way of thinking.
128. Dick Mabon, 'The Kirk's Voice of Justice!' *Daily Record*, 17 April 1959, p. 10.
129. 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' 6 May 1959, NRS, CH 1/8/95, p. 682.
130. 'Church of Scotland's Information on Nyasaland,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 May 1959, p. 6.
131. In the *Herald*'s editorial column immediately preceding the debate on Nyasaland in the General Assembly, they also referred to the indigenous peoples of the Protectorate as primitive and in need of high levels of welfare assistance from Southern Rhodesia. In a plea to Church members attending and voting at the debate, they argued that 'It is no part of the Church of Scotland's duty to become an uncritical spokesman for African nationalism.' The editorial ended by proclaiming that political power for the Africans would only be beneficial to them once they had the experience necessary to properly wield it. 'Nyasaland,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 22 May 1959, p. 6.
132. 'More Haste Less Speed?' *The Glasgow Herald*, 26 May 1959, p. 8.
133. 'The "Record" Says…Challenge to the Kirk,' *Daily Record*, 19 May 1959, p. 2.
134. 'The "Record" Says…The Church Is Right to Fight,' *Daily Record*, 26 May 1959, p. 9.
135. 'A Notable Assembly,' *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1959, p. 8.
136. 'Clear and Bold,' *The Scotsman*, 26 May 1959, p. 8.
137. Ibid.
138. For more on this topic, see Chapter 2: 'The Church and the Empire.'
139. Given the Scottish involvement in Africa, especially in Nyasaland, it would be shocking if another area of the world demanded their collective attention. Scottish involvement on the Indian subcontinent was also remarkable, but this ceased to be an imperial subject after the transfer of power was completed on 15 August 1947.

5 Teaching the Empire

1. As outlined below, the Scottish Leaving Certificate was administered to the brightest pupils in senior secondary schools, usually at the end of their fifth year (age 17). Earning a Leaving Certificate would serve as an entrance ticket to university and possibly a place among Scotland's ruling elite.
2. Textbooks for the same level would not change from year to year due to the expense. In fact, many of the books in use were published in the early twentieth century. Examples of textbooks used that were more critical of the British Empire as it rapidly dissolved into history included: A. D. Cameron, *History for Young Scots, Book Two: From the Union of 1707 to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964); Ian Gould and John Thompson, *A Scottish History for Today: Book Two* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1964 [3rd repr.]); A. J. Grant, *Europe: The Story of the Last Five Centuries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947); L. G. Brandon, C. P. Hill, and R. R. Sellman, *A Survey of British History: From the earliest times to 1939* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1949).
3. Lindsay Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 129.
4. I determined this methodology in consultation with Professor Lindsay Paterson at the University of Edinburgh. Professor Paterson is the foremost expert on education in Scotland during the twentieth century. Discussion with Professor Lindsay Paterson, 29 November 2010. The importance of these schools and their curricula to the newly established secondary schools is reiterated in Lindsay Paterson, 'The Reinvention of Scottish Liberal Education: Secondary Schooling, 1900–39,' *The Scottish Historical Review*, no. 229 (April 2011): p. 127. Here Paterson states that 'The curriculum in the new schools quickly came to resemble that in the older schools.'
5. For an in-depth analysis of the different variations of imperial control, see Chapter 1 'Scottish Business and Empire.'
6. Scottish civil society is a fairly broad concept and includes every organization that operates in the public domain but is not a part of central government.
7. David Cannadine, Jenny Keating, and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
8. Ibid., p. 54.
9. Ibid., p. 58.
10. This occurred in 1937. See Cannadine, et al., p. 96.
11. Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
12. The Scottish Education Department was located within the Secretary of State for Scotland's Office. Scottish Education Department, *Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947), p. 2.
13. Ibid.
14. This percentage was the estimate of Sir Henry Craik, the first Secretary of the Scottish Education Department (1885–1904) and the man responsible for introducing the Scottish Leaving Certificate (more on that below).

15. Andrew McPherson and Charles D. Raab, *Governing Education: A Sociology of Policy Since 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), pp. 43–5.
16. Paterson, p. 129.
17. Scottish Education Department, p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 2.
19. Both of these counties are in the far southwest of Scotland. For Mr Jenkins' correspondence, see: Reports of Mr D. G. Jenkins, Thomas Nelson and Sons Publishers, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections (EULSC), Box 465: Educational Travellers, January to December 1943.
20. After extensive searches in the archives, in libraries, and over the Internet, I was not able to find the second, fourth, or fifth volumes of *Highroads of History*.
21. *Highroads of History, Book III: Britons of Renown* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., undated).
22. *Highroads of History, Book VI: Modern Britain (1688 to 1907)* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1909).
23. *Highroads of History, Book VII: Highroads of British History* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1918), p. 175.
24. The Earl of Rosebery, 'The Flag,' in *Highroads of History, Book VII: Highroads of British History* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1918), p. 293. The Earl of Rosebery, who was a Scottish aristocrat, described the Scots as 'an imperial race' during his Rectorial address to Glasgow University students on 16 November 1900. For the entire speech, see: 'Empire's Needs,' *Daily Sun*, 7 December 1900, p. 6.
25. Ibid., p. 294.
26. These primary textbooks were not alone in celebrating Britain and her empire. Primary textbooks, on the whole, were very enthusiastic about the empire.
27. K. Gibberd, *Young Citizens: Simple Civics for Boys and Girls* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1935); J. Norman W. Hunter, *Chambers's 'No Lumber' Scottish Histories* (London: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd, 1937). All three volumes of the *'No Lumber' Scottish Histories* were originally published in 1937. They were: *I. The Making of Scotland*, *II. The Making of Britain (1488–1714)*, *III. Modern Times (from 1714)*.
28. The language of 'our' in the titles of these chapters is especially noteworthy as it invested primary schoolchildren with ownership of the empire.
29. J. Norman W. Hunter, *Chambers's 'No Lumber' Scottish Histories, III: Modern Times* (London: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd, 1937), p. 101.
30. A recent study shows the extent of the Scottish Diaspora: T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750–2010* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).
31. F. W. Tickner, *Building the British Empire*, New Edition (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1955), p. 4.
32. Email from Wendy Fowler to the author, 19 January 2011 (for Dundee High School). Email from Wendy Howie to the author, 24 January 2011 (for North Berwick High School).
33. A. D. Cameron, *History for Young Scots, Book One: From the Earliest Times to the Union of 1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963).

34. A. D. Cameron, *History for Young Scots, Book Two: From the Union of 1707 to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964).
35. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, p. 131. It must be noted that wealthy parents could also buy their child into senior secondary school even if their grades and level of intelligence did not merit it. For a discussion about this, see: Scottish Education Department, *Secondary Education…*, p. 34.
36. While the Scottish Leaving Examination was the goal of all able students, those who found themselves following a junior secondary course did have a goal to work towards besides being gainfully employed at the tender age of 15. During the course of the 1950s, local education authorities began introducing certificates for passing examinations in five subjects at the junior secondary level. For example, the Edinburgh Education Authority developed an Edinburgh School Certificate that demanded proficiency in english and arithmetic with history being an optional subject. Unlike the Scottish Leaving Certificate, though, the teachers could determine what aspects of history were on that particular part of the examination. So a teacher inclined to focus on the British Empire would test his students on this very subject. But the very subjectivity of this system makes it much more difficult to provide generalizations about what was being taught to junior secondary pupils without either the syllabus of each individual class or their examination questions. Still, it is important to note that examinations did exist for the junior secondary level and should prove to be a fruitful avenue of enquiry for any researcher intrepid enough to go searching for this information. For more information on the Junior Secondary Leaving Certificate see: Scottish Education Department: Junior Secondary Leaving Certificate, National Records of Scotland (NRS), ED 48/641.
37. Scottish Education Department, *Junior Secondary Education* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), p. 14.
38. Ibid., pp. 120–1.
39. The general education referred to may also be termed a 'liberal arts education.'
40. Paterson, p. 134.
41. The 53 schools in existence at the time were (with their status today in brackets): Aberdeen Grammar School, Aberdeen High School [renamed Harlow Academy], Allan Glen's School [closed in 1989], Arbroath High School, Ayr Academy, Bell Baxter School, Berwickshire High School, Brechin High School, Daniel Stewart's College, Dollar Academy, Douglas-Ewart High School, Dumfries Academy, Dunfermline High School, Elgin Academy, Falkirk High School, Forfar Academy, Galashiels Academy, George Heriot's School, George Watson's College, Greenock Academy, Hamilton Academy [closed in the early 1970s], High School of Dundee, High School of Glasgow, Hillhead High School, Hutchesons' Grammar School, Inverness Royal Academy, Irvine Royal Academy, Jordanhill School, Kelso High School, Kirkcaldy High School, Kirkcudbright Academy, Knox Institution [renamed Knox Academy], Ladies' College [renamed Mary Erskine School in 1944], Linlithgow Academy, Mackie Academy, Madras College, McLaren High School, Montrose Academy, Morrison's Academy, North Berwick High School, Paisley Grammar School

and William Barbour Academy, Peebles Burgh and County High School, Perth Academy and Sharp's Institution, Robert Gordon's College, Rose's Academical Institution [renamed Nairn Academy in 1953], Royal High School, Saint Aloysius College, Selkirk High School, Spier's School [closed in 1972], Stirling High School, Stranraer High School [renamed Stranraer Academy], Tain Royal Academy, and Waid Academy.

42. For the purposes of this book, any school receiving government funds qualifies as a public school as it accepts money from the taxpayers. Regarding longevity, the High School of Glasgow was founded in 1124, and the Royal High School in Edinburgh has been in existence since 1128.
43. The responding schools were Ayr Academy, Dollar Academy, Dundee High School, George Heriot's School, George Watson's College, Hutchesons' Grammar School, Inverness Royal Academy, Kirkcudbright Academy, Madras College, North Berwick High School, Perth Academy, Robert Gordon's College, Stirling High School, and Tain Royal Academy.
44. It is also beneficial that the responses came from geographically diverse schools with socially diverse students (highlands, lowlands, industrial, rural, and urban).
45. Ayr Academy Schemes of Work for English, Mathematics, History and Geography for Class I Pupils, Ayrshire Archives (hereafter AA), Accession 10/33, p. 1.
46. Ibid., p. 4.
47. Report by H.M. Inspector of Schools, AA, CO 3/10/9/35, Ayr County Council, Education in Ayrshire sessions 1959–1964, pp. 4–5.
48. Ian Gould and John Thompson, *A Scottish History for Today: Book One* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1957).
49. Ian Gould and John Thompson, *A Scottish History for Today: Book Two* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1964 [3rd repr.]), p. vii.
50. Ibid., p. 60.
51. Ibid., p. 148.
52. Ibid., p. 233.
53. Report by H.M. Inspector of Schools, AA, CO 3/10/9/35, Ayr County Council, Education in Ayrshire sessions 1959–1964, p. 11.
54. Email from Janet Carolan to the author, 18 January 2011.
55. An historical atlas was also available for use by students in the first year. C. K. Brampton, *History Teaching Atlas* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co., Ltd., 1939). This atlas contains maps of explorers' routes, the British Empire before and after 1815, communications between parts of the empire, and individual maps and histories of each part of the British Empire.
56. Elspeth J. Boog-Watson and J. Isabel Carruthers, *Beyond the Sunset: A Book of Explorers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).
57. I have not been able to acquire the two texts used for this time period, so I have no idea about their contents. However, given the time periods these two texts focused on, there was probably little about the empire that was covered.
58. I. Tenen, *This England, 1714–1940* (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1951).
59. L. G. Brandon, C. P. Hill, and R. R. Sellman, *A Survey of British History: From the earliest times to 1939* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1949), p. iii.

60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 204.
62. James Mainwaring, *Man and His World, A Course in History and Geography: Book II The Evolution of the Modern World* (London: George Philip & Son, Ltd., 1942), p. iii.
63. C. F. Strong, *Today through Yesterday: Book Two, King and Parliament 1603–1837* (London: University of London Press, 1936).
64. *Philips' Intermediate Historical Atlas for Schools* (London: George Philip & Son, 1951).
65. It should be reiterated that the Royal High School in Edinburgh was contacted for this project, but did not respond to the request for information.
66. T. Davidson, *From the French Revolution to the Present Day* (London: University of London Press, 1951), pp. 5–6.
67. H. A. Clement, *The Story of Britain: Volume Three from 1714 to 1952* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1953), p. 3.
68. A. J. Grant, *Europe: The Story of the Last Five Centuries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947), p. 710.
69. T. K. Derry, *British History from 1760 to 1945* (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1957), pp. 199–210.
70. The Clement text was taught to history pupils in the fifth year at George Watson's College for all three of the years that have textbook lists: 1951–2, 1952–3, and 1956–7.
71. Robert M. Rayner, *England in Modern Times (1714–1939)* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943).
72. David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century (1815–1914)* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950), p. 10. It is interesting to note here that Thomson commits the cardinal sin of using 'England' and 'Britain' interchangeably. It would be interesting to find out what the pupils at this Scottish school thought about such a glaring error.
73. In addition to the Thomson volume, see: Maurice Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century (1603–1714)* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952) and J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century (1714–1815)* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950).
74. The only evidence to prove that the students were taught directly from the textbooks at George Watson's College comes from the Deputy Rector of North Berwick High School, Wendy Howie. She stated that her husband was a pupil at George Watson's College through the 1956–7 school year. She looked through the list of textbooks assigned to students at George Watson's, which I sent to all of the senior secondary schools solicited for information, and her husband provided some revelatory insight. Mrs Howie stated: 'I read out the list of texts for Latin and Greek Higher (he went on to read Classics at Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities), and he says he remembered them well – even commenting on how good each book was!' While Mrs Howie's remark only applies to Latin and Greek, there is good reason to believe that the history teachers also would have placed a premium on teaching from the textbooks in preparing their students for the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations. Email from Wendy Howie to the author, 4 February 2012.
75. Paterson, p. 131.

76. Ibid.
77. Henry L. Philip, *The Higher Tradition: A history of public examinations in Scottish schools and how they influenced the development of secondary education* (Edinburgh: Scottish Examination Board, 1992), p. viii.
78. Ibid., p. vii.
79. This was established by Circular 111 from 9 December 1937. The institution of the Group Certificate went into effect with the 1940 examination. For a further discussion, see: Philip, pp. 85–6.
80. Philip, p. 106.
81. Ibid., p. vii. The examinations were set up and run by Scottish Office civil servants and members of H.M. Inspectorate of Schools with input from teachers and educationalists throughout Scotland.
82. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any of the syllabi that were put together by the Scottish Examination Board for use by teachers in preparing their students for the Leaving Certificate Examinations. Neither the schools I have contacted nor the archives where I have conducted research seem to have retained this information.
83. The name Lower was replaced with Ordinary beginning with the 1962 examination. Why it was decided that there should be a terminology change appears to be a mystery. Please see the discussion about the change in Philip, pp. 114–22.
84. The exception is the 1946 History Lower examination. On the 1946 History Lower examination the candidate needed to answer three essays, and only two imperial options were available. Scottish Education Department, *Senior Leaving Certificate Examination: Examination Papers 1946* (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), pp. 8–10.
85. There were two components to the Lower/Ordinary Grade exam and three components to the Higher Grade exam. On the Lower/Ordinary Grade exam, Section One included marking locations on a provided map and short answers about important people or occurrences. For example, on the 1946 History Lower exam students were asked to provide the century for the British North America Act, and indicate what it was and why it is important to history. Section Two, which constituted the vast majority of the exam, asked students to write essays on specific questions. Section Two, since it was the most important part of the exam, is the focus of this analysis. Section One of the Higher Grade exam was exactly the same format as the Lower/Ordinary Grade exam. However, there were two Section Ones: one for the British History paper and one for the European History paper. The focus here is on the British History paper and not on the European History paper. While the British Empire did come into consideration on some of the European History papers, it was not a major factor. A pupil would not have been able to pass any of the European History papers of the Leaving Certificate Exam in history with just knowledge of the British Empire.
86. It is important to note here that there were additional questions on Africa on the Modern Studies Ordinary Paper exam. The Modern Studies Ordinary Paper exam was first administered in 1962 and, just like its name implies, it tested students on current affairs.
87. See Cannadine et al.

88. For a complete list of the Leaving Certificate Examination questions between 1945 and 1965 that included imperial content, please refer to Appendix A.
89. For the horrific working conditions suffered by working-class Scots, the cornerstone work remains Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland*, 4th ed. (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974). This book was originally published in 1920, and changed little in its subsequent editions. Johnston, who would become the Secretary of State for Scotland during the Second World War, was clear about the abuse heaped on Scottish workers over the centuries: 'The history of a country is the history of the masses of its people, not the history, legendary or otherwise, of a few selected stocks; and if the indictment in the following pages be substantially accurate – if the slaveries, robberies, murders, class cruelties, and oppressions be proven, as I submit they are proven – then the greater part of the drum and trumpet history and ruling class ancestor worship with which our children, generation after generation, are primed, would appear to be more than ever ridiculous and irrelevant.'

6 Witnesses to Decolonization

1. In fact, as scholars have pointed out, Scottish national pride in their imperial role buttressed the political Union between England and Scotland. Scottish national sentiment was feeding Unionism. For an in-depth discussion of this topic, see the Introduction.
2. 'Inventory: Acc. 10809, Scottish Decolonisation Project,' National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Manuscripts Division.
3. Trevor Royle's *Winds of Change* uses 23 of the interviews to supplement other oral histories found in English archives about the British Empire in Africa. His goal is to show that while there were problems, the British Empire 'in Africa was not all bad' (p. 10). Royle is looking to put the process of decolonization 'into a proper perspective' (p. 10). The fact that many of the oral testimonies he employs come from Scots is incidental to Royle's overarching purpose of investigating Britain's legacy in Africa. Trevor Royle, *Winds of Change: The End of Empire in Africa* (London: John Murray, 1996).
4. It is unfortunate that more Scots who lived and worked in the British Empire at the time of decolonization were not interviewed for the Scottish Decolonisation Project. The existence of these oral histories, however, provides historians with a priceless source of information for understanding Scottish expatriates' views on the end of the British Empire as well as a first-hand testimony about what life was like all over the world in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.
5. A few of the interviews only appear in transcript form because these respondents answered a written questionnaire, rather than being interviewed in person.
6. The original questionnaires were included at the front of the Kenneth Willison Simmonds interview: Interview of Kenneth Willison Simmonds, NLS, Acc. 10809/83, pp. 1–3. All of the questions posed to the interviewees are included in Appendix C.
7. Interview of Mr W. P. G. Maclachlan, NLS, Acc. 10809/51, p. 41.

8. Interview of Lieutenant Colonel F. D. Carson, NLS, Acc. 10809/11, pp. 10–11.
9. Interview of Mr Ian Fraser, NLS, Acc. 10809/26, p. 42.
10. Interview of Mr J. E. Hodge, NLS, Acc. 10809/36/2, p. 65.
11. Ibid., p. 69.
12. Interview of Mr and Mrs Albert Goodere, NLS, Acc. 10809/29, pp. 9–10.
13. Interview of Mr Murray Lunan, NLS, Acc. 10809/46, pp. 36–7.
14. Interview of Sir Ian and Lady Scott, NLS, Acc. 10809/78, pp. 9–10.
15. Interview of Mr L. R. Macdonald, NLS, Acc. 10809/49, pp. 32–3.
16. Interview of William Crockett McDowell, NLS, Acc. 10809/58, pp. 24, 30, 33–4.
17. Interview of Dr E. W. T. Morris, NLS, Acc. 10809/64, p. 12.
18. Interview of Mr and Mrs Albert Goodere, pp. 1–3.
19. Interview of A. Trevor Clark, NLS, Acc. 10809/13, pp. 6–7.
20. Interview of Miss Jean McAree, NLS, Acc. 10809/47, p. 46.
21. Interview of Mr Kenneth Willison Simmonds, NLS, Acc. 10809/83, p. 3.
22. Interview of Sir Arthur A. Bruce, NLS, Acc. 10809/9, p. 1.
23. Interview of Jock Donaldson, NLS, Acc. 10809/18, pp. 52–3.
24. Interview of Mr L. R. Macdonald, NLS, Acc. 10809/49, pp. 36, 51.
25. Interview of Mr J. D. Erskine, NLS, Acc. 10809/21, p. 42.
26. Other interviewees cited pride in 1) the Scots who were successful businessmen in Nyasaland (Interview of D. Clark, NLS, Acc. 10809/12, pp. 44–5); 2) the fact that the only university in Nigeria at the time of independence (Ibadan) was founded mainly by Scots (Interview of Mr A. C. Davis, NLS, Acc. 10809/15, pp. 33–4); 3) the large number of Scottish agriculturalists, foresters, and veterinarians in the Sudan (Interview of William Crockett McDowell, NLS, Acc. 10809/58, pp. 7–8).
27. Interview of Victor Noel-Paton, Lord Ferrier, NLS, Acc. 10809/23, p. 34.
28. Interview of Sir Ian and Lady Scott, NLS, Acc. 10809/78, pp. 17–18.
29. Robert Shepherd, *Iain Macleod* (London: Hutchinson, 1994), p. 179.
30. Interview of Mr John Whitfield, NLS, Acc. 10809/107, p. 10.
31. Interview of Mr and Mrs Jock Scott, NLS, Acc. 10809/80, p. 47.
32. Interview of Reverend Dr Andrew Ross, NLS, Acc. 10809/74, p. 29.
33. Interview of Mr and Mrs R. Hunston, NLS, Acc. 10809/37, p. 45.
34. Interview of A. Trevor Clark, NLS, Acc. 10809/13, p. 4.
35. Ibid., p. 2.
36. The change in the British official mindset towards the empire may have occurred with the Suez fiasco of October/November 1956. If the British had not been shunned by the international community over their invasion of the Canal Zone following Nasser's nationalization, would the move to decolonize have come so quickly? This is an impossible question to answer, but it still must be contemplated by any scholar studying the end of the British Empire. In Scotland, as outlined in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland in March 1959 seems to have turned the majority of Scots against the continuation of the British Empire.
37. Interview of Mr and Mrs Alexander Grant, NLS, Acc. 10809/30, pp. 46–7.
38. Interview of Mrs Hope Garland, NLS, Acc. 10809/28, pp. 28–9.
39. Interview of Mr Murray Lunan, NLS, Acc. 10809/46, pp. 4–5.
40. Interview of Mr T. D. Thomson, NLS, Acc. 10809/93, pp. 51–2.
41. Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity, 1950–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 97.

42. Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). For the claim that the Scots referred to themselves a 'race of empire-builders' in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, please see: Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good? Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Limited, 1997), pp. 14–15.
43. Devine, p. 167.
44. The Church of Scotland's point of view on nascent African nationalism is treated at length in Chapter 2.
45. David Maxwell, 'Decolonization,' in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 290.
46. These interviews should be read in conjunction with Chapter 2, 'The Church and the Empire,' to compare the missionary zeal for decolonization with the more level treatment of the topic by the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh.
47. 'Mad Mitch' refers to Lieutenant Colonel Colin Campbell Mitchell, who led the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in the reoccupation of the Crater District of Aden following the hostile takeover of the area by nationalist insurgents in June 1967. He earned the nickname for having bagpipers playing at the head of the regiment as they pushed into Crater by force.
48. Interview of Reverend T. W. Tait, NLS, Acc. 10809/91, 20 August 1987, p. 31.
49. Interview of Miss C. H. Denham, NLS, Acc. 10809/16, p. 61.
50. Interview of Mr and Mrs Herbert Bell, NLS, Acc. 10809/4, p. 20.
51. Ibid., p. 22.
52. Ibid., p. 17.
53. She was very careful to distinguish the educated townspeople from the villagers. According to her, 'the village people were too busy making ends meet as a rule to be bothered as long as nobody bothers them.' Interview of Miss J. D. Auchinachie, NLS, Acc. 10809/3, p. 21.
54. Ibid.
55. Interview of Miss Myra Brownlee, NLS, Acc. 10809/8, p. 39.
56. Here the word paternalist is used according to the definition of 'paternalism' given in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Paternalism is defined in the OED as 'the policy or practice on the part of people in positions of authority of restricting the freedom and responsibilities of those subordinate to or otherwise dependent on them in their supposed interest.'
57. Interview of Reverend A. K. Mincher, NLS, Acc. 10809/63, p. 36.
58. Ibid., p. 39.
59. Interview of A. B. Doig, NLS, Acc. 10809/17, p. 30.
60. Ibid., pp. 30–1.
61. Ibid., p. 32.
62. When the Central African Federation was being discussed in 1949, *The Scotsman* ran an article condemning it as an attempt by settler-ruled Southern Rhodesia to dominate the region, which would undermine the political rights of the indigenous peoples: 'In a sense the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Royal Commission cut the ground from under Britain's feet by not insisting that the paramountcy of native interests must prevail. Once federation was achieved the demand would be for complete self-government which would eliminate the imperial trustee. Native fears are the chief obstacle to the progress of federation, and Britain ought to see that the interests of the natives are firmly

secured.' 'Central Africa: Landlord and Tenant,' *The Scotsman*, 17 February 1949, p. 4.
63. Doig, p. 45.
64. Ibid, pp. 70–1.
65. See the Introduction for a discussion of the historiography related to the compatibility of the British Empire with Scottish national identity.
66. Interview of Reverend Colin and Mrs Forrester-Paton, NLS, Acc. 10809/25, p. 12.
67. Ibid., p. 27.
68. George Patrick Hall was another educational missionary who worked in Nyasaland before transferring to the British Council in Nigeria. When he went to Ethiopia to help establish a network of schools he said it was his proudest achievement because it helped the country remain independent. Even though he was no longer a missionary, his enthusiasm for indigenous self-determination is clear. See: Interview of Mr George Patrick Hall, NLS, Acc. 10809/33, p. 32.
69. 'Rev Dr Andrew Ross – Biographer and Missionary Worker,' *The Scotsman*, 1 August 2008.
70. Interview of Reverend Dr Andrew Ross, NLS, Acc. 10809/74, pp. 28–9.
71. Ibid. He claims that if he had approved of the Central African Federation he would not have been allowed to become a minister for the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian.
72. Ibid., pp. 32–3.

Epilogue

1. Richard J. Finlay, in his newest work on the topic, does an about-face from his earlier take on Scottish interest in empire following the Second World War. In the earlier work, 'The rise and fall of popular imperialism in Scotland, 1850–1950,' Finlay argued that Scottish interest in empire declined with the Great Depression of the 1930s, which is in line with the work of Tom Devine discussed throughout this work. In his recent chapter in the *Scotland and the British Empire* anthology, Finlay now claims that 'imperial sentiment proved remarkably resilient north of the border' following 1945. Additionally, he states that 'the experience of empire … left a powerful residue in Scottish society.' See: Richard J. Finlay, 'National Identity, Union, and Empire, c. 1850–c.1970,' in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 311, 315. Devine obviously does not agree with this take as he rehashed the argument originally used in his article 'The Break-Up of Britain?' in his recently released *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750–2010*.
2. T. M. Devine, 'Soldiers of Empire, 1750–1914,' in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 181–2.
3. Ibid., p. 190.
4. Ibid., pp. 190–1.
5. Ibid., p. 192.

6. A good example of this is the multivolume history of the Cameronians. The fourth and final volume deals with the Cameronians and their actions during decolonization. In quoting Correlli Barnett's *Britain and Her Army, 1509–1970*, the author, John Baynes, gives credit to soldiers for ensuring that decolonization was as orderly as possible: 'The years 1948 to 1968 were a period when ... 'the soldier in khaki-drill or battledress guarded the hesitant retreat from empire. While the politicians havered, while authority crumbled, the soldier tried to keep order. And when at last the British had gone, from country after country, it was found that the British army was the only British institution to leave a permanent mark – the mark of order and organization amid a carnival of collapsing parliamentary government.'' John Baynes, *The History of The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) IV: The Close of Empire 1948–1968* (London: Cassell, 1971), inside front jacket cover.
7. Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 284–5.
8. The 93rd Regiment (Sutherland Highlanders) were responsible for stopping the Russian cavalry at the battle of Balaclava (25 October 1854) under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. This earned them the famous nickname of 'the thin red line.'
9. Lieutenant Colonel Colin Mitchell, *Having Been A Soldier* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969), p. 1.
10. Ibid., p. 149.
11. Ibid., pp. 177–87.
12. Mitchell would go on to win parliamentary election in 1970 for Aberdeenshire West as a Conservative.
13. Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), pp. 490–1.
14. The best single account of Clement Attlee's years at the head of the British Government is Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). These categories should not be viewed as exclusive. Home Rulers, Scottish nationalists, and those Scots seeking a better life in the south of England could also take comfort in the British welfare state, even if the nationalists were willing to risk this social safety net in favour of self-determination.
15. Fry, p. 491.
16. James Mitchell, Lynn Bennie, and Robert Johns, *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 21.
17. The Scottish economy in the late 1960s was beset by a crisis that the Labour Government ameliorated through state handouts. Even this increase in spending, however, could not stop the rise of the nationalists once the empire ceased to exist. For a discussion of the Scottish economy during the latter half of the 1960s, see: Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 251–69.
18. The papers of the Scottish National Party from the late 1960s attest to their concern with local issues. This focus on local problems and sensibilities helped Winifred Ewing win the Hamilton by-election in 1967. The empire was effectively over, which allowed the Scottish gaze to turn increasingly inward. This greatly benefited the rise of the Scottish National Party. For a discussion on how Winifred Ewing won in 1967, see: Jimmi Ostergaard Nielsen and Stuart Ward, '"Cramped and Restricted at Home"? Scottish Separatism at Empire's

End' in Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie, eds., *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming).

19. Cameron, p. 282. This was a massive increase from the 2.4 per cent of the vote obtained by the SNP at the 1964 British General Election, which was the last election to occur within the era of decolonization, as defined in this work.
20. Cameron, p. 291.
21. While almost all historical works tend to paint Margaret Thatcher's dealings with Scotland in a negative light, the recent monograph by David Stewart makes a solid attempt at revising the record. For Stewart, Thatcher was not anti-Scottish. Instead, her mission was to overturn the postwar consensus, which she equated with socialism, and restore Britain to a laissez-faire system that would allow for the return of British greatness. David Stewart, *The Path to Devolution and Change: A Political History of Scotland under Margaret Thatcher* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 7–13 and passim.
22. Cameron, p. 321.
23. The Liberals were known as the Liberal/SDP Alliance in the 1983 and 1987 General Elections and as the Liberal Democrats from 1992.

Appendix B: Additional Responding Secondary Schools

1. Email from Jo Easton to the author, 19 January 2011.
2. Email from Wendy Fowler to the author, 19 January 2011. The Head of History also provided the names of two books used in primary school and which are discussed above.
3. Arthur Grimble, *A Pattern of Islands* (London: The Reprint Society, 1954).
4. Available from the George Heriot's School website at: http://www.george-heriots.com/school/our-history/george-heriot-and-his-bequest.
5. Clydebank High School came into existence in February 1921 as an extension of the Clydebank Primary School, which was created in 1873, the year after parliament made primary education compulsory for all British children.
6. I. M. M. MacPhail, *A History of Scotland for Schools: Book II, From 1702 to the present day* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1956), p. 5.
7. Ibid., p. 279.
8. Email from Alec Dunlop to the author, 19 January 2011.
9. Ibid.
10. Email from Alec Dunlop to the author, 21 January 2011. The name of the former pupil and Head of History at Hutchesons' was simply listed as Graham.
11. Email from Robert Preece to the author, 8 February 2011.
12. Email from Alison Gold to the author, 25 January 2011.
13. It is important to note that Madras College was the senior secondary school until 1963 when it incorporated the junior secondary school, the Burgh School. Email from John Gilbert to the author, 28 January 2011.
14. Denis Richards and J. W. Hunt, *An Illustrated History of Modern Britain 1783–1964*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1965).

15. Ian Gould and John Thompson, *A Scottish History for Today: Book Three* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1961).
16. Email from Penny Hartley to the author, 3 February 2011. 'Robert Gordon's College Prospectus, 1945–46,' p. 7.

Appendix D: The Very Reverend George MacLeod's Speech to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 25 May 1959, Presenting the Report of the Committee anent Central Africa and Moving the 'Deliverance'

1. Speech taken from: Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, Kenneth MacKenzie Collection, Gen. 1871/Box 19.

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