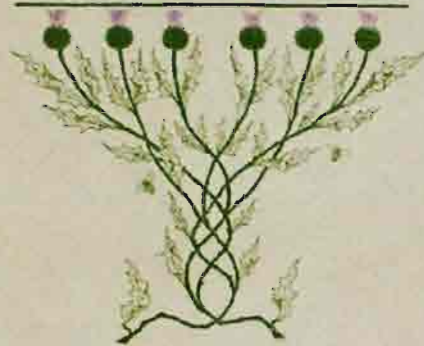


Scottish Associational Culture  
in the Diaspora



7th June 2008  
Emmanuel College, Toronto  
10:00 - 5:00 (registration 9:30)



A one day international Conference  
Sponsored by the University of Guelph's  
Centre for Scottish Studies and Knox College



# Conference Programme

- 9:30 a.m. Registration
- 10:00 a.m. Welcome
- 10:30 a.m. Shannon O'Connor, University of Guelph, read by Maya Holson  
Andrew Hinson, University of Guelph  
*Chaired by Graeme Morton*
- 11:20 a.m. Tanja Bueltmann, Victoria University of Wellington  
Kim Sullivan, University of Otago  
Kyle Hughes, University of Ulster  
*Chaired by Kris Gies*
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch and Scottish Studies Foundation AGM
- 1:30 p.m. Keynote Address  
R. J. Morris, University of Edinburgh  
*Chaired by Graeme Morton*
- 2:20 p.m. Catherine Bourbeau, University of Aberdeen  
Kevin James University of Guelph  
*Chaired by Tanja Bueltmann*
- 3:30 p.m. Coffee Break
- 3:45 p.m. Gus Noble, Chicago  
Greg Gillespie, Brock University  
Graeme Morton, University of Guelph  
*Chaired by Andrew Hinson*
- 4:55 p.m. Closing Remarks

Shannon O'Conner  
University of Guelph

### **Biography**

Shannon O'Connor earned her Honours B.A. in history at the University of Guelph in 2002. She came back to Guelph in 2006 for her M.A. in history and has recently defended her major research paper, entitled "The St. Andrew's Society of Toronto: Scottish Associational Culture in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In the fall Shannon plans to begin her Masters of Information Studies degree at the University of Toronto, with the hopes of specializing in archives and records management.

### **Paper Abstract**

#### **The St Andrew's Society of Toronto: Scottish Ethnic Associational Culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries**

An in-depth analysis of the class and gender composition of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto provides a focus for an exploration of the evolving matrix of urban ethnic associational culture in nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto. A comparison between this pre-eminent Scottish philanthropic society and the city's other Scottish associations demonstrates the various cultural roles and social functions that they played within the wider Scottish-Canadian community in Toronto and illustrates the different ways that these associations served as vehicles for the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity. For a range of upper- and middle-class Scottish-Canadians, membership in and involvement with such associations allowed for the ritual commemoration of Scottishness, forums for masculine conviviality and public expressions of multi-dimensional 'national' identities and civic loyalties.

**Andrew Hinson**  
**University of Guelph**

### **Biography**

Andrew Hinson is a PhD candidate at the University of Guelph. He received his M-Phil from the University of Glasgow and his B.A. from the University of Sunderland. For his masters, Andrew evaluated the impact of the 1922 *Empire Settlement Act* on Scottish emigration to Canada. He is now focusing on the Scottish community in Toronto in the period between 1881 to 1911, examining the dynamics of the community and considering what impact it had on those were considered to be part of it. In 2006 Andrew was the recipient of the Jane Nelson Stirling Cairns Grier Scholarship in Scottish Studies. He is a general editor of the *International Review of Scottish Studies*.

### **Paper Abstract**

#### **Religion and Ethnicity: The Role of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto's Scottish Community**

It has been claimed by Marjory Harper that 'for innumerable Scots the cultivation of religious roots was the crucial way to maintain memories of the old country, and until the end of the nineteenth century founding or joining a Scottish church was probably the major mechanism through which Scots throughout the world acknowledged their origins and anchored themselves in a new community'. By examining the Presbyterian Church in Toronto and its relationship with the Scottish community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it is possible to shed light on the extent to which this assertion is true. This paper will focus on one specific Presbyterian congregation, giving analysis of its ethnic, geographic and socioeconomic dynamics and how this can be more broadly interpreted.

**Tanja Beultmann**  
**Victoria University of Wellington**

**Biography**

Tanja is a PhD candidate with the Irish-Scottish Studies Programme, Victoria University of Wellington. She received her MA in British Cultural Studies, History and Sociology from Bielefeld University, and also studied Scottish History at Edinburgh University. In her PhD, Tanja explores the Scottish community in New Zealand between c1850 and 1930 by means of thematic case studies on Scottish associationism, ethno-cultural practices and the role of family and kinship networks. The aim is to establish how the Scots adapted to the new environment and what role, if any, their origins played in the complex and multi-dimensional process of identity construction. Tanja receives a New Zealand International Doctoral Research Scholarship (funded by the New Zealand Government) for the duration of her project (2006-2009).

**Paper Abstract**

*The Case of the Forgotten Saint? Scottish associational life in New Zealand to 1910.*

Migration creates a very specific environment for associationism. Yet in the new home, the clubbing together in fraternal spirit was important not only for want of camaraderie or recreational activities. Associations were pivotal in formulating identity, distinctiveness and cohesion, but could also serve as vehicles of integration. By exploring the evolution and anatomy of Scottish associational culture in New Zealand, these diverse roles are brought under the microscope. With the development of an associational typology in view, particular emphasis is placed on the virtual absence of St. Andrew's Societies and the, perhaps related, exceptional proliferation of Caledonian Societies. With the latter mostly engaged in the organisation of Caledonian Games, the question of how other Scottish clubs and societies such as the Gaelic Society utilised philanthropic work not only as a means to maintain national identity, but as a very practical way of linking into the Scottish Diaspora, will be discussed.

**Kim Sullivan**  
**University of Otago**

**Biography**

Kim Sullivan is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Otago, New Zealand. Her thesis examines the phenomenal growth of Scottish clubs and societies throughout the British world between the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and the cultural imprint they left both upon the colonies they were part of and the homeland they sought to represent. Kim is a native of Fife, Scotland, and emigrated to New Zealand in 1998, where she first took up her studies. She has recently returned to Scotland to complete her research, following an eighteen-month spell investigating Scottish societies in Dunedin and Melbourne. Kim has a first class BA (Hons) degree in History from the University of Otago, and is holder of a Bamforth postgraduate scholarship.

**Paper Abstract**

**Scottish Associational Culture in Early Victoria, Australia: An Antipodean Reading of a Global Phenomenon**

Between the goldrush of the 1850s and the First World War a vibrant and diverse Scottish associational scene blossomed throughout the small Australian region of Victoria. By mid-war, in fact, no fewer than fifty Scottish clubs and societies of varying types jostled for space among a regional population of only 1.4 million, of whom less than two percent were actually Scottish born. Curiously absent from this prolific scene, however, were the philanthropic St Andrew's Societies so prevalent among the early Scottish associational scenes in the United States and Canada—an absence which signalled a departure from a discernibly 'North American' style of Scottish associational culture as the phenomenon spread south to the antipodes in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This paper presents an overview of the Scottish club and society scene in Victoria during the region's first decades of British settlement. Characterised by staunch individualism, political passion, and an emphasis on sport and the arts, rather than charity, this particular scene reflected both a broader antipodean, and at times a uniquely Australian brand of Scottish associational culture, suggesting that the temporal, demographic and environmental factors unique to each of Britain's colonial settlements helped to shape distinctive versions of associational 'Scottishness' in different parts of the world.

**Kyle Hughes**  
**University of Ulster**

**Biography**

Kyle is a PhD student at the University of Ulster, Coleraine. He is working on the Scottish community of Belfast c1850-1914 and has recently given a paper a conference in Maynooth (Ireland) on Associational Culture in Ireland and the Wider World.

**Paper Abstract**

**Scottish Associational Culture in Victorian and Edwardian Belfast**

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Belfast was home to a significant Scottish migrant community. By 1911, the city had the second largest expatriate Scottish-born community in the north of Britain or Ireland. Only Liverpool housed more Scots. The Scots came to Belfast as capitalists and as workers. They were significant employers of labour during the period and were to be found at the highest levels of all of Belfast's leading industries including shipbuilding, textiles, engineering, and printing and stationery; so too civic bodies such as the Harbour Commissioners and the Chamber of Commerce were rarely without a strong Scottish presence. It is the middle-class element that we focus on here, for their associational imprint was both strong and important. The Scots created a blend of public display (equating with Habermas's conception of a public sphere) and a network of discrete, closed, private spheres in which the associational sinews of the community were used to enforce and secure opportunity and to minimise risk. The Scots clubs and societies in Belfast included the following important groupings which are the focus of this paper: the Belfast Benevolent Society of St Andrew; the Belfast Burns Club; and the Belfast Scottish Association. Sporting associations— three curling clubs and a successful but short-lived Highland Games— were important and also are discussed. This ethnic network of associations played a key role in introducing newly-arrived middle class migrants into established Belfast society and provided the associational framework to facilitate patronage, industrial networking, and career advancement. However, with the onset of the Home Rule crises in the 1880s it can be argued that the various Scottish associations began to play a more overtly political role. If always historically prevalent in Ulster society, displays of Scottish national identity gained added significance towards the end of the century as the idea of a shared Ulster-Scot identity emerged or reemerged to buttress Unionist opposition to Home Rule. This paper draws upon a rich array of both archival sources and press material to consider the role of Victorian and Edwardian Scottish associations in light of these themes.

## Keynote Speaker

R J Morris

University of Edinburgh

### Biography

R J Morris has a personal chair in economic and social history at Edinburgh University. He has published widely on associational culture, the history of industrial towns and their middle classes and the urban history of Scotland. His current interest in nineteenth century Belfast has led him to comparative studies of Montreal. Publications include *People and Society in Scotland. 1830-1914* (edited with W Hamish Fraser), Edinburgh, 1990; *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-50*, Manchester 1990; *The Victorian City* (edited with Richard Rodger) London 1993 *Men, Women and Property* (2005). On associational culture see Associations, in F M L Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, vol three, Cambridge 1990 and Civil Society, Governance and Nation, 1832-1914 [with Graeme Morton], in R A Houston and W K Knox (eds.), *The New Penguin History of Scotland*, London 2001. For fun and Scotland see *Scotland 1907. The many Scotland's of Valentine and sons photographers*, Edinburgh 2007.

### Paper Abstract

#### **The Scottish Contribution to Nineteenth Century Associational Culture – Enlightenment and the Thistle?**

The 1830s in Montreal was marked by the foundation of two associations which represented very different strands of Scottish influence on associational culture, the St Andrews Society and the Mechanics Institution. The first represents a particularist tradition, representing a national culture whilst the second derived from the universalistic tradition deriving from the Scottish enlightenment. In Scotland itself both traditions are represented. Scotland's position as a stateless nation created a society which was both innovative and expansive in its associational culture. The first trustee savings bank, the first temperance society and the first 'mechanics institution' were founded in Scotland and readily 'exported'. These developments will be assessed in light of the place associations are believed to have in developing modern societies like Scotland and Canada.



**Catherine Bourbeau**  
**University of Aberdeen**

**Biography**

Catherine Bourbeau is currently completing a PhD in history and anthropology at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. Through an interdisciplinary approach combining historical, anthropological and ethnographical methods and sources, she examines the development of Scottish memories, identities and cultures in Montreal after the different phases of the Scottish migration to Quebec between the eighteenth century and the present day. In the course of the summer, she will start postdoctoral research at Guelph's Centre for Scottish Studies – again focusing on the Scottish communities of Montreal. Her project draws from the conclusions and issues raised in her doctoral thesis and focuses more specifically on the associational culture of the Scottish Montrealers, on the memories and identities shaped by the city's various Scottish groups, and on the dynamic around which the overall Scottish community of the city is articulated.

Publications:

Bourbeau, C., "The Formation of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal: The Birth of a Scottish Voice", *Focus on Quebec* (GRECF and BACS, UK). Forthcoming.

Bourbeau, C., "The Scottish Presence in Quebec", *Journal of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal*, Montreal (Quebec), September 2003.

**Paper Abstract**

**The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal: Philanthropy and Power**

The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal was, with that of Quebec, the first Saint Andrew's Society created in Canada. It was also among the firsts formal Scottish organisations of the country. As such, its foundation constitutes a turning point in the history of the Scots in Canada and marks the beginning of a Scottish movement of collective memory and identity elaboration. This presentation describes the particular circumstances that led to the formation of the Society in 1835, at the dawn of the Patriots Rebellions. It also describes its membership and charitable work, for they provide great insight as to the aims and ambitions of the Society – which, globally, was to constitute a strong Scottish community in Montreal and to perpetuate a certain set of values and ideas they associated to being Scottish. The presentation ends on a discussion about the ways in which the case of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal challenges certain general assumptions regarding the 19<sup>th</sup> century Scottish diaspora.

**Kevin James**  
**University of Guelph**

**Biography**

Kevin James is an Associate Professor of History in the Department of History & Centre for Scottish Studies at the University of Guelph. His research focuses on comparative aspects of modern Irish and Scottish history, and in particular the tourist sectors in the late-nineteenth century. Kevin's MA explored Irish associational culture in nineteenth-century Montreal and his current SSHRC-funded project examines voluntary associational structures and local tourism development initiatives in Scotland and Ireland.

**Paper Abstract**

**Saint Patrick's Society of Montreal: Anatomy of a 'National' Society, 1834-56**

St Patrick's Society of Montreal, a pillar of urban 'national' associational culture from its inception in 1834, offers a valuable comparator in the study of Scottish associational culture, and illuminates solidarities and cleavages within the matrix of Montreal's 'ethnic' societies and associations in the pre- and post-Rebellion era. Firmly allied with 'sister' societies in the defence of the 'constitution' during the conflict, the role and composition of St Patrick's Society changed markedly in the 1840s and 1850s, when emerging sectarian and political divisions contributed to its ultimate confessionalisation. Analysing the Society in the context of the wider colonial associational world reveals the protean 'identities' which such groups expressed, and how they contributed, in its case, to institutional instability.

## **Gus Noble**

### **Chicago**

#### **Biography**

Gus Noble is the President of the Illinois Saint Andrew Society. He was born in 1969 in Dundee. He grew up in Duns, in the Borders of Scotland. In 1992 after graduating from the University of Stirling. Gus moved to Chicago where he began to focus his career on the development of transatlantic trade. Gus spent 7 years with the British Consulate General Chicago. As Vice-Consul, he concentrated on generating trade press publicity for British business. In 1999 Gus completed a Business to Business Marketing Strategy course at J L Kellogg Graduate School of Management (Northwestern University). Following 1999's devolution of government authorities in the UK, Gus established and operated the first overseas office of the National Assembly for Wales, in Chicago. Gus took up his current appointment with the Illinois Saint Andrew Society in August 2004.

#### **Paper Abstract**

##### **The St Andrew's Society of Illinois: Chicago's First Charity**

In 1845, when Chicago was just a frontier town with a population of just 12,000, a group of Scots established an organization to aid Scottish immigrants as they struggled to adjust to life in the New World. They formed the Illinois Saint Andrew Society to serve the needy and preserve Scottish customs. In 1910 the Society built the "Scottish Old People's Home" in North Riverside.

Today the Society is the oldest charitable organization in Illinois and the largest Scottish cultural organization in North America. Nearly 100 years after it was built, the Society continues to support the Scottish Home. The Society sponsors Scottish events such as the "Highland Games" and other programs to promote both traditional and contemporary Scottish arts and culture. The Society has also established the world's only Scottish American Hall of Fame and a Scottish American Museum, that tell the stories of Scottish experience, accomplishment and influence on the American side of the Atlantic.

The Illinois Saint Andrew Society nourishes the Scottish identity through service fellowship and the celebration of Scottish culture.

**Greg Gillespie**  
**Brock University**

**Biography**

Greg Gillespie is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada. Gillespie has published several journal articles on British sporting traditions in Canada including essays in the *Journal of Sport History*, the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, and the *Canadian Historical Review*. His recent monograph, entitled *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840-1870* was recently published by the University of British Columbia Press as part of their *Nature, Society, and Environment Series*. Gillespie's recent research focuses on the study of Scottishness in popular culture and includes essays on the Shrek Tartan, the Niagara Region Tartan, and the Canadian folk-punk band The Real McKenzies.

**Paper Abstract**

**Ritualized Scottishness: Robert Burns Suppers and Associational Culture**

Employing perspectives from folklore studies and cultural studies, this paper provides a critical reading of Robert Burns Suppers by situating the event as a ritual text. By situating Burns Suppers as ritual texts, the paper scrutinizes the cultural forms, customs, schedules, performances, meanings, and identities taken from the activity. The paper examines these by focusing on the question: what is being ritualistically celebrated each year at Burns Suppers?

Examination of scholarly databases both historical and contemporary reveals that, with few exceptions, no critical academic literature exists on the topic. This is particularly surprising given the important position of the event within the annual calendar of Scottish associational communities. This paper seeks to address this issue and, in doing so, contribute to the study of Scottish associational culture in Canada and the rest of the world.

**Graeme Morton**  
**University of Guelph**

### **Biography**

Graeme Morton is the inaugural Scottish Studies Foundation Chair, and Director of the Centre for Scottish Studies, at the University of Guelph. Previously he was Senior Lecturer in Economic and Social History at the University of Edinburgh. He specializes in Victorian national identity, nationalism and urban history in Scotland. He is the author of three books: *William Wallace: Man & Myth* (2004), *Unionist-Nationalism* (1999), and *Locality, Community and Nation* (1998). He is the editor of the *International Review of Scottish Studies* and co-editor of *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places* (2006).

### **Paper Abstract**

#### **Philanthropy and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Scottish Associational Culture** **Graeme Morton, University of Guelph**

There are a number of quandaries for any who study the historical construction of Scottish national identity. Sometimes, it just isn't clear how we got from 'there' to 'here'. To be sure, national cultural markers are most often recalled, usually in the form of heroes and 'events'. They are part of the triumph of remembering over forgetting which the French theorist Ernest Renan identified as fundamental to nationalist formation. They are also part of what Anthony D. Smith analyses as the ethnic building blocks needed to sustain nationalism in the modern age, arguing that nationalism cannot be invented in a cultural vacuum as some of the more terse understandings of the modernist school of Hobsbawm, Anderson and, especially, Gellner, would have it.

In this presentation on associational culture and national identity in Scotland and its Diaspora, I ask you to keep two points in mind: first, that 'plug-in dates' without obvious chronology (e.g. 1297, 1314, 1560, 1746, 1832, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>) along with 'plug-in names' (Wallace, Bruce, Knox, Charlie, Scott), define periods and themes in identity formation. Secondly, that ethnic symbols have been used as the organising principle of Scottish associational groups, indeed, they have been used as the rationale for Burns, St Andrews and Caledonian societies. This may seem straightforward, but there is a conceptual difficulty: these societies are part of Scotland's civil society and theoretically at least Scotland has been understood as an example of a nationalism that is civic not ethnic, where identity is maintained in institutional differences from England not ethnic differences from anyone. By extension, Scotland's ethnic nationalism has been explained as nothing more than a Celtic fringe, an aberration from the real root and cause of Scottishness. Through an analysis of associational culture in Scotland and its Diaspora, this talk explores the civic/ethnic understanding of Scottish national identity and nationalism. It explores how best to reconcile the use of ethnic symbols in philanthropic civic associations and ask what theoretical role can be assigned to these groups and their members in identity formation.

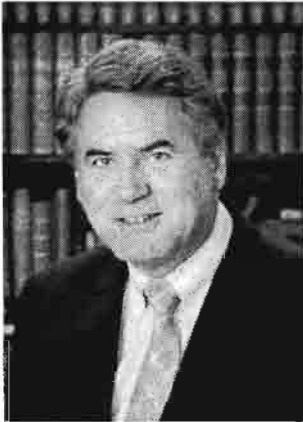
THE SCOTTISH STUDIES FALL COLLOQUIUM  
Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2008  
Rozanski Hall, University of Guelph

40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event  
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Featuring:

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Duncan Macniven will talk on the role of the Registrar General in Scotland's past, present and future, on resources for genealogical research, on the Scottish census, and on future plans for *ScotlandsPeople*.



**Professor Cairns Craig, FBA, FRSE, OBE, Glucksman Professor of Irish and Scottish Studies and Director of the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen.**

Prof. Craig, who will present the 2008 Jill McKenzie Memorial Lecture, has published widely on Scottish and modernist literature, including *Yeats, Eliot, Pound and the Politics of Poetry* (1982), *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* (1996) and *The Modern Scottish Novel* (1999). His most recent book is on Ian Banks's *Complicity* (2002). He was general editor of the four volume *History of Scottish Literature* (1987-89) and general editor of the determinations series published by Edinburgh University Press from 1987 – 1997, which included titles such as Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull's *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*, Alexander Broadie's *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy*, and *Scotland's Claim of Right*, edited by Owen Dudley Edwards. He was also an editor of the Canongate Classics series, in which he published (with Randall Stevenson) *An Anthology of Twentieth Century Scottish Drama*.

**LUNCH & REFRESHMENTS INCLUDED**  
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Registration: \$40 for members of the Scottish Studies Foundation;  
\$45 for non-members; \$20 student rate  
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You heard them here first, now be first to read the book ...

*Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, edited by Tanja Buelmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton will be published by *Stewart Publishing* in April next year. Contributors include all conference participants as well as Marjory Harper, Michael Vance, Angela McCarthy and Karly Kehoe.

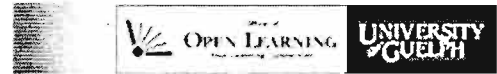
Publication and book launch during *Scotland Week* 2009.

For further details, and to reserve your copy, please contact:

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