

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNITY AND SCOTTISH ORGANISATIONS ON MERSEYSIDE: DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF A DIASPORA*

DUNCAN SIM

2009 was the ‘Year of Homecoming’ in Scotland. Organised around the 250th anniversary of the birth of national poet Robert Burns, it was designed to allow Scotland to engage more fully with its diaspora. Homecoming events are relatively common in North America and involve former residents and alumni being welcomed back by their high schools, colleges and universities. In Europe, they are rarer but the concept has now been adopted in relation to the welcoming back to their ‘homeland’ of members of the diaspora. During 2009, therefore, Scottish tourist bodies adopted a particular focus on emigration and the Scottish diaspora. Indeed, there were a number of Homecoming events which explored emigration from Scotland, including a major conference in Inverness and smaller events particularly in the Highlands and Islands. The Scottish Government announced the development of a ‘museum of emigration’, an online resource for historians and genealogists, but of particular interest to diaspora Scots.

There is considerable academic research on the nature of diasporas.¹ Generally, there is broad agreement on the basic characteristics of a diaspora: first there should be a minimum of two emigrant destinations rather than emigration from a homeland to a single destination, as the word suggests a scattering; secondly, there should be a relationship to a real or imagined homeland; and thirdly, there should be a self-awareness of the group’s identity. A fourth characteristic identified by Butler is the existence of the diaspora over at least two generations. N. Van Hear agrees that a diaspora should exist over more than one generation, being more

* The initial historical research for this paper was carried out jointly by the author and Alasdair Munro and was published in 2001. See A. Munro and D. Sim, *The Merseyside Scots: a Study of an Expatriate Community* (Birkenhead, Liver Press, 2001). Sadly, Alasdair Munro died in 2008, before the completion of additional research and the interviews. This paper is therefore dedicated to his memory. I am grateful to all who helped with the research, particularly those who agreed to be interviewed. I am also grateful to the University of the West of Scotland for support with the project.

¹ W. Safran, ‘Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return’, *Diaspora* 1, 1 (1991), pp. 83–99; K. D. Butler, ‘Defining diaspora, refining a discourse’, *Diaspora* 10, 2 (2001), pp. 189–219.

or less permanently located away from the homeland, although he suggests there will be ongoing movement between the homeland and the new country.² He also suggests that the idea of a diaspora, with its connotations of group identity, implies a degree of exchange (social, economic, political or cultural) between expatriates. Some considerations of diaspora focus on the issue of victimhood as many peoples have migrated against their will; a collective memory of victimisation can mobilise and sustain diaspora communities.³ While the Scottish diaspora would meet most of the criteria outlined above, diasporic Scots have only occasionally been victims (as in the case of those who migrated as a result of the Highland Clearances). Most Scots emigrated of their own free will but they nevertheless operate as a diaspora because they tend not to return home permanently, and because they generally develop a strong sense of cultural identity in their new settings.

Estimates of the size of the Scottish diaspora vary widely but the Scottish Diaspora Forum, which was part of the Year of Homecoming, referred to a diaspora of 'more than 30 million', relative to a population of only five million resident within Scotland itself.⁴ Interest in the Scottish diaspora has grown, partly as a result of events such as the Year of Homecoming and the many recent academic studies of emigration and emigrants.⁵ There is a growing body of research on the Scottish communities in North America,⁶ and in Australia and New Zealand,⁷ while the University of Edinburgh has established a Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies.

Interestingly, however, there are few studies of Scottish communities in England, despite small but steady cross-border emigration from Scotland for centuries.⁸ This article contributes to our understanding of the Scots in England by focusing on a specific Scottish community in Merseyside, describing its historical development and the range of Scottish organisations that were established to cater for the community. Merseyside is an area of provincial England

² N. Van Hear, *New Diasporas: the Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities* (London, UCL Press, 1998).

³ M. J. Esmán, *Diasporas in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2009).

⁴ www.scottishdiasporaforum.org/aims, accessed June 2010.

⁵ For example, T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1992); A. McCarthy (ed.) *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London, I. B. Tauris, 2006).

⁶ J. Hewitson, *Tam Blake & Co: The Story of the Scots in America* (Edinburgh, Canongate, 1993); J. Hunter, *A Dance called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh, Mainstream, 1994); C. Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001); C. Ray (ed.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2005).

⁷ For example, T. Brooking and J. Coleman (eds), *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2003); T. Buelmann, "'Where the measureless ocean between us will roar': Scottish Emigration to New Zealand, Personal Correspondence and Epistolary Practices, c.1850–1920", *Immigrants & Minorities*, 26, 3 (2008), pp. 242–65; M. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2008).

⁸ See, for example, R. A. Cage, 'The Scots in England', in R. A. Cage (ed.), *The Scots Abroad: Labour Capital and Enterprise 1750–1914* (London, Croom Helm, 1985).

that experienced significant Scottish immigration in numerical terms and provides an excellent case study from which to draw broader conclusions. Its focus is both historical and contemporary, bringing the history of the community up to the present day and it seeks to establish if the Scottish diaspora in this part of England is declining in both its significance and the level of its activity. A range of historical sources has been used to access this Scottish community, supplemented by oral interviews with contemporary expatriate Scots. Potential interviewees were contacted initially through Scottish societies and they in turn suggested other people for interview, helping to 'snowball' the sample. In total, twelve people were interviewed, of whom six were male and six female, seven born in Scotland and five in England. A semi-structured questionnaire was used, covering issues of family history, sense of Scottish identity and membership of Scottish organisations; each interview lasted up to an hour.

I

Although the image of the migrant Scot heading south to discover fame and fortune is perhaps a recognisable one, in fact the proportion of Scots in England has generally been relatively small. The 1851 Census, for example, recorded 130,087 people of Scottish birth living in England, representing just 0.7 per cent of the total population.⁹ Although the numbers of Scots living in England rose over the years, this tended generally to be in line with the growth in the size of the overall population. Thus the proportion of Scots living in England held fairly steady at around one per cent, rising after the Second World War to a high of 1.7 per cent in 1971.¹⁰ At the 2001 Census, there were 794,577 Scots in England, amounting to 1.6 per cent of the total population.¹¹ Figure 1 shows the Scots-born in a number of provincial English cities from 1851 to 2001 and the statistics illustrate interesting changes in the patterns of migration over time. Liverpool appears to be the city that initially attracted significant numbers of Scots, with the peak years of immigration, both in absolute and percentage terms, being from 1861 to 1881. Indeed, numerically the Scottish population in Liverpool was significantly greater than the other provincial cities, perhaps reflecting the employment opportunities offered by the city's maritime-related industries.

The most significant immigration of Scots in percentage terms was to Newcastle, perhaps not unexpectedly given the city's proximity to the Scottish border; again the peak years of immigration were in the nineteenth century from 1871 to 1901. Manchester's peak years of Scottish immigration appear to

⁹ *Census of Great Britain 1851* (London, HMSO, 1854), report, table 42, p. ciii.

¹⁰ *Census of Great Britain 1971* (London, HMSO, 1974), country of birth tables, table 3, p.26.

¹¹ *Census of Great Britain 2001* (London, TSO, 2003), national report for England and Wales, Table SO15, p. 37.

Year	Liverpool		Newcastle		Manchester		Leeds		Sheffield		Birmingham	
	No. of Scots	% of pop.										
1851	9,242	3.6	5,745	6.5	3,209	1.4	1,268	0.7	642	0.5	1,100	0.5
1861	17,870	4.0	4,981	4.6	7,971	1.7	1,402	0.7	1,060	0.6	1,432	0.5
1871	20,394	4.1	8,906	6.9	7,176	2.0	2,198	0.8	1,414	0.6	1,545	0.4
1881	20,434	3.7	8,732	6.0	6,089	1.8	2,654	0.9	1,594	0.6	1,667	0.4
1891	15,276	2.9	11,085	5.9	7,599	1.5	3,347	0.9	1,696	0.5	2,007	0.4
1901	16,998	2.5	12,031	5.7	7,515	1.4	3,911	0.9	2,213	0.6	2,335	0.4
1911	14,275	1.9	11,990	4.5	9,065	1.3	3,678	0.8	2,395	0.5	2,184	0.4
1921	12,301	1.5	10,278	3.7	8,239	1.1	3,873	0.8	2,643	0.5	4,809	0.5
1931	10,340	1.2	8,780	3.1	8,473	1.1	4,315	0.9	2,496	0.5	5,670	0.6
1941	no census	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1951	8,192	1.0	7,443	2.5	9,018	1.3	6,338	1.2	3,699	0.7	13,005	1.2
1961	6,700	0.9	6,096	2.3	8,756	1.3	6,813	1.3	3,794	0.8	13,139	1.2
1971	5,350	0.9	4,840	2.2	9,155	1.7	8,085	1.6	4,365	0.8	11,960	1.2
1981	3,951	0.8	5,672	2.1	7,571	1.7	11,193	1.6	4,214	0.8	11,422	1.1
1991	3,277	0.7	5,571	2.1	6,864	1.7	9,955	1.5	4,269	0.8	9,793	1.0
2001	3,376	0.8	6,249	2.4	6,938	1.8	11,813	1.6	4,952	1.0	8,453	0.9

Figure 1. Proportion of Scots-born in selected English cities, 1851–2001.

Year	Liverpool		Bootle		Birkenhead		Wallasey	
	No. of Scots	% of pop.						
1891	15,276	2.9	n/a	n/a	3,298	3.3	n/a	n/a
1901	16,998	2.5	2,281	3.9	3,021	2.7	1,457	2.7
1911	14,275	1.9	2,049	2.9	3,508	2.7	1,851	2.4
1921	12,301	1.5	1,776	2.3	3,266	2.2	1,937	2.1
1931	10,340	1.2	1,205	1.6	2,650	1.8	1,811	1.9
1941	no census	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1951	8,192	1.0	1,011	1.3	2,428	1.7	1,857	1.8
1961	6,700	0.9	924	1.1	2,025	1.4	1,686	1.6
1971	5,350	0.9	685	0.9	1,925	1.4	1,480	1.5
1981	3,951	0.8	4,307	1.4	4,686	1.4	←	←
1991	3,277	0.7	5,153	1.8	5,402	1.7	←	←
2001	3,376	0.8	3,848	1.4	3,711	1.2	←	←

Figure 2. Proportion of Scots-born in Merseyside boroughs, 1891–2001.*

* Data prior to 1901 is not available for Bootle or Wallasey, as the two towns had not achieved county borough status and were not separately listed in the census volumes. In 1981, 1991 and 2001, the 'Bootle' data is for the Metropolitan Borough of Sefton, of which Bootle became a part following local government reorganisation. Birkenhead and Wallasey both became part of the Metropolitan Borough of Wirral. The data is shown here for interest, but is not comparable with earlier data.

have been more evenly spread, with significant numbers moving to the city from 1911 right through to 1971. In the other cities, Scottish immigration appears to have been much less significant until the post-war era, with Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds not experiencing peaks of immigration until 1961, 1971 and 1981 respectively. Figure 2 shows the proportion of Scots in all four of the central Merseyside boroughs, where data is available. The proportion in Bootle, Birkenhead and Wallasey is generally higher than that in Liverpool, although the overall trends are the same.

Merseyside is thus an appropriate place to study a Scottish diaspora community for two reasons. First, it was numerically significant up to 1931. In percentage terms, Liverpool was consistently in second place to Newcastle prior to the Second World War. After the war, however, Liverpool lost its position, perhaps because the decline of the local economy, particularly in the port-related industries, meant that it was no longer seen as a city which could offer adequate opportunities for Scottish immigrants. Second, Liverpool was a city which contained large numbers of Irish and Welsh immigrants as well as Scots. Belchem and MacRaidl quote a paper in which it was asserted that the city had 'more Welsh than any Welsh town except Cardiff, more Irish citizens than any Irish town except Dublin and Belfast, and more Scottish citizens than any but the three or four great towns of Scotland.'¹² It was thus a very 'British' and competitively ethnic place upon which to focus the study of one particular immigrant group.

The motivations of Scots moving south may have been rather complex. In contrast to other countries which experienced extensive emigration in the nineteenth century, Scotland was not a predominantly agricultural country like Ireland, Norway, Italy and Spain. In fact, central Scotland had expanded considerably through industrialisation and mining, steelmaking, shipbuilding and engineering provided employment opportunities. A paradox of Scottish migration is that, while many Scots were leaving the country, migration *to* Scotland was actually increasing. Many were from Ireland but some actually moved north from England because the industrialisation of Scotland was an integral part of a wider process across the UK, with industrial areas being interdependent for labour, raw materials, finance and markets.¹³ Some of the Scots who moved to England were entrepreneurs; many who moved to Merseyside, for example, were engaged in shipping and this is referred to later in this article. There were also opportunities in the professions, because the Scottish education system in the nineteenth century was probably superior to that of England. The Scottish universities were strong in science and medicine; thus many Scots in England had moved south to become lawyers, politicians and, especially, doctors.¹⁴ Some Scots simply liked to be mobile. There was a long tradition of movement by Scots into the colonies and cultural factors, notably their religious and educational background, may have led to a greater propensity among Scots to emigrate, in search of self-advancement.¹⁵ Some even opted for mobile forms of employment, such as hawking or peddling: 'in Manchester at the beginning of the twentieth century, "Scotsman" could still mean a hawker peddling wares from door to door'.¹⁶

¹² J. Belchem and D. M. MacRaidl, 'Cosmopolitan Liverpool', in J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 315.

¹³ Cage, 'The Scots in England', pp. 29–45.

¹⁴ V. G. Kiernan, 'Britons Old and New', in C. Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 43.

¹⁵ M. Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001).

¹⁶ Kiernan, 'Britons Old and New', p. 43.

Despite the complexities of Scottish emigration, movement to England in the nineteenth century took place at a time when the Scottish economy was actually relatively buoyant. The Depression of the 1930s, however, and the near-collapse of Clyde shipbuilding led many Scottish families to seek work elsewhere. Many emigrated overseas but a significant number went to England. Indeed, some Scots in their quest for work accepted a role as strike breakers. R. A. Cage, for example, refers to a strike at Bridgewater Foundry in 1836, which was broken by importing sixty-four men from Scotland. Their families followed them and so the majority of foundry workers became Scottish.¹⁷ An example of strike breaking from Merseyside is provided by the city's police force which had a deliberate policy of recruiting outside Liverpool, often advertising in Scottish newspapers. There was a particular influx of Scots into the police force after the dismissal of those who had joined the 1919 Liverpool police strike.¹⁸

Despite the existence of a significant Scottish diaspora in England, however, it has been little researched. A. McCarthy suggests that this 'scholarly disregard of Scottish settlement in England' is due to the fact that the Scots, unlike the Irish and other ethnicities entering England, were predominantly protestant and not viewed as 'alien'.¹⁹ Thus they were not conceived as an exotic 'other' and so were not deemed of great interest. J. A. Burnett agrees with this, suggesting that because the Scots were also British, they could adopt multiple identities, being Scottish or British according to the situation.²⁰ Thus, while there have been studies of Irish migration to mainland Britain, studies of internal movements by the Scots, the Welsh and the English are much less common. C. Holmes, for example, in his detailed study of migration to Britain, deals extensively with the Irish, although prior to the 1920s, such migration was also internal to the UK, but he says little about other national groups.²¹ The Irish were distinctive but were not alone in forming clear cultural groupings.²² Two studies which have focused on the Scottish diaspora in England have both explored the operation of Scottish social organisations. Burnett's work focuses on the north east of England, describing the significant immigration from Scotland and the subsequent establishment of a range of Scottish charitable organisations. These Burns Clubs and St Andrew Societies later became primarily social in nature.²³ A similar process is recorded

¹⁷ Cage, 'The Scots in England', p. 32.

¹⁸ M. Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat: Policing Liverpool between the Wars* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 7–11.

¹⁹ A. McCarthy, 'National identities and twentieth-century Scottish migrants in England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 128 (2005), pp. 171–82.

²⁰ J. A. Burnett, "'Hail brither Scots o' coaly Tyne": networking and identity among Scottish migrants in the north-east of England, ca. 1860–2000', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 25, 1 (March 2007), pp. 1–21.

²¹ C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1988).

²² R. Lawton and C. G. Pooley, *Britain 1740–1950: An Historical Geography* (London, Arnold, 1992), p. 205.

²³ Burnett, "'Hail brither Scots o' coaly Tyne"'.

by McCarthy in Hull, where she explores in detail the activities of the Scots' Society of St Andrew. The organisation grew similarly from charitable beginnings but is now very much in decline, as migration from Scotland to Humberside has reduced.²⁴

II

In the nineteenth century, Liverpool, with its developing commercial and shipping interests, was an attractive destination for migrants. The largest group of immigrants were the Irish, but the Scots were significant. A study by J. M. Brock of migration from the Scottish counties shows that all the counties from which more than ten per cent of the population had moved to England and Wales were in the borders region and most of these migrants moved the short distance to Tyneside.²⁵ Although Merseyside is clearly much further from Scotland than Tyneside, R. Dennis suggests that it would have attracted Scottish migrants because of the absence of any major opportunities in the intervening area.²⁶ Indeed, the prosperity of Merseyside from the eighteenth century onwards, particularly in shipping and commerce, resulted in extensive migration not just from Scotland but from throughout the UK, from Europe and from the colonies. There have been a number of studies of the Irish on Merseyside, such as J. Belchem's,²⁷ while the Welsh have also been studied, for example in Roberts' work on Welsh influences in Liverpool industry.²⁸

The Scots' influence on the development of the port and the city were significant, summarised in a nineteenth-century view that 'Scotchmen made Liverpool' and may be seen in the activities of a number of individual entrepreneurs.²⁹ William Laird moved to Merseyside in 1810, establishing a small ironworks in what was then the village of Birkenhead. By 1838, Laird's had built seventeen iron ships and the company expanded to become Cammell Laird Shipbuilders. In addition a number of shipping companies were founded by Scots, including Alexander Elder and John Dempster from Glasgow and Dumfriesshire respectively, who established the Elder Dempster Line, William MacAndrew from Elgin, who set up the MacAndrew Line, and Charles MacIver from the Hebrides,

²⁴ A. McCarthy, 'The Scots' Society of St Andrew, Hull, 1910–2001: Immigrant, Ethnic and Transnational Association', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 25, 3 (2007), pp. 209–33.

²⁵ J. M. Brock, 'The importance of emigration in Scottish regional population movement, 1861–1911' in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1992), pp. 104–34.

²⁶ R. Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 34.

²⁷ J. Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: the History of the Liverpool Irish, 1800–1939* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2007).

²⁸ T. A. Roberts, 'The Welsh influence on the building industry in Victorian Liverpool' in M. Doughty (ed.), *Building the Industrial City* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1986), pp. 106–49.

²⁹ J. Belchem and D. M. MacRaid, *Liverpool 800*, p. 351.

who helped to establish Cunard.³⁰ Interviews confirmed the importance of the port and manufacturing industries in attracting Scottish migrants. A number of individuals spoke of the shipping industries:

I was a radio officer in the Merchant Navy. I'm originally from Glasgow. And after a career of seven years in the Merchant Navy, I decided to come ashore, (a) because I was getting married and (b) because I was fed up with being at sea. And the company I worked for was Marconi and I applied for a shore job with them. And they offered me various places and one of the reasons I chose Merseyside was it was nearer to Scotland than say Plymouth or Southampton or somewhere like that. (male, Scots-born, 70s)

I was born in Glasgow, and I served an apprenticeship as an electrician. And you had conscription in my day – you either had to join the Forces for eighteen months to two years or join the Merchant Navy. I always had a hankering to join the Merchant Navy anyway. So I selected several shipping companies, Blue Funnel accepted me, came down for an interview – I was twenty-one – and they took me on and I was with them for twenty years, sailing out of Liverpool. I eventually became a Senior Electrical Officer so it was a good company to work for. (male, Scots-born, 70s)

Well, if you're going back to the early part of the previous century, when there was a great influx into Liverpool – well Liverpool was becoming a booming town because of the docks. Ten to fifteen miles of docks and the port was second to London and it was important in terms of transporting coal, transporting goods, bringing raw materials into the country – there was obviously going to be a lot of employment in Liverpool, and the Irish came across, so there's a lot of influx from both Ireland and Scotland. There was going to be employment here in Liverpool for people, when there wasn't in their home towns and home countries. (male, Merseyside-born, 60s)

Manufacturing – and particularly engineering – were important:

My husband's father came from Scotland – from Edinburgh – and I think a lot of people, engineers and so on, came to Liverpool because the wages were better. And when he was working as an engineer down here, the boss said to him 'Have they got any other engineers up in Scotland like you?' So he said 'Yes. Some of my friends are engineers'. So the boss said 'I'll give you a week off. Go up to Scotland and bring some down'. (female, Scots-born, 90s)

If you go back to the 1960s, there were a lot of people came down from Scotland to work in Liverpool. There were lots of people came down to work

³⁰ E. E. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey* (Liverpool 1971), p. 52; *The Port of Liverpool* (Liverpool, Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, 1935–6), pp. 146–7; *A Second Merseyside Maritime History* (Liverpool, Liverpool Nautical History Society, 1991), p. 36.

in factories and the car plants and places like that. It's all gone now, isn't it?
(female, Scots-born, 50s)

In a number of cases, individuals had entered public service. Several interviewees referred to members of their family or friends moving to Merseyside to join the police force, confirming the point made above. One individual had joined the fire service:

My grandfather was a fisherman on the east coast—a place called Redheugh, near the border, Berwickshire. My mother and father got together because they lived in the local farming community. I was a shy boy growing up and I left the farm at eighteen and joined the Royal Navy and I went round the world. When I came back, I tried to get on the farm but they said 'You've been away too long and there's not any jobs on the farm'. My brother was down here—he married a WREN—he was in the Navy. And he said he would get me a job in the fire service with Lever Brothers. That was in 1956. I left them after fourteen months and joined the Birkenhead Fire Service for the rest of my career. (male, Scots-born, 70s)

Many of the migrants who moved to Liverpool established definable communities in different areas of the city. Pooley's work on the 1871 Census, for example, shows that the Irish core area was in north-central Liverpool, which was an area of mainly high-density, sub-standard housing. Many of the Irish here were unskilled, often working in the docks. There was a second, mainly skilled working-class group of Irish who were located more evenly across Liverpool, notably in the Everton district. Everton, which was then an area typified by medium-density terraced housing was also the main focus of Welsh settlement, while there were other smaller Welsh communities in central Liverpool and in the southern suburb of Toxteth Park. The main concentration of Scots was to the north of the city in Kirkdale, a mainly working-class area but ranging from poor-quality housing near the docks to middle-status housing further east. The Scots therefore spanned a range of social areas in north Liverpool. There was, however, a separate cluster of high-status Scots in the Mount Pleasant and Princes Park areas.³¹

Pooley suggests that the Scots in Liverpool did not group together as much as the Irish or Welsh, perhaps reflecting the range of occupations which they entered. Also, unlike the Irish and Welsh, the Scots were not distinguished from the host society by religion or language; some researchers have focused on the Irish precisely because they could be so distinguished.³² Although some Scots would have spoken Gaelic, the vast majority used English as a first language and would have quickly integrated into the Merseyside area. Although the Scots

³¹ C. G. Pooley, 'The residential segregation of migrant communities in mid-Victorian Liverpool', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2 (1977), pp. 364–82.

³² J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558–1939* (Manchester, Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), p.183.

tended not to locate in identifiable parts of the city, they appear to have operated more as a 'community' than the Irish, forming a range of Scottish clubs and societies.

III

Expatriate Scots have a reputation for establishing Scottish societies wherever they live and there is a huge range of Scottish organisations across the globe. Some are focused on music and dancing, while others, like Burns Clubs, may have a more literary focus. Frequently they are accused of peddling an overly romantic view of the Scottish 'homeland'. For example:

There is no difficulty whatsoever in assembling a room full of sentimental Australians, Canadians, North and South Americans, or Africans for a Burns Supper or a St. Andrew's Day dinner. Their hearts are, for that moment, in the Highlands, though their physical presence is in Sydney, Toronto, Boston, Rio or Nairobi. Their emotions, rallied by haggis, whisky, sherry trifle and a piper in full ceremonials, conjure the cry of the whaup in the heather and sunsets over Arran and the Western Isles.³³

Such organisations perform an important social function in gathering together people with a Scottish heritage or connection and enabling them to participate in a range of events. It may be that distance lends a certain enchantment, but even in England, where expatriate Scots are perhaps less likely to adopt such a rosy view of their homeland, Scottish clubs and societies are of great social significance.

The oldest Scots' society on Merseyside is the Liverpool Caledonian Association, formed for charitable purposes in 1869 to give assistance to Scots or those of Scottish descent, who required it. An article in *The Liverpoolian* magazine described its work in 1937:

Permanent grants are given to aged people under 70 years of age, whilst some in receipt of old age pensions are, in special circumstances, assisted weekly. The sick are provided with invalid food and, when fit for admission, are sent to convalescent homes or sanatoria. Persons stranded in Liverpool are taken in hand and restored to their friends in Scotland, and assistance is afforded in many other ways, special regard being paid to ex-servicemen.³⁴

The Association still exists and one interviewee had recently chaired it:

The Liverpool Caledonian Association was set up as an association to support migrant Scots who had financial difficulties so in that sense, it's a charitable organisation. It doesn't hold meetings as such, although when I was Chairman,

³³ I. Finlayson, *The Scots: A Portrait of the Scottish Soul at Home and Abroad* (New York, Atheneum, 1987), p. 95.

³⁴ *The Liverpoolian*, Jan. 1937, pp. 15–19.

we held a couple of dances to raise funds. What that does is provide monthly sums of money to Scots who may be on difficult times financially. When it was set up, there was no Welfare State so it was a very important organisation. Now, with the Welfare State and benefits, there's less call for its services but it does have still a number of annuitants, who get a monthly sum of money and, at Christmas, we used to go out and provide Christmas hampers to these people. And people were grateful because, even though we have a Welfare State, there are still a lot of people who have hard times. (male, Merseyside-born, 60s)

Another Liverpool charity, largely supported by Scots, was the Liverpool Sheltering Homes, established by Louisa Birt, a member of Fairfield Presbyterian Church. Appalled at the poverty which she saw in Liverpool, she opened the first home in 1873. Ten years later, a home for girls was established and later extended to replace the original home.³⁵ An advertisement for the Sheltering Homes in 1908 stated: 'over 200 fresh children are received each year. Over 180 emigrate yearly and are placed in comfortable homes with Canadian families of good standing and repute.' Boys between ten and twelve and girls between four and sixteen were accepted for the homes and 'in addition to ordinary school instruction, the girls have cooking, laundry and "cutting out" lessons, while the boys have carpentry classes and training in the management of horses and cattle. A donation of £12 would defray the cost of emigration for one child.'³⁶

The first Scottish social organisation on Merseyside was the Liverpool and District St Andrew Society, founded in 1890. It too had charitable aims, although it quickly diversified to include both social evenings and outdoor activities such as rambles. It was joined in 1896 by the Liverpool North End and District Scottish Association, founded in Bootle; Birkenhead and District St Andrew Society was formed in 1918; St Helens and District Caledonian Society in 1922; the Liverpool Burns Club in 1924; the Liverpool Scots' Association in 1925; the Liverpool Scots' Society in 1926; and Wallasey Caledonian Society in 1932.³⁷ It is perhaps surprising that no society was formed in Birkenhead before 1918, as Scots had always had an influence on the town, most notably through William Laird who founded the town's shipyard. Indeed, the strength of the Scottish community there was demonstrated by the popularity of a then unknown entertainer named Harry Lauder, who performed at the town's Argyle Theatre in January 1898, for a fee of £4 per week.³⁸

The first meeting of the Birkenhead society was a musical evening attended by '66 members and a few friends'. Later meetings included lectures and a church service, and in the summer a picnic was held at Raby Mere, a local beauty spot, to

³⁵ *Liverpool Citizen*, 14 Jan. 1888.

³⁶ *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool, 1908), p. 2263.

³⁷ George Penman: personal communication.

³⁸ C. E. Bidston, *Birkenhead of Yesteryear* (Birkenhead, Wirral MBC, 1985), p. 18.

which members of the Liverpool and District St Andrew Society were invited.³⁹ The 1932 minute books for the St Helens and District Caledonian Society illustrate the range of its activities, which included a regular dancing class; a New Year Party consisting of a whist drive and dance costing 2s 6d; a St Andrew's Night lantern lecture on 'Primitive Life in the Highlands'; a Burns Dinner at a local hotel costing 3s 6d; and a dramatic society and concert party which put on an annual show.⁴⁰ From the beginning, benevolence played a major part in the Society's activities and minute books list the following grants and gifts: £1 1s to purchase a corset for the crippled daughter of a poor family in the town; 10s 6d to the St Helens Poor Children's Holiday appeal; £1 1s to the annual Poor Children's Christmas Party; 5s and 1s respectively to two poor Scots travelling through the town; £21 to the St Helens and District Nursing Association to furnish a bedroom in the Nursing Association Building; £5 to the YMCA towards a new Boys Club building (presented in person by the President's wife to Princess Helena Victoria on her visit to St Helens); £1 1s was also donated to the refurbishment of the Burns Mausoleum.⁴¹ As the societies flourished and expanded, many of them had to set up waiting lists to join, while the range of activities reflected the pre-television age:

We had a waiting list at St Andrews [Society] when I first started, and I would be about five years of age when I first went there to the children's parties. (female, Scots-born, 90s)

When these societies were in their heyday, the Liverpool Scots Association had a waiting list of 60. Country dancing, ballroom dancing were in their heyday, there was no television, no videos, no other attractions. (male, Merseyside-born, 60s)

Our activities were mostly dancing, plus Burns Suppers, dinners – we used to have dinners in the Exchange Hotel, with hundreds there. It was a fantastic time then. There was loads of people used to go. (female, Scots-born, 70s)

By 1927, there were many similar societies throughout Lancashire and Cheshire and, at a meeting in Preston attended by ten societies, the formation of a federation was agreed in principle. The ten original member societies included three from Merseyside (Birkenhead St Andrew, Liverpool Scots' Society and St Helens and District Caledonian), while in September, Liverpool and District St Andrew was also admitted. A practical outcome of this September meeting, in Blackpool, was an agreement to compile a list of speakers and singers for Burns Dinners.

³⁹ Birkenhead and District St Andrew's Society minute book.

⁴⁰ St Helens and District Caledonian Society minute books.

⁴¹ Mrs E. Adam, St Helens: personal communication.

In the early years of the federation, attempts to introduce Scottish cultural activities were only partially successful. At a meeting in 1928, it was agreed to organise a Highland Games, which was held in July 1929 at Morecambe, with the Duke of Atholl as chieftain. A singing competition for boys and girls was held in October 1930, but attracted very few entries, while attempts to establish an essay competition for under-sixteens in 1929 had little more success. Bowls and golf competitions were also introduced but met with a poor response. Rather more successful was the idea of making the Annual General Meeting into a weekend conference, the first being held in Southport in June 1931, comprising supper dances and a Highland Games.⁴² What is striking about the Scottish organisations on Merseyside is their range and variety. In contrast to the position in many other northern English cities, there is sometimes a sense in which the societies were competing against each other for members, and interviewees were often able to recall earlier splits and divisions between groups. At a time when membership was healthy, this may not have mattered but it left the Merseyside societies in a less sustainable position in the longer term. Burnett and MacRaild suggest that, on Tyneside, Scottish societies had a largely middle-class membership and this would also appear to be true on Merseyside.⁴³

There were some other Scottish organisations on Merseyside at this time, but with a slightly different focus. The Wallace Society, for example, operated from the late 1920s until around 1938. It was a more political organisation, with distinctively Scottish Nationalist sympathies, illustrated by the programmes for its annual Burns Dinners from 1927 to 1933. There was no Loyal Toast, the main toast being to 'Scotland: A Nation' (or 'Scotland Yet'), with a further toast to 'Our Celtic Kinsfolk'. Notable speakers at these dinners included Councillor David Logan (later MP for the Scotland Division of Liverpool and leader of the Irish Nationalist Party), various Welsh nationalist leaders, and Matthew Anderson, head of a business body, the Liverpool Organisation Ltd. A high point of the Wallace Society's existence was perhaps its 1931 Burns Dinner, when the toast to the Immortal Memory was given by poet Hugh MacDiarmid, who was then living in Liverpool and working as publicity officer for the Liverpool Organisation. It was in Liverpool that he did much of his work on one of his great poems, 'To Circumjack Cencrastus'.⁴⁴ Members of the Wallace Society were also involved in the formation of a Liverpool branch of the Scottish National Party in 1934; it lasted until the beginning of the 1950s. The branch was operating outside Scotland, and was therefore unable to participate in much political activity,

⁴² *Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Scottish Societies, 1927–1977* [50th Anniversary brochure].

⁴³ J. A. Burnett and D. M. MacRaild, 'The Irish and Scots on Tyneside', in R. Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547–2000* (Chichester, Phillimore, 2007), p. 185.

⁴⁴ Wallace Society menus of annual dinners 1927, 1929, 1931, 1932, 1933; Hugh MacDiarmid, *Lucky Poet* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1972), pp. 41, 105; *Liverpool Daily Post* Supplement 1927, p. 35; A. Bold, *MacDiarmid: Christopher Murray Grieve, A Critical Biography* (London, J. Murray, 1988), pp. 245, 246, 255, 259, 260.

although some campaigning was undertaken. During the 1930s, many Scots (usually men) had moved to Merseyside to obtain work, but returned home to their families in Scotland at weekends. SNP members sometimes leafleted evening trains to Glasgow, prior to their departure from Exchange Station, drawing attention to the economic circumstances which forced so many Scots to work at a distance from their family homes.⁴⁵

There were also a number of sports clubs involving Scots. In 1934, there was a proposal to form a Liverpool Scots' Sports Club under the title of Liverpool Caledonians, by Andrew Sim, an Aberdonian and amateur footballer. Writing to the *Liverpool Echo*, he described his ideas:

There are 30,000 of the clan on Merseyside and, properly organised, they should make a fine sporting body. We have nothing of the calibre of London Caledonians; no rugby team similar to London Scottish; in fact Liverpool does not offer facilities to Scottish sportsmen. There are possibilities of this being remedied; a group of enthusiastic Scots being hopeful of forming a first class football team to compete with the best of Merseyside amateur sides and in time, perhaps with the best of London and the rest of Britain.⁴⁶

London Caledonians at this time played in the Isthmian League. Following the formation of the Liverpool Caledonians, they entered football teams in local Challenge Cups in 1934 to 1935, their players including three sons of Alec Raisbeck, a former Liverpool half-back and former Scottish internationalist. They played a number of friendlies over the next three or four years and entered cup competitions, but it is not clear if they played regularly in a local league. A plan to move into other sports was frustrated by the onset of the war and the organisation effectively folded. Football, however, continued to be a significant route south for many Scots, a number of whom moved to Liverpool to play for the city's two big clubs. One interviewee spoke of her brother who had made such a move:

He was signed for the club. George Kay, who was the manager then came up and they had scouts all over the show. And they had said there was a lad up here who's quite good. So he came up to watch him play and he had words with my mum and dad and said he would give him a contract. He was playing for Lochgelly Violet and they went there and they said they would let him go so he came down when he was seventeen. (female, Scots-born, 70s)

Subsequently, other members of the family (including the interviewee) also moved to Liverpool in the following years.

Finally, the size of the Scottish community on Merseyside in the interwar years is illustrated by the existence and viability of societies with quite exclusive

⁴⁵ Andrew Sim: personal communication.

⁴⁶ *Liverpool Echo*, 23 May 1934.

membership. An Edinburgh University Graduates Club was formed in Liverpool in 1929, followed the next year by the Liverpool Heriot Club, comprising former pupils of George Heriot's School, Edinburgh, then resident in Liverpool.⁴⁷

IV

In the immediate post-war years, the Scottish community on Merseyside continued to be sizeable. Several new Scottish societies were formed, in Crosby (in 1947), West Derby (1947), the Wirral (1947), Southport (1952), Deeside (1955), and Maghull (1963), partly reflecting the general movement of population to the suburbs.⁴⁸ A Liverpool branch of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society (RSCDS) was established in 1951. Most of these organisations became affiliated to the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation. Many federation events now became firmly established features. The first Musical Festival was held in Warrington in 1951, with competitions in singing, Scottish Country Dancing and elocution. In later years, the scope was extended to include public speaking, essay, instrumentalist, craft and cookery sections and the event was held at venues throughout the federation's area. The first of the annual Highland Games was held in July 1951 in Liverpool. After using various other venues, the Games were held at Stanley Park, Blackpool in 1962 and were held there every year subsequently, until the late 1990s. The Federation's AGM developed into a weekend residential conference, with a civic reception, dinner, ball, and church service, and from 1962 onwards, was held in Fleetwood. The federation's main charitable effort, a scholarship fund, had been set up in 1937 and, in 1948, it became known as the Student Aid Fund and grants were made to children of members of any affiliated society in need of help with their education. By 1972, however, it was felt that it had outlived its usefulness and was wound up.⁴⁹

Further evidence of the strength of the Scottish community may be seen in the existence of a number of pipe bands in the city. Pipe-Major Angus Macleod founded the Clan Macleod Pipe Band, whose annual Highland Ball was held in Liverpool's St George's Hall, from the end of the Second World War to the 1960s. It seems to have been regarded as a major social event, with dancers in the main hall and large numbers of spectators in the galleries.⁵⁰ There were also regular visits to Liverpool by entertainers from Scotland. Andy Stewart and the White Heather Club played for two weeks at a time at the city's Royal Court Theatre and comedian Jimmy Logan toured regularly in Scottish comedy plays.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 11 Nov. and 15 Dec. 1930.

⁴⁸ *Lancashire and Cheshire Federation, 1927–1977*; George Penman: personal communication, 1999.

⁴⁹ *Lancashire and Cheshire Federation 1927–1977*.

⁵⁰ Programme, Highland Ball, 3 Jan. 1953.

⁵¹ Royal Court Theatre, Liverpool, various programmes.

By the 1990s, the size of the Scottish community on Merseyside had shrunk considerably, as a result of reduced immigration from Scotland and the ageing of the existing expatriate population.

There aren't as many Scottish people coming down to live, to work. There's not much work in Liverpool now, all the big jobs have gone. Whereas the docks used to be here and a lot of industry. (female, Scots-born, 70s)

I don't think Liverpool's attracting migrants from Scotland—the migrants now are from Europe. I don't think we're getting a large number of Scots coming down now—or Irish coming across, for that matter. I think, secondly, modern society has so many other things to offer younger people. (male, Merseyside-born, 60s)

The result of these changes may be seen in the health of the various Scottish organisations with membership apparently in steep decline. Information from interviewees established that, at the time of writing, the Liverpool and District St Andrew Society has a total membership of twenty-four, the Liverpool Scots' Association fifteen and the Liverpool Scots' Society just six. The RSCDS's Liverpool branch is healthier with around fifty members and the Liverpool Burns Club has a similar number, although this has declined from around eighty only five years ago. The Clan Macleod Pipe Band has just two members who now confine themselves mainly to individual appearances at Burns Suppers, weddings and funerals. The position is not dissimilar to that recorded by McCarthy in her study of the Scots' Society of St Andrew in Hull. Its membership reached a peak of 463 in 1954 but thereafter it declined steadily to sixty-two in 2001.⁵² Membership in 2010 was fifty-eight so has remained steady but it is very elderly, and attendance at monthly social meetings is only around twenty.⁵³ In some cases, societies have simply ceased to exist. One of the Scottish societies in Southport closed in 2007, and the Birkenhead St Andrew Society finally folded in the summer of 2009. Elsewhere in Lancashire, there have been closures in Manchester and Salford.

My wife is a member of the Birkenhead St Andrew Society but my involvement with that organisation is really quite minimal. But she's been involved for at least twenty-five years, I would think. But that society actually has now finished. The thing about a lot of these societies is the age profile and I suppose young people aren't interested in going Scottish country dancing and that kind of thing. So what was happening was that the people who were in the club for many, many years were really quite elderly—in their eighties and so on—and their mobility isn't as good, and going out at night and this sort of

⁵² McCarthy, *Immigrants and Minorities*, p. 217.

⁵³ Gill Dalby, Scots' Society of St Andrew, Hull: personal communication, January 2011.

thing. And generally there's just not enough people turning up to form enough groups to do the various dances. So this year, they just decided to fold up the society, seventy or eighty years it had been running. (male, Scots-born, 60s)

Most interviewees recognised that, in order to survive, societies would have to amalgamate but agreed that there was often considerable opposition to the subsequent loss of identity.

How healthy are the various organisations? A lot of them are small, hanging on by the skin of their teeth, which is sad. Maybe it's time to amalgamate but I'm not in a position to suggest that to anybody. Because they're paying to hire halls, but they have very small numbers coming along. How they justify paying their rent, I don't know. (female, Merseyside-born, 50s)

We've said all along, why don't some of the societies merge together because you'd save money on renting your hall and all the rest of it. But it's as if they don't want to let go of their society. (female, Scots-born, 50s)

Certainly there have been a number of changes in the way the societies operate. Most groups appear now to focus on dancing and even the more literary societies like the Burns Club have fewer speakers at meetings than in the past. As far as the dances themselves are concerned, there is now a focus solely on Scottish country dancing, whereas there was previously a greater variety.

Now, when I first went, we didn't really do these country dances. We used to do the Eightsome Reel, the Quadrilles, the Lancers, the Empress Tango, Waltz Cotillion . . . (female, Scots-born, 90s)

Occasionally, there have been special events and, to coincide with Liverpool's stint as European Capital of Culture in 2008, a ball was held in St George's Hall, for the first time in many years, attracting around 350 people.⁵⁴ Although the federation survives, its membership has been depleted by the closure of some societies and Highland Games are no longer held. For the last twelve years, an alternative family 'Fun Day' has been held, most recently in Wigan, but its future appears doubtful. An Arts and Crafts Festival held in March each year is still successful, as are bowls competitions; the popularity of events such as these may reflect the ageing membership of the societies.

What is of particular interest, given that the *raison d'être* of these organisations is the celebration and maintenance of a Scottish identity amongst the diaspora, is the fact that many are increasingly being kept going by non-Scots who join simply because of an interest in dancing.

⁵⁴ Members of Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, Liverpool Branch: personal communication, August 2009.

I think you'll find that an awful lot of people who dance are not Scots. But they just love the music and they love the atmosphere, they love dancing. An awful lot of people in our branch are not Scots.

Q: So if it wasn't for the non-Scots, you'd be struggling?

Oh yes. If it wasn't for the good old Scousers, we'd be on our knees. (female, Merseyside-born, 50s)

At one time, the societies took only Scots, but now we take anybody! (female, Merseyside-born, 70s)

I was the second of the non-Scottish Presidents. Previously you had to have at least one Scottish parent and they terminated that, and the current ruling is that you have to have done some sort of work for the Federation. Which is still not very good because there are not that many people who go on committees. So it hasn't helped greatly. They've now diluted the Chieftainship up to just a Scottish grandparent, rather than being Scottish-born. So I think that means there are six possible Chieftains. So gradually the 'Scottishness' has been diluted. (male, Yorkshire-born, 60s)

Again, the processes observed in Liverpool reflect those recorded by McCarthy in Hull. There, the society had also gradually diluted its membership criteria, first to allow spouses to join, then descendants and then, with the introduction of associate membership, non-Scots.⁵⁵ On Tyneside, however, Burnett and MacRaild suggest that societies had always drawn members from a wider community in order not to appear 'too Scotch'.⁵⁶ In Liverpool, several interviewees referred to their children being less interested in participating in the society, often because they felt more English than Scottish, reflecting their upbringing which had been entirely on Merseyside.

V

It is clear from this research that the Scots have been an important and distinctive group on Merseyside but they have largely been neglected by scholars in comparison with the Welsh and the Irish. Indeed, research on the Scots in England as a whole is curiously limited. It is possible, however, to identify some important differences between the Irish, Welsh and Scottish communities on Merseyside. The Irish are generally accepted as having been much poorer, as well as culturally distinct from the host society. The Welsh were not as economically constrained as the Irish but were usually from North Wales and were often Welsh-speaking. They thus formed a separate community, because of their cultural coherence. The Scots perhaps fall somewhere in between. They were English-speaking and mostly protestant, although their faith was presbyterian rather

⁵⁵ McCarthy, *Immigrants and Minorities*, p. 215.

⁵⁶ Burnett and MacRaild, 'The Irish and Scots on Tyneside', p. 190.

than episcopalian. They also had an important professional status, particularly in medicine. T. M. Devine refers to this so-called 'brain drain' as having been a feature of Scottish emigration since medieval times.⁵⁷ As an expatriate community within England, it is likely that many would have increasingly felt 'British', but it was important for them, as Colley points out, to be Scottish as well.⁵⁸ The Scots were not spatially segregated, however, and so their sense of identity was maintained in rather different ways. Scottish organisations played an important role, although the presbyterian church was also significant, with a Church of Scotland congregation based in Rodney Street in central Liverpool, and with a Liverpool Scottish Regiment operating between 1860 and 1999.⁵⁹

These societies have thus played a key role in maintaining a sense of 'Scottishness' within the Merseyside diaspora from their foundation, often in the nineteenth century, until the 1990s. To a large extent, they have held the diaspora together. There is no doubt, however, that the societies are now in a decline, which for some organisations has been terminal. In part, this is due to the reduced migration from Scotland to Merseyside. Without an influx of new migrants, the Scottish community is ageing, and second and third generation Scots have become assimilated within wider Merseyside society and are less likely to celebrate their Scottish ancestry. This was confirmed by several interviewees.

My daughter's English because she was born in Liverpool. But she could join a Scottish society because she's a member of a Scottish family. But the blood gets weaker and weaker. (female, Scots-born, 90s)

[My children are] definitely English but one of them's a redhead and I tell him that's his Scottish blood coming out. But they would support England at football. England against Scotland, they're very definitely England. Scotland are second best at everything. I don't think it would ever enter their heads, to think of themselves as Scottish. That's mother's area. They really don't have a strong sense of Scottish identity. (female, Scots-born, 50s)

As the sense of 'Scottishness' is becoming diluted over the generations, this would appear to signal the end of the particular distinctiveness of the Scottish community. There is a sharp and noticeable contrast between this English-based diaspora, and the Scottish diaspora elsewhere, particularly in Canada and the United States, where the development of a National Tartan Day after 1998 has provided an important focus for Scottish-Americans to continue to celebrate their

⁵⁷ T. M. Devine, 'Introduction: The paradox of Scottish emigration' in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1992), p. 5.

⁵⁸ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994), p. 373.

⁵⁹ A. Munro and D. Sim, *The Merseyside Scots: a Study of an Expatriate Community* (Birkenhead, Liver Press, 2001), ch. 6.

identity.⁶⁰ There appears to be a growing interest in Scottish identity, ancestry and genealogy in North America and a growth in the number of organisations such as Highland Games and clan societies.⁶¹ Perhaps one reason for the contrast between the Scottish diasporas in England and in America is, simply, distance from the 'homeland'. For those who wish to maintain a Scottish identity on Merseyside, it is now relatively easy to travel back to Scotland, instead of making use of Scottish organisations to do so.

I wonder if that is because Scotland and America have this big pond in between. In England, Scotland is just 'up there', three hours drive away. Is it that Scotland is now too close? In other words, if you want to see a Highland Games, you can go and see them in Scotland. Motorways make it really simple. (male, Merseyside-born, 60s)

The maintenance of the Scottish community on Merseyside as a distinctive entity in the future will depend on two things. The first is the extent to which the children and grandchildren of Merseyside Scots continue to feel 'Scottish' and wish to continue an involvement with Scottish-led organisations. We have already seen that this is increasingly not the case. The second is the extent to which the existing Scots community is 'renewed' by new migrants to the area and it is clear that the numbers of Scots moving to Merseyside has fallen dramatically in the post-war period. Partly this may reflect declining opportunities within the Merseyside economy, but partly also economic and political changes within Scotland. The decline of Scottish organisations on Merseyside, in reflecting these developments, may illustrate the dilution and decline of the diaspora itself.

⁶⁰ E. Hague, 'National Tartan Day: rewriting history in the United States', *Scottish Affairs*, 38 (2002), pp. 94–124.

⁶¹ C. Ray, 'Scottish immigration and ethnic organization in the United States', in C. Ray (ed.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2005), pp. 48–95.