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CULTURE AT THE CORE: INVENTED TRADITIONS AND IMAGINED COMMUNITIES.

PART I: IDENTITY FORMATION

In the twentieth century the category “Scottish traditional dance” emerged, characterized by four distinct forms: Scottish Country Dance, Cheilidh Dance, Scottish Stepdance, and Highland Dance. Prior to this, dance in Scotland was neither labeled “Scottish” nor “traditional.” Communities simply adapted dances and movements, incorporating new ones as they appeared, to express their respective cultures. The upheaval caused by historical events at the end of the nineteenth century brought to the fore a sense of Scottish nationalism. Such ideas necessitated the redefinition of individual and community identities. Traditions unable to adapt to this purpose disappeared; new traditions were invented to take their place. A notion of authenticity played a significant role in forming the new traditions, helping to define the categories “Scottish” and “traditional.” Understanding how authenticity functioned suggests the ways different Scottish identities were constructed using traditional dance.

This article may be divided into three parts. Part I explores the question, “What is tradition?” Tradition is used colloquially in many ways, and has accrued a number of meanings. Thus, its meaning and its relationship to the complementary concepts “invented tradition” and “authenticity” must be explained. Part II deals with the development of nationalism and dance in Scotland from the medieval period to the nineteenth century. A clear understanding of the past will facilitate comprehension of those elements of historic nationalism and those forms of dance that have been drawn
upon or ignored in the creation of twentieth century Scottish traditional dance. Part III offers an analysis of the four genres of traditional dance that exist in Scotland today. It aims to answer the question, “What identity have the participants created in each genre?”

**Tradition, Invented Tradition, and Authenticity**

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “tradition” as something that is passed down, usually orally, from one generation to the next. In this definition, its transmission process defines tradition. When a piece of tradition, that is, a story, a tune, or a dance is passed on from one person to another, it is something thought worthy of transmission and something that is often “improved” as it is imparted. It is through this process, usually a long one, that a given piece of material gains in value. Age and transmission, then, are intrinsic characteristics of tradition so that “traditional” has come to imply both longevity and continuity. Béla Bartók, the Hungarian composer and ethnologist, suggests another definition for tradition. He defines it as the spontaneous expression of a people molded within its community. Unlike the previous definition, this one captures the function of tradition. That is, traditions exist within a community or context, and are expressions of that community’s identity.

An “invented tradition” is defined and functions much like a tradition. Eric Hobsbawm describes it thus:

> Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values or norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.

Much emphasis is placed on giving a practice a suitable history. Whether this history is a long one, extending back several centuries, or a short one, connected with a past
captured by recent events, this link establishes age, a central feature of tradition, and places the invented tradition in an appropriate community, defining values. Repetition is utilized to approximate the other aspect of tradition, the transmission process, which allows the group to mold it. However, unlike traditions as defined by Bartók, invented traditions are not spontaneous group expressions but, rather, a calculated expression by one person or group to promote a desired set of values.

Authenticity is an elusive concept whose meaning changes depending on the context. It is usually defined as "the original" or "unaltered." Through the philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Herder, who located the authentic in the rural folk, however, it gained another meaning. Rousseau believed that only those untouched by society were capable of an authentic human experience. The closest that sophisticated, urbanized people could get to this experience was through a romanticized vision of rural folk and their culture. Thus, expressive "folk" culture was the medium of authentic human experience, and amateurs and academics alike collected and compared folklore with unabated enthusiasm to obtain something original and unaltered, that is, the version most authentic. Not surprisingly, the use of the word had tremendous attraction to many.

A nation such as Britain has socially constructed boundaries to designate societal membership and, by definition, requires the dissolution of the separate cultures within those boundaries to create a national one. However, if not all groups are treated equally in this process, those politically or economically disadvantaged are likely to reassert their culture or elements from it at some later point in time. Invented traditions are one way of reasserting a minority identity. Understanding nationalism’s development in Britain reveals the historical significance of the several identities that emerged with Scottish nationalism.

Nationalization began in Britain with a strong centralized administration in the thirteenth century. The British quickly incorporated the many cultural groups living within the area
that is now England. The Celts, living in outlying regions, maintained their distinctive identities. Celts in the Highlands of Scotland differed dramatically in culture as well as social structure from those who lived in what is now England and Lowland Scotland. The similarities between the latter groups and the British facilitated the Anglicization of Lowland Scotland. The Highlanders, however, maintained their distinctive social structures. Thus, Highland and Lowland identities came to be defined in opposition to one another, described as Celtic versus English.

This division was compounded by the political and economic annexation of Scotland under the Union of Parliaments in 1707. The gentry, particularly those in the Lowlands, who disdained their fellow countrymen as “barbaric,” needed no encouragement to become Anglicized. Much effort was put into learning English, and, not surprisingly, the gentry aligned themselves with English culture, in social dancing as in other aspects of life. Thus, class was another distinction that emphasized the split between Highland and Lowland.

Anglicization gave the gentry much power, but did little to help those in the Highlands. In the first half of the eighteenth century the English, with the help of the Lowlanders, subdued the warring and cattle-stealing Highlanders in a series of battles that culminated in the rout at the Battle of Culloden in 1745. Not long after, the carrying of guns, the wearing of kilts (the traditional garb, although not as we know it today), and the playing of bagpipes were outlawed in an attempt to stop further military advances and to destroy the distinctive Celtic culture. These actions had important consequences. They highlighted Celtic otherness and gave it such key symbols as the kilt and the bagpipes. Moreover, they increased the antipathy between the Lowlands and the Highlands, rather than between Scotland and England per se.

Economically, the Highlands fared no better under English rule than under Scottish rule. From the eighteenth century into the mid-nineteenth century, the Highlands relied on raw materials industries, cattle and wool, making the economy heavily dependent on English trade and capital.
Many people were forced off their land during the Highland Clearances between 1750 and 1850 to make room for sheep, causing mass emigration to Canada and the United States. Once the cattle industry collapsed, opportunities for the remaining Highlanders were limited. Scotland’s dependent economy caused what Michel Hechter, in his book Internal Colonialism, calls a cultural division of labor. Economic inequality, often fought along class lines, was in Scotland fought along cultural lines, with the Highland Celts pitted against the English and the Lowland Scots.

Industrialization was the catalyst that brought the conflicting identities developed in the preceding several centuries to the fore. Full economic and political integration of Scotland into England was completed by the late nineteenth century. Because this process did not eliminate inequality between the Highlands and the Lowlands, social stratification occurred along cultural boundaries, rather than national ones creating two distinct cultural groups, economically disadvantaged, culturally marginalized Highlanders versus wealthy, Anglicized Lowlanders.

At about the same time (1850), educated Scots began to redefine their relationship with England. They decided to stop educating their children in England and instead brought English education and cultural refinement to Scotland. Although nineteenth-century Scottish culture drew very heavily on English prototypes, Scots initiated it and considered Scottish as opposed to English. Scottish nationalism of this strain, at least in theory, ignored Lowland and Highland differences and defined the Scots in opposition to the English.

The Celtic Revival, on the other hand, drew its inspiration from the economic and political oppression of the Highland Celts. The Celtic Revival Movement began in 1903 with the founding of the Celtic Congress. Not a political entity, the organization at its first meeting prioritized the creation of a culture that differentiated Scottish and English identities and stressed affinities with other “Celtic” nations such as Ireland. Celtic Revival leaders cultivated a non-industrial, rural image. Consequently, their focus was the Gaidhealtachd, the Gaelic-
speaking areas, also known as the Highlands. They drew on such symbols as the kilt and bagpipes, banned by the English, to represent their identity. Although the nationalism in this movement drew strongly on the cultural distinctness of the Celtic Highlands, it was generally perpetrated by educated Lowlanders, and, like the previous movement, defined itself in opposition to the English rather than Highland versus Lowland.

The history of the late nineteenth century illustrates three distinct streams feeding the river of national identity in Scotland. One focused internally on the differences between the poor, Celtic Highlands and the wealthier, Anglicized Lowlands. The second attempted to mold English refinement into a uniquely Scottish culture. The third differentiated itself from England by drawing on Celtic symbols. When creating Scottish traditions, different groups chose distinctive historical elements to symbolize Scotland and its history. Their respective decisions are reflected in what they consider traditional. The following brief history of Scottish dancing gives the reader a reference point for examining the identities imbedded within twentieth-century Scottish traditional dance.

Before the eighteenth century, dance existed in two contexts, ritual and social. Ritual dance was performance at festivals. The dancers, specially chosen and trained, usually acted out stories through dance steps and mime. None of these dances exist today in their original versions. All of the stories have disappeared. Indeed, the last recorded ritual dance was the Perth Glover’s dance performed for King James IV in 1633. The most famous remnant of these rituals dances is the Sword Dance, perpetuated through the military and Highland Dance competitions. However, the version done today has no documented basis in any old dance, because the old steps are not known.

Social dancing in Scotland resembled social dance in the rest of Europe. In medieval times, dances were done in rings to extemporized vocal music. At this time there was little distinction between the dances of different classes. During the Renaissance, however, a division occurred between the
dancing of the upper and lower classes. Although the context of upper class dancing remained social, the steps and patterns became so complicated that dancers required training and the dances, choreography. Dancing masters provided both. The music also changed from vocal to instrumental. Consequently, by the eighteenth century, dance differed across the social spectrum.

The eighteenth century witnessed several major changes that affected the development of dance in Scotland. The Union of Parliaments in 1707 reorganized the power structures in Scotland causing the power of the church to wane and dance, the favorite pastime, to move into public dance halls. In Edinburgh, the first public dance hall opened in 1723. These halls were only for the gentry, and the dancing associated with them reflected aristocratic values. Meanwhile increased wealth and closer ties between the Scottish aristocracy and England stimulated a desire to keep up with London fashions and led to balls being held with greater frequency.

Balls were elaborate, formal affairs where a mixture of minuets and country dances, usually English, were done. Although English in origin, these country dances were favored by the Scots and incorporated into their repertoire in the eighteenth century. Young men and women took lessons from dancing masters to learn the figures, movements, and etiquette appropriate to such events. The increase in the number of balls and the enhanced skill of the dancers led to a dramatic upsurge in the creation of new dances. Hence, many refer to this period as the “Golden Age” of Scottish dance. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the public dance halls in Edinburgh were losing their constituency. Young people preferred dancing the less formal country dances in pubs.

Dress influenced the dances as they developed in this upper-class environment. Women were expected to wear ball gowns and light, soft, heeled shoes or slippers. Men wore dress trousers, jackets, and soft, patent leather shoes. Because of the soft shoes, no rhythm pattern made by the feet could be heard. Because of the length of their dresses, women could
not perform high extensions or complicated steps. They never raised their arms, while men, in order not to disturb their jackets, never raised theirs above the shoulders. Only a few distinctive steps were used. Instead, emphasis was on the dance’s many figures. Traveling steps were smooth, and the back was held upright, as in the minuet and as appropriate to elite dance. These dances clearly reflected the culture of the upper classes in which developed in Scotland.

The most important result of the rapid development of dance among the urban upper classes was the impact it had on dancing in non-urban areas. The catalyst for change here was the itinerant dancing master. From the end of the eighteenth century until World War I, virtually every person in Scotland took dancing lessons. This had several effects. First, people in non-urban areas learned the same dances as the gentry; only they wore boots and came from communities that regularly made rhythm with their feet. Rather than delicately holding hands, dancers linked their arms together and used heavy-footed rhythmic steps. Thus, the rural folk, representing a lower class, transformed the delicate movements of the elite into a dance that expressed their own culture.

The “dancies,” as the itinerant instructors were called, also taught their best students solo dances to be performed at “finishing” balls held at the end of a term of lessons. These dances included some steps learned from people in the remote parts of Scotland but more often were based on steps from eighteenth-century stage character dances. Performed in hard shoes, these became the basis for twentieth-century Highland Dance. The last contribution of the “dancies” was to record existing dances and ones they had created, making them accessible to a wider audience. David Anderson’s Ballroom Guide, first published in 1886, became one of the most significant sources of earlier forms. From such sources, people could reconstruct and revive old dances.

By the mid-nineteenth century, public dance halls had opened in many small towns throughout Scotland. These halls institutionalized social dancing as a pastime. People did not differentiate between reels and the newest circle dances.
Both were considered social dancing, one not more Scottish than the other. The average dancer was quite skilled and ready, as well as eager, to learn the newest dances. Dance also occurred outdoors, at weddings, and in an old Gaidhealtachd institution, the cheilidh house.\textsuperscript{xiv} In such places, the generations mixed, and the older dances were done along with the new. Thus, continuity was maintained, but change not stifled as young people incorporated their favorite dances into their repertoires. Rural Scotland maintained a living dance tradition right up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

High dances, which developed into the modern-day Highland dances, were mostly choreographed in the nineteenth century. They are distinguished by the lightness of the stepping (even though often done in hard shoes), as opposed to the heaviness of English clogging or Scottish Stepdance. The High dance’s specific origin is not known, but they were created and taught by dancing masters who were trained in ballet and in stage dance. For example, the Highland fling was originally a step in a reel, and the first recorded instance of it as a separate dance is at the Northern Meeting in 1841.\textsuperscript{xv} The jigs and the hornpipes of present-day Highland Dance originated in clog dancing, an extemporized rhythmic dance imported from England, while much of the manner and costume came from the music hall stage.

The High dances referred to as ladies’ stepdances originated in the nineteenth-century dancing master’s repertoire as well. These dances were typically performed by girls in contrast to the Highland dances, which were done by boys. Unlike the latter, ladies’ stepdances were not performed by professional dancers at competitions in the nineteenth century. These dances would have been done only by children at finishing balls, or used as interludes in stage performances, particularly in England.

The First World War dramatically changed people’s lives and the practice of social dancing. Dancing had reached its peak in Scotland in the nineteenth century and most of the dances we have today are vestiges of this period. By the beginning of the twentieth century, dancing throughout much
of Scotland had lost its popularity. This was particularly true in urban areas where new dances, including jazz and other styles learned abroad, squeezed out older ones. However, in rural Scotland, the old dances continued to be done with enthusiasm, alongside the newer ones. At the same time, national identities were becoming increasingly important. Many Scots began looking for a dance to call their own, one that represented Scotland to them. Four styles of dance arose and were codified over the next several decades: Scottish Country Dance, Highland Dance, Cheilidh Dance, and Stepdance. The next section of this paper focuses on the development of these genres of dance and their function as markers of Scottish culture and identity.

The Royal Scottish Country Dance Society (RSCDS) was formed in 1923 by Jean Milligan, a woman with means and a vision. Scottish Country Dance is a form of social dancing that ignores the styles of the dances immediately preceding it, drawing instead upon the country dances done by the upper classes during the eighteenth century, known to some as the “Golden Age” of Scottish dance. Today, Scottish Country Dance is done all over the world, and symbolizes Scotland to many. It began as an invented tradition that utilized notions of authenticity to justify its creation. An examination of the dance elements “chosen” indicate the identity that Milligan expected to establish through the “invention” of Scottish Country Dancing.

Scottish Country Dance movement and set arrangements draw upon the elite style of eighteenth-century ballroom dance. The movements, although fast at times, remain graceful. The back is held upright, and the feet are pointed and turned out. The hands, when held, are done so elegantly, just below the shoulder. Other formalities reminiscent of upper-class life have been maintained as well. A Scottish Country Dance Ball begins with a grand march, in which everybody parades around the room with a partner. When each pair reaches the front of the room, their names and titles are announced. The march is concluded by the men leading the women into lines that stretch length of the dance floor, men one
side, and women on the other. When the music begins, the couples bow or curtsy to each other and begin weaving the different figures.

Scottish Country Dance, however, did not revive all aspects of eighteenth-century dancing in Scotland. Minuets, the main dances performed at eighteenth-century balls, were not adopted. The attire, although it remained formal also changed. No longer were ball gowns, britches, and formal dress shoes worn, but rather white dresses and tartan sashes for the women, kilts for the men and soft ghillies for both. Analyzing the elements that were chosen, whether disregarded or added, will indicate the identity sought.

The choice of elite movement brought from England immediately indicates the second “stream” discussed above: those who wanted to incorporate English refinement into a Scottish identity. The country dances, unlike the minuets, precisely illustrate the identity desired. They are dances, brought from England, that became popular and were subsequently scotticized. The change of clothing visually reinforces Scottish identity. The kilt and tartan, eighteenth-century phenomena, were associated at the time with the lower classes until they came into vogue at the very end of the century. Having become markers of identity as invented traditions, they clearly symbolize Scotland to viewers of the dance.\textsuperscript{xvi} Likewise, the shoes were borrowed from Highland Dance, another invented tradition that was strongly symbolic of Scottish culture at the time.

The concept of authenticity played a crucial role in Milligan’s justifying these decisions. She always drew on what she called “authentic” steps, that is, steps that had been written down. When a conflict emerged between recorded versions, Milligan always chose the oldest source. Another goal she stipulated for RSCDS was to collect old books and pictures of Scottish dancing. The desire for old material is not surprising because invented traditions need context. In this case, the eighteenth century served to provide the necessary context. Her use of written material gave the invented tradition two of its three crucial components, age and context.
Milligan’s use of the vocabulary of authenticity, however, allowed her to abandon current dance practice and replace it with an invented tradition that skipped a century and still maintain a sense of continuity. For example, Milligan claimed that much of the authentic dance material had been lost rather than transformed during the nineteenth century.

Although Milligan utilized the vocabulary of authenticity in relation to dance steps, she did not subscribe to all its connotations. She did not, for example, locate the “authentic” in the folk. Milligan specifically argued that country dances were not folk dances because all strata of society did them. She called them popular dances, finding them representative of all of Scotland, at least in terms of steps. Her program recalled the nationalist identity that arose at the end of the nineteenth century when upper-class people wanted a culture that represented Scotland as an entity distinct from England. These elite Scottish Country Dance proponents also desired a refined style comparable to that found in England. Thus, instead of choosing a movement style evocative of the lower, rural classes, Milligan focused on the refined upper-class style that came from the eighteenth century.

The use of authenticity to justify an invented tradition significantly influences how a form can change. During the creation of Scottish Country Dance, most dances were eighteenth-century reconstructions. Eventually, a technique emerged from the process of re-creating dances. It is this technique that remains relatively unchanging and today defines Scottish Country Dance. At the same time, new dances proliferated. This outcome is not surprising given that the elements labeled as authentic were steps (and movements) rather than dances. Although innovation was allowed, it did not go unchecked. The newsletter, Dance Archive, was established specifically to publish dances in their “correct” form. Once a dance was published, along with recommended music and tempo, it was not allowed to change. The convention was established that if a dance was not liked, a new one should be created rather than the old one changed. The Archive sought to accommodate innovation while preserving
the “original,” in order to maintain authenticity and thus the identity projected by Scottish Country Dance.

Highland Dance as it exists today is a child of the Celtic Revival movement. It is a highly standardized solo dance form done mostly in competitions at Highland games in Scotland and the diaspora—Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Highland Dance has existed in some form since the end of the eighteenth century and has existed in a similar form since the nineteenth century. However, standardization in 1952 structured its development and changed its identity.

The dances and steps of Highland Dance come from the itinerant (often Lowland) dance masters of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only did they teach the country dances to students, but also solo dances to their best pupils. However, as noted above, many of the Highland dance steps are not, as reputed, centuries old, but derived from stage dancing of the day. The dancing entered the Highland games first as interlude entertainment between piping events. It later developed in a competition circuit for “professional” or highly skilled male dancers.

Unlike in Scottish Country Dance, Highland Dance does not communicate identity through the choice of steps but rather through its supporting lore. Much of this lore suggests a romanticized Celtic world that fought English oppressors. The Sword Dance, linked to warrior life, represents oracle by dance. Done before battle, it was said that if the dancer touched the sword during performance, then the battle would be lost. The dance known as the Sean Triubhas, which translates into English as “baggy trousers,” has movements that refer to shaking off the pants that people were required to wear when the kilt was outlawed, a reference to Scottish conflict with the English. The dance form is buttressed visually by Scottish symbols as well. The kilt is worn and the bagpipes are played, even though this is a rather late development coming when the form became a part of the Highland games, another highly conscious symbolic event. The identity wrapped up within Highland Dance, found
mostly in extra-dance elements, reflects that of the Celtic revival. This was a primarily Lowland movement that identified with the oppressed Celts to differentiate Scottish from English.

Very clever inventors of tradition, the creators of Highland Dance established the necessary elements—age, continuity, and context—entirely through lore. Age and context (although both fabricated) are ascertained through the stories that accompany the dance; continuity through their constant repetition in the Highland games. Although the vocabulary of authenticity played little direct role in establishing the form, Rousseau’s and Herder’s authentic, romanticized notion of folk facilitated such a powerful use of lore. Authenticity actually played a more active role in maintaining Highland Dance. In 1952 the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dance (SOBHD) was created to standardize the form. Authentic dances and steps were chosen from the repertoire of famous dancers and written down. A combination of an official body, a rigorous judging system, and teaching organization preserved the exactness of execution, or the authenticity of the steps.

The use of authenticity in this case is more restrictive than with Scottish Country Dance because it envelops not just the steps, but the dances and many of the extra-dance aspects of the form. Thus, there is very little room for innovation. Indeed, what was once a highly innovative form, judged on its performance values, has become a cluster of symbols that are difficult to change. Innovation is limited to choreography competitions and usually involves transposing solo dances into group performances, rather than creating new dances. Dancers may create new dances, but they must use steps from the tradition. Moreover, the music must be considered Scottish, and some sort of tartan must be worn. Thus, the symbolic structure remains intact to keep the identity viable.

Scottish Stepdance, although an extremely old form, has been only recently revived in Scotland in the last ten years. An active tradition in the Highlands and Islands until the end of the nineteenth century, it survived only in the
diaspora, on isolated Cape Breton Island. It is a solo, rhythmic extemporized form of dancing similar to tap. There are several basic steps on which all other steps are built. When Stepdance was revived in Scotland, the steps were known, but the extra-dance aspects had to be defined in order to suggest the identity this dancing represented.

Stepdance’s use of rhythm and hard shoes immediately associate it with the Highlands, where this type of dancing has its history. It gains this association, and consequently its identity, more substantially, however, from the context in which it is developing. Those who have taken up this style of dancing tend to be involved in the burgeoning traditional arts movement, including the Feisen. Stepdance is an integral part of the Feis movement, taught alongside Gaelic language and music. However, it is rarely taught beside other forms of dance, such as Scottish Country Dance or Highland Dance. The association of Stepdance with the Cheilidh House, the center of the Gaelic community, makes it evocative of pre-industrial Highland Scotland. It draws from similar sources as the Celtic revival movement which fostered Highland Dance, but unlike this movement, it makes no pretense to represent all of Scotland. Rather it represents the Gaelic Highlands in opposition to the Anglicized Lowlands. It does not utilize any material Scottish symbols but finds its identity in elements of the Cheilidh House, the connection between musician and dancer, and the idea of community.

Although the idea of authenticity is less prevalent in Stepdance than in Scottish Country Dance or Highland Dance, it occasionally surfaces. The champions of this type of dance claim its authenticity by saying, “This is the real stuff, the old stuff.” Thus, it is both age and the context of the Gaelic Cheilidh House and what that represents that makes it authentic. Gaelic culture is the basis for distinguishing the authentic in this instance. Any elements that can be considered Gaelic – rhythms, instruments, informal presentation style – can be utilized to represent this tradition.

Therefore, Stepdance has significant room for innovation. However, because the community itself is the authentic
element, it must innovate together, accepting or rejecting aspects of change, as it did in the past. Creativity consequently abounds. All steps are made up. Although there are basic steps in jig, strathspey, and reel time, and a few standard steps, movements can be added at will. The goal of the dance is either to accentuate the rhythm of the music or add a rhythmic counterpoint. Therefore, as traditional music becomes more rhythmically complicated so does the dancing.

Cheilidh Dance has almost opposite goals from Scottish Country Dance or Highland Dance. Although the dances are also country dances, they draw on much later dances in that tradition, ones primarily from the nineteenth century, and are usually done in the style previously characterized as rural. Unlike Scottish Country Dance, Cheilidh Dance started informally as a “craze” around 1975. It manifested itself in universities, the traditional music scene, and at the Riverside Club in Glasgow. It began as a rather spontaneous expression of Scottish youth identity, a manifestation of an alternative Scottish identity to that found in Scottish Country Dance and Highland Dance, the traditional forms of the establishment. It has become a “new” tradition.

The dances are drawn from country dances, quadrilles, and round-the-room circle dances done frequently at weddings and rural gatherings. There are set dances such as Strip the Willow and the Virginia reel done in lines like Scottish Country Dance; couple dances like the military two-step, the Canadian barn-dance, and the gay gordons; the eightsome reel, a quadrille; and the waltz. There is nothing orderly about Cheilidh Dance. People haphazardly find partners and form sets, and the romp begins. There are no steps per se. People run or walk wildly through the figures and dances. One does not grasp hands elegantly but links elbows instead. Although Cheilidh Dance has the same roots as Scottish Country Dance, its movement projects a rural, lower-class identity, rather than an elite upper-class one.

The dances themselves (or their age) are not important. The focus remains on the fact that the dances are known or learned easily by many people. They recall the famous
West Coast tradition of the Cheilidh house, which brought people together to share music and dance. However, because Cheilidh Dance has none of the features of an invented tradition—age, continuity, or context—it cannot reflect an identity other than that of its participants. It is unselfconsciously Scottish. It is Scottish because Scottish participants do it at Scottish venues. Not surprisingly, the language of authenticity plays no role within this form because there is no identity that has been consciously formed or that is in need of maintenance.

In Cheilidh Dance, as opposed to Scottish Country Dance, innovation does not lie in new dances but in technique and movement. There is no standard technique. The more creative and showy the transformation of the steps, the more praised the dancing. For example, a Scottish Country Dance pas de basque will be done as a stomp kick with the dancer landing as loudly as possible on two feet and then flinging one leg as high as possible into the air. Orderly traveling steps, become racing romps to one end of the hall and back. Anything too dignified will inspire the comment, “You need another beer!” People express themselves in the way they do the dances.

Four distinct identities have been described above: three that surfaced in the nineteenth century, and one contemporary identity. Scottish Country Dance represents a nationalistic pan-Scottish identity. Drawing on the elite style of country dances done in the eighteenth century, Scottish Country Dance is able to use dances done by all Scots as well as distinguish Scotland from England without losing English refinement. Highland Dance, on the other hand, functions to distinguish the romanticized Celts, or Highland Scots, from their Lowland counterparts. Stepdance draws on a Gaelic, Westcoast identity, or Highland identity. Finally, Cheilidh Dance portrays a more contemporary identity.

Each of the four “Scottish traditional dance” genres allow different levels of innovation. In those communities where identity is defined by their traditions, as in the case of Highland Dance and Scottish Country Dance, there are few opportunities for innovation. Change is controlled, and the
constructed identity maintained through the language of authenticity. As a result, it is mainly Highland Dance and Scottish Country Dance that can be transplanted to other countries by anyone who learns the tradition and follows the codes of dress, movement, and behavior. However, in those communities where identity is established by their dancing, as in the case of Cheilidh Dance and Stepdance, innovation is boundless, curtailed only when the community denies change as a legitimate expression. Their very freedom represents a threat to the survival of specific forms, since they evolve continuously. At the same time, having few material symbols associated with them, they cannot easily exist outside of the Scottish communities that gave them birth. The above distinction between how identities are formed and maintained, through tradition or through dancing, becomes important in understanding the role of these specific dance genres in community formation that will be discussed in next year’s issue.

_Columbia University (Barnard College)._ 

End Notes


vi Ibid., pp.109-118.

vii Ibid., pp.149-150.
viii Ibid., pp.127-162.

ix Ibid.

x The Gaidhealtachd refers to the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland.


xii At the end of a term of lessons, each dance master would have a finishing ball in which students demonstrated what they had learned.

xiii Character dances were typically performed as interludes on longer theatrical bills. Although used in Scotland, these dances were mainly developed in England.

xiv The cheilidh house was a gathering place in the Gaidhealtachd in which people of a community would congregate on a cold winter night to dance, play music, and tell stories.


xvi Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 23.

xvii The Highlands and Islands is a term used in Scotland to refer to the north of mainland Scotland and the Western Islands such as Uist, Harris, and Lewis. It also implies the Gaelic-speaking areas.

xviii Cape Breton is an island in the Northeast part of Canada. Populated by Highland clearance emigrants, it has continued the traditions of the Highlands of Scotland without much outside influence until the 1970s. The styles in Cape Breton are used in Scotland as a model for its old styles.

xix The Feis Movement was started to re-introduce those in the Highlands and Islands to Gaelic traditional culture, including language, music, and dance.
There is none more Scots than the Scots abroad.
(Spirit of the West)

The first attempt of a Scottish settlement in North America was a failure. After he was granted permission to colonize, Sir William Alexander officially named the new colony Nova Scotia, New Scotland, in 1621. Although the first Scottish settlement appeared in 1629, immigration for real did not start until after the Seven Years War and after the expulsion of the previous French Acadian settlers in 1759. Despite the complex colonial history of the Province, the original coat of arms showing the Scottish connection (St. Andrew’s Cross and the rampant lion in the middle of the crest), granted in 1625, has been kept as a permanent symbol of the province throughout its colonial history and up until today.

The aim of this article is to trace the origin and show the presence of Scottish icons in contemporary Halifax. In particular, the research focuses on the Scottish images presented to the public. The analysis of these Scottish symbols starts from the historical places of interests related to Scotland, which represent the oldest connection to the fatherland. Secondly, this discussion focuses on some of the printed sources available in Halifax, which establishes a link to either Scotland or the Scots in Nova Scotia. In particular, for the purpose of this article, the analysis focuses on the Scottish imagery presented to the readers. Thirdly, a critical analysis looks at
the commercial use of Scottish imagery by the tourist and advertising industry in Nova Scotia.

In order to understand the evolution of Scottish culture (and, consequently, of its representations) in Canada, it is fundamental to take into consideration the main political, social and economic factors that led to the migration. In addition to these, it is crucial to remember the cultural background that the Scots packed in their intellectual and psychological luggage on their way to the New World. These three main factors (political-social, economic and cultural) appear to have influenced the development of Scottish culture abroad, when we look at the history and the causes of the Scottish immigration.

Firstly, Scotland had just undergone one of the most dramatically celebrated episodes of its history. The defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie’s army at Culloden in 1745 brought drastic social changes to the Highland society. The clan system virtually ceased to exist, as private ownership was to substitute the traditional feudal system. The end of the clan system meant the cutting of the previous bonding that existed among clan members. Moreover, the political and social changes occurring after Culloden were marked by the ban on the wearing of the tartan (repealed only in 1789).

Secondly, major economic changes took place in the Highlands between the end of the eighteenth and the second half of the nineteenth century and represented another relevant factor for the Scottish Diaspora. The start of a new kind of economic exploitation – in terms of capitalist agriculture and intensive sheep breeding – culminated in the Highland Clearances, a process of serious depopulation which would last until the 1860s. The intensive emigration triggered by the Highland Clearances was inevitably going to affect the face of the new Scottish communities which were growing larger and more numerous all over the New World.

Thirdly, cultural changes had taken place in Scotland at the time when immigration reached its peak, between the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. The outburst and development of the Romantic Movement that
was inflaming intellectuals all over Europe did not leave the Scottish nation untouched. In fact, it is in this context that the Highlands and its inhabitants started to be the object of the mythopoetic literary imagination across Europe. In the wilderness of the landscape and the alleged wildness of its dwellers was identified the re-incarnation of the ‘noble-savage’, a myth developed towards the end of the Enlightenment and later become a central concept in the Pre-Romantic movement.¹

In this cultural frame, Scotland saw the rise of two distinguished figures in the literary scene: Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott. The passionate feelings towards Scottish traditions and cultural identity embodied by Burns's poetry were echoed, later, in the creation of a mythical Scotland and an idealized heroic interpretation of its history portrayed in Scott's novels. The cult of a romantic Scotland, the worship of its bards Burns and the fake Ossian and the myth of its savage Highlanders, became symbols of the romantic search of identity for the Romantic intellectuals all over Europe, as well as the foundation of the myth of the Scottish immigration in Canada.²

From the start, the making of the Scottish myth both in Europe and in Canada focused on a romanticized concept of the Highlands. It is not a mere coincidence that Highland Societies started to mushroom all over North America virtually at the same time as in Britain. In fact, Halifax North-British Society (renamed The Scots since 1995) – the oldest institution of the kind in Canada – was founded in 1768, ten years earlier than the Highland Society in London. Whether or not the Highland connection was justified in some way or another, all Canadian Scottish societies flouted Highland symbols as icons of their cultural identity. Bagpipes and kilts started to play a fundamental role in any of the manifestations organized by the societies, including ‘Burns suppers’ and the popular Highland Games (held for the first time in Halifax in 1845 and Antigonish in 1863). These ‘were not exclusively patronized by Scots, but [they] represented Scottish identity at its most colorful and most conspicuous
and provided fertile fields for the invention of tradition’.iii

Behind the Highland emblems stood Scots from all social and geographical backgrounds. Upper- and working-class, Highlanders and Lowlanders, soldiers and peasants would all bond in the name of a peaceful coexistence, which they had seldom experienced in their fatherland. Most likely though, even this re-established harmony within the New World Scottish society was only a myth. As Cowan suggests: ‘in point of fact, the often considerable antipathy between Lowlander and Highlander which existed in the Old Country was frequently exported to the New World’.iv

It is interesting to notice how the memory of the Highlands would change in the creation of a new Scottish mythology shared by the immigrants. Rusty Bitterman has stressed the discrepancies in the Scottish immigrants’ attitudes (and consequent interpretations) towards the agrarian transformations of the Highlands, according to their social background. It was mainly the upper class that encouraged the development of the Highland myth. The concept of an idyllic Scottish society in the New World did not leave space to an open critique of the capitalist transformation of the Highlands in the Old World. Symptomatically, the Highland Clearances were hardly ever mentioned, because somehow they did not fit in the romantic model that was being created.v

Historical accounts and mythical reinterpretation of the Scottish immigration in Canada do not follow the same path. In fact, on many occasions, the later creation of Scottish migration mythology betrays an obvious distortion of the actual events. The glorious group of Scottish immigrants who arrived on board the Hector in 1773 represents the most celebrated episode of the Scots migration to Nova Scotia. This historical landmark has acquired a mythical aura equaling the Mayflower’s fame, ever since its dramatic landing on the shores of Pictou.vi

More recently the fame of the Hector was celebrated by the successful reproduction of the mythical ship launched in Pictou in September 2000. Already in 1999 the tourist brochure Sunrise Trail: Heritage Tour included a picture
portraying the re-enactment of the Scottish arrival in Pictou: a red bearded Scotsman, dressed up in traditional tartan attire, including kilt, sporran and a jacket with shiny, newly-polished brass buttons. It is unlikely that the Scots on board of the Hector could have looked so glamorous after such a long and strenuous journey! Furthermore, as Cowan has observed, it is not credible that they would wear kilts at all. In fact, the ban on the wearing of kilts was only repealed in 1789. Afterwards, tartan started to be fashionable mainly among those who could afford it, and consequently became a real upper-class status symbol: ‘the fanciful notion of starving Highlanders in ragged kilts struggling ashore at Pictou off the Hector in 1773 is thus entirely false’.

Ironically, a new ‘Ship Hector Tartan’, designed by Janice Gammon was registered with Scottish Tartan Society in 1999, in preparation of the Hector re-enactment celebration. Tartan imagery, undoubtedly, represents one of the most effective systems of cultural symbols easily identified by tourists, a factor that seems to have provided a relevant incentive to the Hector project, as confirmed in an article published in the Pictou Advocate:

> Once built, the Hector will be an essential part of Pictou County’s tourism industry and will provide substantial economic benefits to the town of Pictou. [...] It will also stand a lasting memorial to the Scottish settlers who first came into Pictou harbor in 1773.

The emphasis given to the financial benefits implied in the project has perhaps lessened the commemorative and cultural value of the initiative. The last section of this article will go into a deeper analysis of the role played by the tourist industry in the development of the Scottish imagery in Halifax.

Finally, before going into a deeper analysis of Scottish icons in Halifax, it might be worth having a look at some statistics and data concerning Halifax and Nova Scotia at the threshold between the twentieth and the twenty-first century.
In the 1830s the Scots represented the largest ethnic group in Nova Scotia, but by 1871 their number had dropped to just one third of the population. The 1921 census shows the higher proportions of the immigrants with English origin (39%) against those with Scottish ancestry (28%). In 1996 the proportion seemed to have increased slightly in favor of the Scots who represented 32% of the total population of Nova Scotia while the English population had decreased to 37%. As for the capital, according to census compiled in 1996, Halifax had a population of 94,900 inhabitants with Scottish ethnic origin, 28.5% of the total population, outnumbered by the 131,685 with an English ancestry (39.6%).

Although the Scots do not seem to represent the largest ethnic group any longer, the presence of Scottish culture in Nova Scotia and in Halifax is still very strong. Scholars have noted how the development of the Scottishness in Nova Scotia was greatly encouraged by the rise of tourist industry. In particular, the role of Nova Scotia Scottish Premier Angus L. Macdonald gave a definite stir to the events in the 1930s. Macdonald promoted Scottish culture as the main traditional heritage in Nova Scotia. He supported the foundation of St. Ann’s Gaelic College in Cape Breton as well as the construction and improvement of the Cabot Trail, now promoted as the most scenic route in Nova Scotia.

Behind all the initiatives undertaken by Macdonald, stood his own patriotic feelings for his ancestry. In particular, as stressed by Iain MacKay, Macdonald’s views concerning Scotland focused only on the Highlands and the clans, an ideology that went back to the romantic myth of Scotland, shared by the immigrants from the very beginning. This is why MacKay describes Macdonald's policy in terms of 'anti-modernism', an attitude towards the historical past that became the main angle through which folk-traditions were made the center of interest and started a trend in Nova Scotia. “Tartanism”, in MacKay’s words, ‘the system of signs testifying to the supposed Scottish essence of Nova Scotia’, is the result of a long-standing policy in order to promote the Scottishness of Nova Scotia. How can the present situation
relate to it? Do the Scottish icons still have a genuine meaning? Or is it just a mere post-modernist version of tartanism with no other reason to exist but the economic profits from the tourist industry? This analysis will address these issues and attempt to interpret the depth of contemporary Scottish icons in Halifax.

This journey through the Scottish icons in Halifax starts with its monuments and historical sites. There are seven Scottish-related places of interests in Halifax: Point Pleasant Park, Burns’ Monument, Scott’s Bust, Menstrie Castle Cairn, St. Mary’s University, Dalhousie University and Halifax Citadel. As far as Scottish vestiges are concerned, Point Pleasant Park holds two features of interest: the heather and the lamp posts. The patch of heather in Halifax Southernmost point has been the object of debate dating as far back as 1878. A series of letters to the editor of the Morning Chronicle testifies the lively interest raised by the plant in August 1878. Most of the correspondents suggested that the heather had been imported from Scotland. An anonymous H., however, strongly disagreed with these interpretations, as he believed the plant was nothing but North American in its origin:

In the first place, I am utterly at a loss to know - as I am sure most of your readers must be - what business anybody has to call the plant in question ‘Scotch heather’, even supposing it to be an exotic – which is not. It could with just as much property be called ‘Welsh heather’, or ‘Irish heather’, or ‘Scandinavian heather’, if we had to go abroad to find a genealogy for it.xv

The author of the letter claims to contradict the stereotype that any heather originates from Scotland. The Editor, on the other hand, feels he has to warn that this letter might touch a delicate matter as far as the Scottish community is concerned:

The Heather question is one of the most interesting of the day. ‘H.’, whose letter we publish today, makes sad havoc with the cherished ideas
of some of our Scottish citizens. He will never be forgiven for asserting that Heather might properly be called Welsh, Irish or Scandinavian.xvi

In 1928, an article on *Dalhousie Review* presented a brief summary of some of the several versions of the same legend about the origin of the heather in Point Pleasant. According to some, the heather in Point Pleasant came from nowhere but from the pockets of the founder of Nova Scotia. Sir William Alexander aimed indeed at the creation of a new ‘Land of Heather’ in North America.xvii According to others, the soldiers of the Black Watch regiment camping in Point Pleasant in 1757 planted the seeds. Whether the heather seeds were planted by the men ‘being desirous of perpetuating the badge of so many of their clansmen’ or accidentally fell off their mattresses, the plant had definitely a Highland origin.xviii

The truth is the heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) has definitely been imported to North America from Europe. Nonetheless, it is not certain whether it really came from Scotland. It is clear that, regardless of scientific evidence, heather has played an important role as a persistent symbol of Scottishness, in the creation of the Scots mythography in Nova Scotia. Incidentally, it might be interesting to observe that at the time of the heather debate, the population of Scots had already decreased to one third of the total inhabitants of Nova Scotia.xix

At the entrance of Point Pleasant Park stand five old gas lamp-posts. Each of them bears an inscription: ‘GLASGOW CORPORATION LIGHTING DEPARTMENT 1900’. On the side next to the text is another piece of evidence about their origin: the tree, the bird, the fish and the bell of Glasgow coat of arms. A Gen. K. C. Appleyard gave the lamp posts to the city of Halifax in 1967. Although their Scottish origin could not have been more obvious, this is how the local newspaper commented on the episode in the article “Monstrosities” for The Park”: ‘Five old English lamp standards, and one of three old horse watering troughs donated to Halifax by British industrialist Gen. K. C. Appleyard are to be located in Point Pleasant Park’.xx It is strange that a Nova Scotian
newspaper such as the *Halifax Mailstar* would not only fail to highlight the Scottish connection of the gifts, but even odder that the editors would dismiss it altogether. Why have the lamp posts, the only original Scottish monuments present in Halifax (besides the stones of Menstrie Castle Cairn) not become the object of a more obvious public display? A possible answer to this strange dismissal could lie in the origin of the lamp posts, since they did not originate from the heart of the Highlands, or from the historical capital of Scotland, Edinburgh. The gift, from a not yet very glamorous industrial Glasgow, bore the Lowlands trademark. Moreover, Glasgow’s image and rough reputation, only promoted by the tourist industry in the last fifteen years and its nomination as European City of Culture in 1990, would have definitely failed to fit the romantic Scottish myth in the 1960s. xxi

The path followed by the initiatives promoted by the North British Society in Halifax perfectly fits this myth. The monuments chosen to represent Scottishness in Halifax all bare strong connections with a romantic view of Scotland. Symptomatically, Burns and Scott are chosen as the most representative Scottish poets, while Menstrie Castle Cairn was built with the stones from an old Scottish castle. Halifax Burns Monument was erected in Victoria Park on September 13th 1919, 160 years after the death of the celebrated bard. The decision to erect a monument to the most celebrated of the Scottish poets suggests the will to give Halifax a public emblem of the connection with the fatherland. An article commented on the unveiling of the monument referring to the Bard from ‘Old Scotland’, highlighting the strong boundary between ‘Old’ and ‘New Scotland’.

The aim to perpetrate the familial links between Scotland and Nova Scotia was made more manifest by the erection of the Scott Bust at the entrance of the Public Gardens on September 21st 1932, the 100th anniversary of Scott’s death. The bust was the only copy in North America of the Chantrey Bust in Scott’s Library at Abbotsford. The erection of the monument was preceded by great expectation and utmost excitement on behalf of the Committee appointed by
the North British Society for the monument. In one of the relevant documents, Chief Justice J. A. Chilsom stated that ‘It will probably be the only memorial of the kind in the Western world’; Chilsom also kept a regular correspondence with Major General Maxwell Scott to whom he wrote these enthusiastic lines:

I cannot express too highly my appreciation of your kindness in this matter in giving us an opportunity of commemorating here in Halifax in so an exceptional way your illustrious ancestor, Sir Walter Scott. Apart from other consideration, it is not inappropriate that in the Capital city of new Scotland, we should keep alive the name and memory of the great man who brought so much reknown of Old Scotland.xxii

Once again, the romantic myth of Scotland comes forward as celebrated by Sir Walter Scott’s work. In addition to this, Chilsom mentioned ‘the educative value to the young people; fostering interest in higher things’ in his speech before the presentation of the monument.xxiii

Menstrie Castle Cairn (1957) is situated a little further south from the Burns Monument. Perhaps the least famous of the monuments patronized by the North British Society, nonetheless, it is the only one made of ‘original’ Scottish material. The Cairn was erected to celebrate the memory of Sir William Alexander with stones from Menstrie Castle, birthplace of the founder of Nova Scotia. In an article commenting on the shipping of the stones from Scotland to Nova Scotia ‘free of charge’, it is noted that: ‘People in Scotland are aware of the genuine interest and close ties between their country and the people of New Scotland’. The same comment seems to be shared on the other side of the Atlantic, as Lord Wemys, Chairman of the National Trust for Scotland said of Nova Scotia: ‘It is a great community which is so important to Scotland, and which regards Scotland as so important to itself’; the article also mentioned Lord Wemys’s fear that ‘The province [...] would suffer a great disaster if its
people could see nothing more of Scotland’s past than her lovely hills'.

What would have mattered to the English, the French, the Mi’kmaq and all the other Non-Scottish ethnic groups if the Scottish past had been completely erased from Nova Scotia? It is clear that in 1957, although the Scottish community was not any longer the most numerous ethnic group of the province, Nova Scotia still felt essentially Scottish. Other interesting facts emerge from the history of the two colleges in Halifax. Reverend Edmund Burke founded St. Mary’s University, the oldest University in Halifax, in 1802. Facing financial hardship from the very beginning, the uncertain future of the college was rescued in 1913 by the initiatives of the Christian Brothers of Ireland who directed it until it was taken over by the Jesuit Fathers in 1940.

It was in the 1940s that Daniel Fogarty, S.J., designed St. Mary’s University coat of arms. As stated in the University Calendar, ‘each symbol in the crest has a significance relevant to the various phases and history of the University’. The motto ‘Age Quod Agis’ is taken from the Irish Christian Brothers, while the official seal of the Jesuits stands in the middle of the shield. Beside other religious and academic symbols, there are two crowns representing the college’s loyalty towards the Dominion of Canada and the British Commonwealth; last, but not least, ‘is the thistle, which stands for Nova Scotia’s Scottish heritage’. Although the Scots did not play any relevant role in the history of St. Mary’s University, the Scottish heritage, once again, appears as representative of the cultural history of the Province.

The history of Dalhousie University’s foundation is rather peculiar. As we read on an official inscription opposite to the Clock Building:

In September 1814, a British military and naval expedition from Halifax, under Lieutenant General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke and Rear Admiral Edward Griffith, occupied the portion of Maine between Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers.
Major General Gérard Gosselin governed that district from Castine, until 26th April 1815. Governor Dalhousie utilized the Custom Duties collected during this period for the endowment of the Garrison Library and Dalhousie College.

According to P.B. Waite, Lord Dalhousie found himself with a considerable sum of money after the Peace of Ghent (1814) and considered his options carefully. After the first thought of investing the amount in Halifax King’s College, he decided to create a new college on the model of the University of Edinburgh, the institution he attended in the capital of his fatherland. Having obtained permission, Dalhousie College was officially opened on 22 May 1820.xxvii Dalhousie University has been using the Earl of Dalhousie’s coat of arms virtually ever since its foundation, although, technically speaking, this has never been made official. Despite the fact the Scottish icons used are less obvious to a profane eye than the thistle on St. Mary’s University’s crest, Dalhousie’s emblem is, undoubtedly, a Scottish import.xxviii

Halifax Citadel represents the stronghold of Scottishness in Halifax. Acknowledged as one of the most important historic sites in Canada and undoubtedly the most impressive monument in Halifax, the Citadel has come to represent another emblem of the Scottish influence on the city and the Province. Completed in 1856, the present Citadel is the final evolution of four subsequent forts, built by the British army in order to protect the city from an eventual American attack. The Citadel, however, has never been attacked, and since 1951 has concluded its military career to become a National Historic Site. Visitors heading towards the entrance of the site encounter a welcome sign portraying a full-size image of a Highlander. Once inside the building they are entertained by the historical animation program organized by Parks Canada. This includes arms drill, bayonet exercise and firing demonstration performed by students dressed up in kilts of the MacKenzie tartan like original 78th Highlanders. These performances are alternated or accompanied by the
music of the pipers who again are dressed up to resemble the 78th pipers.

The 78th Highland Regiment occupied the Citadel during the years 1869-71. Before and after them many (non-Scottish) regiments dwelt in the barracks of the fort. Yet, the Highlanders have been chosen to represent all the military history of the Citadel. Several reasons seem to have led to this decision. In one of the Management Plans of the Citadel it is suggested that the 78th was chosen because the Highlanders occupied the Citadel for quite a lengthy period of time when the fort reached its greatest status. Elsewhere, it is suggested that the Haligonians received the Highlanders particularly warmly. This is how the Highlanders were welcomed to Nova Scotia, according to an article entitled ‘The Kilities’:

The 78th Highlanders landed on Saturday morning and marched to the quarters assigned to them – some at the [militia] drill shed, Spring Garden Road, some at the Citadel. They presented a fine appearance. It is a long time since Halifax had a regiment wearing the kilt, and the appearance of the men created quite a sensation.

Similar comments are to be found in the Halifax Evening Reporter, the British Colonist and the Halifax Citizen and even in some of the religious papers such as the Presbyterian Witness and the Christian Messenger. The main emphasis focused on the tartan attire that definitely made a strong impression on the Haligonians. Perhaps some critics could interpret this enthusiasm as a pre-manifestation of ‘tartanism’, later used by Parks Canada to attract more visitors to the Citadel. Or maybe it was just the sheer excitement raised by the charming looks of the Highlanders who sailed back after two and a half years with a small ‘army’ of seventeen Nova Scotian women they had married during their stay.

Although it cannot be denied that a genuine enthusiasm on behalf of the population in Halifax was involved in the
history of the 78th Regiment at the Citadel, it is, on the other hand, a fact that the Scottish imagery has been used ad abundantiam in the advertising strategies of Parks Canada. Commenting on the success achieved by the Regiment’s pipers, this is what is recorded on one of Parks Canada Information Sheets: ‘No doubt the pipes and drums added a touch of Scottish color quite appropriate to the capital of a province called Nova Scotia’.xxxiv It is definitely more than ‘a touch of Scottish color’, that can be experienced today at the Citadel. Pipes and ceilidh music can be heard on the way to the Citadel gift shop. And as the visitors browse around it, being tempted to take a souvenir back home, they cannot but be dazzled by the incredible amount of (pseudo) Scottish things that crowd the place.

Halifax Citadel Gift Shop represents a good source for all sorts of publications about the Scots and Scotland. It is hardly surprising that Highland Scotland with its clans and haunted castles dominate the themes generally covered by the available works. As for their packaging, the cover illustrations feature ubiquitous kilted Highlanders, pipers, scary ghosts and cute Highland cows. The list of Scottish-related printed material could be endless. This, however, does not claim to be a complete survey of all the available sources in Halifax. The works quoted in this section have been chosen to be representative of what can be found in Halifax. The next section will focus on publications concerning the Scottish immigration. The criteria used to select the sources lie mainly on the visual presentation of the products. It will be noted how, once again, the main emphasis is given to the Highlands, the clans, and tartan imagery. Tartan, here, becomes a semantic universal sign for anything related to Scottish people, history and culture.

things Scottish, is published in Halifax. Articles on various subjects focus mainly on the Gaelic traditions and Highland Scotland. *Celtic Heritage* is also available in Gaelic. The Scottish themes are clearly conceived for a North-American audience: a great interest is shown towards genealogy, giving the readers useful tips for their genealogical searches. The magazine offers also a North-American perspective on Scottish ancestry and Clan Societies advertise here from all over the continent.

An interesting letter entitled ‘Scots not Considered a Culture’ published in *Celtic Heritage* in April 1999, discloses the reader’s complaints on the lack of financial support from the government towards any of the activities organized by Scottish Societies. Here, the Scottishness of Nova Scotia is perceived through the eyes of an unhappy Scotsman abroad:

Scots emigrants have tolerated ignorance when their kilts are called skirts or their music likened to screeching cats. They endure jokes about drunks that nearly always feature a Scot or an Irishman. They are denigrated as mean, tight, stubborn, dour, penny-pinchers— a people of little value. [...] When you see the ‘tartan people’, remember that they are proud of their Scottish ancestry [...].

It is hard to believe that anybody could ever doubt the pride Scots immigrants have of their ancestry, as demonstrated by the number of Scottish/Celtic initiatives and cultural manifestations throughout the province. Canadian Scots feel frustrated by the colorful clichés attached to their nationality and yet they are willing to show their national pride more manifestly. Clearly, the popular consensus is that the Scots have become victims of the Highland myth they have created for their own good. Who is, then, responsible for the creation of the Scottish myth and, consequently, its misinterpretation?

*The red rampant lion on the left and the Scottish flag on the right decorate The Scottish Banner’s logo.* ‘The largest Scottish newspaper in the world outside Scotland’ holds, besides the
main articles on Scotland and Scottish events in North America, sections on cooking ('In The Scottish Kitchen'), crosswords ('scotwords'): and brief news from Scotland ('Scot Snips'). In the issue published in April 1999, a first-page article on ‘Tartan Day’, a North-American invention to celebrate Scottishness abroad.xxxvi Here, the wish is expressed that people would wear a bit of tartan on April 6th, whatever their national background. The issues also feature advertising campaigns for all sort of Scottish-related business: from holiday packages to the Scottish fatherland to stained glass nameplates available in the colors of each clan.

Marjorie Major’s How Nova Scotia Got Its Tartan comes with a paperback cover with the map of Nova Scotia, the tartan, the flag and the Gaelic greeting: ‘Ciad Mile Failte’.xxxvii The booklet tells the reader how the new tartan was actually created to avoid jealousies among Scottish clans in Nova Scotia. During the 1953 Farm and Fisheries Exhibition, Mrs Douglas Murray was commissioned a textile panel describing the history of sheep breeding in the province. The shepherd featured in the middle of the panel had to be Scottish. When it came to weave the colors of the tartan, Mrs Murray (who, incidentally, was English) decided to design a Nova Scotia tartan, so as not to offend any members of the already existing Scottish Clans.

Ten years after the exhibition, the tartan became officially part of the Nova Scotia heraldry in 1963. During those ten years, Nova Scotia Premier Macdonald worked hard to obtain permission to acknowledge the new tartan from Scotland. Old Scotland was concerned that Scottish clans in Nova Scotia encouraged to wear the provincial tartan might forget their Scottish ancestry. This, of course, would have never happened. Although the Nova Scotia tartan was worn on some official occasions soon after its invention, Scottish clans still prefer to wear their own traditional tartans. This has not stopped a mass production of all kinds of Nova Scotia tartan souvenirs available for tourists all around New Scotland.

An amusing Highland caricature appears in the cover of R. A. MacLean’s A State of Mind: The Scots in Nova Scotia:xxxviii
the Scottish bagpiper holds a huge tartan instrument in the shape of the Nova Scotian peninsula. To reinforce the message conveyed in illustration, the back-cover blurb points out how the author ‘captures the essential Scottishness of Nova Scotia’.xxxix The author, however, suggests a critique to the Scottish Highlands myth developed in Nova Scotia:

Today the first image often conveyed when one hears the term Scot is that of someone in a kilt; this is hardly fair to a Lowland resident […]. That modern image of the Scot is largely the invention of modern script writers and advertising personnel willing to trade off a bit of romance for commercial gain.xl

The stereotypical bagpiper reappears on the cover of F. Emerson’s Scots,xli an account of the Scottish influence in all aspects of modern cultures and traditions of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. The book, a brief account of the Scottish immigration to Atlantic Canada and its long-standing traditions, is part of The People of the Maritimes series, which aims to analyze the distinct ethnic groups ‘and the role they have played in shaping the character of the Maritimes’,xlii

Despite the cliché imagery of the cover illustration, this monograph suggests a new attitude towards the Scottish heritage, not as the Culture but as a part of the cultural mosaic that Canadian policy has started to encourage. It is not surprising that The Maritimes People Project has been funded by the Minister responsible for Multiculturalism.

The last section of this analysis moves onto tourism and the role played by tourism in the development of a Scottish iconography in Halifax. Multiculturalism has to be the key word to understand the policy lately undertaken by the tourist board in Nova Scotia. In the last decade of the twentieth century, the tourist board for Nova Scotia has attempted to develop new strategies in order to promote the establishment of a cultural tourism throughout the province. Taking inspiration from a general tendency all over the world, and the multiculturalism now strongly present in the image that
the Canadian Government and Canadian Heritage are trying to offer, the tourist board has studied the opportunities to open new markets by using the multicultural heritage of Nova Scotia.

The components of Nova Scotia cultural heritage have been converted into actual products manufactured, advertised and finally sold to visitors. Among the four main ethnic groups of Nova Scotia (Acadian, Mi'kmaq, African Canadian and Gaelic) the latter appears to have certainly been ‘exploited’ thoroughly since the advent of premier Angus L. Macdonald, whose role in the promotion of Scottish events and heritage has been seen in the introduction. Macdonald’s lesson seems to have reached far and its effects are still visible in the modern tourist industry. In other words, although the other ethnic communities are definitely making their mark in the tourist industry of the province, Scottish (tartan) imagery is still effectively, though at times ambiguously, used to encourage sales of tourist products.

Real bagpipers are a constant feature in Nova Scotia, especially in tourist spots. Peggy’s Cove, a fishing village half an hour from Halifax, has been turned into a real tourist hive, although it has recently experienced a crisis due to the Swissair plane crash of September 1998. The airline company compensated fishermen for their losses, but two bagpipers are now suing the company because they claim their tourist seasons have been spoilt by the accident. The most ironic detail of this rather amusing lawsuit is, perhaps, that the pipers are – contradicting the Scottish tradition – two kilted women.

Private tour operators have found the Scottish theme particularly effective in their advertising campaigns. Among others, Atlantic Tours, a leading company in the Canadian tourist industry, call themselves ‘The Company with the Kilts’. The tour guides lead tourists around Nova Scotia in the traditional Scottish attire. The tartan they wear can be Scottish or Nova Scotian. The company offers several optional tours to Scottish and non-destinations. The kilted guides will take visitors to Lunenburg, a village with a strong German-
Hanoverian tradition and along the Evangeline Trail, to visit the French Acadian area of the Province, as well as to the usual Scottish Mecca, Cape Breton Island. The emphasis given to the wearing of the kilts has lost its cultural significance and has, instead, assumed a commercial value based on the proverbial stereotype of the Scottish tightness. In the *Atlantic Tours* (kilted) president’s words: ‘I invite you to compare... Dollar for dollar, we offer the very best there is in value-for-money vacations...’.\textsuperscript{xlv}

Scottish imagery, stereotypes and jokes have become a source of inspiration for advertising purposes and generally encourage consumers to buy. Products are often meant for the tourist market, but there are some exceptions that will be taken into consideration later. Advertising and marketing strategies have also had their share in the proliferation of Scottish imagery in Nova Scotia. The wide range of ‘Scottish’ souvenirs on sale at the several gift shops in Halifax is rather impressive. Tartan, once again, is the triumphant pattern for all sorts of products in variable degree of tastelessness. Canvas posters reproducing the most famous tartans are shelved together with tartan scarves, ties, kitchen aprons, napkins and gift-wrap. Cheap jewelry is manufactured reproducing bagpipes and pipers, thistles and Celtic patterns. ‘Scottish slogans’ such as ‘Bagpipes Spoken Here’, ‘Up Yer Kilt!’ and ‘If It’s not Scottish it’s Crap!’ are reproduced on Post-IT sticky note-pads. Most of these products are meant for tourists, but some, like Scottish Clans Post-IT note pads, seem to be directed also to local markets.\textsuperscript{xlvi}

Tartan imagery and stereotypes reappear in the next two examples of this overview. *ICELANDAIR* has used two kilted puffins to advertise its trans-oceanic flights in an advertisement found in the April 1999 issue of *Celtic Heritage*. This is how the Scottish puffins comment on the special offers:

‘Hae ye flown wi’ ICELANDAIR to Scotland yet, laddie?’

‘Aye, their wee fares help me keep my pennies in my sporran!’\textsuperscript{xlvii}
Playing on the traditional cliché about Scottish frugality, the two puffins are actually promoting the possibility of visiting Iceland on a special package offered by ICELANDAIR for travelers flying to Glasgow via Reykjavik. The ubiquitous cliché returns, along the same lines, as the inspiration behind the loyalty scheme at Canadian Tire stores. With each purchase at any of the stores, customers are given discount vouchers valid on their next visits. The campaign available also on line allows shoppers to accumulate riches on a credit card if you are a member of My Canadian Tire. ‘Canadian Tire Money’ vouchers portray, instead of the Queen, a smiling Scotsman in a tartan scarf, reinforcing the amusing stereotype about Scots and money.

A different angle was chosen a few years ago when Scottish heritage and ancestry become part of the advertising campaign for the now defunct New Scotland Brewing Company. In 1999, on their website as well as on their bottles it was possible to read a concise version of the history of the province – and their beer. Linguistic inaccuracy aside (English and Highlander used in place of British and Scottish), both the province and the beer allegedly originated from the Hector. It was (supposedly) from the smoked oak shavings of the reconstructed mythical ship that some of the New Scotland Ales reached their unique blend. The final thought was, once again, for the Scottish heroes: ‘When you hoist a Scotsman Ale, whether or not you are of Scottish decent, give thanks to those hardy pioneers who carved from the wilderness the communities we call home’. No mention, of course, of the previous native settlements that really opened up the wilderness to the European ‘pioneers’.

This article started with a critical introduction to the history of the Scottish immigration to Nova Scotia and the myth of the Scottish Highlands the immigrants imported from the fatherland. Focusing on Halifax, vestiges of Scottish heritage have been shown to persist in a great variety of formats, from buildings, to the local flora and current printed sources. The visual Scottish icons analyzed in the first two sections, represent the link to the third angle of this analysis:
the persistence of Scottish imagery in the development of cultural tourism in Nova Scotia, as well in the general advertising business. What does tartan imagery mean today in Nova Scotia? Is Scottish heritage only a big tourist trap?

There is certainly a great deal of what MacKay calls 'Tartanism' surrounding the tourist industry in Nova Scotia, as shown in all the uses of tartan and Scottish imagery considered above. Several of the Scottish icons discussed seem to have either lost their meaning or simply become part of a superficial decorative motif without significance. The use of Scottish icons for commercial purposes, has, clearly, contributed to this process in a drastic way. If Scottish tartan is featured on any kind of cheap product, how can it still represent proud Scotsmen's national identity? How can Scottish people not feel deprived of their own cultural heritage by the demands of the tourist industry?

On the other hand, institutions like the North-British Society existed long since before the tourist boom started. They were conceived as charitable institutions to support immigrants in Nova Scotia. They promoted the continuity of Scottish traditions abroad in order to give a genuine cultural identity to the communities. The Halifax and Antigonish Highland Games have now been celebrated for more than a century, which is a long time in terms of North American traditions. The Highland myth has played an important role in the making of Scottish national identity, despite all the stereotypes attached to it and the commercial uses that have been made by the tourist industry. A very similar situation, it can be argued, exists in Nova Scotia. The perpetration (and invention) of traditions and the use of tartan and kilts are genuinely felt among Scottish immigrants as important as it is by the Scots in Edinburgh. It is, beyond all the criticism to its antimodernism, a powerful symbol of identity and kinship for all the Scots who, Lowlanders and Highlanders, have attempted for centuries to assert their independence against the dominant English culture:

We may find tartanry, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Mary Queen of Scots, Bannockburn and Burns
false descriptors of who we are, but they provide a source of ready-made distinguishing characteristics from England, our bigger, southern neighbour.xlviii

A broader angle helps understanding the reasons behind the tartan icons and reinforces their validity as symbols of a genuinely felt national identity. A parallel, as Cowan has suggested,xlix can be drawn between England and Scotland and United States and Canada. In this light, tartan is a cousin to the maple leaf – the profusely used and abused symbol of Canadian identity. Canadian Heritage promotes the use of the national symbols to assert national identity. Canadian flags can be seen at petrol stations, supermarkets as well as in clothing and tourist souvenirs throughout the country, in what could be identified as an explosion of ‘Mapleism’. Canadians traveling abroad often carry small maple leaf icons to assert their identity and avoid being mistaken for Americans. Scottish Canadians wear tartan, doubly concerned about their identity: they are Scots (not English) and Canadians (not Americans).

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End Notes


iv Cowan, p. 59.

vi See Vance and Harper.

vii Cowan, p.60.


xii See MacKay 1992 and Cowan.


xv ‘About the Heather’, *Morning Chronicle*, 13 August 1878, col. 3.

xvi ‘Correspondence’, *Morning Chronicle*, 13 August 1878, col. 3.

xvii E. E. Prince, ‘Rose Shamrock, and Heather’, *Dalhousie Review*, vol. 8, April 1928, p.54.

xviii See Prince.

xix Campbell and MacLean.

xx ‘“Monstrosities” for the Park’, *Halifax Mailstar*, 27April 1967, p.3.

xxi See Gold and Gold, pp.184-191.


xxvi Chard, p.7.


xxx ‘The 78th (Highland) Regiment of Foot or the Ross-Shire Buffs’, *Parks Canada Information Sheets*, Halifax Citadel Archives.


xxxiv ‘The 78th (Highland) Regiment of Foot, or The Ross-Shire Buffs’, *Parks Canada Information Sheet*, Halifax Citadel Archives.


xxxix MacLean, back cover.


xli F. Emerson, back cover.


xlvii See the back cover of *Celtic Heritage*, vol. 12, 2, April/May 1999.


xlix Cowan.
At the turn of the century, the British High Commissioner in East Africa set up various areas in which Christian missionaries were allowed exclusive influence. Scottish missionaries served the largest and most politically astute tribe in Kenya, the Kikuyu. Scottish education, combining a theoretical base with vocational training, attracted the best and the brightest of Kikuyu youths. This type of education provided a basis for future employment in government and industry. Jomo Kenyatta and Mbui Koinange, both future nationalist leaders of Kenya, were converts and protégés of Scottish missionaries. However, in 1929, a sudden rift occurred between the Kikuyu Christian elders and congregations on one hand and their Scottish missionary patrons on the other side.

The rift came about when the Scottish missionaries insisted that all Kikuyu Christians should take an oath against female initiation. Two thirds of the Kikuyu Christians left the mission church to form their own nationalist oriented churches. The rise of nationalistic feeling among Kenyans can be traced to this controversy. The issue of female circumcision seems to have touched on all the major ingredients that formed the basis of African nationalist alienation from colonial rule. This article argues that the drama of 1929 was a rehearsal of the larger drama of the Mau Mau in 1950-1960 that put an end to colonial rule in Kenya.

Though initiation practices were widespread in Kenya and the neighboring Sudan, the Scottish missionaries were unaware of them until 1904. Girls waiting for initiation were placed into an age group, the Ngweko- sometimes translated...
as a love circle. Sex education, tribal history and wifely behavior are some of the lessons taught. Female circumcision is only part of the process. Because it is painful and the healing may take a long time during which the girls are secluded, it has assumed an importance that was unintentional. Four girls were brought to Thogoto Central Mission on stretchers. They had suffered from serious lacerations, and these lacerations had turned septic. A report of this incident shocked the missionary establishment. Initially the shock was based, not on the ceremony itself, but on how ignorant old women had used glass or blunt knives to make such operations and used scraps of dirty cloth to dry up the blood. It was suggested that perhaps a little education of the elder women in hygiene would solve the problem.

The Church of Scotland Mission doctors took some elderly Kikuyu women under their wing in 1912 and trained them at Thogoto Hospital. The doctors' report had indicated that the “operation comprises cutting away the inner and outer soft parts lying around the birth canal. In its severest form, the cutting extends in front of the up to the pubis and into the birth canal itself. The result is the replacement of much of the normal elastic tissues of these parts, and by an unyielding ring of hard fibrous tissue.” The argument at this time was purely medical. The African women elders were supervised by missionary doctors and persuaded to reduce the amount of cutting that they did. This experiment was unsuccessful for a reason that now seems clear to us, but was not clear to the Scottish missionaries at the time.

The missionaries insisted that the operation be done under their hawkish supervision and in their hospital. They apparently interfered and told the elderly women supervisors what to do and what not to do. The doctors who put their names on the memorandum were all men, namely Dr. John Arthur, Superintendent of the Hospital, Dr. S. Irvine, Dr. W.M. Brown and Dr. Elwood L. Davis. We assume then that white men, who apparently knew nothing about the tradition, were teaching the elderly African women about female circumcision. By insisting that the operation be done...
in a hospital instead of in a dingy darkly lit thatched hut somewhere in the Nyeri forest, the missionaries had by the stroke of a pen removed the secrecy (mysterium) associated with this ceremony. By insisting that the operation be painless, they had removed the fear and trembling (tremendum et fascinanz) that is the hallmark of all initiation ceremonies. Jomo Kenyatta, writing under the supervision of Professor B. Malinowsky in 1930 grasped the issue.

The real argument lies not in the defense of the general surgical operation or its details, but in the understanding of a very important fact in the tribal psychology of the Kikuyu-namely, that this operation is still regarded as the essence of an institution which has enormous educational, social, moral and religious implications, quite apart from the operation itself. For the present it is impossible for a member of the tribe to imagine an initiation without clitoridectomy. Therefore the surgical abolition of the surgical element in this custom means to the Gikuyu the abolition of the whole institution.iii

In 1905 The British High Commissioner set up a Board of Education consisting of representatives of the United Missionary Conference (eleven missionary societies) as well as government representatives to advise the Director of Education. It was in response to this government initiative that the missionary conference clarified their aims in relation to their work among native congregations with regard to providing an education. Dr. John Arthur was chairman of the conference. Since he was also the Superintendent of the Scottish Mission in Kikuyu, his views represented a cross section of missionary thinking. The effect of missionary conversion and education

...upon the raw heathen is so magical and profound that (we) are amazed (at) the flood of spiritual and mental development. The responsibility lie(s) in
their intimate relationship with this great native population. The missionaries are often called upon to act as...teachers...friends and advisors...to act as spokesmen...on their behalf. The natives implicitly trust missionaries; they are grateful for the light and instruction they bring an they know that they represent non commercial interests in the penetration of Africa.iv

The general curriculum followed “the lines of Hampton and of Tuskegee, of Booker T. Washington fame. The idea Was to combine general education with technical instruction.”

The missionaries perhaps assumed too much in the unquestionable trust of the African and perhaps unconsciously became over-bearing. All native schools, they told government, must be inspected thoroughly. “I am not referring to government inspection but to missionary inspection. Here then is the missionary’s task in Kenya” to be the big brother. There is another matter on which government and the missionary societies were in complete agreement. There was great danger, argued both missionaries and government, of the native lapsing into to those conditions from which he had been uplifted. This danger can be avoided by a thorough religious indoctrination combined with industrial education. This lethal combination will allow “educated natives to fill minor posts in the administration.”v

On September 6th, 1912 Dr. Arthur sent a report on behalf of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kikuyu to the Secretary of Education. In this report he states that the mission has “been passing through a somewhat unsettled period, and it is difficult to find the reason for it.” In the previous year, 120 boys were registered at the boarding school, but “ever since the numbers have been going down. We have lost some boys during the last three months who have been on the station some years. Ever since the beginning of the year circumcisions have been going on in the villages, and as that is the greatest time in the life of a Kikuyu boy’s life, it has led to a great unsettlement. The rites are accompanied by such
immorality that the lads who have become Christians cannot pass through the ceremony in their villages. (It) may mean a break with their people if they should be circumcised at the mission by the native doctor.” Dr. Arthur also objected to another custom of paying bride wealth for girls. He reported that there were 35 big girls at the mission, “many of them have been bought by Christian boys, and have been sent to school so that they can be taught before they marry them.”vi

In his reply, the Secretary of Education emphasized that the Christian Missions must impress upon the natives that they have no desire to take away their children from them, or to interfere with their customs. However, the administration “will put down with a heavy hand such tribal customs as are immoral.”vii Though Mr. Orr advised that in this regard, progress must be very slow and deliberate and that the tribal council must be notified and advised of any desired changes in native customs, this advice fell on deaf ears. The Scottish Mission included in their curriculum female education apparently aimed at counteracting native customs as they relate to hygiene and initiation customs. One of the areas of contention mentioned by Dr. Arthur was native singing that took place at these ceremonies and at beer parties. There were two specific objections mentioned, namely that the lyrics were unclean and that the dancing which normally involved gyrations of the hips and buttocks was suggestive of the worst kind of gross immorality. The Scottish objection has more significance that would be obvious at first. It represents a diametrically opposite view of life to that held by the Kikuyu. These parties and ceremonies were for the enjoyment of life and the gyrations of the body parts and the loud singing was an expression of that attitude. The Scottish missionaries on the other hand taught Psalms (and Hymns) which were to be sung with reverence and certain rectitude. Reading through Dr. Arthur’s papers, one finds references to Jomo Kenyatta (later president of Kenya) and their star student, as a person guilty of self-aggrandizement, exaggerations and falsehoods.

The Missionary Conference, consisting of representatives from the Episcopal Church, the Church of Scotland Mission,
the British Bible and Foreign Society, the Methodist Church Mission and the Africa Inland Mission met in July 1918. It agreed that early marriages in African society constituted an evil and all member missionary societies were admonished to teach against the practice. Further, after studying South African practices, the conference urged government to open a register of marriages. The Conference met again in January 1922. Dr. Arthur was unanimously reelected chairman of the conference. Dr. Arthur had just returned from South Africa where he had noted some practices for adoption by the Conference. In the discussion that followed, two educationists, the Reverend Mr. Britton and Mrs. McGregor Ross, both working among the Kikuyu, supported him. The recommendations were that native women needed rigorous training in “self-control, a sense of responsibility, self respect” and that a psychologist should be hired to study their brains. Dr. Arthur was concerned with the 50 percent infant mortality that he attributed to ignorant customs. He praised the system of native education in South Africa. “Native education in South Africa is a Christian education, largely in the hands of missions. Government is responsible for practically all finances” and the inspectorate which was European. He praised these European inspectors as specially chosen men. The natives in South Africa helped the system by paying fees.

January 1922 seems to have caught the Scottish missionaries by surprise. When the Revered H.D. Hooper returned home from furlough, he found the whole of Kikuyuland ablaze with a new nationalist spirit. There was a new anti-white spirit among the young missionary-educated Kikuyu, and it seemed that the depth of their feelings had been underestimated. Hooper says at first he had heard credible reports from “two of our ablest missionaries…one of them, at any rate, has got right at the back of the native mind.” However, when he returned to own mission station at Kahuhia, he found that a hundred Kikuyu Christians wanted an urgent meeting with him, the results of which would be “momentous. [We] stand at the cross roads, to rebellion and the destruction of all that has gone before. The day after I
arrived, a deputation of Christian natives wished to see me in secret session. They were in the habit of meeting at regular intervals with natives of surrounding district - a large area under the guidance of a clever native Kikuyu, Harry Thuku …he formerly belonged to the Kikuyu Native Association. Thuku owes his influence to the very real grievances of the native.” Thuku intended to use civil obedience in order to remedy these grievances.x

If the missionaries knew the native mind as well as they said they did, it came as a surprise that such a large organization, with huge financial resources and contact with the Indian National Congress had grown up under their very noses without them knowing about it. At then time of this meeting, the Kikuyu Native Association had already written a letter to the Colonial office and to the Governor of Kenya detailing their complaints, which Hopper found to be credible. In summary, the Association said that after the war, Europeans had been awarded bonuses and farms, free of charge. Africans who served in the war had been given medals and watches as a thank you. An overall hut tax burden had in fact been imposed on all natives. The hut tax hit hard on native customs. A polygamist with three wives would have three separate huts for each of his wives as well as one for himself in addition to having two separate huts, one for boys and one for girls. The second grievance was that Africans were supposed to carry a registration card the Kipandi (translated meaning sexual rape) even when they were within their own tribal area. The third grievance was that the District Officers took food from the people without paying for it. They also refused to give change when collecting taxes. The taxes themselves, according to Hooper were unaffordable. A hardworking African would earn five English pounds per year plus eight shillings. His tax on three huts would amount to three pounds and four shillings, leaving him two pounds and four shillings per year.xi

In addition the District Commissioner had removed popular chiefs and installed friendly natives in their place without following procedures.xii
Dr. Arthur confirms that the missionaries had been surprised by the speed with which events had happened and the way secret associations had operated without them knowing about it. In one letter to World Missionary Conference general Secretary J.H. Oldham, he rejoiced that at least Africans were “now able to safeguard themselves against oppression and exploitation.” However, in the same letter he feared that a native “uprising led by the young educated Christians and resulting in bloodshed. The movement is anti-European and anti-Missionary.” There was a serious division between the young educated Africans and the older Christians who were being called “Judases.” Dr. Arthur wrote this letter on the 14th of March. One week later, he wrote again to Dr. Oldham. His worst fears had been realized. During the night (of the 8th) five hundred natives surrounded a police station and demanded an audience with Governor Sir Charles Bowring. Messengers were sent to all the surrounding European households ordering the cooks and house servants to leave work and show solidarity with the protesters. The protest march had been provoked by the arrest of Harry Thuku. Many groups were seen praying as part of their civil disobedience. In the scuffle that ensued, the police shot twenty-three Africans. “There were no arms, no spears or other native war implements. The crowd had white flags. They were mostly mission boys from Burns Church Missionary Society School. The women were mostly Nairobi’s bad women but not entirely. Someone has said that this is a second Amritsar.”

The connection between the Nairobi riots and the circumcision issue lies in the polarization between the young Christians in the Kikuyu Central Association and the missionaries in general. There is some evidence that Canon Leakey of the Episcopal Church as well as Dr. Arthur were government agents. Though Thuku was now in detention and his organization proscribed, Kenyatta reformed the Kikuyu Central Association after Lord Devonshire’s memorandum of July 1923. Devonshire had prepared the way for Europeans to take part in a national legislative council while Africans were
to start at the democratization process at the tribal council level. The key element in the Devonshire Memorandum was the interests of “African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and those of the immigrant races conflict, the former should prevail.” The Kikuyu Central Association decided to contest the elections on the platform that Christians were destructive of native customs. If they were to succeed, they would have to start their own native schools outside the influence of missionaries. Missionaries accepted the challenge therefore went all out to take steps to banish female circumcision from native life. This they did through the missionary conference. All the eleven missionary societies were in general agreement with this policy though Dr. Arthur was more enthusiastic than others. The Roman Catholics refused to participate.

The missionaries, through the Kikuyu Progressive Association (composed of older African Christians) won the elections. Nevertheless, serious divisions between the younger Christians and the older generation, now nicknamed Judases, did not go away. Musa Gitau, an ordained minister and Kenyatta’s father, was on the missionary side. Kenyatta’s wife, Grace Wahu was on her husband’s side. The arrival of Sir Edward Griggs, a racist and an admirer of South African policies in 1925 worsened the situation. He sided with the white settlers against native interests and was fed fearful stories by missionaries of ongoing secret meetings, evil dances and female circumcision. Missionaries particularly objected to one song used in the campaign by the Kikuyu. The lyrics were directed against the missionary churches.

Little knives in their sheaths
That they may fight with the church,
The time has come.
Elders (of the church)
When Kenyatta comes
You will be given women’s clothes
And you will have to cook him his food.

The missionaries completely missed the boat on this occasion.
Loyal Christians were threatened. There was a huge drop in school attendance. As many as two thirds of the Kikuyu Christians left the church in protest at the restrictions placed upon their lives by Dr. Arthur. School buildings were raided and properties destroyed. Dr.Arthur, who represented native interests in the governor’s advisory council, was blamed for not controlling the natives and for not knowing enough of what was happening. Griggs asked him to resign. Dr. Arthur made two mistakes. He sought the support of the Duchess of Athol in England. The Duchess was feminist fighter who made a list of all African customs, cannibalism, female circumcision, evil dances in which gyrations of the body contorted the torso, human sacrifices and trial by ordeal. The Kikuyu Central Association retorted by making a list of grievances in which the theft of Kikuyu land by Europeans topped the list. The missionaries were in a no win situation and found these tactics to be unfair. They wrote to the Kikuyu Central Association not to mix the issue of circumcision with tax and land grievances and advised the “Kikuyu people themselves (to) follow the lead of all the civilized nations throughout the world and discontinue the circumcision of their girls.” On top of this an elderly American woman missionary, Hilda Stampf was murdered. The murder had nothing to do with the issue of circumcision at all, but to the white settlers, it was proof that the natives were on the loose.

With hindsight, it is obvious that Dr. Arthur and the Scottish missionaries were unable to grasp the fact that cultural practices are organic. The practice of female circumcision was very much intertwined with respect for elders and the marriage system. By trying to do away with the one custom, the Kikuyu elders saw the whole structure of tribal leadership by elders falling away. It is also clear that though the Scottish missionaries saw themselves as honest brokers between the Colonial Office and the Kikuyu, the need of white settlers for native land was ultimately irreconcilable with the interests of the natives. This, the Secretary General of the World Missionary Conference, Dr. Oldham saw clearly and thus had a protective phrase written into the Devonshire
Memorandum of 1922. Despite the Devonshire Declaration, alienation of native land accelerated after 1922 further increasing the tensions between the Kikuyu and the British settlers in Kenya. The issue of female circumcision drove a wedge between the Scottish missionaries and the Kikuyu tribe breaking the trust that had existed. The Scottish missionaries continued to represent Kikuyu land grievances to the Colonial Office as best they could. However, they lost the position of trust which they had held before the circumcision controversy.

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End Notes

i The idea that natives will change their customs runs throughout missionary documents as well as colonial documents. Provincial Commissioner John Ainsworth gave a speech at a Missionary Conference April 22, 1912 to that effect. Kenya Historical Documents 1988-1923 Jomo Kenyatta also believed that this would be the case. _Letter to the British Guardian_, March 18, 1930


iii Kenyatta Papers miscellaneous papers collected by author from various sources. Letter by Jomo Kenyatta to the _Guardian_ (undated—presumed to be about 1930)

iv Report to the Missionary Conference entitled: Educating the Native by the Reverend J. Britton April 19105 Page 228 in Kenya: Select Historical Documents-1884-1923

v Kenya Historical Documents _Ibid_. Page 229

vi Report by the Church of Scotland Mission to the Director of Education in Kenya Colony September 12th, 1912. The Reverend Dr. J. W. Arthur, Superintendent of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya, wrote it


x Letter to the General Secretary of the World Missionary Conference, the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham, dated January 24, 1922. The Reverend H.D. Hooper wrote it. Church of Scotland Archives

xi Ibid.

xii Petition by the Gathirima Community Chiefs and Elders to the Native Commissioner, dated December 14, 1921 Kenya Historical Documents 1984-1923

xiii Reverend Dr. J.W. Arthur to the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham, General Secretary of the World Missionary Conference March 14, 1922 Church of Scotland Archives

xiv Letter from the Reverend Dr. J.W. Arthur marked Confidential to the Reverend Dr. J.H. Oldham March 14, 1919. Church of Scotland Archives

xv The Lord Devonshire Memorandum, July 1923 Kenya Historical Documents also found in Jomo Kenyatta by G. Delf (London 1961) Page 66-67 also found in Church of Scotland Archives


xix Ibid. Page 139.
EMIGRANTS, EXPATRIATES, DESCENDANTS AND CLANS

This paper discusses issue of “Scottishness” with particular reference to the contexts of emigrant, expatriate and Scottish descendant communities outside Scotland. It argues that, given considerable cultural diversity within Scotland, “Scottishness” should be a term that appropriately embraces these communities, and that that the term “Scottish” can reasonably and helpfully apply to all. Cases are put for a definition of Scottishness as “a voluntary cultural affiliation”, and for a closer engagement by Scotland with such communities internationally.

Diversity

Six thousand miles of wimpled coastline enclosing 30,000 square miles of land – give or take a few lochs and lakes, but including some 60 populated islands – that’s Scotland. The islands, the ever-differing shoreline, the angled northern sunlight, the lie of hills and glens, burns and rivers, the seasons and range of economic activities all help to give almost every place in Scotland its own particular character. Scotland’s geography as well as its location – to the north of Britain, the west of Europe, the east of Ireland and the Atlantic, and south of the North Sea – enables Scots to experience a kind of centrality as well as marginalisation. Scots are inclined to have a strong sense of place: they say they are from Glasgow, Ayr, Easter Ross or South Uist. And, the closer one looks at the people of Scotland, the more one discerns diversity. Scotland’s population is only five million or so, yet two of Scotland’s languages – Scots and Gaelic – are recognised by the European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages. Both show further regional variation. Other languages, including Pictish, the languages of the early Britonic kingdoms, Saxon, Norse and Norn, have died or
been assimilated. “This variety of linguistic and cultural background is reflected in our music and can still be clearly related to the geography of the country,” writes musical historian John Purser: “Yet over the entire country you would almost always know from the music that you were in Scotland.”

Scotland’s history, despite Scotland’s relative territorial integrity from the 11th century and modern assertions of nationhood, is essentially an assemblage of more particular histories that originate in and have produced arrays of cultural variation and diversity. Orcadian culture differs significantly from that of the Borders. Southwest mainland culture differs markedly from that of Islay a few miles offshore (where about one third of the population are Gaelic speakers); the northeast, the Shetlands, Perthshire, Lewis and the East Neuk are each culturally discrete. Even Edinburgh and Glasgow – two modern cities located just an hour apart in Scotland’s most densely populated “central belt” – have distinctively different qualities, literatures, musics and accents – underscored by different historical experiences.

“Culture”

The term “culture” is used here in the sense of Geert Hofstede’s “culture two” (his image of “software for the mind”). “Culture”, here, can be taken to mean a set of socially-shaped conceptual and behavioural norms and repertoires. They provide the bases on which experience and knowledge are understood, interpreted and acted upon. “Culture” necessarily includes language, accent and vocabulary, social interactions and the shared recognition of symbols and their significance. It is a context in which “meaning” is established and communicated. Culture provides a means of social self-identification, and defines accompanying roles, relationships and responsibilities. Cultures, of course, are dynamic, continuously changing, adapting and responding to externally and internally-generated forces and influences. Cultures interact with other cultures. Cultures are not homogenous. Cultures may or may
not correlate with political boundaries. Many modern states include a congregation of cultures, including representatives of cultures that also exist elsewhere. Broadly defined cultural groups or categories often embrace more finely definable cultural subgroups and categories as their constituents.

Two important if inter-related sources of cultural indoctrination have long been geographic experience (local environmental awareness) and social experience (interactions with other people). As science, mobility, migration and modernity have distanced many people from intimate experiences of their traditional environs, it is safe to conjec that culture is typically instilled through social experiences: to belong to a culture, we need other people. These other people help us to shape a “cultural identity”. Culture is learned behaviour. There is no “culture gene” and culture has no necessary relationship to “race” or skin colour, although cultures may promote attitudes for or against particular genetic or physiological attributes, as they do for dress, diet and social relations. A culture is therefore unlikely to be rigidly attached to particular landscapes or lines of biological descent.

Cultural identity is just one of the generic labels we use to locate ourselves in relation to others: we may advance an occupational identity, or offer one based on status or rank; we may claim a residential or national identity, a recreational identity, or an identity by virtue of descent, sex or sexual orientation. Our cultural identity is one that we intentionally base on our actual or pretended membership of a particular culture. But, claim whatever identity we might, the identity that ultimately attaches to us is something bestowed upon us. We become known, not by what we say about ourselves so much as by what others say about us.

**Acculturation**

Arguments that Scotland’s diversity is diminishing are easy to believe. Popular culture is pervasive. Television and electricity reach every part of Scotland. Traditional sources of income in remoter areas are often no longer sustainable. Populations in remoter areas are generally falling; and, where
local young people who leave home to find work are being replaced, it is often by incoming retired folk. Old ways are diluted. Society is changing throughout Scotland. These are minor, largely local mechanisms of cultural erosion, however, compared with the worldwide forces that some see sweeping whole national identities aside like chaff: ‘globalisation’. It seems self-evident. There is the internet; essentially similar products fill supermarket shelves, clothing stores and music shops wherever in the world there are people with money to buy them. Television programming and cinemas throughout the West and beyond are inundated with the same outpourings of a handful of production centres. News from around the world overwhelms our awareness of our own neighbourhoods; over vast areas, the same or similar sets of celebrities permeate the media, and hordes of people who have nothing in common with them do all they can to emulate them.

Postmodern lifestyles have been seen not as expressions of ongoing cultural change, interaction, stress or diversity, but as an inevitable imperative. However, while widening ranges of products and services probe deeper and deeper into a widening range of markets, and multinational businesses proliferate, the world has also been seeing countless ethnic revivals, from the re-opening of churches and mosques in the former Soviet Union to a growing enthusiasm for oral history and genealogy in a number of Western countries. These kinds of activity may be just the dying tremors of a reactionary rear-guard — or they may be something more. Breton piping teacher Jean-luc LeMoign, for example, tells me that it is the pursuit of “quality of life” rather than “heritage” that now drives the Breton cultural revival which began in the 1950s: “It is life in community – ‘to be well in the skin,’ as we say – that is important.” His is the kind of observation that upsets straight-line projections of trends in human behaviour and lends encouragement to the view of globalisation articulated by Daniel Mato in 1998:

The use of the word globalization has become a widespread phenomenon these days. I think that this fact is revealing of the worldwide develop-
ment of something that we may call a consciousness of globalization. ... I would say that globalization is not a recent phenomenon, which would be just a consequence of certain business practices, communication technologies and neoliberal macroeconomics, as it is often portrayed. Globalization may be more fruitfully analysed as a long-standing historical tendency towards the worldwide interconnection of the peoples of the planet, their cultures and institutions, resulting from many different social processes ... it is particularly important to highlight that the keyword to explain globalization is worldwide interconnections, and not homogenization. The diverse ongoing processes of globalization have different outcomes: while some may be said to produce homogenization, others foster differentiation, and still others have combined effects.iii

He has a point. Cultures have never been static, customs, rituals and languages have long been dying, converging and diverging: nobody speaks Thracian, Anglian, Etruscan or even the colloquial Latin of imperial Rome, but many have been influenced by them. To this day, cultural diversity survives, and cultural revivals are to be found around the globe.

**Diaspora**

Within Scotland, one finds a stereotype that, given a few generations overseas, Scottish descendants (those who haven’t altogether assimilated into their host cultures) become obsessively inclined to identify their ancestors as kilted Highland Jacobite clearance victims descended from William Wallace, the Stuarts or Robert Burns. They are also thought to indulge in haggis and whisky-fuelled, bagpipe-accompanied binges of tartanry. This is a stereotype that encourages Scots from time to time to publicly disown or deride expatriate and descendant communities overseas.ii Those who do, miss the
point. Cultures write histories, and rewrite them. When a culture is taken into new contexts – as occurs through emigration – new priorities and experiences see people draw on new expressions of their parent culture’s repertoire. Scots are not the only people to have migrated from their homeland, and many other peoples also have made cultural adjustments to new surroundings. Thus, for example, Vinay Lal, assistant professor of history at the University of California Los Angeles, points out that modern India, in all of its complexity, is not the “India” of the Indian Diaspora “whose idea of their homeland remains bound to ossified conceptions of Indian religion, tradition, and cultural practices”. But he also observes that, in the Diaspora, new art and cultural forms are emerging, “and the relation between India and its diasporas offspring may yet alter our understanding of Indian civilisation”:

… It is arguable that one is more easily an Indian abroad than in India; the category of ‘Indian’ is not contested abroad as it is in India. This is perhaps all the more remarkable, when one considers that the ‘Indianness’ of the Indian diaspora is not as evidently conceptualizable, or even visible, as the distinctly Chinese characteristics of the Chinese diaspora or the Islamic features of the Arab diaspora. Hindi does not bind together diasporas Indians in the manner in which Chinese holds together the Chinese diaspora; nor does Hinduism play in the Indian diaspora a role comparable to that of Islam within, if one could speak of such a thing, the Islamic Diaspora. Thus, in Mauritius, the national language remains a French Creole, though Hindi is the language of the preponderant portion of the numerically dominant Indian community.

… other forces have emerged to cement the widely disparate elements from the Indian subcontinent into an ‘Indian’ community. One can point, for example, to Indian cinema, Hinduism,
and food. The popular Hindi film provides a considerable element of commonalty to Indian communities, even among those where Hindi is not spoken, a profound homage to the Hindi film’s rootedness in the deep mythic structures of Indian civilization. … Likewise, Indians overseas routinely invoke Indian civilization with a self-assurance that in India would be both mocked and contested. … Finally, in the matter of food, one beholds with amazement how Mughlai food has become the cuisine of India, entirely synonymous with Indian food. The same surely cannot be said of the cuisines of Gujarat, Andhra, and Kerala, or even of the popular snack food, idlis and dosas, of South India. In the Indian Diaspora, the plurality of India is condemned to disappear, even as the most esoteric traditions are given a fresh burst of life, and a unitary vision of ‘Indianness’, of Indian civilization and of Hinduism, appears poised to dominate.\textsuperscript{v}

Change a few of the details, and Vinay Lal might well be discussing Scottish diasporas communities.

If, still talking somewhat dangerously in generalities, we look a little more closely at Scottish-identifying communities overseas, we soon discern several different sorts of Scottish self-identification, the characteristics of which warrant research. Temporary expatriates, migrant expatriates, first-generation descendants and distant descendants differ in a number of ways. Scottish-born expatriates seem more inclined to look back towards Scotland, its geography and friends and relatives “back home”, to nurture their identity, and they have their accents to keep them warm; overseas-born descendants appear more inclined to look to genealogy, family lore and history (including post-migration local histories). These inclinations meet – and sometimes clash – in cultural explorations of the sort represented by most of the Scottish interest niche media\textsuperscript{vi}: Highland, Scottish country,
step and ceilidh dancing; ceilidhs, “inglesides”\textsuperscript{vii}, festivals and Highland games; summer schools; clan societies and gatherings; Caledonian, Gaelic, St Andrew’s and Scottish societies of various sorts; piping, fiddling, accordion playing, singing and ensemble musical performance; Burns Societies and suppers, St Andrew’s Day celebrations and the like.

Inseparable from many of these activities, and promoting and helping to sustain the identifications with Scotland that underlie them, are the signifiers that enable individuals to make their identification with Scottishness overt and unmistakable. Thus, for a proportion of expatriates, there comes a time when, with the photographs from “home” fading but with the constant reminder of translocated Scottish placenames, through a growing personal awareness of the importance of their own culture, they feel their first inclination to sport a tartan tie, wear a clan badge or buy a kilt. They begin to assimilate into the subculture through social and cultural organisations that are typically sustained by Scottish descendants rather than by Scottish-born expatriates.\textsuperscript{viii} Thus, for example, a recent Glasgow-born migrant (to the United States) joins the descendant in an emotional subscription to the idea of Scottishness:

Americans … always identify themselves as ‘Irish-American’ or ‘Italian-American’ or whatever else – ‘Scots American’ – whereas in actual fact the vast majority of them are just Americans. …But these ties (to parent cultures) are very deep and, since they’re emotional ties, you can tug the heart strings. It’s all emotion, but it does get to a lot of people – like myself.\textsuperscript{ix}

A contrasting explanation, from the multiple generation descendant’s point of view, was expressed by Susan Cromarty, editor of the glossy Australian-published \textit{SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage} magazine (“more than a magazine, a way of life”) in an editorial carried on the magazine’s website:
I am a fifth generation Australian and enormously proud of that fact, but I am equally proud that my roots are deeply embedded in the rich soil of the Black Isle. Pride seems to be a characteristic shared by all people of Scots descent and has always been so. ... It was this pride, along with courage and determination which enabled Scots pioneers to settle into their new lands and prosper. From the ranks of these Scottish settlers rose men and women who were to distinguish themselves around the world. Throughout Scotland’s long and turbulent history her greatest export has been her proud, patriotic and independent people. ...Few other emigrant groups can claim to have had such a pervasive influence on the politics, commerce, banking, medicine, engineering, literature and philanthropy of the New World as have the Scots. We’re a clannish, loyal people. ...In today’s swiftly changing world we can take inspiration from the courage and determination of our ancestors. Our people have run a proud and colourful race through the centuries and in linking ourselves to that history we make ourselves more complete human beings.x

There are also part-descendants who find in their “Scottish side” a particular attraction. American novelist Garrison Keillor reflects this sort of attachment to Scotland:

We Keillors are taken for Scots, thanks to James Keillor’s marmalade of Dundee, a familiar item in America, but in fact the Keillors were Yorkshiremen, and my Scots blood is on my mother’s side, from my grandpa William Denham, who emigrated to Minnesota from Glasgow in 1906. He never explained why he went, and so we keep coming back to Scotland to investigate the matter. My mother, who is 85, came over last summer (1999) for a train trip through the Highlands, her
fourth or fifth trip here, and I am coming back for my sixth time. It is a constant pull, Scotland. We keep flying over, roaming the countryside, walking the streets, trying to imagine our lives here if William hadn’t gotten on the boat. We keep looking for Our People.\textsuperscript{xi}

Without looking too deeply into the matter, Scotland the Brand has come very close to castigating these folk for a less than self-sacrificial commitment to Scotland’s immediate economic interests. As Scots, said one of the organisation’s reports:

…we think that our ex patriot (sic) community is a source of strength to us due to the fact that all of them we meet abroad wish to ‘Find out where they came from’. In truth though Scottish expatriates are less likely to desire to come “home” to trace their roots, compared to Irish or Israeli descendants. … This lack of contemporary support by the ex patriot (sic) community for ‘mother’ Scotland is a significant competitive weakness for Scotland internationally.\textsuperscript{xii}

This statement overlooks the role that expatriates and descendants play in generating definitional experiences of “Scottishness” in their new homelands: it was they who gave Scotland “Tartan Day” in Canada and the United States, and they who have long given “Scottishness” a defining presence in their New World communities. Where attitudes towards Scotland have been surveyed, Scots generally appear in particular casts of positive light\textsuperscript{xiii}. Although the sources of the definitional experiences that underlie these positive attitudes have yet to be researched, it is most probable that they originate in part from the often highly visible expressions of “Scottishness” arising from expatriate and descendant communities. In the United States, for example, Scottishness is one of the preferred identities of choice. The 1990 U.S. Census asked Americans to state their ethnic identity (their
ethnic origin, heritage, or birthplace – or that of their parents or ancestors before they moved to the United States]. Only one in 10 identified themselves simply as “American”. The most frequently claimed ethnic identity – shared by 58 million Americans (23 per cent of the population) was German – the largest heritage of choice in 29 states. But – in a country known as the world’s cultural “melting pot” – things could hardly seem more highly ethnicised. No fewer than 33 different ethnic identities each had the allegiance of more than a million Americans, three in 10 of whom claimed more than one ancestral heritage. The 3.315 million Americans who claimed “Scottish” ancestry were doing fairly well. Their median household income in 1990 was a relatively healthy $36,810 a year. Far from being a migrant or expatriate group, over 95 per cent of these people were American-born. Fewer than 22,000 had arrived in the U.S. in the previous 10 years.

The ensuing decade was an eye-opener: the number of Americans choosing “Scottishness” as their ethnic identity soared to 5.4 million – a 63 per cent gain. Scots should know that the number of Americans claiming “Englishness” rose from 21.4 million to 28 million (up 31 per cent) in the same period; the “German” population rose from 42.3 million to 47 million (11 per cent), “Italians” went from 10.5 million to 16 million (52 per cent) and the “Irish” climbed from 21.129 million to 33 million (a 55 per cent gain). The growth rates reveal, not new waves of migration, but shifts in the United States towards new understandings of identity and cultural awareness. The “Scottish” gain suggests a shift in the nature of Scottish American-ness, and probably reflects the efforts of the countless cultural activists who organise and promote the increasingly popular “Scottish” activities that annually help to enliven communities and nurture genealogical curiosity across the United States. These activists are attracting people to their way of doing things. Why “Scottishness” should have been an attractive identity of choice in the United States over recent decades calls for on-the-ground research. It is not something to guess at, although Wayne Rethford, president
of the Association of St Andrew Societies in Chicago, can probably offer better guesses than most. He told The Scotsman that, while the “Braveheart factor” may have played a part in it, “I think Americans generally are just getting more in touch with their roots. There are a lot more Scots-related activities these days in the United States.”

To say—as “a source to Scottish Secretary Helen Liddell” did, in talking to George Kerevan of The Scotsman—that the heightened interest was “no coincidence” but reflected “hard work put in by the Scottish executive and Scotland Office” is a naive or opportunistic conceit.

An estimated 30,000 Americans are actively involved in some 200 clan organisations alone, and many public figures and celebrities have publicly—and proudly—asserted Scottish ancestry. There are at least 60 St Andrew’s Societies, and some 260 Highland games and Scottish festivals are held annually. Work by social psychologists on the ways in which individuals are perceived has usually focused how they come to be liked. Research in relation to the perception of groups, responding to issues such as racism and negative stereotyping, has concentrated on the way groups (particularly “outgroups”) come to be disliked. Recognising this, Russell Clement and Joachim Krueger (1998) devised a study that looked at both processes, side by side. They found that the “desirability” of a person’s characteristics uniquely predicted how well an individual was liked. Impressions of groups, on the other hand, were based on how well people saw themselves potentially fitting into the group: “In other words, they need to ask how similar their own characteristics are to the characteristics of various group members.” Clement and Krueger saw in their results a route to stereotype change:

The crucial ingredient is a change in categorisation. Stereotypes may improve if the perceiver reassesses the similarity between himself or herself and the group. Liking for a group may increase especially if the perceiver categorises the self as a group member. This mechanism can produce
increases in liking even without changes in the perceived desirability of the other group members' characteristics.xvii

In ways such as these, expatriate and descendant groups overseas function as intermediaries between their neighbours in the New World and Scotland in the Old World. A case in point is that of Duncan Bruce, a Wall Street banker who firmly believes in and promotes the achievements of Scots and Scottish descendants. As the author of *Mark of the Scots* (1996) – a best seller in its category in the United States – and *The Scottish 100* (2000), he has been an influential image-maker for his fellow expatriates and descendants. He was reported as saying of his later book that he hoped:

... this book will be an antidote to those who think that Scots only equal Highland games, haggis, whisky and bagpipes. I like all of those things, but there is another view which I think stands out above the others: the amazing intellectual achievements of the men and women of a small ethnic group and how they have influenced the world. ... I know I am going to come under fire, but it is about time people in Scotland realise you don't have to be born in Scotland to be a Scot.xviii

From individuals and groups associated with the expatriate and descendant communities, financial support is frequently given to cultural promotion. Said Glasgow-born Arthur McAra, vice-president of the U.S. Piping Foundation and treasurer of the executive committee of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association:

We’re very fortunate that, over the years, we’ve had certain individuals, who usually prefer to be anonymous, who have the interest and the resources and will put up the money to partly sponsor a competition or a workshop. Generally speaking, supporters are people of Scottish descent – quite clearly of Scottish descent – who
have close associations with Scotland and are involved in cultural ties other than piping. …The biggest part, though, is from organisations such as St Andrews societies, clan societies and Highland games…

And then there are organisations like Scottish Heritage USA, founded in 1965 by Ward Melville “to recognise and enhance the original bonds of ancestral and national character among the peoples of Scotland and North America”, and which is a booster organisation for the National Trust for Scotland.

Networks such as these can be effective mobilisers of various sorts of community resource. In August 1994, for example, a Scottish Festival was held in Wellington, New Zealand, which, through invoking Scottish networking contacts, involved Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington City Council, Government House (the office of the Governor-General of New Zealand), the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Wellington Cathedral and a number of sports groups and organisations and other bodies, public and commercial. Outcomes included the establishment of a Victoria University Scottish Interest Group and the holding of a Scottish-New Zealand videoconference on science education (involving the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the Royal Society of New Zealand).

“Tartanry”

Too keen an attachment seems to make many Scots (in Scotland) uncomfortable. But not all of it daft ‘tartanry’, and sweeping accusations of expatriate cultural tomfoolery are difficult to justify. A part of the problem may be held to lie within Scotland, and some of the cause can probably be traced to experiences of cultural suppression. But there have also been some complicated historical mechanisms of complicity within Scotland to sharpen the edge of that suppression. And, if Scotland is being misrepresented internationally, Scots must take a measure of the blame. Why is the most impressive quality magazine currently available about
Scotland published in Australia, edited by a 5th generation Australian?xxii Existing Scottish publications with international circulations tend to be either humble niche-market and special interest publications, or woefully nostalgic magazines such as D.C. Thomson and Co’s The Scots Magazine and the anachronistic Scottish Memories. The People’s Friend also has some expatriate circulation. Scottish Field calls itself “Scotland’s Quality Lifestyle Magazine” and in 1999 was addressing in its editorials such issues as:

As the point-to-pointing season gets into full swing it is prudent to wonder what the effect of a ban on hunting would be to pointing. One of the stipulations of running a point-to-pointer is that it must have qualified on the hunting field … xxiii

In the case of the nostalgia publications, it is likely that they compound anachronistic views of Scotland in expatriate and descendant communities where individuals’ most recent first-hand memories of Scotland may go back 20-40 years or more, where stories from previous generations remain in circulation and where, because personal identities are defined in terms of connections in the past, there is an inclination to look backwards in time anyway. Most clan societies, for example, place a high value on genealogical research. Letters by members of these communities to the editor of, for example, the American-based Scottish Banner monthly newspaper (which applies a lighter editorial hand to its correspondence column than, say, The Scots Magazine) are often from people seeking what is essentially genealogy-related “cultural” information:

During a recent visit to an uncle’s, we discovered some of our heritage. We found that my husband’s great grandparents spoke Gaelic, and so we are starting Gaelic lessons, and we would like to discover more…xxiv

I’m interested in locating any and all places that are Scottish oriented in Houston, Texas, USA.
I am trying to discover my proud Scottish culture.xxv

I am looking for relatives or anyone else willing to correspond with me from the Irvine, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire areas. My grandfather … relocated to the United States in 1907.xxvi

I am trying to solve the problem of my father’s clan name. His name was Kinnimont, and I have yet to be able to define which clan is his.xxvii

In the absence (until recently in some cases and into the present in others) of authoritative migrant histories, a range of informal stories and recollections has helped to shape views and attitudes that are likely to be strongly held by at least some of the influential people in these communities. In some cases, expatriate mythologies have been very deliberately created and actively promoted, as, for example, Ted Cowan has shown to be in the case of Canada.xxviii Often, however, the process seems less formalised.

Scots All?

Many countries increasingly embrace a variety of cultures, the result of often highly controlled immigration policies. And, as the stories of countless individual migrants, expatriates and descendants are woven into post-migration lore and traditionsxxix in their new social environments, parent cultures come to be understood and interpreted in new ways.xxx In the global context, in numerical terms, Scotland’s diaspora is a relatively minor demographic incident of declining significance. The under-researched ways in which migrant Scots have made their adjustments to new cultural contexts, however, have resulted in some relatively visible expressions of identity – and it is not as though Scotland has done much to actively encourage, engage or inform this range of self-identifications and interests.xxxi However, Scotland is uniquely endowed with a highly-developed genealogically-based structure, constituted in law, that helps to provide a
coherent (if frequently misunderstood) underpinning for some of the important symbols of descendant identification overseas: the Lyon Court. The Lyon Court is an institution with origins that long antedate the establishment in 1672 of the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland. Robert the Bruce appointed a Lord Lyon King of Arms with knightly rank at Arbroath Abbey in 1318. But the 1672 Act, as well as repairing the damage wrought by Oliver Cromwell’s destruction of Scottish records, gave formalisation and order to the use of heraldic arms in Scotland and made it unlawful to bear unregistered arms. It also required all subsequent grants of arms to be properly recorded. The Lyon Court, of little significance to the daily lives of most Scots within Scotland, is still to be taken seriously, say its supporters. Its role is often in relation to determining the rightful chiefship of a clan at a time of a contested succession – something that, apart from the litigants themselves, is likely to be of most interest to active clan members overseas.

George Way of Plean, secretary of the 147-member Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, wrote in 1994:

… not only [is it the case that] the Lyon Court is a fully integrated part of the Scottish judicial system, but also that clan rights have survived to this day, not just as a historical curiosity or romantic ideal, but as a part of Scotland’s heritage, worthy of the attention of the highest courts of the land.xxxii

Plean defines a clan as “a community which is both distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign”. Contrary to widespread popular belief at home and abroad, a “clansman” need not be able to prove a genealogical relationship his chief, he said: “A clansman can be said to be one who professes allegiance to a chief and the other members of his noble community, whether by descent with a common name, territorial origin or adoption, and who respects the Law of Arms in Scotland.”xxxiii Clan chiefship, he holds

… is a title of honour and dignity within the
nobility of Scotland. Any claimant to such a title must establish, to the satisfaction of the Lord Lyon representing the sovereign, that he or she is entitled to the undifferenced arms of the community over which they seek to preside.xxxiv

Join the Clan

The options of adoption and territorial origin separately and together open membership of almost any clan to almost any person who is willing to respect the recognised chief and “the Law of Arms in Scotland”. The practical implications of these attitudes are not dissimilar from the view expressed by Professor Peter Gomes that, “in a democracy like the United States you can choose your ancestors”.xxxv You can certainly choose your own clan: a body “distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign”. It is not facetious to observe that Scottish clanship could well be an institution that, far from belonging to the past, potentially has a yet-to-be realised appeal. In the Old World context of Scotland, the Scottish chiefs’ present day attitude to clan membership has origins in the situation of the 17th century when, according to David Stevenson:

Feudalism was often as central to a chief’s power as kinship. Chiefs used feudalism willingly when it worked to their own advantage, and only made the discovery that it was something alien and unnatural if it happened to work against their interests. When feudal ties did not exist, chiefs often found it convenient to invent quasi-feudal ones to bolster their authority. ... As well as such quasi-feudal ties, quasi-kinship ones were created; not just through the general myth of kinship wider than that which actually existed, but also through the artificial kinship of fosterage. ...Fosterage could be used to strengthen real kinship ties ... or it could be used to create an entirely artificial kinship.xxxvi
In the urbane, modern version of clanship in Scotland – as opposed to the community-based extended family that is still to be found in the Highlands – membership carries with it not only the attractions of a personal and group identity, but also access to a history, a language, a traditional form of dress, a body of lore and tradition, concepts of a “homeland” and a body of associated performing and visual art. In any postmodern quest for an identity, clan membership is a rich and comprehensive package with the potential to lead a person who is willing to work at it to a deep understanding of Scottish history and culture. It is, moreover, a status that is recognised, at least by implication, by Britain’s Head of State.

A declared respect for the Law of Arms in Scotland is supported by the Lord Lyon’s statutory powers to protect the rights of those whose arms are properly recorded by imposing fines, confiscating offending articles and even, in theory, by imposing imprisonment. In this policing role, the Lord Lyon is assisted by the Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records and by a prosecutor, the Procurator Fiscal, who brings complaints about the misuse of arms to the Court. Enforcement of the laws that protect the art of aristocratic identification in Scotland may never have taxed the resources of Her Majesty’s Prisons, but the existence of those laws has given Scotland’s heraldry a kudos that might otherwise have faded. The value of that distinctiveness is now being keenly raised in the New World by descendants of Scots who may well have been more familiar with the pit dungeons and exactions their chiefs than with their great halls, bards and heroes. But, for those who want but have not inherited arms of their own, there is another recourse. Not only are arms heritable property and strictly protected in Scotland but also, as Gordon Casley told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention, new personal coats of arms are relatively freely available in Scotland:

Qualifications for gaining a coat-of-arm vary considerably throughout Europe, and may depend on nobility or caste. Through the impact of the Celtic social system upon Scotland, the system is
egalitarian, from the fundamental theory underlying clanship (and Lowland ‘houses’) that every member springs from the founder of the clan. Thus any person judged by Lyon to be virtuous and well deserving may be granted arms. The petitioner can be female or male, for Scotland has always maintained sexual equality in heraldry.xxxviii

A Niche Market

When Inverness-based Hugh Grant retired after 30 years in the hotel business, it was with an awareness that many of those who visited Scotland came looking for genealogical and clan roots. He and his wife Joan decided to service this particular interest. The result, a company called Heraldic Art and Design, set up in 1991, has been a successful small business founded on the methods and technology of another era. Heraldic Art and Design relates each customer’s name to a heraldic device – provided it is one of the many thousands of names that fall within the heraldic system of Europe, or a variant of one – and prepares individually hand-painted blazons of arms in full colour on parchment vellum. The firm also hand-embroiders coats of arms for its customers in gold, silver and French silk thread, in a choice of sizes. It has developed its own research department and established an International Library of Arms.

Hugh Grant described his clients’ interest in their names or origins as one which Scots in Scotland “find strange because they live with it all the time.” He estimated that about 10 per cent of his customers had conducted some family research and already knew what their name’s arms were, and where their names originated. In most cases, Heraldic Art and Design provides the information. It does no specific genealogical research – “genealogy is a quite a different and much more expensive and time-consuming study,” said High Grant – but rather points people to the oldest registered coat of arms for their surname. Hugh Grant said it would be difficult to know how closely his customers are related to the families that rightfully possess those arms:
Just because they have a clan name, there’s no real way of checking any true link at all. It’s just the fact they have a name and we will show them the first coat of arms of that name. …There is a lot of wishful thinking. Without genealogical evidence to prove a line of descent, the likelihood of a genuine, biological relationship really is a long shot – and names have changed. …What they are looking for is an image that somehow appears to connect them to what they understand their biological origins to be. And they are looking for something with the status of an heirloom.xxxix

Those with titles and full legal rights to a properly registered coat of arms rarely buy Heraldic Design’s handsomely embroidered or painted crests. But the protection afforded Scottish heraldry by the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland and the office of the Lord Lyon, is a significant asset to Hugh and Joan Grant’s business.xl It is probably impossible to put a potential total value on the Scottish-interest niche market served by the likes of Heraldic Art and Design. It is a market that merges at its boundaries with a yet broader “Celtic” niche market, especially in the New World. There are numerous clan organisations and societies, many of them with formalised structures and hereditary chiefs. Others, especially in the New World are less formal groups pursuing family history research or social programmes. Serving this market and the interests of countless other Scots descendants and wishful thinkers are tartan weavers and kilt makers, clan badge and crest makers, the engravers of dram glasses, video and recording production companies, book publishers, tee-shirt printers and garment embroiderers. There are clan-crested beer mats, kilt pins and whisky miniatures, clan crested clothing, jewelry, crockery and kitchenware, clocks, stationery, stained glass work, cross stitch kits…. And competing with Scottish producers are a good number of clan product manufacturers overseas, especially in the United States and Canada, but
also in other countries where Scots have settled or provided cultural influences. The product range replicates the outputs of Scottish producers and more — even “Scottish fortune cookies”\textsuperscript{xli} have been advertised.

The array of products seems as remote from the deliberations of the Lyon Court and the proceedings of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs (formed in 1952) as they themselves seem from the daily lives of most Scots. But, though the overseas producers are beyond its reach, the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs has a direct involvement with products manufactured in Scotland that carry clan insignia. (In 1998 some 30 Scottish manufacturers of clan badges and the like and a number of individual craftspeople were registered with the Standing Council.) George Way said it was the policy of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs only to seek to persuade Scottish manufacturers to conform with the intent of the legislation. Said George Way:

\begin{quote}
We have a badge … a circlet with three chief’s eagle feathers with ‘Standing Council of Chiefs’ on it and underneath it says ‘approved manufacturer’ … that is meant to be used by anyone who has our licence so that the public know that they are licensed … the Council’s primary interest in the souvenir market is to ensure that, if it says it’s Mackay, for example, it’s Mackay and not MacGillivray. The Council is, as the Americans would say, a non profit organisation and its principal aim is to ensure that what’s produced is decent and of a quality which at least isn’t tawdry. …

We have never, ever, exercised our legal rights against anyone. We work entirely by persuasion and drawing to their attention the advantages … I’ve no doubt there are people out there even now making things that I’ve not seen, but it’s very much the velvet glove inside the velvet glove. \textsuperscript{xlii}
\end{quote}
Gordon Casley told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention that heraldry was very much a living art in Scotland:

... the growth of heraldry during this century (the 20th) has been nothing short of explosive. Heraldry extends into all spheres of life. spiritual and secular. It harks back to the past while providing a bond for the future. Yet heraldists remain far too modest in promoting themselves. Their ancient craft is proving one of Scotland’s modern growth industries with downstream opportunity is design, print and manufacture. The underlying trend suggests that this growth will become even more pronounced in the 21st century.xliii

**Wha’s like us? (Conclusions**

“Wha’s like us? Damn few an’ they’re a’ deid,” the saying goes. In fact, Scots are surprisingly numerous, form communities all around the world and are frequently highly animated – and, therefore, publicly visible. Scotland’s expatriate and descendant communities have a value to Scotland, far beyond their worth as a niche goods and tourism market. This value might well be tapped, were Scotland to take a more positive interest in them. Any value that is being lost to Scotland is very largely Scotland’s responsibility. Timeliness is an issue here. As Scottish descendant communities and the societies in which they live change, their capacities and inclination to enhance Scottish interests are eroded. As of now, a number of these communities are well placed to provide positive definitional experiences of Scottishness, and this they clearly do in a number of Scotland’s important target markets. They also extend and facilitate networks of personal communication to Scotland’s favour. Scotland has economic reasons, as well as cultural and historical obligations, to end its failure to involve, include and help to resource its diasporas communities. For as long as these groups continue to be provided from Scotland with
inadequate, even misleading, sources of information and limited Scottish-generated contact, the contexts in which these groups function will lead to further cultural divergence from contemporary Scotland, even to alienation, and the potential they represent for Scotland will gradually diminish – as has largely been the case with Cape Breton Gaelic culture which has a robust identity of its own, with little recourse to “Scottishness” for replenishment.

“Scottishness” is essentially a voluntary cultural affiliation. It’s proprietors are those who learn, maintain and express the culture. Such an inclusive definition is not one that all would accept – but a person who is a “Scot” by virtue of other defining qualifications – birth or residence in Scotland, for example – need not also be culturally “Scottish”. Culture does not confine itself to territorial boundaries and there is nothing intrinsic to overseas clanship or the choice of a Scottish identity that should especially worry Scots in Scotland. On the contrary, there are many actual and potential benefits. There are needs, however, for vastly more effective communication. Scotland is not contesting an empty field in these matters. New Age and “Celtic” movements abroad are actively propagating imagery and “histories” that not only exploit but seriously misrepresent nations like Scotland and Ireland. And other countries more overtly court informed cultural attention.

Cultural boundaries, though frequently ill-defined, are ultimately decided by the culture itself through constant, ongoing discourse: living cultures are dynamic, adaptable and changeable, and embody their own diversities and controversies. What is important is the set of values that lie at a culture’s heart: the creative stimulus they generate and the insights they produce. In the case of Scottish culture, Scotland herself has been rather less energetic in that discourse than she should.

The National Piping Centre, Glasgow
End Notes


ii Hofstede defines culture in the following terms:
Culture (1) The training or refining of the mind; civilisation. In this book, this meaning is called ‘culture one’. (2) The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. This meaning corresponds to the use of the term ‘culture’ in anthropology…


iii In response to an article by Bob Brown comparing other nations’ interest in their diasporic communities with Scotland’s (“Putting the sporran into diaspora” (*Sunday Herald Seven Days* section, 23 January, 2000. p. 8), a Dr M. M. Gilchrist of St Andrews wrote to the editor of the *Sunday Herald*:
I think we ought to be glad that the Scottish diaspora is less influential than that of some other countries. Playing the diaspora card is unhealthy. It inhibits the development of a modern multi-ethnic society, implies a notion of nationality based on ‘blood’ rather than residence and commitment, and exploits notions of racial purity. Diaspora also frequently exhibit ignorant and bizarre misconceptions about their ancestors’ home countries: the ludicrous American Kirkin’ of the Tartan ceremonies which pander to a Brigadoon image of Scottishness are just one example.


v See, for example, the Florida-based *Scottish Banner* which circulates in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Or, on a local scale, *Celtic Connections*, a regular Access Radio programme produced by Ken Weir in Wellington and Palmerston North, New Zealand.
The term “ingleside” for a less formal Scottish evening is often used as a Scots alternative to the Gaelic term “ceilidh” in New Zealand, for example, but appears to be unknown in Scotland.

This is an informal observation based on some years of involvement with Scottish-interest organisations in New Zealand and Canada.


The author was a principle organiser of this event.
The reference is to *SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine.


Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, December 1997). p. 2


Examples are provided by the director of the Finnish Institute of Migration, Olavi Koivukangas, in a website article on Finnish migration:

a. In relation to North America:

… Major contributions made by the early Finnish settlers in America were burn-beating, a new way to build log-cabins, and the art of living at peace with Indians. A descendant of these early Finns was John Morton who signed the USA Declaration of Independence in 1776.

b. In relation to Australia and New Zealand:

“In 1769–70 Captain James Cook sailing the Endeavour claimed New Zealand and the eastern parts of Australia to the British Crown. He was accompanied by H. D. Spöring [a Finn], a draughtsman and naturalist belonging to Joseph Banks’ retinue. … Finns have been the pioneers of New Zealand pulp and paper industry. … The major settlement of Finns is in Auckland with an active Finnish society.

c. In relation to Sweden:

As long ago as in the 14th century some people from present Finland went to Sweden in search of better livelihood. … The first Finnish society started in 1830 and after the postwar mass migration the Federation of Finnish Associations in Sweden was established in 1957. In 1987 the federation had 168 local societies with 46,000 members.

xxix After a 1999 visit to the Cape Verdean Society formed in Wales in 1990, William A Gomes, a retired civil servant living in Randolph, Massachusetts, wrote:

Each member should be commended for acknowledging their Cape Verdean-Welsh heritage. For it was their forefathers that settled in Cardiff, Wales, some hundred years ago. They instilled in their offspring the seed of sensacao for the Republic of the Cape Verde. …It is a profound fact that the Cape Verdean culture has enhanced every segment of society wherever Cape Verdeans are dispersed throughout the world.

– Gomes, William (10 March, 1999) published at Cape Verdean Society website.

xxx In this context, the attitude of, for example, Egypt’s Minister of Manpower and Emigration, Ahmed El Amawy, is interesting: “From Egypt to all of you Egyptians abroad who carry with you the pulse of its great history, and the responsibilities towards its new renaissance … the Emigration Sector of the Ministry announces its wish to establish close links with you individually or through your groupings.”


Irish Abroad’s extensive website carries regular features, discussions, chat, free e-mail postcards, and a wealth of Irish information: daily Irish news, horoscopes, recipes, information about flight specials, Gaelic and Irish slang, and Irish employment and property, Irish technological developments, daily exchange rates, advice on emigration and living abroad, a searchable calendar of Irish events and listings of Irish businesses and pubs. Genealogical, statistical, cultural and tourist information, songs, games and jokes are all there.


xxxviii Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

xxxix Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

xl e.g. The Scottish Banner, Vol. 22, No. 3, August 1998; Celtic Heritage, October-November 1997.


xlii Euan Baird, Scottish expatriate chief executive of Schlumberger (a multi-billion-dollar technology company) and chairperson of Scottish Knowledge, told The Scotsman in 2000: “It’s heartening and touching how well received Scottish people are in the U.S. But Scotland itself doesn’t benefit from it … all the different societies never talk to each other, don’t exchange information, and as a result aren’t nearly as effective as they should be … it can’t be handled by expats. there has to be a force from Scotland.” — Cornwell, Tim. “Roots, mon” (Weekend section, The Scotsman, 11 March, 2000). p. 1-2.
Fraser Clark

TUNES OF MAPLE GLORY:
AN EXAMINATION OF
ONTARIO MILITIA BAGPIPERS
IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Amongst a crowd of unsuspecting Scottish spectators on a rainy day in August 1987, Canada achieved an historic landmark in the international bagpiping community. After five years of arduous competition, a small group of Canadian pipers and drummers from Toronto were announced as the new Grade 1 World’s Pipe Band Champions at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow and became the first non-Scottish band to be awarded the prestigious championships. Scotland crowned the 78th Fraser Highlanders of Toronto the best competitive band in the world. Ontario bagpiping celebrated its maturation. Surely, in the latter 20th century, amongst a population that could be described as an agglomeration of cultural heterogeneity - thousands of resident immigrants claimed ancestry from the far reaches of Argentina to Zimbabwe - the Scottish faction of Ontario’s cultural mélange asserted itself in the formation and consumption of kilted pipe bands. The music of the bagpipes and the Scottish Highlands has indeed, played a significant role in the cultural fabric of Ontario since the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists in the late eighteenth century. The bagpipes in the twentieth century - particularly after the First World War - have taken Ontario by storm: the proliferation of the art has increased dramatically and thrust its pipers onto the global competitive stage. Today, civilian pipers in Ontario - largely as a result of the efforts of their militia forebears from the early twentieth century - figure prominently in leading solo and ensemble competitions throughout North America.
and Scotland. What were the historical circumstances in the Non-Permanent Active Militia that gave rise to this burgeoning of bagpipe music in the latter twentieth century? Although the pipers of the Ontario Militia units in the early twentieth century are not the sole contributors to this ascension in musicianship; their value is ill considered by their successors. This paper attempts to examine the role these military musicians played in the development of the art which directly contributed to the World Pipe Band Championship victory of the 78th Fraser Highlanders in 1987.

* * *

“Canada’s militia was an ineffective and poorly trained force...in fact, the militia was incapable of meeting any development which might require Canada either to defend her own shores, send a force to assist Great Britain, or fulfill Canadian obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations.” F. G. Stanley’s declaration of Canadian militia affairs between the First and Second World Wars echoes a familiar theme in defence policy throughout the twentieth century, yet, in the 1920s and 1930s, Canada suffered the effects of a cataclysmic European conflagration which ingrained disturbing images in the national conscience. Understandably, defence spending was not a priority government initiative following the Great War. In fact, defence reduction was the policy which the Department of Militia and Defence was obliged to adhere. When a proposal for a small increase in defence appropriations was initiated by the Tory government in 1921, opposition leader Mackenzie King decried to the House of Commons “the Minister [of Defence] seems to think that at the present time we ought to vote an amount at least equal to amounts that were being voted prior to the War...Conditions are wholly different to-day [sic]; there is not world menace. Where does the Minister expect invasion from?” Canada’s fighting capability therefore was reduced upon the demobilization of the Canadian Corps in 1919. Canadian government officials, echoing public sentiment throughout the Dominion, reduced total military expenditures to paltry sums throughout the period between
the two World Wars. The public loathed revisiting the events that occurred between 1914 and 1918; if that meant a pro-active mandate of defence reductions in the midst of a world crisis, the government would seek to satisfy public sentiment. Canadians were appalled by the loss of human life during the war and, perhaps, atoning for those four bitter years, turned its back on its blooded military. Nevertheless, Canadians - both veterans and civilians - sought to honor their war dead through the erection of war memorials and participation at annual observances of Remembrance Day. In honoring their fallen comrades though, Canadians identified with a unique group of soldiers who provided music and ceremony at these commemorations. Many of these soldier-musicians had previously inspired and sustained Canadian troops in France and Flanders and as such, struck an angelic chord within the hearts of the citizenry. For the public, these unique regimental ensembles re-created an indescribable bond that was fostered between warriors in battle. Canadians were moved by the invocation of this music as it spoke directly of the horrors, chaos, comradeship, courage, and bereavement brought on by war. Thus, Canadians identified with military bands because their music brought them as close to their veterans and their experiences as they would ever come.

Not foregoing public sentiment however, and with what remaining manpower availability in the Canadian armed services after demobilization, official government expenditures would perforce focus on combat elements rather than ancillary services - combat service support and regimental bands - which were relegated to the periphery of regimental budgets. Nevertheless, the golden age of the regimental band, particularly, the regimental pipe band, blossomed between the two World Wars. In fact, the hub of piping in Canada, and especially Ontario, was found overwhelmingly in the Non-Permanent Active Militia. Doubtless, the survival of these pipe bands, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, depended almost entirely upon the benevolence (financial and otherwise) of regimental officers and non-commissioned members alike. “Had it not been for the devotion of the
militia officers and men,” Stanley lauded, “it would have been impossible for some of the units to have been kept alive.”

Certainly, many famous militia regiments from the pre-World War One era could count on continued perpetuation after the 1919 demobilization. Units such as the 15th, 38th and 75th Battalions, Canadian Expeditionary Force could look to the future with renewed hope given the allegiances and commitments of their former warrior classes and contemporary peacetime membership. These units, upon disbandment from active service, were to be the proud sponsors of some of the most acclaimed regimental pipe bands in the Dominion. Indeed, the 48th Highlanders of Canada, the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa and the Toronto Scottish Regiment reported similar musical successes during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. The militia band then, was the ideal setting for pipers to work towards achieving membership in a high profile, musically professional organization during that era.

The militia bands served a dual purpose for both novice and advanced musicians: First, they provided a haven for aspiring players as senior members of the band offered progressive musical instruction. Second, militia pipe bands - with sufficient uniform allotments and ample practice facilities (such as drill halls and armories) - were attractive to pipers and drummers alike because they provided a forum for rehearsals, negating the logistical challenges faced by civilian bandsmen. Consequently, leading soloists and bandsmen performed together in the ranks of the militia with little or no overhead cost to the individual member.

Master players were deliberately sought after by commanding officers to lead the pipes and drums. Often, the hallmark of a good regiment was reflected in the standard of its pipe band. A commanding officer could expect a steady stream of new recruits through his band’s activities in the local community - an ideal recruiting tool - thereby justifying his administrative establishment to militia inspectors. The issue of militia justification was particularly acute during the era of government apathy towards the defence establishment (A militia adversity” in writer Kim Beattie’s words) when
Militia District Inspectors ubiquitously scrutinized units. Therefore, recruiting well-qualified pipe majors to produce good bands fulfilled a military function that served to aid the survival of the regiments. Recruiting also had the unique effect of contributing to the commanding officer’s social status within the community. Citizens from the local community enlisted in the militia to fulfill their military interests and, perhaps more importantly, to ensure that their professional interests were being served through the social avenues offered by the regiment - the Officers’ and Sergeants’ Mess.

Militia regiments provided an informal kinship network for militiamen that served to further an individual’s professional career, thus perpetuating the euphemistic old boys’ network. Many a commanding officer found himself in a chief executive’s role at a leading industrial or commercial firm. The commanding officer, desirous of young, energetic and intelligent men to take a commission in his regiment, exercised his professional influence to employ potential members of the regiment at his place of work. Militiamen, who were provided with a stable regimen of military training and vibrant social activity, could thus move comfortably from professional to militia life without compromising either role. The role of the pipes and drums in militia recruiting was to provide the overt musical demonstration that quite naturally captivated an audience sympathetic to early twentieth century Anglo-Canadian traditions and values. Additionally, the lavishness of the band’s display of pomp and ceremony often formed the basis of sound regimental custom and tradition, which could only be provided through private donations emanating from the Officers’ Mess (especially during the 1920s and 30s given the lack of funds provided by the Militia Department where the cost of full highland dress uniforms was, and continues to be, costly). It was therefore in the best interest of the commanding officer to retain a healthy regimental pipe band for it overtly demonstrated the commanding officer’s social status within the community. The pipes and drums were also as much a function as they were inspiring: they were a potent tool for harnessing community
support for the regiment through their majesty, colour and stirring music.\textsuperscript{vi}

When potential pipers and drummers enlisted in the militia, it was the pipe major’s responsibility to train his musicians to an acceptable standard. However, the pipe major’s teaching responsibilities could be alleviated if his musical abilities were noted throughout piping circles, precipitating a steady stream of enlistment from experienced pipers and drummers. Undoubtedly, this was the case with the 48th Highlanders of Canada, based in Toronto, and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise’s), in Hamilton.\textsuperscript{vii} These units were the most musically formidable in Ontario during this period for they not only attracted and were composed of accomplished pipers and drummers, but they fostered young musicians to their ranks to ensure band continuity and longevity. Pipe Major Stephen MacKinnon writing in \textit{The Canadian Geographical Journal}, 1932, illustrates the extent to which militia pipe band strength capitalized on the resources of the piping community in the 1920s and 1930s. MacKinnon reported 23 pipe bands in Ontario, of which the 48th reported a roster of 45 pipers and drummers and the Argylls 36 pipers and drummers.\textsuperscript{viii} The remaining militia regiments reported a significantly higher number of musicians than their civilian counterparts at approximately 27 members, while civilian bands (sponsored by legions, city councils, rail companies and the like) reported their numbers in the mid-teens.\textsuperscript{ix}

Why do the 48th and the Argylls figure prominently in Ontario piping history, particularly during the combined eras of Charles Dunbar (pipe major of the Argylls from 1913-1937) and James Fraser (pipe major of the 48th from 1913-1952)? Why were the 48th and the Argylls able to maintain their musical status throughout the late 1960s, 70s and 80s when militia piping across Canada slowly subsided? Simply stated, Pipe Majors Dunbar and Fraser represented a British Army tradition that found a captive audience in the Canadian militia, primarily because the militia was attempting to nurture traditions that duplicated an imperial precedent.
“They [Dunbar and Fraser] contributed a great deal in maintaining the traditions and the standards that had been set in the British Army, especially in the Scottish regiments” notes Major Archie Cairns. Cairns, the ever trenchant observer, continues “It [militia tradition] had all come down through the highland and lowland regiments [of the British Army]. It was all passed down from generation to generation. So it was an in-house thing, but, it helped in fostering and keeping alive things that were not being kept alive in civilian bands.”

The Canadian Militia in 1913 (when Fraser and Dunbar were appointed as pipe majors of their respective regiments) was a young institution. Although a few militia units participated in several isolated conflicts by the commencement of the First World War - primarily the Fenian Raids of 1866, the North-West Rebellion of 1885 and the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 - they continued to search for traditions outwith their brief excursions on the battlefield in order to assert their own distinctive regimental identities. Because the Canadian army was based upon the British regimental system, the tenets introduced and practiced by men such as Dunbar and Fraser were readily embraced by their adopted colonial regiments. This explanation however, scantily addresses the various factors underlying the success stories of the pipes and drums of the 48th, the Argylls and indeed, the remaining militia regiments who, in no small way, contributed to Ontario’s World Championships victory in 1987. Bands such as the 48th and the Argylls enjoyed unfettered successes throughout the 20th century due to the likes of Dunbar and Fraser. And although one pipe major possessed superior performance skills over the other (Dunbar was a solo piping champion while Fraser was a prolific teacher), their conventions were accepted as gospel by their bandsmen; they came to know no limits of musicianship while simultaneously establishing a high standard of musicianship for their successors. Effectively preaching doctrinaire British army pipe band drills, Fraser and Dunbar were as much sounding boards as incredible fountains of wisdom for their new bands. *Ergo*, if British army...
pipe bands were operating in the fashion as Dunbar and Fraser asserted, the 48th and Argylls must mimic their imperial counterparts in order to garner comparable results.

It was a natural progression for colonial militia units in the 1920s to mimic their kith and kin. After all, the Canadians had served alongside thousands of Scottish troops on the Western Front in the First World War; the Canadians were exposed first hand to the imperial standard. Moreover, given the sheer number of Scottish units within the Canadian Corps it is not surprising the Scottish-Canadian militia regiments desired the imperial standard for themselves. Not surprisingly, the Corps boasted a massed pipe band estimated in the lower hundreds when they assembled, on one occasion at Camblain le Abbe, to march past Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig in 1917. And although the Canadian Corps was disbanded by 1919, their dramatic achievements in the Great War echoed resoundingly throughout the 1920s to such a degree that their successors jealously preserved their storied past through the outward manifestation of the pipes and drums.

Regimental Pipe Majors such as Dunbar and Fraser homogenized a successful combination of music and leadership, which produced an exceptionally superior musical product. In Fraser and Dunbar’s case, it happened that their vocations as professional British soldiers brought them to the Non-Permanent Active Militia of Canada, which was only too willing to perpetuate their piping pedagogy. The likes of Dunbar and Fraser’s presence in southern Ontario laid the foundations of world-renowned piping at the doorstep of Ontario militia regiments. Pipe bands outwith the 48th and Argylls (militia and civilian) attempted to mirror their success, both on and off the field of competition. These men, their commanding officers and their regiments are in no small way, responsible for the standard of musicianship, which Ontario enjoys today. Doubtless, the evolution of Ontario piping in the twentieth century is based upon their combined imprint in the Non-Permanent Active Militia - a singularly bold assertion, yet not without foundation. Certainly, when the 78th
Fraser Highlanders secured their victory at Bellahouston Park in Glasgow in 1987, a significant number of their pipers were either taught by military pipers or had themselves served in militia units such as the 48th Highlanders. Curiously, the 78th Fraser Highlanders Pipe Major, William Livingstone, who was taught by his father William Livingstone Senior (a Pipe Major in the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War), had served a brief apprenticeship with the 48th Highlanders at the University Avenue Armouries in Toronto in 1956 at the tender age of 14. Additionally, other members of the 1987 World Champions could also trace their musical provenance to this unit as well as to the Toronto Scottish Regiment, the Irish Regiment of Canada and the Canadian Scottish Regiment. The case for militia piping and its yeoman contributions to the competitive art throughout the 20th century must be considered by the contemporary community in order to ensure the art’s future sustainability. Unfortunately, as much as militia pipers are no longer seen competing at highland gatherings across the country as they once were, their fate has been decided by public opinion; perhaps more lamentable is the unfamiliarity of their civilian counterparts who have failed to draw the co-relation between their standards of musicianship and the establishment and enforcement of that standard by their military predecessors. From the standpoint of the civilian competitive piping community, the militia is viewed as a non-entity in its contributions to the art (See endnote 3). If that is truly the case - where teaching and functional music making has disappeared from the drill halls and armories - how can Canadian pipers expect to lead the competitive genre of piping and drumming into the 21st century let alone ensure its survivability? Who, therefore, accepts the mantle of responsibility to bequeath our world-class standard to young pipers and drummers who previously, looked to the Canadian military for guidance? Do civilian pipe bands currently bear this responsibility? Are civilian musicians aware of this responsibility? Do top-flight civilian ensembles look to advance their knowledge to the younger generation, or do they look for a short-term quick
competitive fix? Should Canadians be smug enough to expect another World Pipe Band Championships? Although the bagpiping community has always sought alternative sources for patronage, the passing of the militia era is a lamentable travesty of history. The music, the musicians and the standards of musicianship previously enjoyed by the Canadian military have slowly faded into a not so distant memory. The current conditions for Canadian piping within and without the military do not look promising for future successes.

78th Highlanders Pipes and Drums
Halifax Citadel National Historic Site of Canada

End notes

ii. Ibid. pg. 341
iii. Ibid. pg. 342
iv. These conditions remain with us today; however, the cost-cutting policies of the Department of National Defence have reduced the substantive numbers of piper/drummer positions within the roster of the militia regiments thereby silencing the martial music so intimately tied to the unit. This is particularly acute with Scottish units where, for example, the Pipes and Drums of the Canadian Scottish Regiment, who boasted 25 piper/drummer line serial positions in the early 1990s, were reduced to two substantive positions by 1994. These line serials were reserved for the instructional cadre of the band - the pipe major and the drum major thus, disbanding the official status of the regimental band. These reductions have severely hampered the musical effectiveness of bands such as The Canadian Scottish Regiment. Whereas regimental pipe bands relied heavily on internal and external regimental recruitment - the benefits of being paid to rehearse an instrument was one of many incentives to enlist in the band - attracting potential pipers and drummers from the infantry companies as well as from the civilian world now remains a moot issue. The inordinate amount of time required to train a piper or a drummer on a drill evening wreaks havoc to a
militia soldier’s training regimen who, in a previous era, was transferred to the Pipes and Drums platoon. Prior to the mid-1990s, the trainee could expect to be payed and trained as a piper or a drummer belonging to his rightful administrative establishment. Now, the band platoon has been reduced to near nil strength thus restricting membership of the band to trained civilian volunteers. Unfortunately, this has had a detrimental effect upon the standards of musicianship reflected in the militia bands. What value does the Department of National Defence place upon a haphazard system of patronage for the military pipe band? Has not the Department of National Defence sounded the death knell of its pipes and drums? Does this situation not seriously reduce the scope of a Canadian Forces Pipes and Drums Training Centre particularly if the militia regiments do not have the viability to: A) Enroll pipers and drummers proper in the militia? How can a unit expect to send a piper on course when the unit no longer has an authorized band of pipers and drummers and, if a piper is found on strength with the militia, would not his primary trade, say, as an infantry soldier, preclude him from being promoted? Would the training course at the Pipes and Drums Music Centre not be considered redundant as the trainee will not be promoted upon successful completion of the course? Does this scenario present a situation whereby a Pipes and Drums School is redundant? B) Where does a Regular force units expect to draw potential recruits for its battalion pipes and drums (of which only one now exists, found in the 2nd Battalion Royal Canadian Regiment. Prior to 1970, four battalion pipe bands formed the corps of infantry pipes and drums)? Does this not question the purpose of the Reserve Pipe Band system?

vi. This familial theme would play a significant role in militia organization, particularly during the Depression - an era of great economic and social uncertainty - where regimental organization (the chain of command) provided an overt confirmation of stability to numerous militiamen who were embittered by the insufficient availability of civil employment and social services. See Kim Beattie’s Dileas: History of the 48th Highlanders of Canada 1929-1956, Published by the 48th Highlanders, Toronto, 1957.

vii. For ease of reference, I will refer to the aforementioned units by their colloquial short forms - the 48th and the Argylls.

viii. Large organizations by 21st century criterion. Today, a typical pipe band today would number in between 10-20 pipers while the percussion section would number from approximately 4-12 drummers.


Stephen MacKinnon was pipe major of the Canadian National Railways band, a noted “A” Class band (Grade 1 by contemporary standards) in the 1930s and 40s. He was a native Scot who emigrated to Canada in 1911. During the First World War, MacKinnon served with the Pipes and Drums of the 42nd Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force (The Royal Highlanders of Canada). MacKinnon established a well earned solo career in Canada which no doubt, was aided by his childhood mentor/instructor, the famed piping tour-de-force of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period in Scotland, John MacDougall Gillies.

x. Archie McNeil Cairns, interview by author, digital audio tape recording, London, Ontario, January 18, 1999. Archie Cairns (b. 1928) has a long and distinguished career in piping. Born and raised in Hamilton, Ontario, he learned to play the pipes under his father, Pipe Major John Knox Cairns, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise’s). In the 1940s, Archie was an active member of the professional solo piping community as well as a corps player in the ranks of the Argyll’s pipe band. Cairns’ crowning achievement as a young soloist was winning the coveted Hendrie Gold Medal, the youngest player ever to do so in the relatively short history of the competition. In 1952, Cairns succeeded Pipe Major John Wilson as pipe major of the Argylls. After only two years as pipe major, Cairns was recruited to the Regular Army to lead the newly formed Pipes and Drums of the Regiment of Canadian Guards at Camp Petawawa in 1954. After nine years as pipe major of the Guards, Cairns was assigned to the British Army School of Piping, Edinburgh Scotland, where he graduated with his Pipe Major’s Certificate (qualifying with a “Distinguished Pass”) under Pipe Major (later Captain) John MacLellan. Upon Cairns’ return to Canada in 1964, he transferred to the Royal Canadian Air Force and became Pipe Major of RCAF Air Station Rockcliffe Pipes.
and Drums in Ottawa, Ontario. Upon Cairns retirement from the regular force in 1981, he established the Pipes and Drums Wing of the Canadian Forces School of Music training reserve and regular force pipers and drummers from across Canada. Outwith his military commitments, Cairns was an instrumental figure in furthering the cause of piping within the civilian community conducting clinics across Canada. Cairns also initiated the only sanctioned Gold Medal piping contest outside Scotland, The Piobaireachd Society (Canada) Gold Medal, which has run continuously since 1973. At the time of writing, Cairns remains in constant demand to adjudicate at the most prestigious piping competitions across North America.


xii. The Canadian Scottish Regiment’s Regimental Headquarters are located in Victoria, British Columbia. Western Canadian militia pipe bands enjoyed similar successes during this period as their Ontario counterparts.
"A REGION ONCE AGAIN"?

A critical reaction to Graeme Morton’s interpretation of Scottish identity


Scotland the mother country of worldwide people, a small nation, a region, a geographical expression, or any combination of these? Scottish identity and heritage is for many an object of pride and remembrance, but it is also a keenly contested political question. For Scottish Nationalists, the trajectory mapped out by certain European nations, including the Republic of Ireland, into prospering states within an integrated Europe poses a model at once appealing and problematic. In 1994, for Christopher Harvie, the “rise of regional Europe” provided both a structure within which to recover the ‘natural regionality of the British Isles’, and, for Scots, the prospect of Olympian amusement at the political contortions of those trying to maintain undivided British sovereignty at Westminster. Yet in truth, the implication that a “regional” status befits Scotland encapsulates the ambiguities of the Nationalist dynamic. According to this teleology, Scottish Nationalism would appear to have lagged behind other nationalisms sufficiently to miss out on the finite phase of independent European nation-statehood. Moreover, while a sense of Scottishness has by no means always gone hand-in-hand with a demand for Scottish independence, a rich and growing body of comparative literature has suggested that an aspiration to a politically independent state coterminous with the nation is a main (if not the main) definitive characteristic of nationalism. Logically, therefore, there would appear to be something acutely wrong with a nation
for so long without nationalism, or a national identity long lacking an aspiration to national independence.

Graeme Morton’s book *Unionist-nationalism* offers an inventive response to previous scholarship informed by the assumption of such a “failure” of Scottish identity. It can also be seen as one of the more arresting contributions to an academic, political and journalistic debate about Britishness, much of which has been conducted in the shadow of Linda Colley’s *Britons*. This paper will assess Morton’s argument in the light of other recent critical and historical commentary. It will be shown that Morton’s is a striking and creative attempt to map a genealogy of modes of expression in Scottish nationalism, according to which its current formations, particularly the campaigns of the Scottish National Party (SNP), should be identified as a powerful historical tradition rather than a belated attempt to catch up with other European nations. However, the principal weakness of Morton’s thesis is a failure to identify the diffuse and varied nature of contemporary and historical Scottish identities. This complexity suggests certain observations about common theoretical perspectives on nationalism (which can only be mentioned briefly here) and about the relationship between historical scholarship and the contemporary political context.

Morton’s study is focused by his belief – shared by a number of other writers – that Colley overstates the hegemony of British identities within modern Britain. Colley, he suggests, offers ‘a Whig interpretation of the formation of British national identity’ entertaining ‘the idea that nationalism of the periphery can be placed aside, and downgraded’. Morton rejects this assumption: ‘there is, of course, much commonality in the British experience, but it means something unique to each of the four nations. The falsity of the conceptualization of Great Britain as a unitary nation-state is visible culturally as well as institutionally’. Morton suggests this conceptualization is inadvertently echoed by much scholarship about mid-nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism, and even by historians such as Harvie and Richard Finlay.
who do not share Colley’s homogenizing predisposition. But notwithstanding the lack of revolutionary activity in Scotland in 1848, Morton insists that Scottish nationalism was not ‘inferior as an (abstract) nationalism’. The argument that nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism was weak is loaded down by the assumption that the parliamentary state was coterminous with civil society. In fact, Morton maintains, mid-nineteenth-century Scottish civil society was governed in the gap between the nation and the British state. Because of differences between the twentieth-century state and the non-interventionist state of the nineteenth century, Morton argues, it is misleading to look for a Scottish nationalism of the period marked by a demand for a separate parliamentary nation-state. Self-government, but not necessarily legislative power, is the test of strength of nationalism and national identity, and the institutions effectively governing Scottish towns and cities in the years 1830-60 were not merely, as in most British towns and cities, predominantly local, but were buttressed by a set of voluntary societies which often possessed a “national” or “Scottish” remit. Through such institutions, Morton suggests, the Edinburgh bourgeoisie, a powerful and integrated social elite, were thus able to ‘administer Scottish affairs – the nation – as if they had their own “state”’.

Morton finds the dominant paradigm in theoretical study of nationalism (associated with Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm), according to which nationalism involves the imagination of a political sovereignty over a distinct “national” territory, inadequate to fertilize understanding of nationalism in Scotland in these circumstances. He invokes the work of Anthony Smith and John Armstrong to transcend this ‘strait-jacket’ of one-nation-one-state orthodoxy. According to Smith in particular, nationalism is marked by a display of a pre-modern *ethnie*, a fluid and malleable (though not infinitely malleable) corpus of symbols, narratives and memories flagged by social and political elites to evoke a shared consciousness of particular images of nations. Morton suggests that such a discourse or imagining of the Scottish nation is not necessarily coterminous with
parliamentary nationalism: even in the late twentieth century, Scottishness is not necessarily consonant with the SNP, so the absence in 1830-60 of a nationalist party or a party (such as the Liberals of the 1880s) with a Scottish home rule platform need not necessarily denote absence of national identityxvi. The language and symbols of a collective Scottish identity were evident from 1830 to 1860 in groups such as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR), obituaries for Sir Walter Scott, and campaigns for monuments to Scottish heroes such as William Wallace and Robert the Brucexvii, although none of these formations were explicitly associated with the advocacy of an independent Scottish state. Morton makes the arresting suggestion that, specifically in the period 1830-60, Scotland was a self-governing state, so had no need to seek independence through nationalist mobilization: ‘Unionist-nationalism’ instead was the ‘rational response’xviii. After this period however, the growing intervention of the British parliamentary state in Scottish civil society meant that the precondition of Scotland’s effective self-government was no longer in place; political demands for national independence were the logical corollary. If this suggestion were vindicated by the historical record, it would indeed not only explain the non-existence of powerful political nationalism in mid-nineteenth-century Scotland, but also locate those who currently favor independence within a continuity in Scottish society of long antecedents.

Morton argues ‘the explicit use of the pre-modern symbols of the Scottish ethnie in the mid-nineteenth century, with the aim of both strengthening the [Anglo-Scottish] Union and appealing to Scottish notions of independence’ can be described as ‘Unionist-nationalism’xix, and his demonstration of the sharing of certain symbols of the Scottish ethnie between current Scottish Nationalism and unionist-nationalism in his period shows him at his most impressive. In the mid nineteenth-century, Wallace and the Bruce’s military exploits were depicted as the basis of Scotland’s equality of status with England within the Union, and thus Scotland’s claim to be in control of its own destinies, independence of
Wallace and the Bruce’s battles against the English were thus ironically viewed as establishing a tradition relived by the contemporary Scottish regiments that fought with the English in the British empire, and also by those Scots who sought and obtained prosperity and position through the connection with England. Indeed, since a stable and equal Anglo-Scottish Union, the fruit of the victories of Wallace and the Bruce, was the foundation of Britain’s later success as a trading, military and imperial power, England too owed a large debt to these Scottish heroes. The refunctioning of these same symbols – particularly and famously the image of William Wallace framed by Mel Gibson’s internationally successful film *Braveheart* – in support of the SNP’s recent campaigns for Scottish independence is a striking example of the relevance of Morton’s application of Smith’s theories to modern Scottish history: truly it seems that widely different political meanings can be given to the same “national” symbols in different periods in order to reflect contemporary concerns. Thus, Morton suggests, a continuity in Scottish nationalism survives even though contemporary Unionist-nationalists (represented at least until recently by the Conservative and Unionist party) are a defeated minority. The appearance of discontinuity only arises from contextual factors, chiefly growing centralization and intervention by the British state increasingly undermining the extent to which Scotland was governed ‘outwith the central state administration’, thus ‘forcing Scottish national identity to change forever’. ‘Parliamentary nationalism was the inevitable consequence’: ‘Unionist-nationalism as the pinnacle of Scottishness was a candle in the wind; it was fixed to its own time and to its own place.

Morton is thus at his most persuasive in showing how theories of nationalism explain the way symbols and icons of Scottish identity have been used at different moments. Three serious drawbacks to his hypothesis can however be cited. First, he lacks a sophisticated understanding of political movements and their possible independence from socio-economic structures and hegemonic class control. Second, he appears to...
exaggerate the distance between Scottish identity and local and regional identity throughout the United Kingdom. Third, and most importantly, in spite of his efforts to chart long-term historical continuities, his understanding of Scottish nationalism is chronologically challenged.

Morton’s background in economic and social history is evident throughout his book, especially in his suggestions that ‘political’, ‘non-sociological’ theories of nationalism offer deficient understandings of the Scottish case. However, there is also unfortunately a failure to problematize a bland theorization of certain political formations as superstructures of a hegemonic class. In his central chapters Morton attempts to trace the existence of an elite that “governed” mid-century urban Scotland through local and voluntary institutions. The signifiers of coherence that he locates in this class are not substantive, and the attempt is further compromised by his alternation between the terms “subscriber population” and “bourgeoisie” to describe this governing group, the latter surely being a broader group. This is a serious weakness, since he treats this group as creators of collective Scottish identities, ‘that which manages or controls the use of “we”’, and thus, through organizations such as the NAVSR, ‘led Scottish society into a general understanding of its national identity during the middle years of the century’. The degree of “control” or “manipulation” which Morton implies this group exercised suggests here a return to Gellner’s theories of nationalism, and in any case, the NAVSR was surely too short-lived and minoritarian a movement to do the work Morton here accredits it. But even if the subscriber/bourgeois class exercised the degree of control Morton attributes to it, his emphasis of the demise of this system and thus of Unionist-nationalism after 1860 becomes problematic. It is forms of state intervention such as the creation of the Scottish Office, the extension of the franchise in 1884, and specifically the national education system developed after the Act of 1872, which are supposed to have speeded this transition, by taking control of urban Scotland out of the hands of its bourgeoisie. The development of
national education systems is an obvious candidate to figure in models of nation-formation or internal or external colonialism influenced by models of “social control” or of Gramscian hegemony. But this ubiquitous utility of national education as an instance in such models creates doubts as to whether it can furnish the extent of evidential support that is required. One’s suspicions are at least aroused where there is a failure to flag the possibility of resistant subaltern or local tendencies in the face of such state or “national” intervention.

Second, questions must be raised as to how far Morton’s definition of “nationalism” in mid-century Scotland occludes the existence of local or regional identities. This consideration is invited by Morton’s suggestions that the ‘effective’ state in mid-nineteenth-century urban Scotland was ‘local’: ‘When politics is brought into the equation, our “Scottish questions” should direct us to the town councils’. Morton’s entire focus on urban Scotland indeed suggests a questionable definition of “Scottish questions”. Morton argues that some local government and voluntary structures in Scotland had a national (Scottish) remit that they did not elsewhere in the United Kingdom. But this was neither ubiquitous nor inimical to exercising functions predominantly at a local level (especially within Edinburgh itself), and invites closer consideration of comparative reference points within the north Atlantic archipelago. As he appreciates, permissive powers granted by central government and civic identities facilitated the exercise of local power not just in Scottish towns and cities, but also elsewhere in Britain. There were also shared patterns of resistance to centralization, and shared enthusiasms for specifically local solutions, in England and Wales. Since differences in the ways in which these local powers were exercised in Scotland were largely matters of degree, this raises questions as to how far, according to Morton’s definition, nineteenth-century England (and/or Wales) might too be described as a self-governing civil society or even “state” in these years: but such a possibility would merely suggest that Morton’s definitions are too vague to be of practical use.
The strength of local and regional identities in this period is easy to underestimate\textsuperscript{xxxvii}. Even in southern Ireland, which is in many ways where one would most expect to find a predominance of national identification, Theo Hoppen has argued that the local and not the national was the default mode of politics in this period\textsuperscript{xxxviii}. From another point of view, there is an argument that, viewed in a comparative context, it is the strength of \textit{British} identities in the Scottish constituency Morton isolates which is most salient and distinct, even Unionist-nationalist Scots largely lacking the misrecognition of Britain as England so common in England itself\textsuperscript{xxxix}.

This criticism would be of small account if, as Morton suggests, Unionist-nationalism ‘as the pinnacle of Scottishness was a candle in the wind … fixed to its own time and to its own place’. But the inaccuracy of such an assumption that Scottish national identity “changed forever” by the final quarter of the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{xl} and the chronologically challenged nature of his entire hypothesis constitute the third and most serious criticism of his book. Morton appears to be on comfortable ground in suggesting that the version of Unionist-nationalism put forward by the Conservative and Unionist party at the 1997 United Kingdom general election was clearly not ‘the pinnacle of Scottishness’, since the Scottish Conservatives then failed to win a single parliamentary seat\textsuperscript{xli}. However, he is surely wrong to imply that this trend of decline was firmly established with the increasing intervention of the British state in Scottish civil society from the end of the nineteenth century. If Unionist-nationalism was the creed of the Scottish Conservatives in 1997, it was surely also the creed of the Scottish Unionists in 1900 and in the 1950s, when a similar psephological assessment would surely suggest it remained ‘the pinnacle of Scottishness’\textsuperscript{xlii}. Morton misses this point because the evidence that he presents in charting the fate of Unionist-nationalism between the late nineteenth and late twentieth centuries is sharply limited: one \textit{Evening News} article in 1906 is hardly an impressive data bank\textsuperscript{xliii}.

Part of Morton’s difficulty here may lie in the fact that though rejecting theories of nationalism such as Eric
Hobsbawm’s, Morton remains attached to a Marxist-historicist model of stages of social evolution, Hobsbawm, indeed, being called as an expert witness on the differences in the scale of activity undertaken by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century British states. But structures of state intervention in Britain, in the sense that Hobsbawm means, were hardly identical throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, far from supporting the notion that the increased presence of the British state in Scotland accounts for the demise of what Morton calls “Unionist-nationalism”, commentators who focus more closely on the period largely missing from Morton’s analysis actually chart the reduction in intervention in Scottish civil society by the British state as a source of the decline of this formation. Specifically, the resistance to state expenditure through the Scottish Office associated with British governments in the 1980s and 1990s is charged with evoking a political nationalist response in Scotland. Suggestively, in a famous book critiquing a generation of Marxist historians such as Hobsbawm, Gareth Stedman Jones noted that stadial models of social evolution, combined with the tendency of historians to specialize in particular periods, leads to inaccurate assumptions about surrounding periods, especially earlier periods conceptualized as “traditional society”: ‘the historian should refrain from calling the history he does not know “traditional society”’. Morton similarly should refrain from conceiving of the period of Scottish history about which he lacks evidence as “post-Unionist-nationalist”.

Beyond these specific criticisms, Morton’s thesis prompts broader considerations. First, Morton rejects with some passion the idea that Scottish nationalism was a failure in the period under his review. His argument thus still evinces an assumption that a western European civil society which lacked national independence and failed to manifest a demand for it in this period would have failed. This seems a curious assumption. Those locations which did experience nationalist revolutions in 1848, given the want of tangible achievement by the revolutionaries, could have been forgiven for dissenting from the teleological assumption that nation-
alism was a blessing. A review of the subsequent twentieth-century consequences, especially of ethnic nationalism, also presents a distinctly checkered record. A national identity (for such many Scots certainly had) to which the question of independence, whether in a “parliamentary” or a “local” state, was simply not an issue would surely transcend many of these difficulties, and it is at least questionable whether it should rightly be assumed a failure.

Second, the study of nationality in Scotland obtains a broader interest from the presence of a combination of two forms of national identity: that of an established state or dominant culture, and that of a sub-state nationalism struggling for expression within a larger body politic. There is a tendency within thematic commentary on nationalism to exaggerate the modal differences between these two forms, often around a theorized distinction between the history of dominant cultures’ (or western or “civic”) nationalisms and colonized peoples’ (or “ethnic”) nationalisms. Cognate tendencies in writing about Scottish national identity tend thus to depict it in the light of internal colonialism, suggest it was silenced by the long-established effects of the British empire, or otherwise to theorize some moment of transition between the predominance of two such modes. Morton’s effort to trace the rise of political nationalism or “nationalist nationalism” at the expense of “Unionist-nationalism” largely falls into the latter category, with the proviso that an aspiration to practical independence has been continuous. But in fact even this narrative may overestimate the extent of a “radical break” in the ongoing process of negotiation between Scottishness and Britishness. Scottishness remains a sub-state nationalism within the UK, and a facet of a dominant culture, and nationalist amnesia should not blind us to the latter. The boundary between these two forms is fluid indeed, since even nationalisms in dominant or established cultures are as capable as those of colonized peoples of expressing themselves through private spheres and everyday life. And, as is illustrated by a lurid example of anti-Irish propaganda cited by Morton from 1852 from the Edinburgh Irish Mission and Protestant
Instituteli, even the most dominant culture is capable of ethnic mobilization through conceptualizing itself as under threat of attack or infiltration.

Third, while Morton accuses Colley of articulating a ‘Whig interpretation of the formation of British national identity’, it is noticeable that others suggest not only that Colley understates the hegemony of the concept of “Britain” within the north Atlantic archipelago, but also that she is to some extent responsible for the concept’s demiseliii. If this argument bears the impress of one of the weaker conservative attempts to silence liberal academics (and there have been many weak such attempts), it at least suggests that criticisms of Colley for overstating the hegemony of Britishness can also be exaggerated. But in any case Morton does not seriously propose that the history of Scottish and British identities should transcend Whig interpretations. In 1995, shortly before his death, Raphael Samuel, in a criticism of Colley similar to Morton’s, pointedly predicted that if Colley’s Britain were to become unforged (as she herself hinted in her closing passagesliii), the new present would then be read into the past. Separation would come to be seen as the logical consummation of every phase of Scottish history:

Despite a modernist attention to cultural difference, [Colley] offers us a unionist version of British history, and an imperial view of national character. National expansion is the unifying thread of her narrative, the triumph of loyalism its terminus ad quem. Moments of convergence and coalescence are highlighted … while she passes lightly over matters where explosive contradictions are more apparent.

If, as seems likely at the time of writing, the breakup of Britain proceeds apace; … and if, after the next general election, a Scottish government is established at Edinburgh, followed in due course, as many radicals will hope, by the proclamation of a Scottish Republic, it may be that a very different
“four nations” history of Britain will become the order of the day, one which focuses on the tenacity of our island ethnicities, and allows more conceptual space for schisms and secessions.\textsuperscript{lv}

Morton’s effort to find a narrative of separation in Scottish history, even in periods when the proposal was almost universally deemed “simply insane”\textsuperscript{lv}, fits this description: it is the “Whig” interpretation of the history of a “dis-United Kingdom”. But it has arrived before all the preconditions are in place, and perhaps these preconditions will never arise. For surely Arthur Aughey is right\textsuperscript{lvii}: the majority of the UK population, as a whole and in each nation, continues to vote for parties that are, in the broadest sense, unionist. In England, little politically coherent opposition is expressed to the supposed existence of non-English votes for English measures. If the resulting position is anomalous (or according to the common expression in Britain, “half-baked federalism”), instability may be no inevitable consequence, since the constitutional arrangements of the United Kingdom have a long history of anomaly. Moreover, for its part, majority opinion in Scotland may continue to express Scottish identities, without giving strong grounds for aspersions as to the anomaly or weakness of Scottishness. If this proves indeed to be the future for Scotland, Morton’s book may suffer as seeming to offer an unnecessary explanation for a nonexistent historical anomaly. Whatever the future does bring, I sincerely hope that this is not the book’s fate: it is too interesting and too scholarly for that. And tangible pieces of evidence for Morton’s thesis that ‘the very concept of the British “nation-state” is untenable’\textsuperscript{lviii} can be found, notably the continued existence under the Union of the separate Scottish legal system, with its distinctive third possible verdict. But at the end of Morton’s book, one feels that his case, tried under Scottish laws, would certainly yield a verdict of “not proven”.

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End Notes


v Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 7, 16.

vi Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 9.

vii Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 10, 49.

viii Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 8-9.

ix Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 22.

x Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 22-48, 64-96.

xi Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 86, 97-132.


xiii Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 50-6.


xv Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 57-60.

xvi Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 133.

xvii Morton, Unionist-nationalism, 177-88, 160-72, 133-54.


Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 57: Another curious reading of Anthony Smith and John Armstrong appears on *Unionist-nationalism*, 59 in Morton’s suggestion that a nation is ‘increasingly formed in the image of older ethnic symbols’. The implied trajectory of gradual return to “authentic” ethnic “origins” is surely not warranted by Smith’s notion of nations as fluid long-term processes.


xli Morton, *Unionist-nationalism*, 188.


Morton, *Unionist-nationalism*, 83. Elsewhere Morton seems to place a lesser emphasis on the anti-Irish element of the rhetoric of the NAVSR (which contrasted the lavishness of the British Exchequer’s spending in Ireland with its alleged miserliness in Scotland) than he did in the doctoral dissertation on which his book is based. This is possibly a result of the way in which his argument leads him to exaggerate a record of affinity between national identity in Scotland and Irish nationalism as subaltern movements of the “Celtic fringe”.


REVIEWS


These four most recent additions to the series “The Making of Scotland” are attractive little books. As with other popular works published by Historic Scotland, they combine good information from reliable sources with an attractive and accessible presentation. Each of these volumes is written by a professional archaeologist specializing in the area under consideration, and each offers a good deal of written information along with many photographs and illustrations.

Stephen Driscoll’s *Alba: The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland AD 800-1124* covers the earliest period of the four. This period was one which witnessed important events and developments in Scottish history, such as Viking invasions and the expansion of Gaelic power; but this is also in Scotland a period that is poorly represented in the written record. Archaeology, therefore, has much to contribute to our understanding of the time, and it is exciting to see recent findings being brought forward in a book aimed at a popular audience. The history
of Gaelic-speaking Scotland is continued in *The Age of the Clans: The Highlands from Somerled to the Clearances* by Robert Dodgshon. The time span covered here, the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, is large, but Dodgshon is careful to point out changes as well as continuities over the years and across the different terrains of Highland Scotland.

Considering that they are aimed at a popular audience, it is unfortunate that both books omit some small items of information which would help clarify the subject matter for those not already well-acquainted with Gaelic culture and the early history of Gaelic Scotland. Robert Dodgshon, for example, leaves several Gaelic terms untranslated, when to explain that *mor* means ‘large’ and that *beag* means ‘small’ (33) would take up very little space and help non-Gaelic-speaking readers follow his argument about ‘symbolic landscapes’ and better understand Highland culture. Also curiously absent from a book on medieval and early modern Highland history, is any discussion by Dodgshon on the development in Scotland of the perception of a substantial cultural difference between Highlanders and Lowlanders. Perhaps Dodgshon wishes to present Highland history on its own terms and is not interested in analyzing Lowland stereotypes of their north-western neighbours. This Highland-centric approach is perfectly justifiable and even a welcome change from the general Lowlander orientation of Scottish history. However, numerous later medieval texts do testify to a growing sense among Scots that Highlanders and Lowlanders had significantly different cultures. Excerpts from some of these, such as the humorous poem, the “Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy”, would have given readers a better sense of how different the Highlands were from the Lowlands, or at least how different they were perceived to have been. Stephen Driscoll, in his volume, pronounces that “linguistically the Britons and Picts were closely related, speaking tongues from the Brithonic language group”. (11) This is certainly a reasonable stance to take, but Driscoll makes it sound as if the language of the Picts is a settled and accepted matter among scholars. This is not entirely the case, and the scholars who still contend
that the Picts in fact probably spoke a non-Celtic, or even a non-Indo-European language might be surprised to see Driscoll’s confident assertion to the contrary.

These two volumes also contain some minor but distracting linguistic discordances. In Alba: The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland, Driscoll has chosen to use the Gaelic spellings for the names of his Gaelic-speaking subjects. And fair enough: why should we not make the attempt to call people what they called themselves? But Driscoll’s “Cinead macAlpín” and “Dál Riata” in the main text jar a little uncomfortably against the more familiar “Kenneth MacAlpin” and “Dalriada” on the back cover of the book. In Dodgshon’s The Age of the Clans, the flow of the text is made a little less smooth by minor inconsistencies, such as the use of “13th century” and “sixteenth century” on the same page. (21) All of these criticisms are minor, however, and these two volumes do present good, solid historical and archaeological findings from a region which has suffered from frequent misunderstanding, but which continues to be of interest to the general public.

The towns and lowland countryside of medieval Scotland are represented by Derek Hall’s Burgess, Merchant and Priest: Burgh Life in the Scottish Medieval Town and Piers Dixon’s Puir Labourers and Busy Husbandmen: The Countryside of Lowland Scotland in the Middle Ages. These two books provide good introductions to the basic themes of medieval urban and rural history. Derek Hall, in Burgess, Merchant and Priest, has included sections on urban archaeology, the early history of Scottish burghs, daily life, social organization, trade and industry, religion, and burgh case studies, among others. Piers Dixon, in Puir Labourers and Busy Husbandmen, covers such topics as housing and settlements, various forms of medieval land use, and rural industry.

As with the books covering Highland history, a few minor elements in these two volumes could cause some confusion among those not already familiar with medieval Scottish history. Hall’s statement that “most adult males would have become burgesses” (14) in medieval Scottish burghs is a misleadingly high estimate. His placement of Scottish
chronicler Andrew of Wyntoun in the fourteenth century (32) is also incorrect (he wrote in the fifteenth century) and renders the use of Wyntoun as an eye-witness to the ravages of plague in fourteenth-century Scotland somewhat problematic.

The good far outweighs the imperfect in each of these books, however; and in short, these four volumes will appeal to anyone who has an interest in Scotland’s past and who wishes an easy and approachable introduction to the topics covered. All four of these volumes in the series “The Making of Scotland” share a number of strengths that recommend them to the general reader. First, the text is for the most part accessible as well as informative. This should help make the books appealing to people who are interested in archaeological findings in Scotland but not in reading professional archaeological journals. A second strength, and perhaps even more attractive to some readers, is the photographs and illustrations. These are interesting and well-executed, greatly helping to impart a flavour of the times and places covered in the books. The photographs, a generous number both in colour and in black and white, demonstrate the beauty of artefacts recovered from the past as well as the evocative nature of Scottish landscapes. Well-placed maps help to locate the places being discussed. Drawings and watercolours reconstructing events in Scotland’s past serve as imaginative aids to readers, bringing such things as the ninth-century sack of Dumbarton, a fifteenth-century market in Perth, and a Highland feast to life. A third shared strength in these books is the list of suggestions at the back of each for places to visit and further reading. Anyone fortunate enough to live in Scotland or to be visiting it in the near future will want to consult these suggestions when planning trips. Those not so fortunate can still benefit from the list of further readings if they wish to know more about the fascinating matters covered in this series.

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*The Witches of Fife*, presents a much-needed regional approach to the study of Scottish witchcraft in the early modern period. The book begins with a discussion of the context for witchcraft in Fife, in a chapter called ‘Scottish and European Witches.’ The main body of the text is a chronology and description of witchcraft accusations, investigations and trials in each of the four Presbyteries in the county of Fife. The book ends with a discussion of the role of judicial torture in witchcraft cases from Fife and the author’s overall conclusions about the causes and contours of witch-hunting in Fife.

The book has many strong points. As a detailed regional study, the main body of text provides plenty of detail for the reader interested in witch-hunting, witch belief and the local history of Fife. It is persuasively demonstrated that the Presbytery - an ecclesiastical body and geographical boundary - is the best unit for analysing regional witch hunting. MacDonald demonstrates that most of the witch-hunts in Fife, while moving between parishes, did not readily flow across Presbytery boundaries.

*The Witches of Fife* closes with the following interesting conclusions. (1) Witchcraft belief in Fife was, on the whole, not about the Devil. This conclusion is not surprising, given the poor survival rate for Fife of the kinds of documents that would normally contain this information - confession texts, dittays and trial minutes. (2) The small amount of demonic details, naming of witch-accomplices, and the investigation and trial of multiple suspects was obtained through sleep deprivation not judicial torture. MacDonald convincingly demonstrates that justice officials used confessions garnered from these ‘waking’ sessions as a justification for a trial request. The timing of evidence gathering and confessions, therefore, precluded the use of ‘judicial torture’, which technically happened during a trial and before a judge. (3) Witch-hunting was led by the church, but relied on a broad-based
coalition of elite support. When the coalition crumbled, it became impossible to bring suspected witches to trial successfully. Fife may have been a special case in this regard. Evidence from other counties suggests that witchcraft trials and local panics could be organised by the lairds and secular justice officials. More regional studies are necessary before this conclusion can be applied to Scotland as a whole. (4) And finally, MacDonald argues that the witch-hunts were driven from ‘above’ as part of an elite controlled effort to create a Godly society – thus confirming the main thrust of Christina Larner’s influential argument in Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland (Basil Blackwell, 1983).

Unfortunately, as well as the many strong points, The Witches of Fife also has numerous typing and grammar mistakes and some thorny, unresolved conceptual issues. It is clear that the book was not properly edited, and this sometimes interfered with MacDonald’s usual clarity. In addition to catching the superficial mistakes, a proper edit might have highlighted some of the unexamined assumptions in the book.

The most confusing assumption arises from MacDonald’s failure to properly distinguish between witchcraft suspects and charmers (self-identified magical practitioners). He consistently refers to charmers, who he says were not accused of witchcraft, as ‘witches’ (see p. 154). And he included people who were only ever accused of charming in his list of witches (Appendix C, p. 225). Charming was a non-capital, ecclesiastical offence, usually punished with penance. Sometimes, repeat charming offenders were eventually charged with witchcraft. MacDonald’s own evidence and many sources from across Scotland show ministers, neighbours, and others making clear decisions about whether or not a charming suspect was also guilty of witchcraft. Witchcraft and charming were related and the boundaries between them were somewhat porous. His confusion between witches and charmers also affected his description of how witches’ activities were described. I disagree with his assertion that ‘[t]he Fife witch was as likely to cure as harm[,]’ (p. 155). Almost all witchcraft suspects were accused of causing harm, even those who were
also accused of healing. Harm was essential to the definition of witchcraft in terms of the law and probably also for community members, whereas healing was a secondary supportive claim. Surely what is required is a detailed discussion of the two crimes in law and popular belief – their differences and overlaps – not a conflation of the two.

MacDonald’s description of the typical Fife witch is, I believe, clouded by an over reliance on his own assumptions. According to MacDonald, ‘The Fife witch was female, old and poor.’ (p. 160). This is after he has told us that information about the age and social status of witchcraft suspects is fragmentary at best. Evidence suggesting that higher status Fife women (such as burgesses’ wives) were also accused of witchcraft is explained away, as the result of a stereotype breakdown.

In general, The Witches of Fife, is a useful and readable book. However, I wish someone had proof read it before it went to print – this could have eliminated the many simple writing errors and perhaps prompted MacDonald to look more closely at some of his arguments, particularly concerning charmers and witchcraft suspects.

Lauren Martin
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What makes the study of the witch-hunts in early modern Europe so fascinating – and challenging – is the variety of approaches scholars take to try to both understand and explain what was occurring. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, in his recent *Satan’s Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Tuckwell, 2001), studies these early cases with a clear reference point – that of magic and occult beliefs. Maxwell-Stuart has already published two articles specifically dealing with aspects of the early Scottish witch-hunt: “The fear of the king is death: James VI and the witches of East Lothian” (1997); and, “Witchcraft and the Kirk in Aberdeenshire, 1596-1597” (1998). Other recent publications including *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History* (St. Martin’s, 1999), *Witchcraft: a history* (Tempus, 2000), and *Witchcraft in Europe and the New World, 1400-1800* (Palgrave, 2001) have all demonstrated extensive knowledge of beliefs and literature on magic and the occult. It is this perspective which allows him to produce a portrait which is, in his own words, “very different from the one which is normally painted.” (*Satan’s Conspiracy*, preface)

This clear focus is illustrated in both the subtitle and the organization of *Satan’s Conspiracy*. Magic is the focus, and it is to an explanation of early modern beliefs that the author turns in his key first chapter. People in early modern Europe believed in and practiced magic: “in every European society of this period there existed a constant level of magical activity, whether learned or traditional, which everyone took for granted.” (10) Maxwell-Stuart carefully outlines this view of the world in all of its complexity without ever falling into the trap of being condescending. He walks the reader through the different kinds of magic (ceremonial, artificial, natural, demonic) in which 16th century people believed, and how some uses of magic came to be understood as ‘witchcraft.’ A witch, as the author defines her, is someone who simply
practices witchcraft, and the latter is what witches do. Aware of the “circularity of these definitions”[3], the author nonetheless tries to illustrate the reality that more complex definitions involving the intellectual ideas of the elite do not necessarily work in terms of how witches were defined by those in the 16th century itself. Forget pacts and carnal copulation – the witch to those in the community was someone who could exercise power to heal or harm. Over time this could lead to a particular label being applied: “After a while, then, someone in the local community decides to attach the label ‘witch’ to this operator of preternatural or magical power.” (8) It is this reality, that it was others within a particular community who decided when and why one particular individual should be labelled a ‘witch’, that makes any definition of the term difficult. This is also a different definition from that developed by either the legal authorities or the church. Rather than being an elite fantasy, Maxwell-Stuart argues the witch was thus a local practitioner of magic, and he outlines in what circumstances tolerance of the local witch might end and the witch might come to the attention of the church and legal authorities. The author offers a careful description of the relationship between magic and witchcraft, and then moves on in the Introduction to discuss sithean (the Gaelic word for fairy which he chooses to use, given the manner in which the English word ‘fairy’ has been domesticated), charming, curing, magic wells, second sight, and divination. The book thus begins with the establishment of the belief system of people in the sixteenth century. Only after this has been offered as a serious discussion, does Maxwell Stuart move into a chronological survey of the early cases with this perspective very much in mind.

In Chapter 2 Maxwell-Stuart both begins the narrative which continues through the rest of the book. He also introduces his other major theme, namely that the concern of the established church in Scotland in regard to the subject of witchcraft was not primarily the result of demonic theory, but an attack on Catholics and Catholicism. After a run-through of the early cases, the chapter focuses on the passage of the
witchcraft act of 1563 with the author asking the pointed questions: what is the meaning of the act, at whom was it directed; and, why was it passed at that particular time? In terms of meaning, Maxwell-Stuart challenges Christina Larner’s understanding of the Act as having a sceptical aspect. Instead he suggests that this is one of the evidences that the Act was aimed at both the practice of magic in general and Catholicism, considered in sixteenth century Protestant eyes to have numerous superstitious elements. After discussing his other two questions, he concludes that the witchcraft act needs to be understood as “an integral part of the religious war against Catholicism then being waged by the Protestant establishment in Scotland.” (44) These themes of attacking both magical practice and Catholicism are central to Maxwell-Stuart’s analysis of the cases, both in this chapter and throughout the rest of the narrative that tells the story in a chronological fashion.

The result of these arguments is that the monograph is both stimulating to read and challenging to many of the major interpretative themes that have developed in the literature on the Scottish witch-hunts. The author again states the argument that he made in “The fear of the king is death”, that demonic theory was not introduced into Scotland by James VI (143). He is cautious about the use of torture, challenging Pitcairn’s contention that Elizabeth Dunlop was tortured when accused in Ayrshire in 1576 (72), and concluding that in this period that the “infrequent applications of torture to suspect witches were clearly illegal”(215) and not part of an inquisitorial legal process. Maxwell-Stuart does recognize that sleep-deprivation, which he distinguishes from torture, was used. (73) He is also cautious about the concept that there was a “hunt” for witches going on in the mid-1590’s, (198), and in the use of the term in general in this period: “But neither Kirk nor state appears to have embarked on any witch ‘hunt’, certainly not in the manner of some of those hunts which disfigured one or two places elsewhere in Europe.” (215) Instead, Maxwell-Stuart sees witch-trials as generally being conducted fairly, although at times such as the 1590’s he argues that “both Kirk
and state were not above using witchcraft trials on occasion to make political points.” (215) He finds only scattered evidence of concern for the demonic in this period, noting that it was only in the seventeenth century with the Covenanters that “renouncing baptism, receiving the mark, and making a pact tend to become common in Scottish witchcraft.” (185)

The argument which one suspects will gain the most notice – and challenge – is Maxwell-Stuart’s suggestion that there may, indeed, have been a magical conspiracy to destroy James VI. He sets the argument up early in the book, noting an attempt at witchcraft made at the time of James’ own birth (49). With this beginning assumption that there were people practicing magic in early modern Scotland, Maxwell-Stuart is willing to consider the possibility that they actually met together, not as Margaret Murray suggested in pre-Christian worship, but in order to more effectively cast spells. The discussion is lengthy and thorough, centering around two questions: was there a conspiracy; and, if so, was Bothwell in charge? (148) He anticipates objections to the meetings having taken place, and then carefully answers them. His suggestion that the meeting in North Berwick has many elements missing which are traditionally considered part of the witches’ Sabbat is one that needs to be considered carefully. Richard Graham becomes a central figure in the author’s interpretation, because he was both a practicing magician and connected to the Earl of Bothwell. The charges brought against Barbara Napier and Euphame MacCalyean are thoroughly discussed and demonstrate, in the author’s view, that both were indeed considered by their communities to be practicing witches. After reviewing the information related to the first question, Maxwell-Stuart argues: “That there was a conspiracy to kill the King by magic, it seems impossible to doubt. A review of earlier decades in the century has shown that people regarded this as a perfectly acceptable way of trying to commit murder and that they were quite prepared to hire others to do it for them, and to participate in the requisite operations.” (171) After reaching this conclusion, he turns to the second question – Bothwell’s role – and then to further questions. As one
can easily see, this does not represent a standard interpretation of the events of North Berwick. The lenses of magic and allegations of witchcraft being used to attack remaining Catholic beliefs are fundamental to the author’s perspective and argument.

Readers of book reviews want to know a few things: is it a good book? What’s new? What ideas are challenged? What are the weaknesses (if any)? How can I use it in my own teaching, research and understanding? They expect that the writers of the review have enough expertise to help them answer these questions. They also hope that the reviewer is being ‘objective’ in her or his comments about the book, not bringing some particular agenda to bear or axe to grind. Let all reading this review abandon all thoughts of ‘objectivity’. I do not believe objectivity is possible, certainly not in this specific instance. Instead, I believe it is better to name briefly one’s own position and possible conflicts of interest, then make one’s comments with the reader aware of these realities.

There have been two recent monographs on the Scottish witch-hunt, the one being reviewed and one written by myself on the witch-hunt in Fife. Maxwell-Stuart and I cover some of the same ground, indeed some of the same cases. One temptation is to emphasize those areas in which there is agreement. The opposite temptation is to pick apart any areas where we disagree, or pick out the inevitable mistakes or typos that creep into any scholarly book. Having noted these temptations let me yield to each of them in turn. First, I would suggest Maxwell-Stuart is correct in challenging the view that torture was prevalent in the Scottish witch-hunt, downplaying the role of the demonic pact and demonic theory in the Scottish witch-hunt, in his wonderful portrait in the introduction of how an individual magical practitioner became labelled as a witch, and in his suggestion that the boundary between charming and witchcraft was fluid. One can deduce that on these points his work and my own, done independently, are in basic agreement or he has helped me understand key issues in a helpful way. There is some disagreement in other areas. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart may over-stresses the
attack on Catholicism rather than emphasizing more the other prong of his argument, namely that the Reformed church was out to eradicate any practice of magic that it discovered, regardless of whether it was or wasn’t related to Catholicism. His suggestion that the Earl of Bothwell was involved in a magical conspiracy against James VI at North Berwick, while fascinating, is not completely convincing. As a reader who is aware of at least some of my own biases, you can determine for yourself how much weight to give each or any of these opinions or those offered elsewhere in the review.

To damn Satan’s Conspiracy with faint praise, it offers the first comprehensive coverage of the early Scottish witchcraft cases. But this is a book that deserves more than faint praise. Because of his careful use of the perspective of magic and occult beliefs, Maxwell-Stuart has been able to offer new insights on many key interpretations of the Scottish witch-hunt, a perspective that shows some of those interpretations to be incorrect, others to be dubious, and to raise questions which we need to at least consider before we dismiss them too readily. This is an accomplishment indeed – and a very important book.

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In *Religious controversy in Scotland*, David George Mullan presents a collection of previously unpublished documents which highlight the dispute over church government which played out in the first fifteen years of Charles I's reign in Scotland, and which eventually supplied the spark that ignited the flames of civil war in all of Charles’s kingdoms during the 1640s. As editor of this collection, Mullan is particularly well-suited: his previous studies — *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986); *Scottish puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), among others — examine the main lines drawn in the controversy over ecclesiastical form in Scotland from the middle of the sixteenth century to the eve of the civil wars. In the “Introduction” to the collection, Mullan supplies the background to this increasingly volatile debate, identifying both the Scottish and English conditions which led to the division between Laudian-episcopalians and their Presbyterian, and other, opponents.

While recognizing shared British concerns, Mullan clearly describes the Scottish context for the selections by integrating his description of the documents into a broader historical summary of the period. Although situating the summaries within this wider discussion provides chronological and ideological placement, the reader would have benefitted from having each précis, discussion of authorship, and each manuscript’s provenance located as an editorial preamble preceding the document itself, making them more user friendly and limiting the need to leaf back to remind oneself of the particular details of each piece.

The sources themselves nicely outline the points of contention in the theological debate in Scotland, particularly from the Presbyterian side. From a “Historie” of the religious “innovations” in Scotland during Charles’s reign, to the reaction to royal ecclesiastical policies of the mid to late 1630s
by prominent Scottish divines, to several episcopalian voices, the documents themselves range from involved theological discourse, to more personal accounts such as the (perhaps exaggerated) censure of William Wishart’s parish activities and John Guthrie’s impassioned defense of his episcopal duties. The only questionable inclusion in the collection was the appending of “Woman’s Universe” to the “Protestation” against Wishart’s activities – while Wishart’s joint-authorship poem is mentioned briefly in the accusations, there seems nothing in the excerpt which sheds any light on the main points of dispute (a proof-reading slip notes its location as “???” in note 33 on page 200.)

This minor error aside, editorial footnotes show Mullan’s care in providing explanatory information on references to events and key people whose passing mention in the text might have perplexed some readers. The index to the volume is thorough and functional, and is supplemented by a separate index of scriptural citations. The editor’s attention to detail is also apparent in his correcting of inaccurate transpositions from various sources in the original manuscripts, in the location of scriptural and patristic sources referred to in the texts, and in his explanations of obscure or uncertain words. However, the stated editorial practice advising readers to refer to the editor’s own studies where “suitable documentation may be deemed to be wanting” (p. 19) might have prompted the inclusion of a list of Mullan’s works to more readily accommodate readers’ inquiries.

Overall, the texts included here and the editorial illumination provide a useful window into Scottish religious debate in the early seventeenth century, and the Scottish background to the British civil wars. Mullan’s choice of selections adds to our understanding of this context and furnishes texts which would otherwise not be so readily accessible.

Before concluding, it is necessary to consider several editorial remarks which gave this reviewer some pause. On page 12, Mullan asserts the importance of the “didactic” use of history, and goes on to suggest that this allows – perhaps requires – “a tentative moral judgement”. In this vein,
he states that Scottish covenanters were akin to twentieth-century conspiracy theorists and concludes that it was the covenanters’ “folly which led directly to the violent deaths of thousands of their own countrymen” and that, as the “intelligentsia” of their society, they were particularly well-equipped to resist such spiritual compulsions through their “access to the universities and to the training in logical thinking which formed such a significant element in the curriculum” (p. 13). Mullan’s pronouncements here are problematic, even detrimental, in several serious ways. First, while one can concur with Mullan’s view that historians must bridge “the distance one may feel from early modern evangelicalism” (p. 12), its intent here is misapplied. To compare religious responses in the 1630s to modern conspiracy theorists rips such early modern tenets out of their intellectual, political, and religious context. The necessity of recognizing the difference between the early modern and early-twenty-first century religious mindsets and perceptions of the world is not the same as judging those seventeenth-century sensibilities through modern mores and considerations. Such inclinations put student and scholar alike in danger of misunderstanding or, worse, not comprehending at all the importance of Christian views which played such a key role in motivating early modern people to act. In addition, to expect a greater degree of “rationality” from early modern intellectuals is similarly misinformed. Reason is not absolute but instead informed by different world views and differing levels of access to and accuracy of information. To expect the rational response to a particular set of religious and political circumstances in the seventeenth century to be the same as the response in the early twenty-first century is misguided. Finally, for Mullan to limit editorial comment to only the Presbyterian and covenanting party’s accountability in the destruction of Scotland which followed in the 1640s is to absolve the responsibility of the Laudian episcopalian party who were equally as determined to force and enforce their own views and who were equally culpable. All sides had their views of religious correctness and divine purpose, and neither can be more
blamed or abrogated from their involvement in and continuation of the internecine disaster which unfolded over the course of the next two decades in Britain.

One hopes that these brief editorial diversions are disregarded by those who will use this collection: it would be a pity to misconstrue the import and context of such worthwhile sources, neglecting the benefit of what is otherwise a fine editorial effort and addition to the scholarship on early seventeenth-century Scotland.

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Margot Todd’s *The Culture of Protestantism* won the “Longman - History Today Book of the Year” prize for 2003; the granting of such a prestigious award reflects the significance of this study. An extensive examination of a much under-utilized source, an exploration of the social and cultural impact of the Reformation on early modern Scots and an interdisciplinary approach all come together to produce a work which is sure to become a standard in Scottish Reformation studies. This work is successful in helping to explain how the Protestant Reformation was achieved at a very basic societal level, and in describing what these changes meant for Scots of all social groups.

One of the most impressive elements of this study is the sheer volume of material explored. The minutes of dozens of Kirk session and other Kirk courts from 1560 to the 1620s provides the mainstay of Todd’s research. The Kirk sessions were local church courts which monitored the moral behaviour of its parishioners. These courts were persistent in the surveillance of the most intimate details of the lives of early modern Scots, and as such they offer an excellent opportunity for historians to understand the Reformation from a social and cultural perspective.

Through an anthropological framework, Todd examines the minutes of the Kirk sessions to piece together what changes in religious belief and practice were ushered in with the Reformation, what mechanisms the Kirk used to transfer these changes in thought process and understanding to the Scottish population and what impact these had on the culture of early modern Scots. This process is repeated throughout the book, with each chapter focussing on a different emphasis of the reformed Kirk. The first item explored is the significance of “the word” within the Kirk of Scotland. Todd explores how this new religious ideal was translated into forced attendance at sermons; as well as what the significance
of preaching and the new reformed faith was on the minds and attitudes of Scottish parishioners. We quickly see the systematic “instilling [of] new habits of self-discipline in the population on a very large scale, parish by parish.” (p. 42)

Todd then explores how “the word” altered the sacraments and how this produced an “experiential and affective understanding” amongst the Scottish people. (p. 85)

Todd continues to pursue this methodical process of identifying changes brought about by Protestant reform, how the Kirk convinced Scots to adapt these principles and what the long-term impact was on the culture of early modern Scots. Repentance, popular pastimes and holidays, the Kirk’s role as community peacekeeper, the monitoring of family activities, what sacred time and space meant to parishioners and what role the ministers and elders of the Kirk played in the Reformation of both religion and culture all receive separate attention in each chapter. Slowly, the traditional understanding of the elders as “a meddlesome crew prowling the streets and peering in people’s windows to ferret out innocent merrymakers” is destroyed. (p. 231) This uninformed image is instead replaced by an understanding of the intricate role which the Kirk played in the success of the Reformation at a popular level, as well as weighing in on the historiographical question of what impact the Reformation had on the lives of early modern people.

This work is not only important in exploring reform from a fresh, interdisciplinary perspective to answer previously un-askable questions, but the extensive use of Kirk session records is equally important in revealing the wealth of information available in such an important, but under-utilized source. There have only been two other major studies which have exploited the significance of these sources. In Uses of Reform: ‘Godly Discipline’ and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610 Michael Graham mined the session records to explain the role of discipline in early modern Scottish society. Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison have also employed the session minutes in a variety of articles and the companion books Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social
Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780 and Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780 to explore questions of illegitimacy.

Although these works are very important studies, most historians were aware that the Kirk session records would yield information on discipline and bastardy. Todd, on the other hand, has shown how much information can be gathered about daily existence, family life and popular culture in early modern Scotland. This study has revealed the importance of these sources and is sure to act as a springboard for many other studies about the lives of “the masses” in post-Reformation Scotland.

As with any study, there are some potential points of debate. Some academics may challenge Todd’s equation of culture to national identity. (p.402) Also, the theoretical framework of ritual is used to argue that within the Protestant culture there was a “multivalent meaning ...[which] co-ordinated [Scottish Calvinists] into a cogent whole that could both address individual issues and unify a diverse community.” (pp.406-407; 5-7) Although Todd does argue that individuals shaped the emerging Protestant culture (p.20), the dissent of the tens of thousands, if not the hundreds of thousands who appeared before the sessions are not directly addressed. These voices are largely lost within the structures of ritual theory, when instead they should be seen as taking an active role in challenging, shaping and defining the culture in which they lived.

The Culture of Protestantism is an extremely important book for those interested in understanding both reform and society in early modern Scotland. In addition to the significant contribution that Todd makes to Scottish historiography, the book is also well written and an interesting read. The abundance of evidence provided by Todd gives the reader a fascinating look into the lives of post-Reformation Scots and is a must-read for anyone interested in Scottish history.

Janay Nugent
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Since Christina Larner’s research on witchcraft in Scotland, the topic has exploded like no other topic in Scottish history. Many scholars have explored Larner’s findings and have come to various explanations for the Scottish witch-hunt, politics is just one of the many issues which have been raised in this recent scholarship. Comparisons across borders reveal that while a norm did exist between countries, each country had its own unique pattern when it came to early modern witch-hunting. In this recent addition to the maturing subject matter, Julian Goodare et al. showcase the latest research on the Scottish witch-hunts and have addressed many of the issues raised by Larner and other historians, such as Carlo Ginzburg, whose fields range beyond Scotland. In so doing, the authors add their perspectives and definitions to past research, thus putting the Scottish witch-hunt into many different contexts.

In “The Global Context of the Scottish Witch-hunt,” Ronald Hutton gives a detailed account of witchcraft practices found all over the globe and reveals a worldwide pattern of characteristics attributed to the figure of the witch, while still exploring regional variables. Hutton also identifies these basic characteristics in historical models of witches in continental Europe, and it is these historical models which may prove to be most useful to those studying Scottish witchcraft. While Hutton’s international comparisons prove useful in drawing parallels between Scotland and the rest of the world, it is the historical models upon which Scottish witch beliefs were based. (pp.24-25)

Directly following Hutton’s discussion of international witch-hunt patterns is Stuart MacDonald’s study of a very important aspect of Scottish witch belief - the Devil and the demonic pact. In order to better understand the role played by the Devil in Scotland, MacDonald’s article, “The Devil in Fife Witchcraft Cases, 1560-1705,” takes a close look at witchcraft cases in Fife, the third most active shire in
terms of cases tried. By examining the source material and its origins, MacDonald reveals that the Devil appears most frequently in documents which arise from the central government. (p. 36) Even more significant than this demonic presence in government records, is the relatively minor role which is attributed to the Devil. (p. 45) This article attempts to explain why church courts and local nobility were so interested in pursuing witches when the role of the demonic, which has traditionally been interpreted by historians as the elite cultural perception of witches, seemed such a minor one. MacDonald examines this theme as an intricate part of a “broader programme” intended to control the thoughts, values and behaviours of the entire population. (p. 49)

MacDonald’s detailed and informative exploration of the Fife witch trials is followed by a more general look at the witch scare of 1597 by Julian Goodare in “The Scottish Witchcraft Panic of 1597.” This chapter attempts to explain the panic by examining its various causes, the records which are still available, and the role played by King James VI in the rehabilitation of witch-hunting. A very detailed article, it does much to shed light on the circumstances of the 1597 panic.

Goodare’s chapter is followed by an examination of the role played by “the domestic” in witchcraft beliefs as explored by Lauren Martin’s “Witchcraft, Quarrels and Women’s Work in Scotland”. This chapter discusses two main aspects of the links which can be drawn between witch beliefs and the domestic work of women. Firstly, the demonic pact was an idea conceptually akin to marriage, and secondly, the domestic was the basis of quarrels which often led to witchcraft accusations. (p. 74) This chapter presents a different way of thinking about witchcraft, and illuminates the unease with which early modern society viewed women, while giving the reader a good idea of what the image of the Scottish witch had become.

As early modern medicine was a far cry from the medical practices we know today, there existed a wide range of
“devices and directions,” or folk healing in early modern society. Joyce Miller describes these beliefs and practices of folk healing in great detail to determine why “charmers” were sometimes prosecuted as witches. Her chapter, entitled “Devices and Directions: Folk Healing aspects of Witchcraft Practice in Seventeenth-Century Scotland,” begins with a discussion of the differences between a “witch” and a “charmer,” while relating charms and magical practices to the wider context of early modern health and disease. Miller then describes the folk healing practices themselves, the methods involved and the materials used. A very well-organized and informative chapter, Miller gives the reader an excellent understanding of what these charmers and healers were being prosecuted for, and how these practices came to be condemned as witchcraft.

While folk healers and charmers were not normally found in the upper classes - a group which had access to doctors and surgeons - there were as yet a number of nobility and members of the upper-classes who were put on trial for witchcraft, many of them women. In an attempt to determine what these trials of the elite tell us about the accused, their prosecutors, and the nature of witch-hunting, Louise Yeoman takes a closer look at propertied Scotswomen who were accused of witchcraft in “Hunting the Rich Witch in Scotland: High-Status Witchcraft Suspects and their Prosecutors, 1590-1650.” A recurring theme throughout this chapter is envy over inheritance and money sometimes involving feuds and disputes with those who had access to confessing witches. This chapter gives us excellent insight into how witchcraft, a phenomenon driven by the elite, affected the class driving it.

Closely related to the role played by the Scottish elite in the witch-hunts is that played by the Scottish state, which is discussed in detail by Goodare in “Witch-hunting and the Scottish State.” The chapter pays particular attention to the decision of whether or not to hold a criminal trial in the case of witchcraft accusations, the point at which, according to Goodare, central government became involved in the witch-hunt process. A very
concise and well-organized chapter, Goodare does much to explain the legal machinations involved in the Scottish trials.

The last four chapters of the book discuss the end of the Scottish witch trials and reiterate many of the issues discussed in previous chapters. Michael Wasser discusses the Renfrewshire witch-hunts and the conditions which surrounded the trials in “The Western Witch-Hunts of 1697-1700: the Last Major Witch-hunt in Scotland.” Brian Levack attempts to explain the decline in the number of witchcraft prosecutions in Scotland after 1662 in “The Decline and End of Scottish Witch-hunting.” James Sharpe provides a comparative analysis of historiographical problems in England and Scotland in “Witch-hunting and witch historiography: some Anglo-Scottish Comparisons” and Edward J. Cowan and Lizanne Henderson wrap it up with a discussion of continued witch belief from the seventeenth century right up to the nineteenth century in “The Last of the Witches? The Survival of Scottish Witch Belief” where they concentrated on folk beliefs after the end of the witch-hunts.

This collection is an excellent resource for anyone seeking to understand the Scottish witch-hunts and the different political, cultural and social contexts in which it occurred. There is an excellent flow between the articles, which fit together exceedingly well and follow a format which naturally leads the reader through the Scottish witch-hunts themselves, while at the same time examining in-depth the specific questions to which each article pertains. However, the collection is sadly lacking in religious content, a context which would no doubt lead the reader to a better understanding of the phenomenon. Although Goodare states that Scottish theology “presents an unsolved problem” and that “the place [of witchcraft] in systematic theology is unclear” (p.14), a discussion of the effects of Protestantism and Scottish covenanting, as well as other issues relating to the early modern Scottish church, would no doubt be of use to the reader.

Overall, Goodare has done an exemplary job editing and organizing these excellent and very “readable” chapters by
the various experts involved. The book as a whole sheds a great deal of light on issues concerning witchcraft and witch-belief in Scotland.

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Contrary to the publisher’s claim, the Jacobite movement between the 1715 uprising and the ’45 has received extensive historical treatment, yet this work does make a critical contribution to the literature in its use of a biographical approach to illuminate the wider mentalité of Jacobitism. The case is that of the arch Jacobite leader George Lockhart whose life and ideas are paradigmatic of the cause he represented. Lockhart’s vast literary legacy is especially important: almost half a million or so words of autobiography, correspondence and political polemics which en somme greatly offset the scant documentary sources that traditionally have hampered a deeper understanding of the Jacobite mind. To give readers a fuller picture of Lockhart’s world and times, the author deploys an innovative technique, using chapters one to three to explore the social, economic, and political context which shaped the man’s formative years. In the remaining sections, he demonstrating how these experiences shaped his perception of events and how this perception illumines the ideological dimension of Jacobite activity.

Shown to be literate and well read, “with an independent, assertive cast of mind,” (19) Lockhart was, by circumstances, forced to mature early, creating in him a desire for order and stability “that was to manifest itself repeatedly throughout his career.” (26) Financially solvent through a combination of inheritance profits from collieries, and resourceful (if not ruthless) estate management, Lockhart was initially less successful in the social/political sphere, his “patriot” principles and steadfast refusal to support the “Court Party” in Westminster costing him royal favor. Meticulously Szechi traces Lockhart’s gradual transition to hard-line Jacobitism from his early entry into national politics, as member for mid Lothian (1702) and subsequent alignment with the “Country Party,” opposing the cavalier sponsored succession law, and Scottish Militia Bill, while advocating greater Scottish legislative autonomy.
Finally, by means of family connection, named one of the Scottish Commissioners for the Union, he was shrewdly effective, as is clearly shown, in extracting vital fiscal, and other concessions from his English counterparts though many of these, admittedly, favored the gentry class to which Lockhart belonged. (62)

Szechi’s in-depth account of the process whereby Lockhart eventually came to oppose the Union, leading to involvement in the abortive rising of 1708, fills a vital lacuna in Scottish historiography and is a model of analytic precision. Taking no role in the botched rebellion of 1715, due to widespread notoriety following the publication of his *Memoirs* (1714), Lockhart was well placed to offset the need for leadership created by the subsequent flight of many notable Jacobites. His animosity towards the Hanoverians became intensified with the execution of his brother for high treason. This execution “locked him into commitments that were to dictate the rest of his life.” (121) These included zealous participation in all major Jacobite activity after 1717, notably negotiations for a Swedish invasion to aid the exiled Stuarts, personal correspondence with the Pretender and maintaining Clan resistance to English financial inducements and political pressures.

The remainder and central portions of the book (chapters 7-10), drawing on an unprecedented wide range of sources, casts further light on Lockhart’s varied career by viewing this within the context of his political theories and ideas and in relation to the subversive movement in which he was so committed. In many ways, as Szechi convincingly demonstrates, Lockhart’s mindset – classically patriarchal, anti-Presbyterian, self-righteous, nostalgic – mirrored the Jacobite phenomenon as a whole, an affinity that endowed Lockhart, and others of his circle, with both an identity and energizing focus. This fact, and supporting documentation, in turn enhances the reader’s understanding of the strengths as well as limitations of the emerging British fiscal/military state; also the conception of nationhood which accompanied it. (62)
In sum, this is an interesting, useful and well-written book, recommended to all those interested in a fascinating and eventful chapter of Scottish history.

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In this book, Celeste Ray considers the manifestations of Scottish heritage enthusiasm in the American South from the viewpoint of her professional discipline, which is anthropology. Her regional focus is justified by the specially intense Scotophilia which can be observed in the South: Ray says that about half of all Scottish heritage organizations in the U.S. are based there, and this figure rests on a definition of “the South” which excludes (unaccountably) Maryland and West Virginia (pp. 182, 231). The historical presence of a large Highland Scottish settlement in North Carolina, and the Lost Cause myths and military traditions which have been so powerful in shaping the Scottish and the Southern identities alike, help to explain the strength of Scottish ethnic romanticism in the South. There is, moreover, as Ray argues, a distinctly Southern version of Scottish-Americanism, in which disparate cultural traditions have been filtered, revised and recombined in ways which reflect that region’s experience and cultural needs.

Ray’s approach has been to combine “ethnographic field work” with “ethnohistorical research” (p. xiii). “Field work” in this case means attending Highland Games and Burns dinners and suchlike events, and interviewing other participants. At some points, readers who have their own experience of the Scottish heritage subculture will see that Ray’s conclusions are skewed by her failure to pick up on something. For example, her analysis of gender roles on the Highland Games circuit ignores the more egalitarian *mores* of the competitive Highland dancers and bagpipe-band members, two interconnected, free-floating populations where the mean age is younger than elsewhere in the heritage world, and to which Ray in general should have given more attention. (Travelling with a bagpipe band for a season would have been an illuminating extension of her field work; and Ray’s theme of evolving traditions and “emergent authenticity” [p. 115] would
have been better served by examining the competitive bagpipe repertoire, than the athletic events which she discusses at undue length.)

But putting such quibbles aside, Ray’s “ethnographic field work” has been fruitful. She is an amiable guide to the Highland heritage world, never condescending to her subjects nor burdening them with overanalysis. “Scottish heritage enthusiasts engage in [heritage] activities for fun and sociability,” as she admits. But “they also take their rituals and interpretations of the past . . . seriously” (p. 204). Ray’s theoretical resourcefulness enables her to offer subtle readings of those rituals and interpretations, but her sense of humour and intellectual humility prevent her from going too far: sometimes a caber is just a caber.

It is in her “ethnohistorical research” that Ray runs into trouble. The book is littered with errors of historical fact, and with signs of its author’s unfamiliarity with Gaelic language and culture. Her bibliography reveals several shocking omissions. More extensive consultation of Murray Pittock’s oeuvre would have saved her from three interrelated misconceptions. Pittock would have disabused her of the idea that the Jacobite army in 1745-46 was a mainly Highland force which found little support in the Lowlands; of the idea that our modern canon of Jacobite songs is a bundle of late-eighteenth-century forgeries; and of the idea that “Highlandism” (the politicized fetishizing of tartan and other Highland paraphernalia among non-Highlanders) dates back no farther than the lifetime of Sir Walter Scott.

Ray’s historical vision is sharper when it comes to the period after the Second World War, when the Scottish-American heritage subculture assumed its present form. She recognizes the role of commercial exploitation (e.g., by the tourism industry) in this process. I think she should have said more about political manipulation. We are told of Senator Trent Lott’s (R.-Mississippi) help in securing Congressional approval of National Tartan Day (6 April) in 1997. It so happens that at precisely this moment, another badge of whiteness, the Confederate battle flag, was under renewed
threat as a public symbol because of efforts to remove it from the South Carolina statehouse and because of a court case involving license plates in Maryland. This suggestive circumstance goes unmentioned in Ray’s discussion of National Tartan Day, as do Senator Lott’s well-known links with various unsavoury “Southern heritage” organizations. Ian McKay’s work on Highlandism in Nova Scotia exemplifies the more politically attuned scholarship which one wishes Ray had attempted.

Indeed, Ray’s treatment of the racial politics of Scottish heritage in the South is disappointingly hasty and apologetic. She suggests that it is some kind of coincidence that the burning cross, a rallying signal among the Highland clans, should have been adopted as a symbol by the Ku Klux Klan; and she implies that nobody ever affirmed a connection between the clans’ and the Klan’s flaming crosses until D.W. Griffith’s film *Birth of a Nation* (1915) (p. 190). But this account gets everything backwards. The original KKK, a short-lived terrorist organization formed after the Civil War, never used a burning cross. That was an innovation of the *new* KKK, formed in 1915, at Stone Mountain, Georgia (today the site of an annual Highland Games). And at that time, the Klan’s burning cross was *explicitly* an appropriation of the Gaelic symbol. One of the new KKK’s founders, the North Carolinian preacher Thomas Dixon, who wrote the novel on which Griffith’s film was based, was a Walter Scott fanatic. The burning cross was his idea.

In correcting Ray on this point, I do not mean to suggest that her Southern Scotophiles are all closet racists who are using their tartan festivals as an acceptable vehicle for a Dixonian ideology. I do not believe that. But there are issues here which require engagement, however uncomfortable they make us.

Underneath the racist appropriation of Highlandist imagery lies a rich historical irony. Scots generally, and Highlanders in particular, were a despised minority in the colonial South. (Their pariah status was the cause, not the effect, of their tendency to side with the British government in the
War of Independence—a point historians, including Ray, continue to misunderstand.) When the definitive study of Scotland’s contribution to Southern culture comes to be written, this paradox will emerge as one of its most salient features: Highland Scots were the original targets of the nativist ideology which now claims the Highland heritage as its own.

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