2015

"We're All Jock Tamson's Bairns": Scottish Ethnic Identity and Nationalism in America

Avalon Harder
Scripps College

“WE’RE ALL JOCK TAMSON’S BAIRNS”: SCOTTISH ETHNIC IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICA

by

AVALON L. HARDER

SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

PROFESSOR PARK
PROFESSOR LISS

24 APRIL 2015

Table of Contents

Note: All chapter titles are inspired by song titles and include epigraphs of lyrics from the popular Scottish nationalist band, Runrig

INTRODUCTION

"We still have a sense of community in Scotland… It's just the Scottish way. It's very difficult to pin it down to anything, but we do have a sense of community. 'We're all Jock Tamson's bairns'."

Interview with Scottish National Party Member of Parliament, Reicher and Hopkins (2001) 120

For centuries Scotland has been revered the world over for its rich folkloric tradition. The works of authors such as Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and Robert Louis Stevenson have inspired millions of imaginations with their accounts of this nation's breathtaking landscapes, thrilling history, and romantic appeal. This inspiration has not only shaped international perspectives on what characterizes Scotland but has also led to Scots' own understanding of what makes them and their nation distinct. The interweaving of folkloric ideas and phrases with national identity has long been a part of Scotland's political thought.[1] Perhaps one of the most popular literary concepts evoked in political conversation is "we're all Jock Tamson's bairns." While some theorists believe "Jock Tamson" is another name used for God, others believe "Jock Tamson" refers to either an eighteenth century Scottish minister or inn keeper named John Thompson who was well known for his generous spirit and welcoming home. In Scotland "bairns" means "children" in one of Scotland's older languages, Scots. Therefore, the phrase translates to, "we are all the children of Jock Tamson" It is believed that Jock Tamson, whoever he was, treated all men and women with equal respect and kindness, regardless of their status within Scottish society. Whatever theory one may choose to believe, the phrase is steeped in the kind of enigmatic folklore for which Scotland is known so well.

According to Scottish social psychologists Steven Reicher and Nick Hopkins, "we're all Jock Tamson's bairns" is used to refer to the political idea often observed in nationalist dialogues that "beneath the surface of socially created difference, people share a basic common humanity." Though disparities such as class or geographic location have the potential to lead to unbridgeable social gaps among Scots, it is Scotland's strong sense of unity and belonging conveyed through this phrase that contributes to its distinct national identity. Despite whatever factors might set

[1] Stephen Reicher and Nick Hopkins, "In Quest of National Character," *Self and Nation*, (London: Sage, 2001) 119

them apart from one another, the fact that they are all Scots, all "bairns" of "Jock "Tamson," is what brings them together.

In recent history, there has been no better time than now to call into question what makes Scots "Jock Tamson's bairns," or what characterizes Scottish national identity. On September 18, 2014, anyone registered to vote in Scotland was given the opportunity to vote in a referendum[2] on whether or not they believed Scotland should become its own nation, independent from the United Kingdom of which it is currently a member. Although the vote led to a 55% "no" and 45% "yes" result, the referendum provided the opportunity for Scots and the world to take a closer look at who is a Scot and what makes them one, as well as what defines Scotland as a nation. According to anthropologist Jonathan Hearn, "dominant themes of common descent, territorial belonging and shared language [often come into play] in discourses of national identity" such as this one, including "the idea that nations generally evolve rather organically out of a pre-existing substance of ethnicity."[3] National discourses can inspire "underlying emotional bonds and feelings of attachment" among members of the nation's pre-existing ethnic group, including those who no longer live within the boundaries of the nation itself but are instead members of its diaspora.

Considering that 27.5 million Americans claimed to have Scottish ancestry in the 2009 American Community Census Survey administered by the United States Census Bureau (roughly 9% of the entire American population at the time), it is not surprising that such bonds and feelings might be found among Scottish-Americans.[4] The Scottish-American community was

---

[2] "the practice of referring measures proposed or passed by a legislative body to the vote of the electorate for approval or rejection," "Referendum," Dictionary.com, accessed March 9, 2015, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/referendum?s=t

[3] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*: *A Critical Introduction*, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 20

[4] Edward Luce, "Tartan America: on the march," *FT Magazine*, the *Financial Times*, modified September 12, 2014, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/9d17fa72-393c-11e4-9526-00144feabdc0.html#slide0

established in the early seventeenth century by immigrants seeking opportunities for trade and commerce in the British colonies, and it has been thriving ever since. The arrival of Scottish refugees such as the persecuted Covenanters and the expelled Highlanders beginning in the late seventeenth century and continuing into the early nineteenth century widened the scope of this community to include a range of Scots from diverse religious, geographical, and social backgrounds. What united them all in their new home was that they all belonged to the Scottish ethnic group, "a unique population, with a name for itself, some sense of collective history and ways of symbolically marking membership in the group."[5] In essence, they were "all Jock Tamson's bairns."

This introductory section includes four components: a discussion of terminology used throughout the paper, a presentation of theoretical frameworks relating to Scottish-Americans and their role in Scottish national discourses, an explanation of the research methods used in my data collection and analysis, and an investigation of my positionality within the research process.

In this paper I will explore how Scottish-Americans have contributed to Scottish national dialogues by laying roots for future generations in the form of early ethnic organizations as well as religious and social practices, engaging in discussion about what it means to be both white and ethnic, sustaining forms of traditional culture through Scottish Highland Games, and interpreting their personal experiences with ethnic and national identity as a way of negotiating their relationships with Scottish nationalism. The referendum on Scottish independence offered historical circumstances that were both relevant and exhilarating to explore these topics under. This exploration will incorporate both interview and survey data I gathered from Scottish-Americans as well as scholarly research in the areas of anthropology, history, politics, and psychology.

---

[5] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*: *A Critical Introduction*, 8

Terminology

Throughout this paper I will use the term "Scottish-American," which I understand to mean any individual who identifies as both Scottish and American. The individuals I refer to as Scottish-American in this paper were born and live in America, and claim to have some Scottish ancestry, meaning that some or all of their ancestors were born in Scotland and/or identify as Scottish. This term only becomes complicated when referring to the earliest Scottish immigrants to the British colonies, or what would later become the United States. While these individuals were born in Scotland and claimed Scottish ancestry, they began their new lives as subjects of the colonies or (if they immigrated after the colonies gained independence from the United Kingdom) citizens of the United States. In this way they are both Scottish and American, but in a different way than their American-born descendants of Scottish ancestry. As a result, in this paper I will refer to both Scottish immigrants to the United States and their descendants as Scottish-Americans.

Another term used throughout this paper is "diaspora." Although there are many ideas about the meaning of this term, I prefer the Scottish Government's interpretation since this paper is concerned with the Scottish diaspora. This interpretation will be explored in greater detail at the beginning of Chapter 1.

The final term I hope to define in this introductory section is "nationalism." Once again, I turn to Jonathan Hearn, who defines nationalism as "the making of combined claims, on behalf of a population, to *identity*, to *jurisdiction* and to *territory.*"[6] The population's *identity* "may include such 'cultural' factors as religious beliefs or language, or notions of shared biological substance, or of inherited historical experiences, but it can also invoke more abstract qualities such as core values (e.g. egalitarianism, liberty, democracy)". Jurisdiction is the factor that

[6] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*: *A Critical Introduction*, 11

asserts entitlement to power and the authority to make and enforce laws, although this may be claimed only to a degree, within a larger political system." Territory claim "normally concern lands that at least some of the national group occupies, but can also concern lands from which the group has been wholly displaced." Although each of the three factors populations make claim to as part of nationalism will be further discussed in Chapter 4, a basic understanding of these factors will be helpful in grasping earlier chapters.

Theoretical Frameworks

There are four key theories that I considered in researching and writing this paper. Each of these theories is tied to the others through Benedict Anderson's idea of a nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[7] This idea of a nation, which will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4, draws from the understanding that a community can be formed through the connectedness that kinship and ethnicity create among people. The individual community member's perception of solidarity with other members through shared ancestry or cultural traditions is critical to the formation of nationalist thought and the nation itself.

The first I will discuss in this paper is anthropologist David Schneider's concept of "kinship." Schneider claims that kinship plays a critical role in every aspect of so-called "primitive" societies, permeating both public and private life. By contrast, in contemporary American society, kinship is in many ways separate from the organization of public life. Furthermore, according to Schneider, "in American cultural conception, kinship is defined as biogenetic," meaning that it is dependent on the individual's "biogenetic substance" or DNA as

[7] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6

created by the contributions of each of the individual's parents.[8] As a result, "the real, true, verifiable facts of nature [otherwise known as the individual's biogenetic substance] are what the cultural formulation [of kinship] is." Schneider's theories on kinship are important to keep in mind when reading this paper because they explain why Scottish-Americans might be drawn to ancient ideas of kinship conveyed by clan organizations. Furthermore, these theories show how kinship can become a point of tension in Scottish-American thought because Scottish-American kinship is often not associated with genetic relationships in the same way American kinship is.

Whenever the theory of "ethnicity" is used in this paper it should be understood within the context of anthropologist Jonathan Hearn's theories of ethnicity. According to Hearn, ethnicity is "the process generating relatively bounded, self-identified groups, defined in relation to similar groups, usually through notions of common descent and practices of endogamy, and often occupying a distinctive economic or ecological niche." With this definition in mind, I argue that "Scottish-American" is an ethnicity and that Scottish-Americans are an ethnic group. To help the reader further grasp this concept of ethnicity, I offer up other examples of ethnicity or ethnic groups in the United States such as Italian-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans, Polish-Americans, etc. It is important for the reader to understand that while many Scottish-Americans would identify as belonging to the white race, there are many Scottish-Americans of mixed-race backgrounds who may also identify as belonging to one or more other races as a result of interracial marriage and/or reproduction. Finally, it is important for the reader to understand that the white race is composed of many different ethnicities such as the Irish(-Americans), the Danish(-Americans), the French(-Americans), and others. This understanding will become particularly critical in reading Chapter 2 of this paper.

[8] Hearn, pg. 23

The final important theoretical framework found within this paper is anthropologist Anthony Cohen's theory of "personal nationalism," a form of nationalism based on the theory that "individuals construe their membership and their selves in very different forms" rather than viewing "identity as being derivable from membership of a nation or group—be it an ethnic, kinship or descent group, a sect, class, gender, initiation cohort, or whatever."[9] According to Cohen, nationalism can be observed in the individual's unique perspective on experiences they have in common with others who share their national identity. Groups who share national identities, which, as discussed earlier, are often derived from ethnic identities. These common experiences may involve music, dancing, traditional clothing, language, religion, family structures, political ideas, ancestry, and many other factors. While factors are shared within the group, it is the individual's understanding of the meaning and value of these experiences that is the key to "personal nationalism." In short, "personal nationalism" is the individual's interpretation of the experiences of their national or ethnic group.

Methods

I used a mixed methods approach involving ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and a survey questionnaire to collect and analyze information about the Scottish-American population and its attitudes about cultural expression, identity, and ethnic organizational membership. The ethnographic interviews were used to gather the in-depth personal experiences of individual. The participant observation was primarily used to document behavior and practices at the Scottish Highland Games. The survey questionnaire was used to identify more general attitudinal trends among a larger group.

---

[9] Anthony Cohen, "Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs," *American Ethnologist* 23.4 (1996) 803

To collect the qualitative data, I used the "snowballing" technique to find Scottish-Americans (and one Japanese-American) who were interested in being interviewed by me. These interviews were conducted almost exclusively with current or former office-holding members of Scottish-American organizations (presidents, treasurers, secretaries, etc.) I first asked members of the Scottish-American community I was already familiar with to introduce me to some of their friends at a Scottish Highland Games held near my hometown in Northern California. I then conducted interviews with these friends and asked them to refer me to others who might be interested in taking part in my research. All interviews, 10 in total, were conducted over the phone between August and October 2014. Interviewees were asked a series of questions about their membership in Scottish-American organizations, the role their Scottish heritage has played in their life, and their thoughts on the Scottish independence referendum. All interviews were recorded using an audio-only recording device with the permission of the interviewee, and transcripts were made of each recording.

Participant observation involved attending five Scottish Highland Games in Southern and Central California from April 2014 to February 2015. At each event, I took notes about the people and activities, my personal questions and reactions to the events, and contact information for individuals who were interested in further participating in my research. This observation allowed me to contextualize what I already knew about the Scottish-American community as well as provide me with new and deeper insight into its behavior and attitudes.

In order to collect the quantitative component of my ethnographic, I designed a closed ended survey questionnaire to be administered to members of Scottish-American organizations who claimed to be of Scottish-American descent (some organizations are open to members of all ethnic backgrounds). These questions were simply closed ended versions of the same questions I

asked in the interviews I conducted. I asked one of my interviewees, who is a member of three different Scottish-American organizations, if she would administer hard copies of the surveys to any other members of her organizations who would be willing to participate in my research and mail them back to me. This survey administration system not only with these three organizations, but with several other organizations I was able to connect with by contacting them using the information provided on their website. In total, 40 individuals responded to the survey. Upon receiving the hard copies of the completed surveys, I entered all of the data into an SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) data table and ran frequencies on each of the variables. The statistical tables included throughout this paper are composed entirely of the frequencies calculated using this process.

Positionality

My initial interest in the topic of the Scottish-American community's role in Scottish national discourses stemmed from the fact that I myself am a member of this community. My great-grandmother immigrated to America from Glasgow, Scotland in 1920 at the age of 16. Although I have always been aware and passionate about my Scottish heritage, it was not until I was a high school student that I began participating in the activities of the Scottish-American community. I began to attend Scottish Highland Games, conduct in-depth genealogical research, listen more intently to Scottish music, and read books about Scottish history and culture. It was during this time that I began building relationships with other members of this community, particularly members of Clan Graham (the clan I belong to because I am a descendant of Catherine Graham, my great-grandmother). This relationship building primarily consisted of discussing the history of the clan, the relationship of the clan to other clans, the responsibilities

of the office-holding members of the clan organization, and the function of the Scottish Highland Games. These discussions helped to develop the knowledge I had about the Scottish-American community before I began research for this paper.

I first visited Scotland in 2011, and I instantly fell in love with it. I can honestly relate to the experience of other Scottish-Americans I interviewed who described their first visit to Scotland as a 'homecoming' of sorts. I immediately felt a sense of comfort and belonging which continued throughout my stay, and when I told a local tour guide that my great-grandmother had been from Glasgow she said, "welcome home." I returned to Scotland again in fall of 2013 to spend a semester studying at the University of Edinburgh and interning at Scottish Parliament. It was during this time that I first became interested in Scottish nationalism and the referendum on independence. I interned for a Member of Scottish Parliament from Glasgow, and together we had many discussions about the character of Scots and what Scottish nationalism looks like. I also interned in the Labor Party Research Center in Scottish Parliament, which provided me the opportunity to have similar discussions with policy researchers and public relations officers for the Scottish Labor Party. At the end of this experience, I knew I wanted my senior thesis to focus on issues relating to Scottish-Americans and Scottish nationalism.

My pre-existing relationship with members of Clan Graham helped me to make some of the connections needed to find Scottish-Americans (and one Japanese-American who is truly Scottish at heart) who were interested in being interviewed. However, it should be noted that I am not a due-paying member of any Scottish-American organization. I am a member of Clan Graham by descent only. Because I used the "snowball" method to connect with even more interviewees, I was under the impression that each person I interviewed was aware that I was a member of the Scottish-American community. Because of this, I was an "insider" to my

interviewees in the sense that the interviewees and I shared the same ethnic identity as well as some of the same experiences of that particular ethnic community. However, because I am neither a member or an office-holding member of any Scottish-American organizations, I was an "outsider" to my interviewees in the sense that I had very little knowledge of the structure or extensive activities of these organizations. This insider/outsider role was at times difficult to manage. There were instances in which the interviewees were giving me detailed information about the Scottish-American that I was already very familiar with. In these moments I find myself questioning whether to tell them this or to let them continue talking. I always decided to let the interviewee speak about topics I was already familiar with because, firstly, I was not a position to filter our discussion, only to edit it. Secondly, I realized there is always something new to learn about a topic, even if the researcher may feel she is already well versed in it. There were other instances in which the interviewee assumed I knew detailed information about Scottish-American organizations when, in fact, I was unfamiliar with the terms and concepts they were referring to. Again, I found this to be a challenge in my research because I was unsure of when I should let the interviewee know that he or she needed to provide more background on the topic they were speaking about. Sometimes I was able to piece together this information as they continued to speak, and sometimes it became necessary for me to pause the interviewee for a moment to clarify aspects I was not familiar with. Overall, while I found the insider/outsider balance challenging, I feel it provided me with a unique perspective on the topic I was researching.

Another challenge I faced in my research was being continually careful not to label the individuals I interviewed as "Scottish nationalists." While the interviewees may have expressed views that I interpreted as Scottish nationalist, it is in no way my position to tell them who they

are or what they believe in. As a result, I found Anthony Cohen's theory of "personal nationalism" to be incredibly helpful in explaining the similarities I observed among many of the views expressed by the individuals I interviewed while staying true to their distinct identities and perspectives.

CHAPTER ONE

"Rocket to the Moon": The Scottish-American Story

But you made this clan great
And you made this nation bloom
And you rose
With your people through the new world
Like a rocket to the moon

- "Rocket to the Moon," Runrig

Scottish immigrants were some of the earliest European settlers in North America, and the story of their journey and establishment of a community here is one of opportunity and hardship. Faced with major social, political, and economic changes in their homeland, thousands of Scots sought refuge in the American colonies and brought their cultural traditions with them. With the creation of a collection of Scottish ethnic organizations in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, early Scottish immigrants laid the foundation for their descendants to continue to take pride in their accomplishments and culture for generations to come. These organizations now play a major role in the lives of Scottish-Americans who are committed to sustaining their unique ethnic identity. A look into the historical background of this group is critical to understanding how it expresses itself and why this expression is important.

The Scottish-American community is a major component of what is considered to be "the Scottish diaspora." According to the Scottish Government, Scotland's diasporic population can be defined as

> - a collection of people who share a common national, civic or ethnic identity and who were either forced to leave or voluntarily left their settled territory and became residents in a new territory
> - descendants of these emigrants who remain interested in their heritage and might be prepared to reengage with their ancestral home
> - migrants who move in a transient, circular or nomadic way, leading a transnational existence which entails moving into and out of the homeland for short periods, including business travellers[10]

This definition is relatively inclusive, encompassing not only permanent immigrants from Scotland to other nations but also the descendants of those immigrants as well as individuals whose lives may cause them to leave and return to Scotland on a regular basis. The Scottish Government's conceptualization of its diaspora parallels anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's idea

[10] Delphine Ancien, Mark Boyle, and Rob Kitchin, "Drawing Borders: Who Belongs to the Diaspora?" *The Scottish Diaspora and Diaspora Strategy: Insights and Lessons Learned from Ireland*, The Scottish Government, Publications May 2009

of the "ethnoscape," or "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" such as "moving groups and individuals… [who] affect the politics of… nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree." [11] Both these approaches to the movement of the members of a community take into account contemporary factors of globalization and increased mobility. The fact that the Scottish Government has chosen to define its diaspora at all is a demonstration of the "affect [on] the politics of… nations" members of the diasporic population can have.

Members of this population are primarily located in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, with between 28 and 40 million people within these countries claiming Scottish ancestry.[12] These numbers, though only a broad estimate, demonstrate the reach of the Scottish diaspora and inspire curiosity about how and why the dispersion of this group occurred. The Scottish Government's funding of Homecoming Scotland, a yearlong series of cultural events designed to encourage individuals with Scottish ancestry from all over the world to travel to Scotland in 2009 and 2014, proves Scotland's recognition of and interest in its diaspora. According to Mark, an office-holding member of a Scottish clan organization, between 75 and 80% of the members of his clan who attended Homecoming in 2009 were American.

The factors that contributed to the establishment of a Scottish diasporic community in North America beginning in the early seventeenth century made it possible for this community to remain sustainable and strong for centuries to come. Three major groups laid the foundation for what would become the Scottish-American ethnic identity: the Highlanders who sought refuge here after their exodus from the northern areas of Scotland, the Covenanters who found a new opportunity to practice their religious beliefs after being persecuted in the Scottish Lowlands,

---

[11] Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," (1990)
[12] Delphine Ancien, Mark Boyle, and Rob Kitchin, "The Characteristics of Each Diaspora," *The Scottish Diaspora and Diaspora Strategy: Insights and Lessons Learned from Ireland*, The Scottish Government, Publications May 2009

and those leaders who instituted organizations that would provide aid for members of the Scottish-American community as well as carry on the cultural practices that define this ethnic group. These three early forces in Scottish-American history have been integral in shaping both the activities and identity of this community today. In this chapter I will create an understanding of the significance of each of these forces so as to provide greater insight into what represents the values, practices, and character of contemporary Scottish-Americans.

Brave Beginnings

Scottish immigration to North America began with the establishment of the Nova Scotia colony in Canada by King James I beginning in 1621. The Scottish population in Canada eventually spread as far south as what are now known as the states of Virginia and Maryland, leading to an increase of British settlements in these areas. As a result, large numbers of Scots migrated to the Northeast colonies to pursue opportunities for commerce and farming. This pattern of migration continued and "America became the final destination for all three branches of the Scottish ethnic and cultural family: Lowlanders, Highlands, and Ulster Scots," otherwise known as Scotch-Irish or those Scots whose families had lived in northern Ireland for a few generations before making the voyage to America.[13]

The Covenanters

Different motivations for leaving Scotland emerged beginning in the 1680s. The Covenanters were a subgroup of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland whose fundamental belief was that God prevailed over all human beings, including monarchs. Ultimately, this belief

[13] Arthur Herman, "'That Great Design:' Scots in America," *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001): 231

resulted in a "systematic political theology of resistance" called the National Covenant which demanded that the king to demonstrate his subservience to God.[14] If he did not, the Covenanters claimed, the Scottish people had a right to rebel against him. Needless to say, the Covenanters' movement was not well received by the Scottish monarchy. The 1680s are now known as "the Killing Times" in Scotland because of the Scottish crown's violent persecution of the Covenanters. During this time many Covenanters fled to the American colonies to seek refuge, bringing their religious beliefs with them. Although the Covenanters were a very small part of Scottish immigration to America, they are notable because they were some of the earliest members of the Scottish diaspora.

Highland Clan Culture

Like the Covenanters, who primarily hailed from the Lowlands of Scotland, a second group of Scots migrated to North America to escape from persecution: the Highlanders. Highland society had been organized according to the clan system for centuries before European migration to North American began. The clan system operated according to hereditary jurisdiction, or the idea that the ownership and lawmaking powers for a particular area of land could and should be passed down from generation to generation within a particular family (in this case, the family of the clan chief). Those families who resided on this land were considered to be members of the clan, many of whom were related to the chief by blood in some way and shared a surname with him. Those who did not share the surname or blood of the chief were considered members of a *sept*, or a family who paid a fee to the chief in order to use his land for farming and fall under his protection during times of war with other clans. Scottish clans were in

[14] Emily Moberg Robinson, "Scottish Covenanters and the Creation of an American Identity," *The Journal of Presbyterian History* 83 (2005): 63

constant battle with one another over land and property, which required that each clan chief command an army of his clansmen. As landlord, patriarch, and military leader of his clan, each clan chief held a very powerful role within Scottish Highland society.

It is important to emphasize the "great personal bond" "between the common clansmen and the chief."[15] These parties were connected to one another in so many ways: financially, geographically, militarily, and (in many cases) biologically. According to political theorist F. Clifford-Vaughan, "both parties were interdependent" in the clansmen/chief relationship in that "the chief defended his possessions, the wealth of which consisted of land, through the warlike propensity of his clansmen" while "the man of the clan in turn depended on the chief as on a father, all government and power for him being represented in the person of the chief." The clan system defined life in the Highlands, giving its people a sense of identity distinct from the rest of Scotland and the United Kingdom.

All of this changed with the Battle of Culloden, which was fought in Scotland in 1746. The English and Scottish crowns found themselves sharing an heir in King James VII of Scotland and II of England, a practicing Catholic and the son of Mary Queen of Scots. James' daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, were Protestants living in the Netherlands when they decided to overthrow James and take control of both the Scottish and English crowns.[16] As a result, James' devout Catholic followers in Scotland (most of whom were Highlanders) began a series of rebellious acts and battles known as the Jacobite Risings to restore their beloved king to the throne starting in 1689. The Jacobite Risings ended in 1745 with

---

[15] F. Clifford-Vaughan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society: The Decline of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 43 (1974): 76

[16] "Jacobite Risings," Education Scotland, accessed March 2, 2014, http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scotlandshistory/jacobitesenlightenmentclearances/jacobiterisings/index.asp

the Battle of Culloden, during which those Scots who were loyal to the Scottish heir to the throne (Prince Charles Stuart, grandson of King James II) and those Scots and Englishmen loyal to King William fought. The Jacobites were brutally defeated, with over 2,000 of them losing their lives in a matter of hours.

The defeat at the Battle of Culloden ultimately led to the decline of the clan system in Scotland, primarily through an increased English presence in areas of Scotland that had not known English influence before. Scottish culture, particularly clan culture, began to become Anglicized, and more and more clan chiefs began to send their eldest sons to be educated in England. In addition to a strict set of laws forced on Scotland by England as part of the Act of Proscription in 1747 (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3) a series of events called the Highland Clearances which began about fifty years after Culloden and lasted through the first few decades of the nineteenth century led the Scottish clan system from powerful social structure to a mere memory of better days.[17] During the Clearances, thousands of Highland Scots were forcibly evicted from the lands belonging to their clans and required to migrate to the Lowlands, North America or Oceania. Many Highland families were burned out of their homes as part of this eviction process. Because the period of time following Culloden was characterized by increased English influence in Scotland, epitomized by the Act of Proscription, it is commonly believed that the English were responsible for the Clearances. This myth has often been used to create a sense of unity among the Scots against the English because it is an imagined example of English brutality against the Scots. Although British Parliament did ban hereditary jurisdiction (the form of social order that gave clan chiefs control over their clansmen)

[17] Arthur Herman, "The Last Minstrel" Sir Walter Scott and the Highland Revival," *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001): 302

in 1748, the eviction of Highland families was almost exclusively carried out by self-interested Highland chiefs.

However, as historians argue, "the principal instigators of these mass evictions were the Highland chieftains themselves, and their Scottish farm managers or 'factors'," not the English. The Scottish agricultural economy had become increasingly profit-based. Chiefs could no longer afford to have their clan members farm their ancestral lands for free, as they had done for so many centuries. Instead, many chiefs chose "to treat his people as temporary tenants, who could remain on his land if they could afford it—but would have to go if they could not." Using this new system, clan members would pay a form of rent to their chieftain in order to remain living and working on his land. Yet many clan members could not afford this fee and were forced to leave the land their ancestors had belonged to for centuries.

One of the places these evicted Highlanders sought refuge was America, and many settled in North and South Carolina. According to historian Arthur Herman, "the volume and the points of destination [for Scottish migration to America] grew as the Highlands emptied itself of people well into the next century" and as a result "today there are probably more descendants of Highland clans living in America than in Scotland."[1819] Many of the members of the Scottish-American community I interviewed told me about how their ancestors immigrated to America from Scotland around this time. Joe, a member of multiple Scottish ethnic organizations, shared his family's story with me.

> My father told us from the time we were young that we were Scottish, but he didn't know much more than that. He knew that the family had come from Scotland and he knew it was many generations ago. His ancestors, as far as he had known from family tradition, had come from western North Carolina, down into Georgia, but he knew that they had originally come from Scotland. I have been able to trace them back to western North Carolina to about 1790.

---

[7] Ibid, pg. 232

Joe's family story demonstrates how understandings of early family origins contribute to Scottish-Americans' formation of their ethnic identity. Stories about Scottish-Americans' connection to their original homeland are passed down from generation to generation, highlighting the importance of kinship in perpetuating this identity. Furthermore, because so many Scottish-Americans share the similar story of their Scottish ancestors' immigration to America during the eighteenth century it becomes easier for members of this community to feel some sense of common experience among them. This feeling of commonality will be discussed more in Chapters 3 and 4.

A Continued Connection

Seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth century Scottish immigrants, their children, and grandchildren continued to feel a connection to Scotland after settling in America. This connection was maintained in three different ways, depending on whether the Scot or Scottish-American was a Covenanter, a Highlander or a member of a Scottish ethnic organization. The Covenanters took pride in transferring to America the religious ceremonies that had participated in while in Scotland. For example, the prominent minister Alexander Craighead had his adherents recite their religious texts with uplifted swords to "deliberately preserve classic rituals that highlighted their closeness to and affinity for their Scottish ancestors."[20] The practices of the Covenanters were easily transferable from Scotland to America because they had been designed to be led by laymen rather than religious authority figures, were informal, and small in number. This made it easier for Covenanters to maintain their religion in the relatively uninhabited American colonies in which immigrants had limited means. It should be noted that the

[20] Emily Moberg Robinson, "Scottish Covenanters and the Creation of an American Identity," *The Journal of Presbyterian History* 83 (2005): 63

Covenanters, as with all European immigrants to North America during this time, contributed to a destructive pattern of settler colonialism. Although the colonies may have seemed like the ideal place for the Covenanters to continue to practice their religious beliefs, they did so while disturbing the territory and life ways of Native Americans. While this side of the story is often excluded from historical narratives about the Covenanters in North America, it is important to remember the adverse effects their settlement may have had on the native population.

The continued practice of Covenanter rituals strengthened the institutional link between the colonial Covenanters and their Scottish ancestors" and "provided a sense of spiritual continuity and ecclesiastical legitimacy, both of vast importance for a scattered group of leaderless lay people."[21] These sustained rituals, although no longer practiced today, helped to build a foundation upon which Scottish-Americans could continue to feel a strong sense of connection to their ancestral homeland.

As discussed earlier, the clan system was central to the lifestyle of the Scottish Highlander. It would only make sense, then, that the Highlanders who fled Scotland during the Highland Clearances would bring with them the social perspective that defined them. As Arthur Herman describes it, "a transfer of people also involves a transfer of culture."[22] Beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing all the way into the twentieth century, many similarities have been observed between this Highland perspective and the perspective of those living in the rural Southern and Appalachian regions of the United States who are descended from Scottish Highlanders. For example, nineteenth century Southerners were observed to have "practiced an open-range pastoralism [and] were… 'roused by war…' preferred personal arbitration to law… had little respect for property right in land… were disputatious and often adroit… inept at

[21] Ibid, pg. 60-1
[22] Arthur Herman, "The Last Minstrel" Sir Walter Scott and the Highland Revival," *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001): 232

governing and nearly impossible to govern."[23] This "open range pastoralism" and "little respect for property right in land" mimic the way Scottish clansmen shared the chief's land to farm and raise livestock rather than dividing the land into multiple tracts of private property among themselves. The Southerners' "disputatious" nature and the fact that they were so easily "roused by war" parallels the continual conflicts among Scottish clans and the militaristic organization of each clan under its chief. Finally, their preference for "personal arbitration" and the fact that they were "nearly impossible to govern" is clearly connected to F. Clifford-Vaughan's assertion that "it is doubtful whether the ordinary men of the clan cared about the king or had even heard of the central government of the country."[24]

Like the Covenanters, the descendants of Highlanders may have held onto their ancestors' way of life as a means of remaining connected to Scotland. While this way of life in the Southeastern United States may have evolved over time, its transmission from generation to the generation over the course of centuries shows how important that continued connection has been to Highland descendants. This connection has contributed to a strong sense of ethnic identity for many Scottish-Americans, motivating them to associate with others who share this same sense of identity.

The data from the survey questionnaire distributed to 40 Scottish-Americans who were members of Scottish ethnic organizations shows that the majority of individuals surveyed are descended from Scots who immigrated to America during this early period. The two tables below show information about the age of survey respondents and the most recent generation in which their ancestors emigrated from Scotland. My analysis of this information led me to

---

[23] Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37 (1980): 181-2

[24] F. Clifford-Vaughan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society: The Decline of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 43 (1974): 76

conclude that the majority of respondents were at least fourth generation Americans and were born in 1958 at the latest. This information suggests that the survey respondents are most likely descended from the earliest wave of Scottish immigrants to America.

Table 1. Age of Respondents (n = 40)

Age	
55 and under	10%
56-65	45%
66-75	32%
Over 75	13%

As Table 1 shows, almost all of respondents to the survey of members of Scottish-American organizations reported being age 56 or older.

Table 2. Recency of Emigration (n = 40)

Who in your family most recently emigrated from Scotland?	
My mother/father	2%
My grandparents	8%
My great-grandparents	25%
Any generation before my great-grandparents	50%
I don't know	15%

As Table 2 demonstrates, half of all respondents reported that their ancestors emigrated from Scotland to America more than three generations ago. This statistic is important because it shows that those individuals who value their Scottish heritage enough to join a Scottish-American organization are primarily descended from the Scots who participated in this early wave of migration to North America. This is evident because the great-great-grandparents and earlier ancestors of individuals who are now at least 56 years old were born in the early nineteenth century at the latest.

Survey respondents were asked why their Scottish heritage is important to them and were given a list of possible answers to choose from. *Respondents were asked to circle all answers they felt applied to them.* Therefore, the percentages in Table 3 do not add up to 100 percent but

rather demonstrate what percentage of the 40 survey respondents reported that particular answer applied to them.

Table 3. Reasons for Importance of Scottish Heritage (n=40)

Why is your Scottish heritage important to you?	
I'm proud of the contributions Scots made to the founding of America	65%
I find it interesting	65%
I feel a strong connection to my lineage	58%
I'm proud of Scottish contributions to the world	50%
I'm proud of Scottish military accomplishments	35%
It was part of my upbringing	33%
It's not important to me	3%

As Table 3 shows, the majority of survey respondents reported their pride in the contributions Scots made to the founding of America as one of the two most common reasons why their Scottish heritage is important to them. This statistic is important because it suggests that the actions of the earliest Scottish-Americans have played an integral role in shaping the identities of contemporary Scottish-Americans. The second most common reported reason why their Scottish heritage is important to respondents' is the feeling of a strong connection to the respondent's lineage. This statistic shows the importance early Scottish-Americans continue to have to contemporary Scottish-Americans because it has already been demonstrated that the ancestors of the majority of survey respondents immigrated to America during this early period of Scottish movement.

Ethnic Organizations

The creation of their ethnic organizations has been instrumental in strengthening Scottish-Americans' ties to Scotland and to each other. The first Scottish ethnic organization in America was called the Saint Andrew's Society of Charleston, founded in South Carolina in 1729. According to the preamble of the Society's rules in 1730, the purpose of the society was

"to promote some Publick Good, by the joint endeavours of a Number of People, where particular Men are well dispos'd to do Generous and Charitable Actions."[25] Members of the Society would raise funds and administer aid to members of the Scottish community in America who had fallen upon hard times. This often meant financially supporting a widow and providing resources to a newly arrived family until they were able to settle. The current president of the Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York has shared that "the Society's foundings are based on the original concept of the church poor box. It was recognizing that some of the community had done very well, some were in great need."[26] Because Society in Charleston was thriving, other Saint Andrew's Societies began to form along the East Coast of the United States beginning with Savannah, Georgia in 1750, New York in 1756, and Philadelphia in 1847.[27] The settlement of the West resulted in the formation of more Societies across the country, with the first Society in California being formed in San Francisco in 1883. There are forty-two Saint Andrew's Societies across America today. Each of them remains committed to a philanthropic cause in some way, whether it is providing financial support to fellow Scots or Scottish-Americans like the original Saint Andrew's Society did or allocating college scholarships to young Highland dancers or bagpipe players.

The Society's activities eventually grew to include opportunities for education about and celebration of Scottish history and culture. Many of the Societies regularly host lectures on topics such as Scottish Gaelic, Scotch whiskey, and famous battles. These lectures are open to members and occasionally open to the public. Other events include fundraising banquets (which

---

[25] "About Us," Saint Andrew's Society of Charleston, accessed January 2, 2015, http://standrewssocietyofcharlestonsc.org/about-us/

[26] "SASNY Video," Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York, accessed January 2, 2015, http://www.standrewsny.org/content/sasny-video

[27] "History and Purpose," Saint Andrew's Society of Los Angeles, accessed January 2, 2015, http://www.saintandrewsla.org/about-us/

include live Scottish music and dancing and the opportunity to where kilts and sashes) and readings of the works of Scottish poet Robert Burns. The Society also participates in the Tartan Day parade, an annual public event that was created in the 1980s to celebrate Scottish-American heritage. Members who hold leadership positions with the Society regularly meet to discuss event planning, budgeting, membership applications, and philanthropic decision-making.

According to those members I interviewed, each Society is only open to men and each member must apply to the Society in order to become a member. Furthermore, a man may not apply to the Society unless he has been nominated by an existing member. The application must include proof of one's Scottish ancestry through birth, marriage, and immigration records. While all Saint Andrew's Societies were inspired by the original Society in Charleston, there are not linked in any way other than by name.

The Daughters of Scotia and the Caledonian Club are two other popular Scottish-American societies. Like the Saint Andrew's Society, the Daughters of Scotia is a single-gender organization. Unlike the various Saint Andrew's Societies, Daughters of Scotia is organized into "lodges" and governed by an authoritative body called the Grand Lodge. The first lodge was formed in 1895 and there are now thirty-four lodges nationwide. All members must claim to have Scottish ancestry or be married to someone who does, but this does not need to be proved through records. According to the Daughters of Scotia LinkedIn page, the women of the organization are brought together by their "love of Auld Scotia—its history, tradition and ideals, it romance, music and enchanting beauty."[28] Like the Saint Andrew's Society, the Daughters of Scotia also fundraise for causes they fee are important to them. The Caledonian Club was first formed in 1830 in New York. The organization accepts members with or without Scottish

[28] "Group Profile," Daughters of Scotia, accessed January 2, 2015 https://www.linkedin.com/groups/Daughters-Scotia-1796731/about

ancestry and of any gender, and also supports philanthropic causes. All three of these organizations plan and host Scottish Highland Games in their region. Scottish Highland Games are a series of gatherings held between the months of February and October which showcase traditional Scottish athletic events including the caber toss, weight-over-the-bar, sheaf toss, and others, as well as traditional Scottish performing arts events including Highland dance competitions, bagpipes and drums competitions, and live Celtic bands. Other components of the Scottish Highland Games may include a drum major competition (in which competitors perform stunts using a metal staff), lectures on topics such as Scottish genealogy or the Gaelic language, and vendors selling Scottish food and merchandise such as haggis, meat pies, kilts, and jewelry. All Scottish Highland Games are open to the public for the price of about $15 or $20 per day. Games are typically held on the weekends, and individuals who compete or sell merchandise at the Games usually attend most if not all or the events held in their regional area. Scottish Highland Games are held in every state in America and many international locations, including Scotland, of course. They are a major part of the performance of Scottish ethnic identity and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. These are the three primary Scottish-American organizations, but other regional organizations such as Scottish societies or Celtic clubs are also available for Scottish-Americans to join.

In addition to these general organizations, Scottish-Americans whose ancestors were members of clans have the option of joining a clan organization in the United States. Although the clan system discussed earlier primarily functioned in the Scottish Highlands, there were also some very powerful clans in the Lowlands. It should be noted that not all Scots or Scottish-Americans are descended from clans. Some of the most prominent clan names include McDonald, Bruce, Wallace, Campbell, McGregor, and Graham. Clan organizations in America serve as a way for the descendants of specific clans to come together to learn about their

ancestors and celebrate their shared heritage and history. Like the Daughters of Scotia, there is often a national branch of each clan organization that oversees the activities of regional branches. Individuals do not need to prove their relation to the clan in order to become members of the clan organization, although it is generally assumed that members are indeed descended from the original clan. It is an unspoken rule that individuals should not join a clan unless they are descended from that clan. As a result, there is sometimes the perception that all members of a clan organization are related by blood or at least had ancestors who lived on the same land. The importance of clan organizations will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Table 4. Reasons and Expectations for Membership (n= 40)

Why did you choose to become a member of your Scottish cultural organization(s) and to what extent have your expectations have been met?					
	Exceeded	Met	Somewhat Met	Not Met	Did not have expectations
I wanted to participate in the organization's activities	33%	58%	7%	-	2%
I wanted to learn more about Scottish culture	30%	49%	14%	2%	5.4%
Some of my friends and/or family were already members	29%	26%	17%	6%	22%
I wanted to meet people who shared my interests	26%	54%	13%	-	7%
I wanted to learn more about my clan	22%	41%	11%	8%	18%

Table 4 demonstrates how wanting to participate in the organization's activities is the primary reason respondents reported choosing to become a member of their Scottish cultural organization. The second most common reason respondents reported is wanting to learn more about Scottish culture. Keeping in mind that the majority of Scottish-American organizations' activities involve sustaining the cultural and philanthropic practices of their ancestors, both of

these statistics are important because they show how contemporary Scottish-Americans value the preserving these practices.

Table 5. Number of Cultural Organizations (n = 40)

How many Scottish cultural organizations do you belong to?	
1	45%
2	32%
3	15%
4	8%

As demonstrated in Table 5, the most common number of cultural organizations survey respondents belong to is one. This statistic makes sense because 91% of respondents reported that their expectation of wanting to participate in the organization's activities was met or exceeded. Because each organization's activities are often fairly similar, becoming a member of only one organization would fulfill this expectation.

The Importance of Scottish-American Kinship

Aside from their shared Scottish ancestry, a strong sense of kinship has continually connected Scottish-Americans over the course of centuries. Scottish-Americans' conceptions of kinship are unique because they draw from both traditional Scottish and contemporary American ideas about kinship. According to anthropologist David Schneider,

> In many primitive… societies a… number of… institutions are organized and built as parts of the kinship system itself. Thus the major social units of the society may be kin groups… [which] may also be the property-owning units, the political units, the religious units, and so on. Thus, whatever a man does in such a society he does as kinsman of one kind or another.[29]

This description of the role of kinship in "primitive societies" parallels the description of the role in kinship in the Scottish clan system. All major aspects of clan society (economic,

[29] David Schneider, "Preface," *American Kinship*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968): vii

military, geographic, cultural, and religious) were determined by the individual's kinship relationship to a particular clan chief. The chief's biological kin lived and worked on his land, fought in his armies, paid him rent and provided him with the products of their labor, and practiced his religion (whether Catholic or Protestant). The chief even inherits his position within the clan from his father or other male ancestor. As a result, kinship essentially determined the clansman's experience within society. The idea of society whose structure is formed according to kinship relations evokes a kind of closeness and personal solidarity among its members. The idea of this kind of society can appeal to many Scottish-Americans because it contrasts so starkly with the minimal role of kinship in contemporary American society. By David Schneider's lights, the institutions bound by kinship in "primitive societies" "are quite clearly differentiated from each other" in the United States, where

> One owns property in one's own right and enters into economic relations where one chooses and according to rules which are supposed to be quite clear from the constraints of kinship… And one goes to a church of one's own choosing, following the dictates of one's conscience and not the dictates of one's kinship group…

While American society emphasizes independent decision-making, private property ownership, and religious freedom, the power of the individual can create a lack of the kind of unity and sense of belonging "primitive societies" like the clan system offer. This may be why membership in ethnic organizations that foster unity and belonging has become a popular way for many Scottish-Americans to express their ethnic identity and form relationships with other likeminded individuals. In a way, this membership is driven by nostalgia and a longing for Scotland's romantic past, in which the clan chief protected and provided for his clansmen in return for their loyalty and support. By being a member of an organization that celebrates this

past, a Scottish-American can find the kind of solidarity with others they may not experience in other aspects of their lives due to the often independent, individual nature of American society.

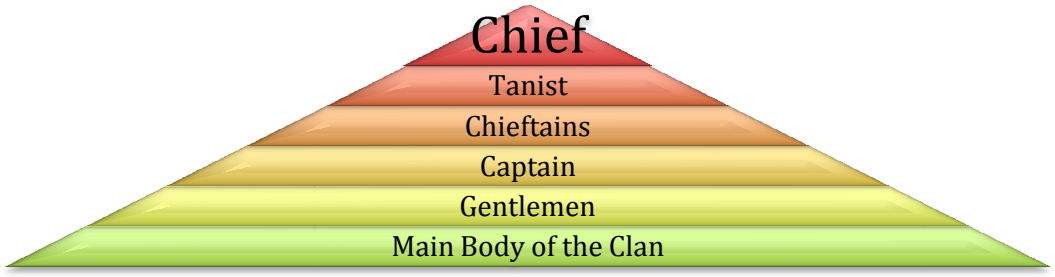
According to Schneider, "in American cultural conception, kinship is defined as biogenetic," meaning that it is dependent on the individual's "biogenetic substance" or DNA as created by the contributions of each of the individual's parents.[30] As a result, "the real, true, verifiable facts of nature [otherwise known as the individual's biogenetic substance] are what the cultural formulation [of kinship] is." But Scottish-American ideas of kinship complicate this anthropological understanding of kinship in America. While it is sometimes believed that all members of a clan share a biogenetic connection through a common ancestor, the centuries that may have passed since that ancestor was alive make the affiliation among clan members today more about a shared feeling of belonging rather than any blood relationship they may share. This feeling of belonging is inspired by the understanding that each clan member's ancestors lived and worked on the same land, fought in the same battles, and had social relationships with the same people as the ancestors of any other member of that clan. It is that understanding that creates a sense of kinship among clan members. In this way Scottish-American kinship differs from general anthropological concepts of how kinship in America is experienced.

Scottish-American organizations emphasis on kinship is directly inspired by the clan system. First, many organizations are structured in the same way the clan was structured. The table below demonstrates how clans were organized according to the "Celtic interpretation of the Norman feudal system," which was essentially a hierarchy based on kinship.[31]

---

[30] Ibid., pg. 23

[31] F. Clifford-Vaughan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society: The Decline of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 43 (1974): 75



Each position in the hierarchy was determined by the individual's kinship relationship to the chief. The tanist, for example, always shared a direct male ancestor with the chief. The tanist held his position as advisor to the chief for life. Similarly, each progressing level within the chart above was determined in some way by the individual's kinship ties to the chief, and each individual's responsibilities within the clan society were determined by the chief. Scottish-American societies are modeled in a similar way. Even though most members are not related by blood, their positions within the organization are often determined by the closeness they may feel to other office-holding members. A single primary leader who might be called a President, a Chief Daughter or even a Chief leads each Scottish-American organization. This position is not hereditary but, rather, democratic. Other leadership positions within the organization might include a membership coordinator, a treasurer, a fundraising chair, a Highland Games chair, and others. According to the individuals I interviewed, almost all of who had held at least one of these positions during their membership of an organization, those who hold leadership positions tend to feel a distinct closeness to one another.

For some, this closeness resembles a form of kinship. Angie, a member who had held a number of leadership positions for many years, spoke about the ways in which her organization had created a sense of kinship for her after she had recently gotten a divorce and both of her children had begun independent lives. "I was building a family and that was what this organization meant to me. It's like having aunts and uncles and… brothers. It was extended

family for me," she explained. Angie felt like her fellow organization members were like kin to her because they worked closely together to create a mission statement for the organization, expand the Highland Games they host, and learn about their Scottish ancestry. They had spent a lot of time as a group discussing the things that were important to them and collaborating to sustain a successful organization. In this way, their relationship simulates the kind of relationships found in the original clan system. Each position is brought together by closeness, leadership, and the common interest of the larger group, whether it be the main body of the clan or the entirety of the Caledonian Club. Either way, members of the group benefit from a feeling of unity and association with others.

As discussed earlier, clan organizations in the United States are entirely based on the clan kinship system. Membership is determined by which clan one's ancestors were part of. Consequently, the idea of kinship continues to play a central role in clan organizations. Jack is the president of his clan's national organization in the United States. Even though his role as president includes organizing and leading events, membership, and distribution of information to clan members nationwide, he spoke to me about how kinship inspired him to explore his clan organization.

> One year my brother came back from the Scottish Games… and he said, "Hey Jack, you know we have a clan?" I said, "No." He visited the [clan] tent up there and found out about [the clan] and the Scottish heritage. So I started… being very interested in that, because I am very interested in my genealogy and my background, and interviewed my… grandparents.

Jack's connection to his clan organization was inspired by kinship in three ways. First, Jack's brother was the person who gave him information about the clan. Second, Jack's previous interest in genealogy (which is the research of kinship relations) motivated him to dig deeper into

his family history to look for more of a connection with the clan. Finally, Jack interviewed some of his immediate kin, his grandparents, in order to discover what they knew about the clan and their family's connection to it. Since becoming a member of the clan organization, it has become increasingly important to Jack to encourage his other family members to become involved in the organization. However, he recognizes that simply having a kinship connection to the clan is not always enough to persuade people to join. In order for a Scottish-American to be motivated to join an ethnic organization, he or she must also have a passion for Scottish history, culture, music, traditional dress or even food. It is the coupling of Scottish kinship and a desire to learn and celebrate all things that Scottish that truly inspires and sustains membership in Scottish-American organizations.

The creation of the Scottish diaspora is a complex, compelling story of adversity, perseverance, and community. The establishment of Nova Scotia led to a pattern of productivity and resourcefulness in Scots in North America. The Covenanters' quest for religious refuge and their layman-based practices helped to build a foundation for Scottish-Americans to continue to feel connected to Scotland while also forming a sense of solidarity among themselves. The Highlanders' journey to escape the often violent expulsion from their chiefs' land contributed to an awareness of shared persecution and struggle among their American descendants. Moreover, observations of cultural practices in the areas of the United States where the Highlanders settled show how a distinct sense of Scottish identity has remained strong many generations after the Highlanders' emigration from the homeland. The establishment of the Saint Andrew's Society and other organizations like it demonstrates Scottish-Americans' perception of responsibility and kindness towards one another, as well as their pride in the traditions of their ancestors. Furthermore, these organizations have been integral in inspiring Scottish-Americans' interest in

learning about Scotland, forming relationships with one another, and working together to achieve great things for the organization such as the popular Highland games and increased membership. The Scottish-American community's emphasis on kinship provides a kind of comforting sanctuary from the individuality of mainstream American society. The relationships formed among active members of the community are strong and intimate, firmly rooted in traditional Scottish ideas of kinship and connectedness. Scottish-Americans who are passionate about their heritage and identity have made a major contribution to the richly diverse ethnic makeup of America. They are proud of their past, and continue to connect it to the present.

CHAPTER TWO

“The Mighty Atlantic”: White Ethnicity in America

The brightness of the lights
As they stretch across the water
The excitement of the night
As we're carried through the seas
There's a welcome lies in store
The strongest arms I've ever known
In the homes of the mighty Atlantic

- “The Mighty Atlantic,” Runrig

America is a nation almost entirely composed of the descendants of immigrants, who joined Native Americans throughout history. When they voyaged to America, these immigrants brought with them the cultural traditions and ideals from their original homeland. Upon first settling in their new home, immigrants may have lived, worked, and raised families in neighborhoods that allowed them to primarily interact with others who shared these traditions and ideals. But as time has passed and generations have become farther removed from the original immigrant ancestors, American families have moved away from these ethnic neighborhoods and into neighborhoods in which they live among American from differing immigrant backgrounds. Furthermore, their ancestors' traditions and ideals may slowly decline as the American family becomes more and more immersed in the traditions and ideals of their new home. Founded in the 1970s, the white ethnic movement has become an outlet through which Americans descended from European immigrants can make efforts to preserve the culture of their ancestors and maintain a distinct ethnic identity. In this chapter I will argue that Scottish-American organizations gained popularity, became more formally, and shifted the focus of their activities from social aid to the preservation of cultural practices as a result of the emergence of the white ethnic movement. I will also explore the various theories about how this movement was originally inspired.

Scots and Other European Immigrants in Twentieth Century America

Although seventeenth and eighteenth century Scottish immigration to the United States laid roots for the Scottish-American community, the early twentieth century's ushering in of thousands of new Scots unprecedentedly strengthened the community's presence. According to historian Rowland Berthoff, the 1920s saw "unparalleled immigration of one hundred and sixty

thousand Scots," which led to "the consequent growth of the Scottish-born in the United States to a peak of three hundred and fifty thousand in 1930."[32] This immigration was largely spurred by opportunities for employment in industrial positions in American urban hubs. These opportunities also inspired the immigration of numerous other white ethnic groups including those from Eastern and Southern Europe. Each of these groups created their own communities within urban America, delineating themselves into distinct neighborhoods with distinct news publications, food markets, languages, and cultural traditions. Most members of these immigrant groups held blue collar jobs and were what the head of the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs at the Catholic University of America called "the backbone of the workforce in most of our Northern industrial cities, mining towns, and manufacturing cities."[33] Each white ethnic group contributed to early twentieth century culture in the United States in its own way, remaining diverse by "gather[ing] in ethnic neighborhoods, creat[ing] ethnic voluntary organizations, and impart[ing] to their sons and daughters the old traditions and identifications of their past lives."[34]

For unknown reasons, Scottish immigrants to America during the early twentieth century "seldom joined the ethnic societies" that were interested in their membership, such as the Saint Andrew's Society and Daughters of Scotia.[35] Membership for these organizations primarily consisted of Scottish-Americans whose ancestors had voyaged to America in the early waves of Scottish immigration. General popularity of Scottish organizations and activities declined for a period of about forty years, contributed to in part by the passing of immigration legislation which greatly decreased numbers of European immigrants to the United States beginning in the 1930s. Like many early twentieth century European immigrants, the Scots raised children and

---

[32] Rowland Berthoff, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982): 13
[33] Perry Weed, "Definitions by Three Major Spokesmen," *The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics*, (New York: Preager, 1973): 14
[34] Mary Waters, *Ethnic Options*, (Berkeley, University of California, 1990): 3
[35] Rowland Berthoff, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982): 13

grandchildren in America. Although many of these immigrants originally settled in urban areas which were often delineated into a range of ethnic enclaves, the creation and expansion of the suburbs in post-World War II America resulted in the eventual dispersion and merging of these various ethnic groups in the same neighborhood.[36] Consequently, the idea of the "melting pot" used to describe the blending of various ethnic ingredients to create a single flavorful soup came to the forefront of America's social conscious. The descendants of the wave of early twentieth European immigrants were now several generations removed from their ancestral homeland and now lived, worked, and went to school with descendants of immigrants from other areas of Europe.

The question of the sustainability of cultural distinctiveness among these descendants became very real in the ensuing three decades. What would happen to the ethnic identities of first-, second-, and third-generation European-Americans? Scholars generally fell into one of two camps: the "assimilationist" and the "pluralist." According to sociologist Mary Waters, the assimilationists "argued that for later generations of Americans, further removed in time from the original immigrants, ties to the ethnic group are increasingly less important" and European ethnic groups would eventually become homogenously white.[37] The pluralists, on the other hand, argued that "ethnic assimilation is not *inevitable*" and descendants of early twentieth century European immigrants would "maintain some degree of identity with their ethnic backgrounds" for decades after their ancestors' initial arrival in the United States.[38] Scholars of the mid to late twentieth century coined the term "white ethnics" to describe "the child, grandchild, great-grandchild, etc., of European immigrants, thus still regarding himself, on some occasions and for some purposes, as a German, an Irishman, an Italian, a Pole, or a Jew [, etc.] Also, of course, as

[36] Perry Weed, "Definitions by Three Major Spokesmen," *The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics*, (New York: Preager, 1973): 14
[37] Mary Waters, *Ethnic Options*, (Berkeley, University of California, 1990): 4
[38] Ibid., 5,3

an American."[39] In other words, "white ethnics" are those Americans who also somehow identify with their European ancestry. They are distinct from those Americans who do not define themselves by their European heritage and also distinct from those ethnics whose ancestry is not European.

Sociologist Mary Waters argues that part of the experience of being a white ethnic is being able to choose which component(s) of their ancestry an individual engages with or identifies with. According to Waters, "often people know that their ancestors are from many different backgrounds, yet for one reason or another they identify with only some, or in some cases none, of their ancestors" but "whites enjoy a great deal of freedom in these choices; those defined in 'racial' terms as non-whites much less."[40] It certainly is true that almost all the individuals I interviewed mentioned having ancestors who had emigrated from other places in Europe besides Scotland, and some even spoke to me about their decision to participate in the Scottish-American community as opposed to other ethnic communities they might belong to. Having more than one ethnic group to choose from when it comes to self-identification provides an opportunity for cultural exploration and experimentation that individuals whose ancestors hail from a single ethnic group do not have. However, I disagree with Waters's notion that white ethnics uniquely privileged in their ability to choose which ethnic group that wish to identify with if their ancestry is mixed. When I interviewed Mark, an office-holding member of a national clan organization, he explained to me that while he is white, his wife is "Filipino, Chinese, and Spanish." As a result, his children are biracial and have several ethnic groups to choose from. Mark told me that when his "dark-haired, olive-complected" son "got married, it was full Scottish wedding, with [the family's clan] tartan being worn by even all his

[39] Perry Weed, "Components of the Movement," *The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics*, (New York: Preager, 1973): 13
[40] Waters, 19, 18

groomsmen." Even though Mark's son's appearance and ancestry can be categorized as "non-white" (to use Waters's term), he is clearly exercising his choice when it comes to identifying with and participating in the traditions a particular ethnic group when he has several to choose from. Mark's son demonstrates that individuals of mixed ancestry have the privilege of making this kind of choice, as Waters describes, but (contrary to Waters's belief) this choice is not limited to white ethnics.

Scholarly Approaches to White Ethnicity and the Complication of the "WASP"

Until recent decades, the topic of white ethnicity and variation among members of the white racial group in general has largely been left unaddressed by social scholars. According to sociologist Ashley Doane, this gap in research and discourse is largely due to the fact that "the evolution of the field of race and ethnic relations has been shaped by the power of the political interests and general worldview of the dominant group. The result is… a social discourse on ethnicity—in which the nature of dominant group ethnicity is deemphasized or overlooked entirely."[41] Social scholars have primarily belonged to the dominant (otherwise known as "white") group and because "ethnicity has been viewed solely as an attribute of subordinate or 'minority' groups, and ethnic group has become 'synonymous with minority'" a research focus on ethnicity among whites could mean confiscating the dominant status this group has historically held within the United States. As a result, scholars have traditionally shied away from studies of white ethnicity.

Doane also suggests that white ethnicity has not been a popular scholarly topic because "dominant group members are less likely to be reminded of social and cultural differences on a

[41] Ashley Doane, "Dominant Group Ethnic Identity in the United States: The Role of 'Hidden' Ethnicity in Intergroup Relations," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38.3 (1997) 382

day-to-day basis, less likely to have their identity anchored in overtly ethnic institutions and social structures, and less likely to have experienced prejudice, discrimination, or disadvantage due to ethnicity or race." [42] If their own ethnicity is not a factor often considered by dominant scholars, then the idea of studying this factor might never have occurred to them. Because "dominant group culture assumes normative status and group customs and practices are built into a 'mainstream' culture that is not overtly linked to a particular ethnic group," scholars may not have been inclined to study a cultural area they might believe is already well understood or to recognize that 'mainstream' culture is in fact contributed to by a wide range of subcultures derived from ethnicity.[43]

Scottish-Americans hold a unique position on what some scholars call the spectrum of the "slippery qualities of whiteness."[44] In some ways, Scottish-Americans fall into the category of WASP, or White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. WASPs are commonly believed to hold the most dominant position within American society due to the fact that that they were one of the first ethnic/cultural groups to have arrived and gained power in North America and therefore played a major role in shaping America's governmental system, language tradition, and 'mainstream' religious beliefs. As a result, they have faced few, if any, constraints as a group in this country. Scottish-Americans are WASPs in a number of senses. They have never been considered to be any race other than white and never been discriminated against because of this exclusion from the white category (unlike "new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Catholics, Jews, rural peasants, the Irish and most other working-class subjects [who] had seldom been deemed white.").[45] The majority of Scottish immigrants to the United States spoke English as their first

[42] Ibid., pg. 377
[43] Ibid., pg. 378
[44] Anoop Nayak, "Critical Whiteness Studies," *Sociology Compass* ½ (2007): 743
[45] Ibid., pg. 739

language. As a result, very few Scots have had to face language barriers as part of their settlement in America. In addition, the majority of Scottish immigrants have been Protestants, and therefore they have not faced any religious discrimination as part of the acculturation process. Finally, Scottish-Americans have not faced some of the challenges other white ethnic groups have had to face, such as sociologist Andrew Greeley's concept of the "mobility pyramid" that can quickly transform into the "mobility trap." According to Greeley, "because the ethnic subcommunity is, at least if it's big enough, a comprehensive structure, it is possible for an upwardly mobile professional… to build his career almost entirely within its confines."[46] In other words, an individual is capable of financial and social success by building his career within his ethnic community if it is big enough for him to do so. This "mobility pyramid" becomes a trap when an individual moves up very rapidly within their ethnic community but "finds the door closed to him for more meaningful mobility outside" of the community or when an individual who has great professional prestige in his ethnic community may not be taken seriously compared to similar professionals from the dominant group.[47] The Scottish-American community is large enough and similar enough to the dominant WASP group that the mobility trap has not been an issue they have faced.

In other ways, however, Scottish-Americans do not fall so closely to the WASP category on the spectrum of white ethnicity as some may think. Though the majority of Scottish immigrants spoke English as their first language, many also spoke Gaelic and some spoke Gaelic exclusively (depending on when and from which area of Scotland they emigrated). This not only led to some language barriers for these immigrants but also a community crisis about if and how the Gaelic language should be preserved. This is not an issue the WASP group has encountered

[46] Andrew M. Greeley, "The Functions of Ethnicity," *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971) 50
[47] Ibid., pg. 51

in the United States. Secondly, although the majority of Scots were and still are Protestant, many Scots were and still are Catholics (again, depending on when and from which area of Scotland they or their ancestors emigrated from). Unlike most other white ethnic groups, this means that there is a religious division within the Scottish-American ethnic group, a point of tension in the claiming of Scottish-American identity because "religious denomination is a strong force creating a social location and an identity for [Americans]."[48]

Finally, as discussed in Chapter One, early Scots faced the extreme challenges of being violently forced to leave their homes and killed for their religious beliefs before fleeing to the North American colonies for safety. Once there, these immigrants made brave efforts to preserve their ways of life under the trying circumstances of creating their own settlements in unfamiliar territory. According to Greeley, "it might be easier to understand the problems of the new immigrant groups if we were somewhat more aware of how older immigrant groups coped with their problems at a similar state in the acculturation process… There are certain similarities in the process through which all immigrant groups must pass in American society."[49] Although Scottish-Americans may have faced struggles different from those of later white ethnic groups, they faced struggles that were unique from the experience of immigrants who were entirely WASP. Keeping in mind the ways in which Scottish-Americans are both similar to and different from WASPs, it can be concluded that Scottish-Americans are white ethnics who, in most ways, also hold the dominant status WASPs hold in American society.

The White Ethnic Movement

[48] Ibid., pg. 83
[49] Ibid., pg. 34

What is known as the "white ethnic movement" first emerged in the 1970s as an increased interest among descendants of European immigrants in creating a newfound appreciation for their ancestors' cultural traditions and, for some, calling attention to the economic and social needs of their still predominantly blue-collar community. The reestablishment and reinspired awareness of political interest groups, publications, and cultural organizations for various white ethnic groups in America from Italians to Germans to Eastern European Jews became a progressive phenomenon during the 1970s, and Scottish-Americans were no exception, and "as the immigrant community gradually melted away, whole new categories of self-professed Scots, many of whom… were generations removed from Scotland, took over old institutions and founded new ones, some of kinds virtually unknown before."[50] All but three of the now hundreds of clan organizations were formed after 1950, most of them after 1970. The white ethnic movement also included the creation Council of Scottish Clan & Associations in 1974, which became the governing body for all clan organizations, Saint Andrew's Societies, Daughters of Scotia, Caledonian Clubs, and others.

Clan organizations in particular provided an ideal outlet for Scottish-American members of the white ethnic movement because they "could turn anyone's claim to Scottish ancestry, however remote, into a quite tangible place in one of a hundred special tribes of putative kinsmen, each with its distinctive uniform, ancient rivalries, and old-country district."[51] Becoming a member of a clan organization allowed a Scottish-American to lay claim to a set of cultural traditions and ideas (such as wearing their clan tartan and feeling a sense of kinship with other members of the clan, which will be discussed further in the next chapter) that had dwindled since the time of their ancestors' arrival in the United States. This claim made it possible for

[50] Rowland Berthoff, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982): 14
[51] Ibid., 20

Scottish-Americans to reassert an ethnic identity unique from other white ethnic groups, non-white ethnic groups, and the greater assimilated American culture. As a result, the establishment of clan organizations furthered the white ethnic movement's goal of emphasizing the importance of a distinct sense of self for Americans of European descent.

The purpose of other Scottish-American organizations such as the Saint Andrew's Society began to change during the 1970s. According to historian Rowland Berthoff, "societies that had been organized long before to help poor newcomers from Scotland and to dine on Saint Andrew's Day or Burns Night now turned to 'cultural activities': studying 'Scottish traditions in literature and music,' offering scholarships for Americans to study at Scottish universities, reading papers on Scottish history."[52] This new prominence of exceptionally Scottish cultural traditions and activities demonstrates the Scottish-American community's commitment to displaying a sense of ethnic identity unique from other white ethnic groups. Pride in and celebration of the practices of one's ancestors was central to the white ethnic movement, and Scottish-Americans participated in this component of the movement by sustaining practices such as the Scottish Highland games (discussed further in the next chapter), giving educational lectures on Scottish culture, and hosting events to raise money for young Scottish Highland dancers and bagpipers. These cultural activities exhibited unity and belonging among members of the Scottish-American community and parallel the white ethnic movement's goals of ethnic identification and preservation for whites.

There are three theories as to what inspired the white ethnic movement. The first, as I have already touched upon, is the idea that the generations further removed from their European ancestors may not have felt ownership of an extraordinary set of cultural experiences in the way their ancestors did. Rather, as a result of assimilation, late twentieth century Irish-Americans

[52] Ibid., 15

may lead life from an almost identical perspective to that of Lithuanian-Americans. These later generations may have become aware of the sameness of their existence in contrast to the existence of their ancestors made unique by certain food, songs, clothing, and other traditions and been motivated to explore this uniqueness before it completely faded away. According to this theory, "pluralistic substructures [such as cultural organizations and publications] have and will continue to function as systems of self-definition, mediation, and interpretation within the larger society" for white ethnics.[53] The creation of institutions which affirm pluralism among white ethnics are believed to have a positive influence on the descendants of European immigrants by allowing them to simultaneously express individuality from mainstream and belonging to their distinct ethnic group.

The second theory about inspiration for the white ethnic movement is a sense of anxiety caused by the increase in immigrants from non-European countries, particularly during periods of mass immigration such as the influx of Puerto Ricans to New York City in the 1950s and '60s. The encroachment on the distinct cultural practices and identities of European ethnic groups was no longer limited to interaction among those groups; yet more cultural groups with even more different practices now lived and worked in spaces previously only inhabited by whites. Differences among whites would no longer be noticeable compared to the differences between whites and nonwhites. White ethnicity in general seemed to face the potential of disintegration. According to economist Perry Weed, "the intensity of one's ethnic attachment frequently corresponds to the strength of perceived threats from the outside."[54] The arrival and settlement of non-European immigrants in what had traditionally been white neighborhoods may have made

[53] Perry Weed, "Components of the Movement," *The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics*, (New York: Preager, 1973): 90

[54] Ibid., 43

white ethnics uneasy about the future of their identities as ethnic groups at all. The fear that all whites may soon be perceived as the same might have motivated white ethnics to reemphasize the cultural differences among them through the creation and sustainability of ethnic organizations, publications, and other resources.

The third and final theory about the inspiration behind the white ethnic movement is that the movement was created in response to the increasing attention paid to the identity and needs of the African-American community via the Civil Rights Movement of the mid to late twentieth century. Because white ethnics had often found themselves "in direct competition in jobs, education, housing, recreation, transportation, and street life" with African-Americans in urban areas, the strides African-Americans made in the 1960s in terms of the passing of the 1965 Civil Rights Act, receiving "special federal assistance for more and better schools, housing, and jobs," and the increasing presence of African-Americans in elected positions may have caused white ethnics some anxiety.[55] As mentioned before, early twentieth century European immigrants and their immediate descendants primarily held blue-collar jobs. Progress in terms of higher education and higher status employment often began with two and three generations after their arrival in the United States.[56] Frustration with their group's overall lack of major progress may have inspired those "who [were] troubled, confused, and angered by the rapidity of the social change taking place around them" as a result of the Civil Rights Movement to create their own movement through which to assert their continued presence and unmet ambitions within American society.[57]

Overall, I have come to the conclusion that the white ethnic movement is derived from white ethnics' need to reassert their dominance over nonwhite groups during a time of major

[55] Ibid., 15, 45
[56] Ibid., 14
[57] Ibid.,17

social change. According to Ashley Doane, "the historical pattern has been for the dominant Anglo American/European American group—or elements within the group—to assert its identity in response to perceived challenges to group hegemony stemming from social changes, migration, or subordinate group mobilization."[58] The white ethnic movement is an example of white ethnics contributing to this pattern by forming their own social movement in a particular historical moment that brought with it upward mobility for nonwhite groups as well as an increase in nonwhites groups in urban areas that had previously been dominated by whites. The 1970's served as a particular period during which white ethnics felt threatened by these groups and responded to this perceived threat by reclaiming both their identity and status within American society. This reclamation is perfectly in line with Doane's observation that "socially dominant groups generally attempt to maintain or increase their position of dominance over other groups in society."[59] Ultimately, the white ethnic movement was a reactionary movement that advocated for the sustainability of white dominance over increasingly successful and prevalent nonwhite ethnic groups.

Voices on White Ethnicity

When I interviewed Angie, who had held a number of leadership positions in a Scottish-American organization for many years, she perfectly described how Scottish-Americans formed their own ethnic identity as part of the larger white ethnic community. According to Angie, "So many Scots… came to the United States and then… you find these ethnic groups… You see the

[58] Ashley Doane, ""Dominant Group Ethnic Identity in the United States: The Role of 'Hidden' Ethnicity in Intergroup Relations," 380
[59] Ibid., pg. 383

Greek organizations, the Italians, the Germans have clubs. We're such a melting pot, people do to get together to form clubs to celebrate their ancestors from their own personal ethnic groups." Angie acknowledges that the Scottish-American community holds a distinct yet equivalent place with other white ethnic communities in American society. Each group gathers together to celebrate the different traditions and histories that make them unique. The sustainability of the practices of their ancestors becomes increasingly important in America's "melting pot" society in which each ingredient mixes with the others to create a cohesive cultural flavor, putting each the flavor of each individual ingredient at risk of being completely absorbed into the rest of the soup. While each group's organization is unique, they all share the goal of preserving their immigrant ancestors' cultural heritage through activities and events. Angie's participation and leadership in a Scottish-American organization works towards the same goal as Greek-American or Italian-American's participation in their own ethnic organization does: the continuation of the ethnic practices that differentiate each group from the greater assimilated American culture.

Joe, a member of multiple Scottish ethnic organizations, also discussed how important cultural preservation can be to American ethnics when he told me, "Americans, we have roots somewhere else… We don't like to [think] of ourselves as sort of culturally bastards, if you will. We like to know… where we come from." Except for Native Americans, all Americans are descended from immigrants who arrived here in the last few centuries. As a result, all of these descendants have another nation that can serve as a source of cultural traditions to draw from. A yearning for a connection to this source is a major part of what the white ethnic movement was about. Joe's idea of a "cultural bastard" might be an individual who feels his or her American culture is unfounded, illegitimate or without substance. In joining ethnic organizations such as the Saint Andrew's Society, Scottish-Americans are attempting to gain knowledge about their

ancestors' cultures, attempting to "know where we come from." The white ethnic movement seems to have been successful in providing many Americans with a thorough set of knowledge about their roots that can result in a feeling of belonging.

America's rich mix of ethnic groups is a major part of what makes it such a complex and dynamic nation. The traditions and values of America's various immigrant populations may have faced the threat of disappearance in the face of cultural assimilation, but the white ethnic movement of the 1970s kept these diverse practices sustainable for generations of Americans to come. The Scottish-American community has made a major contribution to this movement through its establishment of hundreds of clan organizations, a national authoritative body, and its reemphasis on Scottish cultural traditions such as the Highland Games. The white ethnic movement provided the opportunity for the Scots and other groups of European immigrants to highlight the factors that make each of them so unique during a time of profound social change in America in an attempt to mark themselves as culturally distinct from both nonwhite ethnic groups and the mainstream WASP category.

CHAPTER THREE

"Protect and Survive": Performance and Commodification of Scottish Ethnic Identity in America

I tramp these acres and I feel

Once upon a time
Then it seemed that everything
You saw and touched and felt was real
You turned the tap and you turned the wheel
Feeling free

"Protect and Survive," Runrig

Spring marks the beginning of a special time in the Scottish-American community, a time for pride and celebration: Scottish Highland games season. The games are a series of outdoor festivals hosted by local Scottish cultural organizations that attract thousands of visitors from the surrounding area, both Scottish and non-Scottish alike. The experience of the games allows for the performance of Scottish ethnic identity through Scottish athletic events, music and dance performances and competitions, clan exhibits and ceremonies, and wearing of the tartan and

other Scottish clothing items. The numerous merchandise vendors at the games provide opportunities for the commodification of Scottish ethnic identity through the purchase of Scottish food, books, t-shirts, tartans, music, weapons, musical instruments, toys, and many other objects. In general, the Scottish Highland games are the epitome of the expression Scottish ethnic identity as it is practiced in America and are therefore the perfect setting to observe this ethnic community in its most vibrant and distinctive context. In this chapter, I will analyze how the protection and survival of the Scottish cultural practices of wearing of tartan, playing of bagpipes, and participation in the activities of Scotland's ancient clan system within the context of the Highland Games play a role in shaping Scottish ethnic identity. Through this, I will argue that this sense of identity is a shared experience among Scottish-American community members which was inspired by the social changes caused by the Industrial Revolution. Furthermore, I will argue that this shared sense of identity lays the foundation for nationalist perspectives within this community by conveying the story that the Scots are a group that is both distinct from and oppressed by outside forces, specifically the English.

Historical Origins

As the reader may recall from Chapter One, Scottish Highland Games are a series of gatherings held between the months of February and October which showcase traditional Scottish athletic events including the caber toss, weight-over-the-bar, sheaf toss, and others, as well as traditional Scottish performing arts events including Highland dance competitions, bagpipes and drums competitions, and live Celtic bands. Other components of the Scottish Highland Games may include a drum major competition (in which competitors perform stunts using a metal staff), lectures on topics such as Scottish genealogy or the Gaelic language, and vendors selling Scottish food and merchandise such as haggis, meat pies, kilts, and jewelry. All

Scottish Highland Games are open to the public for the price of about $15 or $20 per day. Games are typically held on the weekends, and individuals who compete or sell merchandise at the Games usually attend most if not all or the events held in their regional area. Scottish Highland Games are held in every state in America and many international locations, including Scotland, of course.

Table 7. Expressions of Scottish Heritage (n = 40)

Besides being a member of your Scottish cultural organization(s), how often do you express your Scottish heritage in the following ways?				
	Very often	Somewhat often	Not very often	Never
Recognize Scottish celebrations (such as Robert Burns Night, Tartan Day)[60]	69%	8%	15%	8%
Attend Highland Games	39%	33%	23%	5%
Read about Scottish history and culture	29%	40%	24%	7%
Participate in other Scottish musical traditions	8%	21%	26%	45%
Take classes in/perform Scottish dancing	5%	5%	19%	71%
Learn Scottish Gaelic	3%	3%	33%	61%
Participate in a pipes and drums ensemble	3%	-	7%	90%
Visit Scotland	-	16%	37%	47%

As Table 7 shows, attending Scottish Highland Games was the second most commonly reported way survey respondents express their Scottish heritage (refer to footnote 60 for an explanation of my choice to focus on this specific statistic). This statistic proves that an understanding of the Scottish Highland Games I will develop in this chapter is critical to understanding Scottish-Americans' overall expression of identity as well as the cultural practices that are most important to them. This table also shows that relatively few respondents reported actually *participating* in the cultural activities that are included in the performance aspects of a Scottish Games such as musical traditions, dancing, and pipes and drums ensembles. Keeping in

[60] I had expected the attendance of Highland Games would be the most commonly reported answer for this survey question, not the recognition of Scottish celebrations. Because the ethnographic components of my research focused on the Games, I have chosen to highlight them in this chapter rather than highlighting Scottish celebrations (despite the fact that the celebrations are a reportedly more common form of expression of heritage for those Scottish-Americans surveyed).

mind the statistics in this table, it can be concluded that a discussion of the overall significance of Scottish Highland Games (with some focus on its defining cultural elements) is important to this paper's exploration of what characterizes the Scottish-American community and unites its members.

While some may believe the Scottish Highland Games are a particularly ancient aspect of Scottish tradition, these festivals did not emerge in Scotland until the Victorian era of the mid to late nineteenth century, during which Scotland experienced an overall renewed interest in its romantic character and scenery. This interest was largely inspired by the popular works of Sir Walter Scott, whose epic tales of glory and romance in Scotland (including such stories as *Rob Roy* and *The Lady of the Lake*) were widely read throughout the United Kingdom and the world. It is important to note that both the United Kingdom and the United States were experiencing a major period of change during this time in the form of the Industrial Revolution. In Scotland, this change caused waves of migrants from Highland Scotland to seek work in Lowland production hubs such as Glasgow. In America, this change resulted in an influx of European immigrants (including from Scotland) as well as migrants flocking to cities from rural settings, as discussed in Chapter Two. Consequently, both British and American urban populations found inspiration and refuge in the "revival of old village customs, a generation or more after the final collapse of the Gaelic clan society."[61] The Highland games provided a nostalgic outlet for the "otherwise hard-headed Scots of the urban-industrial age, at home or abroad." The revival of Scottish athletic events such as the caber toss and weight-for-distance, as well as Scottish art forms such as Highland dancing and bagpipe performance, became a source of leisure and escape for the masses whose lives were dedicated to industry and production. The games evoked a longing for

[61] Rowland Berthoff, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982): 8

the pastoral lifestyle of the past and the cultural distinctions made among groups of people before the fusion of laborers for the sake of mass production.

One of the reasons why the emergence of the Highland games during the nineteenth century is significant is that it inspired a recovery of forms of cultural expression that had been banned or suffered a decline after the Scots' horrific defeat at the hands of the English at the Battle of Culloden in 1745. In many ways, the Highland games are perceived as a form of **protection** and **survival** of Scottish culture in the face of English domination. The aftermath of the Scots' loss resulted in three major changes to life in the Scottish Highlands that are often used as key examples in discussing the history of the Scots as an oppressed people: the banning of tartan dress, the supposed banning of the bagpipes, and the mass exodus of Scottish clan members that was the Highland Clearances. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the significance of tartan, bagpipes performances, and the clan system as they are practiced at the games. This discussion will explore the ways in which the Highland games have served as the framework for Scottish-Americans' expression of their ethnic identity as part of their larger understanding of Scottish history and community.

Tartan

The tartan is perhaps the universally known symbol of Scotland. Its distinct plaid patterns, bright colors, and the skirt-like form it often takes when worn in the style of the kilt can be observed being worn by Scots and those of Scottish descent in parades, at formal events and celebrations, and, of course, at Highland Games.

The Jacobite Risings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a profound effect on the practice of tartan wearing in Scotland. The English and Scottish crowns found themselves sharing an heir in King James VII of Scotland and II of England, a practicing Catholic and the son of Mary Queen of Scots. James' daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, were

Protestants living in the Netherlands when they decided to overthrow James and take control of both the Scottish and English crowns.[62] As a result, James' devout Catholic followers in Scotland (most of whom were Highlanders) began a series of rebellious acts and battles to restore their beloved king to the throne starting in 1689. At the end of the Jacobite Risings which culminated at the Battle of Culloden in 1745, thousands of Scots had lost their lives in vain as the Protestants remained in power. These events marked the beginning of a major period of Anglicization that presented substantial challenges for the survival of Scotland's traditional way of life.

The Act of Proscription, which was passed by British Parliament in 1747, posed the greatest number of restrictions to this way of life. In addition to creating other restrictions on Scottish communities, this piece of legislation forbade Scots from wearing kilts, other tartan clothing items such as trousers or shoulder belts, and any tartan cloth or face six months of imprisonment.[63] These forms of clothing were a central part of daily life in the Scottish Highlands and their banning created a distinct sense of English control. The Act was eventually repealed in 1782 and Highland dress was resumed in Scotland, but not as part of everyday wear. Rather, Highland dress became appropriate attire for formal occasions only. In addition, tartans generally became luxury goods and status symbols due to the amount of labor required to produce them.

As we have already discussed, the Industrial Revolution followed in the next few decades after the repeal of the Act of Proscription. With this focus on urbanization and mass production came a contrasting interest in romanticized ideas of a pastoral, simple Scotland conveyed by the

---

[62] Education Scotland. "Jacobite Risings." Scotland's History. http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scotlandshistory/jacobitesenlightenmentclearances/jacobiterisings/index.asp

[63] T.B. Johnston and James A. Robertson, "The Disarming Act, 1746" *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1899) 46.

likes of Sir Walter Scott and other authors. Because of its connection to imaginings of an English-free, bucolic, pre-Culloden Scotland, the tartan soon became a symbol of Scottish tradition and escape from industrial life. This veneration of the tartan as a physical representation of the wild and free Scotland of the idealized past resulted is what Richard Zumkhawala-Cook calls "commodity nationalism." [64] Commodity nationalism allows "Scottishness" to be "regarded as something not only to be seen or observed but to be owned, as an artifact and as a very part of who you are." In purchasing and wearing a piece of tartan clothing, the individual expresses his or her identification with the nation of Scotland. Nationalism is commodified through the wearing of tartan because it is the tartan object itself that represents the individual's national identity in the public eye. As a result, the wearing of tartan has become a key component in the commodification and performance of Scottish-American ethnic identity at Highland games.

The significance of the wearing of tartan and other traditional Scottish clothing items such as sporrans (leather pouches worn as part of a kilt ensemble) proved to be a popular topic discussion for many of my informants. For several, tartan represents a strong connection to Scottish tradition and history. When asked about his favorite part about being involved in his clan organization, Jack (the president of a national clan organization in America) responded,

> Oh, wearing the kilt… I've got it all. I've got the kilt, I've got about three sporran. I have several pairs of socks because the first pair was very heavy and very warm. Then I have an argyll jacket, a dark blue jacket in heavy wool… Over the years you buy different accessories, different sporran and different belts and that sort of thing… It's just a pride thing. You've got to be proud to wear the kilt.

For Jack, wearing the kilt and other accessories provides an opportunity to share the importance of his Scottish heritage with those around him. Everyone who sees Jack when he is wearing these items of clothing perceives Jack to be of Scottish descent and can conclude that he

[64] Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, "The Mark of Scottish America: Heritage Identity and the Tartan Monster," *Diaspora* 14.1 (2005): 115

is interested in sharing this information publicly. Jack mentioned to me that he even wore his kilt to his high school reunion about a decade ago because it was important to him to show his former classmates that his Scottish heritage had become a central part of his identity. Jack's identification with a particular clan inspired him to wear that particular clan's tartan pattern. As a result, those who are familiar with tartan patterns will not only understand that Jack is of Scottish descent but will also be able to observe which clan Jack identifies with based on the tartan fabric his kilt is made of. Furthermore, Jack has taken pride in collecting various other traditional Scottish accessories such as belts and sporrans as his interest in his heritage has continued. The example of Jack's purchase, collection, and wearing of the tartan and other Scottish accessories demonstrates how his identification with the nation of Scotland through his heritage is commodified. Jack consumes commodities that represent Scottish tradition in order to perform his ethnic identity.

Overall, the wearing of tartan, particularly in the context of Highland games, serves as an act of protection and survival of overt expressions of Scottish-American ethnic identification in the face of England's historical repression of Scottish cultural practices. In wearing the tartan, Scottish-Americans are continuing to practice the traditions of their ancestors while simultaneously asserting a distinct sense of self that is free from oppression and unique unto itself.

Bagpipes

Similar to the tartan, the bagpipes have become a major part of Scottish ethnic identity. This instrument was first used in the sixteenth century by Highland armies to gather clansmen and incite battle, gaining the recognition of the rest of the nation as an art form known as

piobaireachd at the turn of the seventeenth century.[65] The bagpipes are capable of playing nine notes tuned to three pentatonic scales. The drone of the bagpipes cannot louden or soften and a single note cannot be played in succession without the insertion of another note in between. Because of this, grace notes are used to give the impression of repeated notes and to create variation within each tune. Bagpipe tunes were often composed to celebrate particular clans or historical events, or to honor the death of an important person. This instrument has been performed both in groups and in solo settings.

Like the tartan, it has been suggested that the bagpipes were banned as a result of the Act of Proscription of 1747 because they were seen as a weapon of war. However, no evidence has been found to prove that the bagpipes were ever banned. Bagpipes are not mentioned in the written Act of Proscription itself or in the lists of objects handed over to the government as a result of the Act. Furthermore, no mention of a ban on bagpipes is included in any of the writings of Gaelic authors at the time or in any books written about bagpiping in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Because of this overwhelming lack of evidence, it can be safely concluded that the bagpipes were not banned as part of the Act of Proscription.

Regardless of whether or not the bagpipes were banned, cultural life in Scotland suffered in the decades following the defeat at Culloden and the institution of the Act of Proscription. Thousands of Scots were forced to emigrate from the Highlands as a result of a series of events called the Highland Clearances, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section of this chapter. As a result of this emigration, "further strain was put on the continuity of tradition" because so many of Scotland's preservers of its ancient musical forms had sought refuge

---

[65] John Purser. *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day*. (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007): 136

elsewhere.[66] Before the loss at Culloden, clan chiefs played a major role in the creation of Scottish music. Chiefs commissioned bards to compose "eulogies, elegies, and other praise for the nobles of the clan" which could then be used to create songs for both vocal and bagpipe performance.[67] But, as we have noted, the mid to late eighteenth century was characterized by an increased English influence in Scotland. This Anglicization led to the disappearance of clan poets and pipers who once composed traditional ballads and tunes commissioned by the chiefs. Traditional Scottish music took a toll as a result of the loss of its leaders within society.

Put simply, the bagpipes were not banned as part of the Act of Proscription but rather suffered a decline in popularity as a result of the overall Anglicization of Scotland during this time. However, my experience within the Scottish-American community has shown me that the idea of the English banning of the bagpipes is surprisingly widespread. The performance of bagpipe music at Highland games and in general is perceived as an act of rebellion against the English, a form of the protection and survival of a Scottish tradition that once faced extinction due to English influence. Just like the tartan, the playing of bagpipes has become central to the expression of Scottish ethnic identity in part because it is a practice that is uniquely recognizable as Scottish and also because it is a way to assert a distinct sense of Scottishness in contrast to supposed English oppression of Scottish culture. This idea of a distinct people sharing an imagined experience of common oppression builds a strong foundation for a nationalist impulse among Scottish-Americans.

However, it should be noted once again that while the tartan was actually banned at one time, there is no evidence that the bagpipe was ever truly banned. This difference is significant

---

[66] Thomas McKean. "Celtic Music and the Growth of the Feis Movement in the Scottish Highlands," *Western Folklore* 57.4 (1998): 246

[67] Ibid, 245

because it points to the power of historical narratives within the Scottish American community. These narratives are an example of what archaeologist Susan Alcock calls "memory communities." According to Alcock, "people derive identity from shared remembrance—from social memory—which in turn provides them with an image of their past and a design for their future."[68] Because the Scottish-American community's "shared remembrance" of the bagpipes is that they were banned and therefore are a symbol of English oppression of Scottish cultural expression, the performance of the bagpipes at contemporary Scottish Highland Games is important because it proves the Scots have protected this cultural practice and allowed it to survive. Within this context, it does not matter that the community's "shared remembrance" might be different from the historical scholars' accounts of the historical events surrounding the bagpipes. The "shared remembrance" is what gives the bagpipes meaning with the community and provide the community with a source of identity.

The performance of bagpipe music at Scottish Highland games helps to contribute to this sense of expressing one's ethnic identity and feelings of nationalism… for some. Each games hosts a regional pipe band competition in which several bands compete against each other to advance in the ranking system. The system ranges from Grade 5 to Grade 1, with Grade 1 being the most talented performers. A pipe band usually consists of bagpipes, snare drums, a bass drum, and tenor drums. Bands perform a set of tunes while marching in formation in a public viewing area such as a field surrounded by bleachers. Each band member is dressed in the band's tartan kilt, traditional Scottish shoes called *ghillie brogues*, wool knee socks, *sporrans* (leather pouches worn in front), a short-sleeve button down dress shirt, a vest, a necktie, and a hat called a *glengarry*. Each band is judged by a handful of adjudicators who judge the bands based on a

[68] Susan Alcock, "Archaeologies of Memory," *Archaeologies of the Greek Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 1

set of criteria created by both a regional and global authoritative body, such as the Western United States Pipe Band Association. Based on the score each band receives from the judges, groups can either advance in the ranks or continue competing at the same rank.

Although performance of bagpipe music is stereotypically practiced by individuals with Scottish ancestry, a surprising percentage of pipe band members have no ethnic ties to Scotland at all. C, a Japanese-American member of a pipe band, described to me the atmosphere of contemporary pipe bands in America.

> This group is welcoming to anybody who likes Scottish music… There's many of us with all kinds of quirks and eccentricities and everyone is tolerated and everyone is accepted. If you like Scottish music, you're in the right place.

Many pipe band members like C are attracted to these groups because they find Scottish music to be interesting and fun, not because they are seeking an outlet of expression for their own ethnic identities. C enjoys the friendship and teamwork she experiences as part of her pipe band, explaining to me that she does not feel she is treated any differently because she does not have Scottish ancestry. C has thoroughly engaged with Scottish cultural practices by learning to speak basic Scottish Gaelic, playing multiple forms of Scottish music, and even traveling to Scotland on her own. Furthermore, the pipe band's acceptance of C and others who do not have Scottish ancestry shows that "pipers' growing detachment from the ethnic group proper" is a step toward egalitarianism within the piping community rather than a step away from a commitment to Scotland's traditions.[69] In fact, as early as 1979, 30% of pipe band members surveyed had no ethnic connection to Scotland whatsoever.[70] Out of the remaining 70%, 7% were Scottish-born, 16% had Scottish parents, and 46% had distant ethnic connections to Scotland. If this trend has

[69] Rowland Berthoff, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982): 17

[70] Ibid, 16

continued and strengthened, we can assume that an even greater number of non-Scottish ethnic members contribute to the pipe band community today. C's membership in the pipe band and enthusiasm for Scottish culture in general prove that while bagpipe performance may be significant to some bagpipers for its opportunity for ethnic expression it is also significant for other bagpipers simply because the music and culture appeal to them.

Overall, the bagpipes are significant to the Scottish-American community in three major ways. Firstly, the idea of the bagpipes as a form of cultural expression that was banned by the English helps contribute to a shared understanding of a common oppressed past that Scottish-Americans use a basis for a Scottish nationalist point of view. Secondly, pipe bands do serve as a significant form of expression for the ethnic identity of their Scottish ethnic members. Lastly, the acceptance and engagement of non-Scottish members within pipe bands shows that bagpipe performance can simultaneously be rooted in traditional Scottish culture while embracing the diversity of contemporary society.

Clans

The Highland games serve as the primary venue for clan organizations to attract new members. Clan organizations pay a fee in order to reserve a space on the games grounds, which is usually a county fairgrounds, in a special area designated for clans. This area, often called the Glen of the Clans, is usually organized into rows of spaces available for reservation and each clan's space is situated next to other clans' spaces. This space is used to set up a pop-up tent and folding tables and chairs. The tables are then covered in books, photos, mementos, pamphlets, charts, maps, and (sometimes) historical clan artifacts that provide information about the clan to

visitors that may stop by the tent. The tent is often draped in emblems with images of the clan's crest and/or coat of arms as well as the Scottish or British flag.

The clan president or chieftain, his or her immediate family members such as spouses or children, and other office-holding members of the clan organization typically sit in folding chairs inside the tent and wait for visitors to approach the tent. When a visitor arrives, these clan members are eager to answer questions about the clan's history. Many visitors claim to have some kind of connection to the clan through some knowledge of their ancestry and are interested to learn more about the meaning of clan membership or simply about the details of the clan's past. Office-holding clan members regularly encourage visitors who are somehow associated with the clan to join the clan organization's mailing list and/or become due-paying members of the organization. Because the Highland games are perhaps the only opportunity for clan organizations to gain public exposure, the games season is a crucial time for clan organizations to promote their clan's story as a way of gaining new members.

The Highland games are also critical to members of clan organizations because they provide an opportunity for public performance of one's identification with a clan. A component of the games called the March of the Clans or the Opening Ceremonies focuses on a parade that includes all clan organizations in attendance. Members of attending clan organizations leave their tents and form a long line in alphabetical order by clan name. This process is made easier by the fact that each clan carries a sign or emblem of some sort that displays their clan name and crest or coat of arms. Once the line is formed, the clans march through the games grounds to the open area in which the athletic events have been taking place. The clans convene in this area because it is the best location for all the clans to be observed by spectators. As the clans march to this area, their path is lined by hundreds of spectators who are attendees of the games who either

belong to a clan but do not wish to participate in the march or who do not belong clan and wish to watch the march. These spectators clap and cheer as the clans pass by.

Mark, an office-holding member of a national clan organization, explained how the March of the Clans plays a crucial role in his expression of his Scottish ethnic identity.

> You get up there; you get to not only sport your tartans, you get to show your clan pride. The funnest [sic] part is when you get to yell your battle cry. It's just a way to show your pride in your history, to celebrate those that came before you.

In participating in the march, clan members like Mark are publicly performing their clan and Scottish ethnic identity. Because individuals march behind a sign or emblem that displays their clan name, it is clear to the spectators which individuals associate with each clan. The clan, in turn, is directly associated with ancient Scotland. When each clan arrives at the athletic area, an announcer calls out the name of the clan so everyone watching will know that the clan has arrived. It is in this moment that a clan has the opportunity to cry out its slogan, which can be either in Gaelic, French, Latin, or English. The crying out of the slogan often serves to associate the clan with a particular area of land within Scotland because many slogans "refer to clan strongholds, gathering places, or prominent hills, mountains or lochs in the clan territory." [71] These slogans evoke the Scottish concept of *dútchas*, "which can be used to refer to a person's native land, hereditary rights of tenure to land, and to more general senses of cultural heritage." The slogan simultaneously creates a sense of connectedness both among clan members and also with Scotland as a shared ancestral location. As a result, the crying out of the clan slogan as part of the March of the Clans is a fundamental form of nationalist sentiment. Clan members feel they belong to a distinct group of people and a distinct area of land, which are the basic elements of nationalist mentality.

---

[71] Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2007): 125

The prevalence of clan organizations at Scottish Highland games is a far cry from the original Scottish clan system that has lay dormant for centuries. Since around the time of the Battle of Culloden in 1745, the clan system has had little to no influence in Scottish political, social, and economic life due to a series of events called the Highland Clearances which began about fifty years after Culloden and lasted through the first few decades of the nineteenth century.[72] As discussed in Chapter One, it is commonly believed that the English were responsible for the Clearances. The protection and survival of clan organizations in America is often believed to be an act of rebellion against the English's attempt to squash the clan system and its significance to ancient Scotland. According to this ideology, the revival of the system acts as proof to its members that Scottish traditions will not be subjugated by the English.

Many Scottish-Americans are descendants of victims of the Highland Clearances who emigrated from Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As a result, the Highland Clearances are firmly rooted in many Scottish-Americans' collective understanding of their ancestral past. The romantic image of a destitute people fleeing the only homeland they'd ever known in search of refuge in the New World is a source of inspiration as well as sadness for many members of this community (as discussed in Chapter 1), and these strong sentiments can easily lead to feelings of contempt for those believed to be responsible for such a tragedy, the English (as we will discuss in the next chapter). These sentiments contribute to an understanding of the English as oppressors of Scottish cultural, political, and economic agency, which in turn can be used to fuel Scottish nationalist views in Scottish-Americans. However, it is important to remember that it was "the Highland chiefs," not the English, that caused their clan members to "pay the price of progress" and "abandoned the old ways, because it profited them to belong to

[72] Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001): 302

the modern world."[73] Despite the fact that perceptions of the English as facilitators of Scottish oppression are not entirely based in historical reality, the importance those perceptions hold for many Scottish-Americans' understandings of themselves needs to be recognized. As we will discuss in the next chapter, these perceptions are widely shared within the Scottish-American community. Consequently, this shared understanding of a common oppressed past becomes a key component in the development of Scottish nationalist views among Scottish-Americans.

The wearing of tartan shapes Scottish-American identity by providing a simple yet highly visible way for individuals to express their heritage despite the subjugation this form of expression has faced in the past. The playing of bagpipes shapes Scottish-American identity by drawing from social memory and serving as one of the primary ways people all over the world recognize Scottish culture. Participation in clan activities shapes Scottish-American identity by uniting clan members in the traditions of their ancestors. Because each of these cultural practices plays such a significant role in the performance of Scottish-American identity, their protection and survival are critical to the sustainability of the Scottish-American community.

CHAPTER FOUR

"Hearts of Olden Glory": Patterns of Personal Nationalism Among Scottish-Americans

The colors of Scotland• leave you young inside
••There must be a place• under the sun•
Where hearts of olden glory grow young••
There's a vision• coming soon
•Through the faith• that cleans your wound•
Hearts of olden glory• will be renewed
- "Hearts of Olden Glory," Runrig

[73] Ibid

Thus far I have should have created an understanding of the history of the Scottish-American community through its organizations and role within the "white ethnic movement." We have also observed the ways in which Scottish-Americans preserve their ancestors' cultural traditions in order to create a distinct sense of Scottish ethnic identity and as an act of rebellion against the English, who are believed to have oppressed the Scots throughout history. All of these factors build a foundation for a certain kind of Scottish nationalism to emerge within the Scottish-American community. In this chapter, I will unpack ideas about both Scottish nationalism and nationalism in general as well as explore how the individuals I interviewed have

brought aspects of nationalism into their own lives. This process will show how Scottish-Americans connect with Scotland as a nation through their own experiences, practices, selfhood, and relationships, and use these factors to create personal demonstrations of nationalism. Overall, this chapter will demonstrate how Scottish-American ideas of the self, the community, and the nation are inextricably linked through cultural traditions, history, personal qualities, and a sense of homeland.

What Does It Mean to Be Nationalist?

Contemporary understandings of nationalism are largely drawn from the theories political scholar Benedict Anderson conveys in his 1983 book *Imagined Communities.* According to Anderson, a nation should be interpreted as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".[74] The nation is "imagined" in that its members must exercise their imaginations in order to grasp the concept that there are members of their community which they will never meet in person but who all share at least some of the community's qualities such as geographical location, a common language, cultural practices, etc. The individual's ability to imagine himself or herself as part of a larger yet similar group of people is key in creating a sense of nationalism. Additionally, the nation is "limited" because it is distinct from other nations in the qualities and experiences its members share. This distinction can be demonstrated through any of a nation's unique qualities, including geographical location. As Anderson discusses, "even the largest [nation], encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations."[75] However, issues of the nation as "limited" become complicated when the idea of a diaspora is considered. Can

[74] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6
[75] Ibid., p. 7

members of a diaspora also be considered members of the nation from which their diaspora originates?

Furthermore, a nation is "sovereign" in that its legitimacy can be confirmed within the context of a general idea of "God" while still including a wide range of religions that all have different ideas about who God is and how He expects humans to behave. Anderson attributes this united diversity to the fact that the concept of the nation "was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm". Finally, the nation is a "community" in that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship". In nationalism's purest form, the bond created among members of a nation is perceived to transcend other differences such socioeconomic status and religious beliefs. This sense of commonality that belonging to a nation inspires has been essential in motivating individual's to take action on behalf of their nation, particularly within the context of war and political movements.

Although Anderson's work has served as a foundational school of thought in the area of nationalism, an increase in factors of globalization and migration has called for an updated approach to his theories. Anthropologist Jonathan Hearn's 2003 book *Rethinking Nationalism* provides such an approach. According to Hearn, "nations and nationalism are more usefully thought of as arising precisely out of the interactions of ethnicity-making and state-making processes, as, in an important sense, 'neither here nor there'".[76] In other words, it needs to be recognized that nationalism has ties to ideas about ethnicity as a concept that radiates from a specific space throughout other areas of the world via its diasporic populations. Furthermore, the state's distinct boundaries and jurisdictions serve as an arena for negotiations about nationalism's

[76] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*: *A Critical Introduction*, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 9

role within a political context and the nation's relationship to the state. In this sense, nations and nationalism are 'neither here nor there' in that they are rooted within a particular spatial and political context while also extending beyond this context through the dispersion of its ethnic population.

Hearn's definition of nationalism unpacks this fusion of space, politics, and ethnicity. By Hearn's lights, "nationalism is the making of combined claims, on behalf of a population, to *identity*, to *jurisdiction* and to *territory*".[77] The population's *identity* "may include such 'cultural' factors as religious beliefs or language, or notions of shared biological substance, or of inherited historical experiences, but it can also invoke more abstract qualities such as core values (e.g. egalitarianism, liberty, democracy)". In speaking about national populations, this kind of identity is closely linked with ethnicity, or what Hearn defines as "the process generating relatively bounded, self-identified groups, defined in relation to similar groups, usually through notions of common descent and practices of endogamy, and often occupying a distinctive economic or ecological niche".[78] What ties identity and ethnicity together within a national context is the claiming of the cultural factors, shared biological substances, inherited historical experiences, and abstract qualities as both common among members of the nation in question and distinct from those nations with other cultural factors, and abstract qualities.

After an assertion of identity, the next critical step in the process of nationalism according to Hearn is *jurisdiction*, or the factor that "asserts entitlement to power and the authority to make and enforce laws, although this may be claimed only to a degree, within a larger political system".[79] Here is where nationalism's connection to political engagement is made. Nationalism seizes the idea that its population has the right to some variation of self-

[77] Ibid., pg. 11
[78] Ibid., pg. 8
[79] Ibid., pg. 11

government through a political system organized to represent its distinct identity and address its population's distinct needs. As a result, "modern nationalism seeks broad popular support" by way of political campaigns and opportunities for political participation through the establishment of governmental parties and public elections, which in turn lead to the process of "casting political leaders as the agents of the collective will of the people".[80] In this way, nations become directly involved in state-making through political engagement and maintain a relationship with the state through their election of national representatives in state government.

Finally, Hearn asserts that a nation's claim to *territory* contributes to the foundation of nationalist sentiments. This claim "normally concern[s] lands that at least some of the national group occupies, but can also concern lands from which the group has been wholly displaced."[81] Hearn's theories about claims to territory are seemingly inspired by a recognition of the importance of trends of migration. A diasporic community's ties to its 'homeland' often remain strong long after the community's migration to other parts of the world. A claim to this 'homeland' as a space that is shared among its native *and* diasporic communities therefore becomes significant in sustaining a sense of commonality among community members, an imagined connection to members that have never met in person. We know from our understandings of Anderson's theories that this imagined connection is absolutely vital in the process of nationalism because "communities are to be distinguished… by the style in which they are imagined."[82] If members have nothing else in common due to the process of migration, they can at least make a common claim on this ancestral land. This claim is embodied by the Scottish concept of *dútchas* ("which can be used to refer to a person's native land, hereditary rights of tenure to land, and to more general senses of cultural heritage"), as discussed in Chapter

[80] Ibid., pg. 12
[81] Ibid., pg. 11
[82] Anderson, *Imagined Communitites: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 6

3.[83] Hearn uses the words of political scientist Walker Conner to demonstrate how "this emotional attachment to the homeland derives from perceptions of it as the cultural hearth and, very often, as the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group."[84] Consequently, "the image of homeland… has [the power] to mobilize people in national and ethnic conflict, whether to defend existing state borders, to liberate an ethnic heartland, or to purge a country of those perceived to be 'alien'." This power ties together all three of Hearn's proposed factors of nationalism: identity, jurisdiction, and territory. A nation's *identity* is formed through its members' imagined connection to other members via a shared ethnicity and homeland, or *territory*. This imagined common *identity* can be used to inspire national members to engage in the political processes of its *jurisdiction* through engagement in its governmental system through voting or joining a political party or protecting or attempting to liberate the *territory* within the context of its *jurisdiction*, or power to make and enforce laws.

Anthropologist Ben Highmore also offers a theoretical perspective from which to view

From this overview of current theories of nationalism it can be concluded that a nationalist is an individual who

a) imagines that they are connected to other members of their nation through ideas about shared cultural factors, biological substances, abstract qualities, and historical experiences,

b) asserts that the nation has or should have some degree of power concerning the creation and enforcement of laws within a political system,

[83] Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2007): 125

[84] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 31

c) and feels some kind of claim on a specific area of land on which at least some members of the nation currently live and from which other members of the nation have been displaced

What Does It Mean to Be a Scottish Nationalist?

Patterns of nationalism have been particularly strong in various forms in Scotland in the past several decades. The people of Scotland voted for a referendum on devolution in 1997, British Parliament subsequently passed the Scotland Act in 1998, and the Scottish Parliament was reestablished in 1999 after 292 years of inactivity since joining the United Kingdom in 1707. Scottish Parliament became responsible for the majority of social policy as well as taxation in Scotland. In other words, Scotland voted in favor of a claim to the nation's jurisdiction. However, history has shown that there is always an intense interest in Scottish independence whenever Scotland is control of its own policies, and many were dissatisfied with devolution. Furthermore, tensions between the British and Scottish Parliaments quickly became apparent and continued into the following the decades when it came to issues such as involvement in international conflict and state welfare programs. The concept of independence seemed increasingly appealing in Scotland as many began to feel they were not fairly represented in British government and that this government did not have their best interests in mind.

The 2007 Scottish Parliamentary election, which took place 10 years after Scotland had voted for devolution, provided the perfect opportunity for the particular nationalism of the Scottish National Party to take hold in Scotland. The Scottish National Party (SNP) was formed when the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party merged in 1934. Although its parent parties' views on other political issues differed in degrees of radicalism, both parties had always

agreed on the idea of Scottish independence and had called themselves nationalists since their founding.[85] According to political scholars Mitchell, Bennie, and Johns, "the central element of the SNP's doctrine has been self-government though its precise meaning and how it was to be achieved were disputed. Whether self-government amounts to independence or some measure of home rule short of independence was a central doctrinal dispute in its formative years" but has become a more consensual issue within the party due to the continued feeling of political unrest following devolution.[86]

The SNP has made consistent efforts to take a fairly moderate stance on other political issues in Scotland, particularly in comparison to the right-wing Conservative Party and the very left-wing Labour, Liberal Democrat, and Scottish Green parties. As a result, those who were unhappy with the Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition they had voted for in the previous Scottish Parliamentary election could easily transition to the SNP as the next most desirable route for the Scottish government to take. According to the SNP's website, the party owes this victory of 32.9% of the national vote to its 2007 campaign's commitment to "vital health services kept local; more support for small businesses; safer communities; and lower and fairer local tax."[87] However, those Scots who joined and voted for the SNP supported a party whose primary goal continued to be Scottish independence because, as its website declares, "the SNP is a social democratic political party committed to Scottish independence" which "has been at the forefront of the campaign for Scottish independence for the last seven decades." In the 2011 Scottish Parliamentary election, the SNP became the first majority government party by a winning an unprecedented 69 out of 131 seats. The momentum of support for the party had clearly been

[85] James Mitchell, Lynn Bennie, and Rob Johns, *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power*, (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2012), 12
[86] Ibid., pg. 18
[87] "About Us," Scottish National Party, accessed November 30, 2014, http://www.snp.org/about-us

growing and party members began to look toward future opportunities for the SNP's political aims.

A study conducted in 2007 and 2008 showed that 80% of those SNP members surveyed identified themselves as "Scottish not British" when referring to their ethnic identity.[88] This is a clear demonstration of Hearn's theory about a distinct ethnic identity as playing a major role in nationalist ways of thinking. The authors of this study confirm Hearn's ideas in their suggestion that "a common implicit theme in writing on national identity is the importance of the 'outgroup' or 'other'. Individuals identifying with a nation do so in large part by distinguishing themselves from 'other' or 'others'. These 'others' are seen not only as alternative identities but also as potential or real threats."[89] The SNP survey participants exhibit this very claim when they embrace their "Scottish" identity while simultaneously rejecting any form of "British" identity. In this sense, the nationalist participants create a sense of a distinctly Scottish 'us' and a distinctly British 'them' with which to compare themselves to.

Furthermore, 44.3% (the largest percentage) of those surveyed listed "independence" as the primary reason they chose to join the SNP. Since 1999, independence has consistently been the primary reason why members have chosen to join the SNP. This statistical data is a perfect example of Jonathan Hearn's theories about a nation's claim to its jurisdiction as a critical step in the formation of nationalist sentiments. These percentages show that within the SNP there is clearly a strong tie between its identity as a nationalist party and its members' assertion of "entitlement to power and the authority to make and enforce laws, although this may be claimed only to a degree, within a larger political system."[90]

---

[88] Mitchell, Bennie, and Johns, *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power*, 104
[89] Ibid., pg. 105
[90] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 11

These pieces of statistical evidence express the particular kind of nationalism practiced by members of the Scottish National Party. Overall, SNP members in 2007-2008 joined the party, voted for its political candidates, saw themselves as Scottish and not British, and attributed their party membership to their support for Scottish independence. But while it is true that the SNP led the most recent campaign in support of independence (known as Yes Scotland), which ended with the failed referendum on September 18, 2014, many supporters of independence are not members of the SNP (as evidenced by such Facebook groups as Labour for Independence). Conversely, despite the fact that the SNP holds the majority of elected seats in Scottish Parliament, the failure of the referendum proves that many of the SNP's current members ultimately do not support Scottish independence. It becomes clear, then, that nationalism in Scotland is not limited to the SNP's particular variety of nationalism. How then can we begin to understand the other varieties of nationalism Scots may embrace?

Anthropologist Anthony Cohen offers the idea of a "personal nationalism," a form of nationalism based on the theory that "individuals construe their membership and their selves in very different forms" rather than viewing "identity as being derivable from membership of a nation or group—be it an ethnic, kinship or descent group, a sect, class, gender, initiation cohort, or whatever."[91] In other words, individuals shape their own understandings of their national identities instead of the nation dictating how the individuals' identity should be shaped. This allows for a variety of nationalisms to be observed on an individual level. This idea emerges in stark contrast to the vivid picture of nationalism the SNP's website and the 2007-2008 survey of its members paint. This demonstration of an overall desire for independence, a feeling of being 'Scottish not British', and the election of SNP political candidates offers a distinct yet limited understanding of what it means to be a Scottish nationalist.

[91] Cohen, "Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs," 803

Cohen, on the other hand, argues that it is ultimately up to the individual to decide what being Scottish and 'Scottish-ness' mean to them. This decision can be based on the individual's grasp of Scottish culture, history, politics, ancestry and their own experiences of life in Scotland which often stem from "a lament for the continuing denial of integrity and authenticity of Scottish nationhood, in the long wake of the loss of the Scottish nation-state that followed the 1707 Act of Union." As we have already discussed earlier in this chapter, a sense of an "outgroup" or "other" is critical in the building of national identity, whether on an individual or group scale.[92] Additionally, in Chapter 3, we have discussed the importance of a general perception of the oppression of Scottish cultural traditions by the English as a major factor in creating feelings of commonality among Scots and Scottish-Americans. Both of these concepts contribute to Cohen's idea of this "lament" that inspires individual realizations of Scottish national identity.

Cohen further explains that "personal nationalism" "is to say, 'I am Scottish,' when Scottishness means everything that I am; I substantiate the otherwise vacuous national label in terms of my own experience, my reading of history, my perception of the landscape, and my reading of Scotland's literature and music, so that when I 'see' the nation, I am looking at myself.[93] As discussed in Chapter 3, the cultural practices such as the wearing of tartan, playing bagpipes, and carrying out the traditions of the Scottish clan system are sources of inspiration for personal nationalism because each individual experiences and interprets these shared practices from their own personal perspective. In this way, personal nationalism is different from the nationalism of the SNP (which has become synonymous with both the Scottish Government and the campaign for independence) because its roots lie within the individual and not within the

[92] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 105
[93] Cohen, "Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs," 805

group (the party, nation, campaign, election). Personal nationalism therefore simultaneously represents a member of the SNP who voted 'no' on the independence referendum, a member of the Scottish Labour party who went door to door handing out flyers for Yes Scotland for hours on end, a man who was born in Scotland who now lives in England who cheers for the Scottish national rugby union team, and a Pakistani immigrant living in Glasgow who calls himself a Scot. According to personal nationalism, each of these individuals contribute to an overall pattern of Scottish nationalism. Each of these individual's understanding of Scottish national identity is varied but valid. While they may belong to larger national groups attached to broader concepts of nationalism (such as the SNP), their own experience of Scotland, Scottishness, and their connection to both of these factors shapes who each of them is as a Scottish nationalist.

Observed Themes of Personal Nationalism in the Scottish-American Community

It is on this note that we turn to the individuals of the Scottish-American community. Throughout my interviews with members of Scottish cultural organizations in America, I observed patterns of Cohen's "personal nationalism" in how these members spoke about their experiences within the Scottish-American community and their understandings of their individual connection to Scotland through their ancestry and cultural practices. In particular, I observed patterns of what Cohen calls "the lament for the continuing denial of integrity and authenticity of Scottish nationhood" (as discussed earlier in this chapter) in the shaping of the interviewees' grasp of their own sense of Scottishness and their overall views on Scottish independence. It should be noted that Scottish-Americans cannot officially join any Scottish political parties and were not allowed to vote in the referendum on independence. With that being said, it became clear that the interviewees' personal experience of Scotland as a nation had little to do with political nationalism or even any substantial knowledge of the SNP or Scottish

government. Rather, those Scottish-Americans I interviewed were primarily engaged with the emotions they experience when they contemplate Scottish history and their ancestors' role in it. In addition, many individuals I interviewed had some basic knowledge of Scottish politics and the issues surrounding the referendum. As a result, many found themselves conflicted about how their "heart" (their personal experience of Scotland as a nation) and their "head" (their understanding of the political situation in Scotland) responded differently to the idea of independence. This idea of the "heart" parallels Hearn's concept of "underlying emotional bondings and feelings of attachment" which are often evoked in "nationalist language and symbols."[94]

Mark, an office-holding member of a national clan organization, articulated this point of conflict when he told me,

> It's a double-edged sword. Being that I had ancestors die fighting the English to be free and not subjects of the English empire, it was from the heart to wish the Scottish people had their freedom, but from your head side of it, they've been together for 400 years now. The banking ... the economic side of things, everybody's so intertwined. They're stronger together than they are apart, both sides of the border.

Although Mark expresses his familiarity with the practical benefits of Scotland's membership in the United Kingdom, he also speaks about his personal connection to Scottish independence via his ancestors and his knowledge of Scotland's historical relationship to England. This connection is an example of Cohen's personal nationalism. Mark's "heart," the part of him that is interested in Scottish independence, is informed by his understanding of Scotland as the victim of English oppression, or what Cohen calls "a popular perception of the denigration of a culture by a powerful neighbor or occupying force."[95] His notion of Scotland as a nation is made more powerful through this sense of England as the cruel 'outgroup' that

[94] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 20
[95] Cohen, "Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs," 805

sought, and continues to seek, to take away Scotland's freedom. According to Mark, Scotland had to face England in battle in order to defend this freedom, a process through which the distinction between the nations was made painfully clear. Moreover, Mark speaks about his own ancestors' role within this process. Mark's Scottish ancestors played a role in these battles for freedom alongside the ancestors of Scots who live in Scotland today. Mark's understanding of his historical connection to Scotland through his ancestors directly relates to Cohen's reference to the Neil MacCormick's (the son of the founder of the SNP) idea of a nation. By MacCormick's lights, a nation is a "cultural commodity endowed with political relevance', a 'cultural community' consisting in a powerful sense of shared heritage, 'a communal past, including shared sufferings and shared achievement."[96] Mark acknowledges this "communal past" through his discussion of his ancestors' role in it and uses this past to explain his "wish the Scottish people had their freedom." As a result, Mark conveys both his identification with Scotland as a nation and his interest in Scotland as a free and independent nation. In this way, Mark expresses a connection to both the *identity* and *jurisdiction* elements of Hearn's idea of nationalism as well as demonstrates what Cohen would describe as his personal nationalism.

Angie, a member and former office-holder in a Scottish-American organization in Northern California, described her first visit to Scotland as a powerful experience that contributed to the formation of her Scottish ethnic identity. When Angie first stepped off the plane in Glasgow, "… it just felt like coming home. It was bizarre, a place that you've never been before just to go 'whoa, it makes sense'. This is my space. … it just made sense to me, the music, seeing a man in a kilt…" For Angie, Scotland already felt like a familiar place immediately upon arrival; she felt an instant connection with the nation is a homeland. As we have already discussed earlier in this chapter, the idea of a national "territory becomes

[96] Ibid., pg. 804

intermeshed with notions of ancestry and family. This emotional attachment to the homeland derives from perceptions of it as the cultural hearth and, very often, as the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group."[97] In this way, a claiming of national territory as one's own, what Angie calls "my space," becomes a major part of the individual's personal nationalism. Angie's connection with Scotland as a space guides her in making a connection with Scotland as a nation. Furthermore, Angie's comfort with cultural traditions such as Scottish music and kilts is a demonstration of Cohen's theory of how culture informs personal nationalism. According to Cohen, "the histories, literatures, folklores, traditions, languages, musics, lanscapes, and foods of Scotland are social facts on which individuals draw in providing themselves with a shared vocabulary. That is how culture works."[98] This shared vocabulary contributes to the sense of commonality that pervades nationalism, an overall understanding of connectivity among national members. When Angie expresses how Scottish music and kilts, "made sense" to her she is at once acknowledging the significance these cultural traditions have to her as an individual and to Scotland as a nation. In this way, Angie's experience of her first arrival in Scotland is part of her personal nationalism.

Joe, an office-holding member in multiple Scottish-American and clan organizations, also shared his feelings about his Scottish ethnic identity as part of a larger understanding of Scottishness and Scotland as a nation. He told that it's important to him

> … to keep certain cultural traditions alive… in addition to the fascination with some of the ideals we have and some things as simple as our sense of humor, seem to be tied to the things that are Scottish. This droll Scottish sense of humor, and things like what we… know is a Scottish passion for liberty and freedom, independence… Now I notice that many of the attitudes of my family towards everything from politics to philosophies tend to seem very Scottish…

[97] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 31
[98] Cohen, *Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs*, 805

Like Angie, Joe has identified certain cultural factors as being distinctly linked to Scottish identity. As we discussed in Chapter 3, the idea of the preservation of Scottish traditions is central to Scottish-Americans' their notions of what it means to be Scottish. These traditions, such as wearing the kilt and playing the bagpipes, create a sense of shared history among those of Scottish descent. Joe's mention of keeping Scottish cultural traditions alive suggests that he also recognizes the significance these traditions have in constructing Scottish ethnic identity. However, he primarily focuses more on the "abstract qualities" Hearn spoke about as being included in the *identity* component of nationalism. The idea that a "droll sense of humor" and a "passion for liberty and freedom, independence" are particularly Scottish qualities suggests that individuals can identify these qualities in themselves and feel connected to other members of the Scottish national ethnic group because all members of the Scottish nation share these qualities.

Additionally, Joe has identified that his family's attitudes "towards everything from politics philosophies tend to seem very Scottish." This personal observation parallels political activist David Horowitz's theory of family is closely linked to national identity as discussed by Hearn. According to Horowitz, "common ancestry makes it possible for ethnic groups to think in terms of family resemblances."[99] These resemblances can take the form of "traits held in common, on a supposedly genetic basis, or cultural features acquired in early childhood." When placed in a national context, these resemblances can "bring into play for a much wider circle those concepts of mutual obligation and antipathy to outsiders that are applicable to family relations" which are necessary for the spread of nationalism. Consequently, Joe's grasp of qualities that he, his family, and others who identify as Scottish have demonstrates his feeling of connectedness to Scotland as a nation through its people and their common behavior. Joe thus displays his personal nationalism by identifying with the nation of Scotland through his desire

[99] Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 27

"to keep certain cultural traditions alive" and his belief that there are certain shared qualities that are distinctly Scottish.

Table 8. Keeping Up with Current Events in Scotland (n = 40)

How closely do you keep up with current events in Scotland?	
I pay very close attention	15%
I pay some attention	67%
I don't pay very close attention	13%
I pay no attention	5%

As Table 8 shows, the majority of survey respondents pay some attention to current events in Scotland. The quantitative and qualitative data I have previously presented in this paper implies that the Scottish-Americans I interviewed and surveyed engage with Scotland through ancient cultural traditions such as the clan system, wearing of tartan, and bagpipes. This engagement is facilitated through a knowledge of and interest in a past way of life. Table 8 suggests that Scottish-Americans have a limited engagement with current events in Scotland. This engagement is not surprising based on respondents' previously discussed enthusiasm for Scotland's past.

Table 9. Knowledge of Independence Referendum (n = 40)

What is your level of knowledge of the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence?	
Very knowledgeable	18%
Somewhat knowledgeable	67%
Not very knowledgeable	15%

Table 9 demonstrates that 67% of respondents reported to be somewhat knowledgeable about the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence. This statistic is important because it shows that most of the respondents had at least some knowledge of the referendum. Despite the fact that my ethnographic informants reported having deeply felt beliefs about Scottish independence, Table 9 suggests that these beliefs are based on limited knowledge of the political issue itself. Once again, the data suggests that those Scottish-Americans who participated in my research

expressed attitudes that are based on their passion about Scotland's past rather than active involvement in contemporary political observation.

Table 10. Connection with People Who Live in Scotland Today (n = 40)

How much of a connection do you feel to people who live in Scotland today?	
Strong connection	21%
Somewhat strong connection	28%
Not very strong connection	33%
No connection at all	18%

Finally, as Table 10 illustrates, just over half of all respondents reported feeling not very connected or not connected at all to people who live in Scotland today. This demonstrates that Scottish-Americans' sense of belonging to Scotland is largely based on their own personal experiences. Recalling the statistic from Table 7 in Chapter 3 that none of the respondents reported visiting Scotland very often and almost half of respondents reported never having visited Scotland at all, it makes sense that respondents would not consider contemporary Scots as part of their experience.

Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined community has served as a foundation upon which other political thinkers have built their theories of nationalism. Jonathan Hearn's theories incorporate diasporic populations as part of the nation, particularly drawing from ideas about the ways in which ethnic identity, political power, and spatial connections are linked. The Scottish National Party has emphasized its own form of nationalism through its rise to power in Scottish Parliament and its spearheading of the Yes Scotland campaign. However, the independence referendum made clear that although Scottish nationalism may be becoming increasingly popular there is much variety in what Scottishness and Scotland as a nation mean to individuals who identify as Scottish in some way. Anthony Cohen's theory of personal nationalism urges us "to consider nationalism as an expression of the national*ist*" in which "the –

ism and its advocate are inextricably related."[100] By Cohen's lights, nationalism functions on an individual level and is shaped by the individual's engagements with the nation through cultural traditions, personal experiences, kinship ties, and a claim to the nation as their homeland. This is the variety of nationalism I observed among those members of the Scottish-American community I interviewed. Each member expressed their own unique understanding of Scotland as a nation and their connection to it while still drawing from what Cohen's overall themes of personal nationalism. In this way, these individuals demonstrated both their sense of self and their sense of their community as distinctly Scottish.

CONCLUSION

[100] Cohen, *Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs*, 808

The phrase "we're all Jock Tamson's bairns" perfectly describes Scottish-Americans' approach to community and identity. The individuals I interviewed and surveyed as part of my research for this paper offered a range of perspectives based on their unique interpretations of Scottish cultural traditions and history. Their personal voices were influenced by factors such as their age, their life experiences, their geographic location, how recently their ancestors emigrated from Scotland, how they express their Scottish heritage, and so on. While these factors inherently result in differences among members of the Scottish-American community, these individuals all share a Scottish-American identity and engage in the community's common practices. However distinctive each member may be, each of them is one of Jock Tamson's bairns because of this collective identification and engagement.

In this paper I have made the case that the historical origins, organizations, cultural practices, sense of kinship, and understanding of a homeland, territory or *dútchas* form a sense of identity and community for Scottish-Americans that allows them to engage with Scottish nationalism on a personal level. Chapter One demonstrated how the earliest Scottish-Americans

provided a sustainable framework of connectedness to others within the community through the foundation of ethnic organizations, the practice of religious rituals directly tied to their shared homeland via the actions of the Covenanters, and the continuation of the Highland way of life in certain areas of the United States. No matter their differences, Scottish-Americans have had these common origins to draw from. This chapter also explored the ways in which ancient Scottish ideas of kinship, particularly within the context of the clan system, have played a role in uniting Scottish-Americans while simultaneously presenting points of tension with American kinship ideas.

Chapter Two investigated how the early twentieth century wave of Scottish immigrants and the birth of the white ethnic movement provided an opportunity for a resurgence of interest in maintaining and celebrating Scottish-American identity and cultural practices. Factors such as an increase in nonwhite immigrant groups, patterns of cultural assimilation among white ethnics as a result of the rise of suburbia, and the Civil Rights Movement all contributed to Scottish-Americans' push for a renewed awareness of what makes them distinct from other white ethnic groups.

Chapter Three outlined how the cultural practices of wearing tartan, playing the bagpipes, and participating in the traditions of the clan system create a feeling of shared experience and group identity among Scottish-Americans. Furthermore, these cultural practices have formed Scottish-Americans' perception that the English have historically oppressed the Scots, which has led to the construction of a sense of the Scots as a group distinct from and opposed to the English. This sense of otherness is one of the foundations for a nationalist perspective among communities, and it is quite evident in Scottish-Americans.

Finally, Chapter Four showed how Scottish-Americans engage in personal nationalism by interpreting their own experiences of their community's practices and views. While the Scottish

National Party offers its own variety of nationalism, many Scottish-Americans' form of nationalism operates on an individual basis. However, these individual interpretations do draw from Scottish-Americans' common claims of identity, jurisdiction, and territory as a national group.

My research implies three larger findings when it comes to the Scottish-American community. Firstly, widespread factors of social change and modernization have caused Scottish-Americans to be drawn to the cultural elements that defined Scotland's societal structure in the past. An absence of personal connectedness in contemporary American understandings of kinship and a lack of attention to kinship in many critical aspects of American society have inspired Scottish-Americans to uphold the kinship-based clan system within their own ethnic community. The crush and chaos of industrial life in the nineteenth century, as well as the increase in nonwhite immigrants and attention to nonwhite needs in the mid to late twentieth century, caused Scottish-Americans to turn to the cultural traditions of their ancestors as a way of seeking relief and reaffirming their identity. Powerful new social forces motivated Scottish-Americans' return to romantic old ones.

Secondly, because Scottish-Americans' heritage is so deeply rooted in American history, it is often more convenient and fulfilling for them to draw cultural inspiration from the heroic fantasy and imagination the first wave of Scottish immigration creates. The story of this first wave is one of oppression, adversity, bravery, and perseverance. The story of the second wave of Scottish immigration, which occurred in the early twentieth century, is not as daring and thrilling because by this time the Scots were already a well-established and upwardly mobile ethnic group within the United States. In perpetuating memories of their more distant ancestral past through their membership in older ethnic organizations and their participation in ancient cultural

traditions, Scottish-Americans are representing themselves as fearless and oppressed by extension.

Lastly, “otherness” is a central part of the formation of Scottish-American identity. A perception of the English as the “other” is important to Scottish-Americans in thinking about their believed cultural subjugation in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This perception helps to bring meaning to the traditions practiced at Scottish Highland Games, a critical aspect of the performance of Scottish-American identity. A belief that both nonwhite ethnic groups and other white ethnic groups are the “other” is important to Scottish-Americans’ feeling that their distinctness may be swallowed up by cultural assimilation or new cultural influences and priorities. Without this sense of “otherness,” Scottish-Americans are at risk of not seeing themselves as a unique community. The maintenance of this uniqueness remains an essential issue for many Scottish-Americans when faced with further potential social change.

When I asked her about the future of the Scottish-American community and its organizations, Kay, who has held a range of leadership positions within two different organizations, told me

> Unfortunately, with all organizations, membership has been steadily declining over the years. And people seem to be a little less interested in their ancestry than they used to be. I noticed that they're doing a lot of advertising on TV for what is it, Ancestry.com or something? But people are too busy for a lot of this stuff… They'll eventually, I think, not just the Scottish, but I think most organizations will eventually fade out unless we have some kind of a, I don't know what they call it, a resurgence of, we get back a, quietness of life a little bit where they'll take the time to do these things.

The statistics this paper has provided on the aging membership of these organizations may raise some cause for concern among Scottish-American community members. Soon it will come time for younger generations to decide the future of their community. It is my hope that this paper will contribute in some way to the sustenance of the rich cultural traditions and

history, the distinct character, and the many personal voices of my own Scottish-American ethnic community.

Bibliography

"About Us," Saint Andrew's Society of Charleston, accessed January 2, 2015, http://standrewssocietyofcharlestonsc.org/about-us/

"About Us," Scottish National Party, accessed November 30, 2014, http://www.snp.org/about-us

Alcock, Susan, "Archaeologies of Memory," *Archaeologies of the Greek Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 1

Ancien, Delphine, Mark Boyle, and Rob Kitchin, "Drawing Borders: Who Belongs to the Diaspora?" *The Scottish Diaspora and Diaspora Strategy: Insights and Lessons Learned from Ireland*, The Scottish Government, Publications May 2009

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991)

Appadurai, Arjun, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," (1990)

Basu, Paul, *Highland Homecomings*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2007)

Berthoff, Rowland, "Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (1982)

Clifford-Vaughan, F., "Disintegration of a Tribal Society: The Decline of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 43 (1974)

Cohen, Anthony, "Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs," *American Ethnologist* 23.4 (1996)

Doane, Ashley, "Dominant Group Ethnic Identity in the United States: The Role of 'Hidden' Ethnicity in Intergroup Relations," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38.3 (1997)

Greeley, Andrew M., "The Functions of Ethnicity," *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971)

"Group Profile," Daughters of Scotia, accessed January 2, 2015 https://www.linkedin.com/groups/Daughters-Scotia-1796731/about

Hearn, Jonathan, *Rethinking Nationalism*: *A Critical Introduction*, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan,

2006)

Herman, Arthur, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001)

"History and Purpose," Saint Andrew's Society of Los Angeles, accessed January 2, 2015, http://www.saintandrewsla.org/about-us/

"Jacobite Risings," Education Scotland, accessed March 2, 2014, http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scotlandshistory/jacobitesenlightenmentclearances/jacobiterisings/index.asp

Johnston, T.B., and James A. Robertson, "The Disarming Act, 1746" *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1899)

Luce, Edward, "Tartan America: on the march," *FT Magazine*, the *Financial Times*, modified September 12, 2014, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/9d17fa72-393c-11e4-9526-00144feabdc0.html#slide0

McDonald, Forrest and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37 (1980)

McKean, Thomas, "Celtic Music and the Growth of the Feis Movement in the Scottish Highlands," *Western Folklore* 57.4 (1998): 246

Mitchell, James, Lynn Bennie, and Rob Johns, *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power*, (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2012)

Moberg Robinson, Emily, "Scottish Covenanters and the Creation of an American Identity," *The Journal of Presbyterian History* 83 (2005)

Nayak, Anoop, "Critical Whiteness Studies," *Sociology Compass* ½ (2007)

"Referendum," Dictionary.com, accessed March 9, 2015, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/referendum?s=t

Reicher, Stephen and Nick Hopkins, "In Quest of National Character," *Self and Nation*, (London: Sage, 2001)

"SASNY Video," Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York, accessed January 2, 2015, http://www.standrewsny.org/content/sasny-video

Schneider, David, *American Kinship*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968)

Waters, Mary, *Ethnic Options*, (Berkeley, University of California, 1990)

Weed, Perry, "Definitions by Three Major Spokesmen," *The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics*, (New York: Preager, 1973)

Zumkhawala-Cook, Richard, "The Mark of Scottish America: Heritage Identity and the Tartan Monster," *Diaspora* 14.1 (2005)