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" With a piece of tartan, you know, they have their identity "

THE CONTEMPORARY ROLE OF THE KILT AND TARTAN IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND EXPRESSION OF SCOTTISH AMERICAN IDENTITY

by

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PhD

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

2000

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Statement of Authorship

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own composition, incorporating the results of my own research and that I am the sole author.

Ian M. Maitland Hume

100,000 words

Abstract of Thesis

This study explores how influential the kilt and tartan are in the way Americans perceive and express their identity in Scottish terms. Its principal focus is directed on individuals who wear the kilt in America today.

The reasons which prompt people to consider qualifying their American identity are considered in the context of a number of different Scottish American organisations and community activities. These are prefaced by an appraisal of contemporary attitudes to wearing the kilt in Scotland today.

An ethnological approach has been adopted to ascertain the role played by these material cultural elements, and in particular the informants' own words are used to illustrate the power these symbols possess to influence the construction of Scottish identity. The changing nature of society is considered as one of the factors contributing to such a need. Tartan and the kilt encapsulate many facets of an heritage which people aspire to access; they may also represent a part-mythical family origin for those seeking roots. They are the apparent visual manifestation of ancient kin links.

The author's own observations through participation in some of the activities of the Scottish American community provide further evidence of the significant role played by tartan and the kilt in the iteration of Scottish identiy by Americans. The remarkable growth in the number of Americans who choose to adopt a Scottish element as part of their identity can be attributed in substantial part to the power these symbols possess.

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Unless acknowledged otherwise all photgraphs are the author's.

Notes, Abbreviations and Permissions

Transcription policy

Transcripts of recorded interviews attempt generally to reflect the language and idiom used by the informants; pauses, repetitions and hesitations are included only where these convey the pace of the interview and where they illustrate the tenor of the exchanges. The passages are normally transcribed without breaks (paragraphs) to indicate the actual flow of speech. Where parts of a transcript have been omitted in quotations, '…' indicates such intervals. This convention is also used in quotations from other works.

Abbreviations

SSS.SA	Sound Archives of the School of Scottish Studies
R.O.S.C.	Review of Scottish Culture
C.O.S.C.A	Council of Scottish Clans & Associations
T.E.C.A.	Tartan Educational & Cultural Association
S.H.S.	Scottish Highlands Society
SHUSA	Scottish Heritage USA

Permissions

I am grateful to the following for allowing me to include copies of published or working material in the Appendix:

European Ethnological Research Centre	R.O.S.C Paper
Angus J. Ray Associates, Inc.	Clan Society List
Visualize Productions	Tartan Day Forum Paper
Clan Munro Heritage Limited	Draft Clanland Texts
Atlanta International Museum	Draft Label Texts

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

A. Tartan and the Kilt

Tartan, 'the indigenous woollen cloth of the Highlands' (Scarlett,1990.3), is for many people 'the most evocative symbol of the Scottish nation', to use the words of the director of The Atlanta International Museum.[1] Indeed there are probably few symbols which exercise such an instant and spontaneous power to summon up in the beholder's mind such a significant, and as we shall see, complex, range of images. Hitherto, these have been associated with Scotland and even when encountered on the other side of the world, tartan has always been the mark of the Scot, particularly when worn in the form of the kilt. I do not propose to examine the history of the development of tartan up to its present day status as an icon of Scottishness in any great detail. This topic has been amply and competently covered by writers such as Hesketh (1961), Telfer Dunbar (1962), Scarlett (1990) and more recently Cheape (1995). Between them they follow its evolution from the simple homespun check-patterned cloth of the Highlander, worn by women as an all-enveloping shawl and by men in the form of the *feilidh mor,* or great kilt or wrap, to the commercially woven tartan worn as the tailored kilt or *feilidh beg*, the little kilt, of today. During the course of this journey, lasting some four hundred years, tartan has accumulated an extraordinary amount of symbolic baggage.

In the past, Martin Martin,[2] Captain Edmund Burt,[3] The Jacobites, The Act of Proscription of 1746, the late 18th century Highland

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[1] In *Passport* (Summer, 1999.2), the museum's journal.
[2] *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (1994 [1703]).
[3] *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland* (1998 [1754]).

regiments of the British army, the portraitists of same period, The Highland Society of London, with its Collection of Certified Tartans,[4] Sir Walter Scott and his friend Major General Stewart of Garth who stage managed the visit of George IV to Scotland in 1822,[5] the King himself, the weavers Wilsons of Bannockburn, suppliers of many of the tartans for that occasion, James Logan,[6] the Sobieski Stuart brothers,[7]Queen Victoria and Prince Albert who purchased Balmoral in Aberdeenshire, the Kilt Society of Inverness,[8] the Lord Lyon Kings of Arms and many Highland outfitters, amongst others, have all played an identifiable part either in recording the facts, or in the creation and sustenance of many of the myths associated with tartan. Over time these have been absorbed into the symbolism which tartan now encapsulates.

Tom Nairn was the first person to set the debate about the significance and myth surrounding tartan on a new course, suggesting that the very vulgarity of his 'tartan monster' endows it with 'immunity from doubt and higher culture', preventing its withering. (1977.165) Hugh Trevor-Roper added his pennyworth, provocatively questioning the origin of the kilt and, for an historian, inaccurately asserting that 'the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention.' (Hobsbawm & Ranger: 1983.12-13) David McCrone expands on these themes in his study of Scottish culture *Understanding Scotland – The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*(1992), where he views the 'mythic structure of tartanry' as part of our 'vain search for the true image because none such exists, nor indeed should

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[4] A cultural and philanthropic society, founded in 1778 to arrest the decay of Highland social and economic life (Cheape, 1995.48).
[5] Robertson, (1998).
[6] *The Scottish Gael*, published in 1831 depicting an imaginary set of clan tartans.
[7] The alias for John and Charles Allan Hay, authors of *The Costume of the Clans* of 1845 and *Vestiarium Scotticum* of 1842, both extremely influential in the ascription of specific tartans to clans.
[8] Founded circa 1902 'to encourage and perpetuate the wearing of Highland dress'

we be looking for it in the late twentieth century' (1992:184-187). I suspect all these commentators, and doubtless others, are wrestling with the manifold 'problems' which the tartan symbol seems to present when used in any context other than the following:

> Tartan has been adopted as the national dress of all Scots, Lowland and Highland, providing a powerful form of national, cultural and personal identity. Whether traditional or a recent creation, whether a symbol of nationality or a substitute for nationhood, tartan is no mean achievement. (Cheape, 1995:8)

The fact that so much to do with tartan and the traditions associated with it are of recent creation and that it can accommodate a substantial element of myth in its significance to people may be its strength and 'achievement'. That it has been prostituted by the tourist trade or endowed with new meaning by the football crowds, whilst still retaining a complex web of meaning from the past for many considering it as a mark of their identity may be part of this achievement.



(1) Author as a boy

My earliest memories of tartan were as a three year old, wearing a kilt and a furry sporran. I progressed to a bigger kilt, which remained my 'Sunday best' until I was about eleven years old; for part of that time I was sent to Sunday School in Sussex, in the south of England, where we lived for a while. On those occasions I found myself having to defend the honour of Scotland once a week – a daunting task when in a minority of one, but ever since those days the kilt has had a special personal significance for me.

(Cheape, 1995:69)

I never realised quite how significant until the opportunity arose more than forty years on to research a dissertation on the wearing of the kilt in Scotland today. One of the catalysts in this process was the discovery of the literature I have just referred to, during the course of my MA Honours degree studies.[9] It seemed to me that whilst tartan and the kilt appeared to be attracting more and more negative comment, spilling out into the ordinary public discourse, at the same time their popularity, far from waning, appeared to be on the increase. It was as if on the one hand it was perfectly acceptable for someone to mock the ubiquitousness of tartan in its many forms, and by implication associating it with American tourists and having nothing to do with 'modern' Scotland, whilst on the other hand the same person might put on a kilt for his graduation or wedding or evening function. This conundrum intrigued me and my findings led me to deduce a number of reasons which could account for the kilt's growing popularity here. I also arrived at the conclusion that the way the kilt is worn, in terms of place and occasion, has likewise changed significantly in the last two or three decades.

My findings, summarised in an essay for the *Review of Scottish Culture*,[10] led me to believe that there is a much wider gulf of misunderstanding, which ought to be addressed. Just as there is a sort of schizophrenia about the meanings of tartan symbolism in Scotland, so this can be extended to the difference in meanings it may possess for Scots and Scottish Americans. The debate is ongoing and leads to the objectives I have set out in section B, below; it now has to move on and I have chosen to concentrate on the power that tartan appears to exercise in the formulation and expression of identity in

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[9] MA Honours Dissertation . *Some Aspects of Tartan and Wearing the Kilt in Contemporary Scotland,* 1997: this and the relevant recordings are held in the sound archives of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh (SSS.SA).
[10] *Review of Scottish Culture* No. 12 (1999-2000:59-68), see Appendix III.

America; this in turn obliges us perhaps to consider that tartan's symbolism may well differ on both sides of the Atlantic.[11]

B Objectives

From an ethnologist's point of view, the facet of material culture which embraces tartan and the kilt provides a rewarding field of study. It touches on a number of the key areas relating to the adaptation and absorption of traditional cultural elements by contemporary societies, in particular when it has to do with the expression of identity. Anthropological discourse exercised in the study of societies can yield ethnographies which record in detail the structures, beliefs and manners of such groups. By definition these are usually readily identifiable in some way or other at the outset and in which distinct ethnicities (a term I shall explore) are usually implied. I do not stray too deeply into the field of anthropological theory, for fear of losing sight of the essential purpose of this thesis. This is to examine, in an ethnological context, the part the material culture of tartan and the kilt plays in the formulation of a relatively new interpretation of Scottish identity, namely the Scottish American identity,[12] and is not primarily concerned with proving or disproving theoretical concepts.

Anthony Cohen admits that there is a problem with modern anthropological methodology in determining answers to such questions as 'How you know what the other person is thinking? How do you discriminate between the other person's consciousness and your construction of his or her consciousness?' (1994:3). I agree with his view that our most valuable weapon is our own experience and consciousness; if the ethnologist uses the informant's own words and from these draws conclusions using these weapons, there is a good

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[11] This difference is considered in the paper delivered to the Washington Tartan Day Forum, see Appendix VII

[12] Although this work discusses Scottish American identity as an 'hyphenated'

chance that the answers will present themselves. I have consciously implied that much of the discussion on ethnicity in particular, derived as it has been, from the observations made of what I would call well-bound groups, can be used to consider the ethnicity implicit in Scottish American identity. Because 'identity...represents a process by which a person seeks to integrate his various statuses and roles, as well as his divers experiences, into a coherent image of self' (Epstein,1978:101), we are bound to accept each person's own view of that identity. The way we interact with each informant will often determine the extent to which this image is portrayed; where we seek a factual view on the part that the symbols of the kilt and tartan play in the expression of this identity, there is less room for variation, even though 'it is the character of symbols which permits them to be shaped to the interpretative requirements or inclinations of their individual users' (Cohen, 1994:17-18).

Given the symbolic power and attraction of tartan, I was anxious to discover whether this was a prime motivation leading people to mark out, construct, or re-construct ethnic affiliations with Scotland. This would imply some study of the reasons people appeared to feel the need for any further qualification of their American identity, embracing most probably questions surrounding the concepts of kinship and ethnicity, as opposed to nationality. If the expression of a Scottish element in identity seems desirable, then what is the fundamental attraction of this identity and what part does tartan and the kilt have to play not only in its expression but perhaps also in its creation?

The attraction of the tartan symbol in some instances is the critical element which results in a more complex construction of identity, but

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identity throughout, I have found in practise the hyphen is usually dropped.

it is by no means the only element. Indeed, the variety of concepts associated with the image of Scotland and its peoples are often the more powerful, visual, elements, subsequently re-inforced and consolidated through resort to the kilt and tartan by individuals. What is apparent is that tartan does have a significant role to play in the contemporary expression of Scottish identity by people in America; each individual encompasses a multi-layered identity, expressed differently and contingent on time, place and circumstance. The strength of the tartan symbol, whether it be manifested through the wearing of a kilt or some other tartan adornment, through attendance at Highland games or through participation in other ceremonies featuring tartan, is such that it may perhaps be considered to play an essential part in the expression of this identity in the United States today.

It is incumbent upon an ethnologist to exploit the flexibility afforded by his or her principal research weapon, that of fieldwork, or that of participant observation in the field; thus my argument is developed using the evidence obtained from a variety of interviews, from participation in different fora which had relevance to the subject, from participation in, or observation of practical exercises in which tartan featured as well as involvement in other arenas associated with the interpretation of Scottish culture and heritage. Although the priority has been to try to discern a pattern or structure by which the expression of Scottish identity might be measured, the picture actually consists of a very complex inter-relationship between cultural encounters, sub-cultures, cultural mixtures and counter cultures on the one hand and the process of globalisation, or the creation of sameness or similarity, and also of difference, on the other hand. Although the emphasis is on the individual, it is possible to discern the emergence of collective tradition, but this also raises the question of where such traditions might be leading and the very nature of these traditions, let

alone the nature of collectivity. I have chosen to analyse some of the fundamental motives which underlie the decision by Americans to express their identity more, or less, in Scottish terms, particularly where tartan appears instrumental in the decision which leads them to wear the kilt.

I have to acknowledge that the ethnic group with which this work is concerned defies the usual descriptions which may be applied to distinct homogenous ethnic collectivities. These are often defined by language and cultural heritages which fall outwith those associated with the early English speaking (on the whole) settlers. For the former, one of the binding forces has been, more often than not, a sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the latter and this has provided both the cement and, latterly, the incentive to attain positions of equality for the group. For the latter group and the successor immigrants from the same origin, the motivations which lie behind the need to discover an ethnic group through which they can re-define their American identity, are possibly as much to do with a response to the continued and expanding visibility of the former, as with the fact that:

> More people identify themselves ethnically than in years past because the ethnic unit is one of the few organisational forms that, on the macro-level, offers stability in a time of decline of authority in all its forms...and the nation, too, has lost much of its ideological foundation and power of attraction. (Roosens, 1989:17)

Stern and Cicala preface their analysis on creative ethnicity by stating that they are both ethnic themselves (Jewish and Sicilian) and are fascinated by what they call the 'rise of race and nationality consciousness that began in the 1960's' (1991:ix). I am attracted to their description as follows:

> Ethnicity in American society has always been

> problematic. The uncertainties of life in a multi-cultural society have been reflected in the folklore of ethnic groups, and these groups have found power and promise in folklore's ability to represent ethnicity imaginatively and to offer new ways of thinking about ethnicity itself...This creative flexibility in many forms of cultural expression suggests that ethnicity is a dynamic and evolving force in American life rather than a conservative grouping of old and outmoded ways. (1991:xi)

What I think will become apparent in this study is the way which the Scottish American ethnic identity (and I discuss ethnicity as the work progresses) is embracing this 'creative flexibility' and through its own dynamic is meeting the needs of those who wish to be part of this group. One of the most remarkable things about it is the dramatic increase in interest demonstrated in many different ways through the clan societies, the Highland games and other activities associated with the Scottish American *ethnie*. As the community expands its boundaries to meet the needs of individuals, so the dynamic appears to gather momentum and in so doing becomes creative at the same time. However, much of what is perceived to be an unadulterated and legitimate expression of Scottish cultural heritage, is in fact distinctly Scottish American, when viewed from the 'old country'.

Perhaps ethnic identity is the best term to use, 'the feeling of belonging to some ethnically defined group' as Marcus Banks puts it (1996:9); he draws our attention to Barth's main contention that we should consider the markers (dress, food, language) of ethnic identity, rather than the content, and that this will then lead to the boundaries that limit such content because one group cannot exist in isolation, only in contrast to others (1996:12). This suits my purpose well in the sense that dress forms the main focus of the study and allows the informant to determine his own precise boundaries within the group as a whole (which may choose other boundaries). Benedict Anderson encapsulates another quality of the community:

> Nations are 'imagined communities' in that members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear them yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (1983:15)

He was writing of nations and nationality but we could just as easily apply the 'imagined community' to one that is defined through its ethnic identity in the American context where ethnicity is so topical a subject, the 'forcefield of identity' as Nicholas Ruthwell puts it (1999:53). I think one of the greatest attractions which Scottish American identity seems to offer people in search of a 'root group' is the 'idea' of Scotland and this idea owes a considerable amount of its strength to the traditions which have been associated with it in the minds of many.

That a significant element expressed by this identity may be invested with new meaning on its transfer also has a bearing on role played by tartan, particularly when worn as a kilt, both in Scotland and the United States. Thus the need arises to define the 'idea' conveyed by the kilt and tartan, for the material cultural element in this identity fulfils a symbolic function, laden with meaning, which allows people to access the 'idea' and live the meaning in their extended identity. Whilst wearing the kilt is but one mode of 'dressing', it is perhaps more demonstrative than many other forms of clothing because of the weight of the symbolic baggage it carries. In a sense, Anne Brydon and Sandra Niessen illustrate the complexity of motives which wearing a kilt signals, in their phrase:

> Dressing negotiates between the intensely personal and the prescribed and constructed layers of the social...it is fraught with all the contradictions and tensions entrenched in universal, local and increasingly, also global social processes. (1998:xi)

C. Methods and Sources

In reviewing the methodology used in this piece of work, I am drawn to the ideas expressed by the ethnologist Maya Nadig; she expresses the thought that fieldwork remains the particular speciality of ethnology:

> It embodies the verbal, local and special and the reduction to a particular time. Participatory observation is the effective instrument for the research of processes of dis-embedding and re-embedding...Each field research describes a social situation in which the elimination of limits between tradition and modernity, local and global elements is repeated and reflected in the relation between the ethnologist and the informant. (1997:73)

In all my exchanges with informants I have been aware constantly of where I am coming from myself, how I perceive my identity, how I choose to express that identity depending upon time and place and circumstance. This in turn is reflected in the inter-action with the informant. Although most of the interviews were structured on the outline basis of the questionnaire (Appendix II), each one developed its own dynamic, depending on the particular responses received, resulting therefore in a semi-structured interview technique. A different line of questioning could thus emerge if it appeared to offer a fruitful source of information, or open up a new field of enquiry. The fieldwork based on these interviews developed its own legitimacy because each one was unique. The people I chose to interview can be divided broadly into four categories. The first comprised individual Americans willing to examine the pertinent elements of their own identity in some depth, although it was unlikely that they had ever actually addressed the question in any detail, even though to my certain knowledge they were in the habit of wearing the kilt on a relatively regular basis; this group consisted of three people.

Secondly, those who were in a position to provide specialist commentary from their involvement in organisations involved in the Scottish American 'movement';[13] this group comprised four people. Thirdly, individuals selected at random because they were attending a Highland games wearing the kilt, or who were involved in a clan tent, and who seemed to represent a cross section of people in terms of age and varying degrees of commitment; this group comprised six people. Fourthly, those in a position to give a different perspective through being chiefs of clans with active associations in the United States, numbering three people, together with an American clan society president. To these I have added a number of people interviewed during the course of previous research[14], where they may have volunteered opinions germane to this work.

Additionally, I have included material accumulated as a result of discussions with people during the general period of this research but whom I did not formally interview. All these informants offered views and opinions which reflect their own particular perceptions; together they provide a series of interpretations of the meaning and symbolism of tartan and the kilt in relation to Scottish identity, as well as, in many cases, extending the boundaries of that identity to include other elements which they deem fundamental to its construction in their terms. Above all, this is a qualitative analysis, which enables the researcher to draw conclusions which have relevance to the present and the place and the people forming the subject of the research. Again, in the words of Maya Nadig:

> The central issue is, to endure vagueness, ambiguity, ambivalence, and variety without quick generalisation,

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[13] The term I use to embrace the totality of Scottish American organisations, societies, events and activities.

[14] Interviewed during the course of fieldwork for an MA Honours dissertation, Op. Cit.

> classification and circumscription, and even more to take advantage of them as epistemological chance. That means, the always existing ethnological respect for the different, the detail, the concrete and the special proves to be an essential element of structural ethic. (1997:73)

Another dimension of the fieldwork has been my participation in a variety of conferences, meetings, talks and projects which have all contributed to a deeper understanding of the subject. I have been able to extend the research into the general as opposed to the individual field; this work has included two conferences held in Sarasota, Florida and organised by the Caledonian Foundation USA. At one of these I gave a paper on the contemporary expression of Scottish identity through the wearing of the kilt in Scotland and this in turn provoked interest amongst conferees and questions relating to their own identity; both these conferences proved fertile ground for identifying potential interviewees, particularly as the participants represented a number of Scottish American organisations meeting to discuss matters of mutual interest. Some of the papers also bore directly on the subject of my research. I have given two talks in the United States on the above-mentioned theme and in both cases the inter-action with the audience has resulted in further valuable comment from individuals about the way Scottish identity is currently being constructed and expressed in their country. I was also invited to deliver a paper to the Forum held in connection with National Tartan Day 2000 in Washington, DC. on the subject of the significance of tartan and the kilt in contemporary Scotland and the United States.[15]

Acting as a consultant adviser to the Atlanta International Museum in connection with their exhibition 'Tartan, the Cultural Fabric of a Nation', held between August 1999 and June 2000, provided yet

another source of material, in this case contributing to a specialist view of Scottish influences in the state of Georgia attributable to tartan. This exhibition included a number of descriptive text panels, and thus generated material which falls under my general description of written texts, from which I draw further inferences. Similar material associated with the 'Clanland' visitor centre in Easter Ross forms part of the corpus of information emanating from my study of the Clan Munro and its American dimension. The Clan Munro Association newsletters also come into this category, as does material gathered from individual clan tents at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in North Carolina and programmes from the games. Newsletters from other Scottish American organisations have also provided useful data, together with papers presented by others at conferences in which I have participated.

At the outset of this research, I had it in mind to concentrate on one clan and to examine the different layers of identity as expressed through its various hierarchies and institutions. Clan Munro seemed a suitable subject, since the clan association was engaged in opening a visitor centre on ancient clan territory. One of the motives was to provide relief from the pressure of visiting Munros on the chief's house, this pressure coming largely from American members of the association. Thus I envisaged looking at the expression of Scottish American identity both from the perspective of the American clan association and from that of the Scottish clan association and its chief. Subsequently, it seemed more appropriate to take a broader approach and, because of my own interests in the situation appertaining to my own clan, Clan Home, to contrast a fully functional and united organisation, such as the Munros, with an apparently fractured and dis-united organisation, such as the Homes. The decision to change

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[15] See Appendix VII

the emphasis allowed me to consider in rather more detail some of the very significant influences at work in the construction of Scottish identity in America. Thus the Highland games which I attended provided a rewarding field of study, although it has not been possible to examine many of the aspects of this movement. This is undoubtedly having a major influence in bringing the possibility of making a Scottish connection to the attention of many who otherwise would be unaware of such. The games deserve much greater study than afforded hitherto[16] and this could well form a suitable field for further research. For my purposes, they allowed me to contrast the general with the particular, to select people for interview and to set these interviews in their wider context. Arising out of the games, a further aspect presented itself, namely the Kirkin' o' the Tartan, a ceremony in which tartan banners are blessed, usually forming part of a church service. This ceremony embodies so many transfers of symbolic meaning which in some senses make it the ultimate expression of Scottish identity for Americans when acting to express that identity collectively. I examine these influences in the chapter preceding my concluding remarks.

Following the decision to broaden the field of research it was, nevertheless, necessary to exclude certain categories of people known to wear the kilt, usually because of a specific occupation or interest associated with Scotland. For this reason I did not interview members of pipe bands, Scottish country dancers, participants in games' athletic events or re-enactment groups. It could be said that for these groups, wearing the kilt was an actual requirement of participating in the chosen activity; the decision to wear it was not really a matter of choice for the individual, although the fact that the

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[16] Rowland Berthoff's 'Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground', *JAEH*, 1982 and Grant Jarvie's *Highland Games; The Making of the Myth*, 1991 are the only two devoted to this topic, in so far as I'm aware.

activity required them to wear the kilt in the first place may have been instrumental in their decision to participate. Even so, this did not preclude interviews with those who might incidentally belong to one of these groups, but who were selected because they happened to be wearing the kilt in a 'private' capacity. From the previous research I have conducted in Scotland, I surmised that those wearing the kilt could be divided into two main groups: those who had traditionally worn the kilt as a result of family custom, the 'traditional' kilt wearers, and those who generally constituted the first generation to wear the kilt, the 'new' kilt wearers. The main findings of this research have been incorporated into an early chapter, as I believe they provide an important yardstick by which the material gathered in my research for this thesis can be measured; this is particularly so because on that occasion I was trying to establish what the kilt and tartan meant in terms of identity for Scots.

The final source of data I shall mention is the world wide web. One has only to browse for a relatively short time to find an extremely large number of links to pages devoted to the Scottish interest. These range in content from individual clan association sites, through to Scottish organisations active in the United States, to pages of Scottish history and culture (both accurate and inaccurate), to lists of clans and families and their tartans, usually with simplified histories, genealogical services and the National Archives of Scotland. In addition to this type of information, which seems to be aimed at the person anxious to find and make a connection with Scottish roots real or imagined, there are also a large number of pages devoted to visiting Scotland, tours and guides, crafts and speciality goods, as well as standard information of a more serious nature detailing official government, educational, business and cultural organisations. The Bibliography lists the principal websites I have found, and includes examples from such sites promoted by organisations mentioned in this

thesis, although by no means all of the latter have web pages. Web pages specifically associated with the two clans – Munro and Home – are included in Appendix IX. It may well be that a very large number of people first make their connection through one of these pages; if they believe they have connections through forebears then it is possible very quickly to enter a whole new world where the emphasis is on heritage, tartan and clan. This is evidenced in some of the interviews, but the web is only used as a resource in the course of my examination of the problems surrounding Clan Home and its societies, as I believe this illustrates the way it can function in presenting tartan and the idea of clan to people for the first time.

Jeff Todd Titon offers some interesting thoughts on 'hypertexts' ('...electronic documents, read on the screen of the computer rather than on printed paper' [Bolter et al 1993.21]):

> Unlike books they do not end – readers stop...I take it as axiomatic that hypertext is the way in which people will increasingly experience information in the 21st century. Text will be digitized, stored and available as on-line information...Texts may make us, but we also make texts; we translate, we represent. Texts in this sense are always nostalgic, longing for experience...texts are our expressive culture. (Titon, 1995.441-446)

The availability of so much information on the web can only serve to increase the general interest in the Scottish dimension, and the fact that so much of this text is of a nostalgic nature, bears out the above definition, though Titon may not have had this particular dimension in mind.

D. Particular Characteristics of this Work

In a sense, this thesis might be described as one in which different approaches outlined in the previous section are used to illustrate the same theme; the personal angle of each contributor varies and in each case, I have endeavoured to maintain the centrality of the kilt and tartan in the discussions; whilst using a broad based questionnaire as a point of reference for each interview, I always tried to explore the theme in the light of the dynamic created by the inter-action between myself and the contributor. From this approach, a broadly comprehensive view emerged, that what we are really dealing with is an intangible idea embracing a whole raft of elements, which include ethnicity, kinship, identity – all words used by contributors without prompting – and which embraces a concept of 'heritage' allowing the individual to key in to a real or imagined past and express this through the highly symbolic material cultural artefacts of the kilt and tartan. Taking this a step further, I have endeavoured to examine the attraction of these symbols from other perspectives, and in particular from that of the participant observer through to being the active participant or even the instigator of dialogue through involvement with different organisations. Thus my own role has been a multi-faceted one, not restricted to that of the pure ethnographer, nor even to that of the participant observer. If contemporary ethnologists are to endeavour to understand the complex interplay of influences which derive from our traditional cultures and which are used to shape our contemporary societies and the traditions which they embrace, particularly when it concerns the use of significant symbolic objects to express identity, then I believe we have to construct the type of multi-faceted examination or enquiry that I have sought to employ in this work.

The question of reflexivity and objectivity has to be addressed in any ethnographic writing; Claude Levi-Strauss offered a view relatively early on in the debate about 'self' and the 'other':

> The ethnologist does not feel obliged to take the conditions in which his own thought operates, or the science peculiar to his society and his period, as a fundamental subject of reflection in order to extend these local findings into a form of understanding, the universality of which can never be more than hypothetical and potential.(1969.10-11)

As an ethnography, this study has raised interesting questions of perspective; on the one hand I have approached the Scottish American community as the 'other', coming from Scotland and on the other hand, I have found myself conducting my fieldwork not only as a participant but as, perhaps, an active agent in promoting the 'self' values to which the 'other' has demonstrated affinity. In a sense, particularly whilst at a Highland gathering, I could have been labelled by my informants as 'the indigenous ethnographer, studying his own culture' (Clifford & Marcus, 1986.9), since I was dressed identically, in a kilt, and to all intents and purposes was a member of the same Scottish community of which they deemed themselves members. Ostensibly and outwardly we purported to share the same culture and heritage.

In this case, there could be little notion of objectivity; indeed it would have appeared offensive had I represented myself as being, in Clifford's words 'representative of the dominant culture' (1983.142), in that Scotland represented the 'authentic' source of the culture portrayed on the specific occasion.

> The ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognised as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and "objective" distance. (Clifford & Marcus, 1986.13)

This accurately reflects my own position on the many occasions I was recording informants' views, although at times I found that the dialogue which took place during an interview inevitably reflected a degree of subjectivity. I prefer to take the view that many of these dialogues should be regarded more as conversations or discussions, rather than straight question and answer occasions and I recognise that I may have influenced some answers. Clifford suggests that informants should be regarded as 'co-authors, the ethnographer as scribe, archivist and interpreting observer' (1986.17).

Stephen Tyler argues that:

> A post-modern ethnography is a co-operatively evolved text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an element of fantasy of a possible world of common-sense reality, and then to provoke an aesthetic integration that will have a therapeutic effect. (Clifford & Marcus, 1986.125)

I am unable to accept that this mind-set might apply either to the informants, whose transcribed contributions form the basis of this study, or to myself, the ethnographer adding an interpretation which, far from being intended to have any element of fantasy or therapeutic value, is produced to ascertain a reality from a possible world of fantasy.

This raises another question particularly relevant to the role of the ethnologist; simply put, the anthropologist may be the interpreter of the informant's words, but the ethnologist, where possible, endeavours to let these words speak for themselves. My approach contrasts with Clifford's, when Paul Rainbow argued that Clifford (and Geertz before him) 'tended to suppress the dialogic dimension of fieldwork,

giving full control of the text to the anthropologist' (Clifford & Marcus, 1986.245). In this work, I have placed great emphasis on my informants' contributions, letting them quantify the various iterations of Scottishness, or how they represent the Scottish aspect of their identity. I have sought to let people articulate their thoughts in more than simple sound-bites, and the nature of many of the interviews may best be compared to the oral history interview. Semi-structured, it is essentially synchronic and reflexive, often 'going with the flow' and in great depth; these excerpts are in contrast to the often very selective excerpts sometimes favoured by sociologists. In the longer interviews, with prior notice, people have had to confront their own perceptions of their identity – perhaps revealing these for the first time. I have not found it necessary continually to interpret the words of my informants, only commenting on the degree to which they appear to illustrate the conclusions this work arrives at. It is perhaps rare to go into such great depth even from the ethnological perspective, where the interview is more usually the contextual background for the study of artistic creation.

I would agree with Pat Caplan whose observation Stoeltje, Fox and Olbys quote in *The Self in Fieldwork* (1999.159):

> One of reflexivity's basic tenets, which is that of the self, including the cultural baggage which the ethnographer brings to the field, helps shape the ethnographic encounter.

And in the same paper:

> The processes of fieldwork are always imbued with questions of otherness. Who is the 'other'...A new consciousness has brought to our attention issues of subjectivity and objectification...and new methodologies are emerging in response. (1999.160)

I have tried to empathise with my contributors, aware that, as I was asking them fundamental questions about their own identity, the

identity which I portrayed to them would have some influence, perhaps, on the way they responded. I have felt it important for them to reveal how they are articulating their identity, but acknowledge that this incidentally raises the question of identity politics, a field I have chosen not to explore on this occasion. My aim has been to establish relationships which allow for the exploration of peoples' attitudes and which may point a way for this type of study in the future. Jeff Titon makes the point that:

> Folklore text is peculiar because it is a written representation of an original that is spoken, sung, gestured or crafted from a longer oral and customary exchange among people. Whereas the original of a literary, historical, or legal text is writing...the original of a folklore text is not writing at all. (1995.433)[17]

Whilst the original texts in our case have a distinctly visual element, the folklore, or ethnological, text produced represents a distillation of the recordings of informants' views on the material culture employed to illustrate identities. These recordings themselves reflect the conversation or exchange resulting from a constantly changing relationship between ethnologist and contributor. Again in Titon's words , we are perhaps dealing with performance, rather than text: 'Folklorists...embraced reflexivity and inter-subjectivity, becoming more aware of authority, power, reciprocity and representation.' (1995.436), which he contrasts with Geertz's view that events can be read just as texts, with particular reference to the Cock Fight (Geertz, 1973.448).

Throughout my research, I was aware that my known interests, or apparent loyalties, could affect the way an informant responded; 'I became aware that my presence must have affected certain

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[17] Folklore, and Folklorist are taken to be the American academic terms which equate to the European terms Ethnology and Ethnologist.

performances.' (Triton, 1995.439), although the performance was the actual dialogue between us in varying settings, which themselves will have had an influence. The difference between an interview in my house in Scotland, compared with that conducted against a background of pipe band music and clan tents, for example, might also affect the timbre of the performance. This ethnography has been based on the 'hermeneutics[18] of empathy, in which the interpreter comes to understand 'others' through friendship and imaginatively changing places with them.' (Triton, 1995.438).

In changing places with them 'imaginatively', I also became aware on occasion that I might be participating in a type of performance which Eugene Hann ascribed to a group of Northern folklorists, who were collecting in Arkansas during World War II, whom he termed as ' intruders, not scholars, but in their enthusiasm for folk they displayed traits frequently seen in the zealous folklorist who approaches the field with no reflexive capacities.' (Lares & Penates, 1959.245):

> How astounding and pathetic then to observe the strivings of persons who yearned for these hobbles and stays! For that is what it was, a yearning – to return to sources from which some of them had not flowed in the first place, to be something which they could not become, to possess something which could only be bequeathed from father to son, and that not wittingly. (1959.244)

This describes what I would call a role reversal in encounters in Florida and California, where some of my informants appeared so eager to access and take on at least part of the identity which I represented that I found myself having to acknowledge their enthusiasm, whilst not making evident my reservations as to the way they were constructing and expressing their, perhaps, newly found Scottish American identity.

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[18] A method of interpreting meaning in written texts (Titon, 1995.432)

> In spite of all my care, I found that one turn of my phrase or another would make my new acquaintances 'ecstatic as they recognised the true folk tinge', as one of them called it, a turn of phrase which made me feel somewhat tainted. But I kept my songs to myself. (Lares & Penates, 1959.244)

For 'folk tinge' read any phrase in Scots, or any reference to an old custom or tradition which I may have used or made in the course of conversation. The exceptional enthusiasm and yearning for the trappings of a past heritage which Hann noted amongst those folklorists was mirrored to a very real extent in much that I have observed.

Stoeltje, Fox and Olbrys effectively make the point that with much more interest and discussion taking place on identity politics today, the researcher's identity in all its aspects are relevant to fieldwork, summed up perhaps by Ruth Finnegan (1992) as a change of the role of the researcher undertaking ethnological fieldwork from that of collector to that of participant-observer (1999.166-167). I believe that the position I have taken in the course of my fieldwork is reflected in their recommendation:

> Those who succeed in telling us something valuable about a particular society or ethnographic subject are those who can negotiate relationships, and this is generally being aware of the self as well as the subject. (1999.178)

I intend to let the words of my informants speak for themselves, where ever possible, because they articulate the sentiments which describe their own perceptions of identity in its Scottish context and the role that tartan might play in its expression. Their contributions have an immediacy which cannot be ascribed to other sections of this study based on my own observations or participation in various events.

Marcus puts it effectively, but I would, as an ethnologist, place even more emphasis on the part played by transcription:

> In an important sense, fieldwork is synonymous with the activity of inscribing diverse contexts of oral discourse through field notes and recordings. Unlike historical research (with the exception of oral history), ethnography originates in orality and only makes the transition to writing with difficulty.(Clifford & Marcus, 1986.264)

CHAPTER TWO

Scottish and Scottish American USA

A. The Kilt in Scotland today

I believe that an understanding of the way the kilt is regarded in Scotland today by those who wear it will be a helpful introduction in providing a background against which to view my findings amongst those wearing the kilt in the United States. As I have already indicated, these findings should really be regarded as the prelude to the present study. The published essay,[19] representing a summary of this work,[20] is the principal source for this section. My research confirmed many of my own pre-conceptions as to the light in which the kilt was held by the 'traditional' kilt wearers, it being a mark primarily of Highland identity. In so far as the 'new' kilt wearers were concerned, an interesting picture emerged regarding the part it played in the individual expression of what was more markedly a Scottish identity. By and large, in contemporary Scotland, the kilt is looked on as national rather than a specifically Highland dress. The distinction that I draw between the 'traditional' and the 'new' kilt wearers finds an echo in the Scottish American community, equating perhaps to those who are accustomed to wearing the kilt because of a family tradition and those who are the first in their family to have worn the kilt.

This methodology used for this work, mostly carried out in 1996, was based on interviewing people from a number of different groups. The first group of people who were known to wear the kilt comprised six informants and these were representative in one way or another of

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[19] *ROSC* 12, Op. Cit.
[20] MA Honours Dissertation, Op. Cit.

people traditionally associated with the kilt, that is chiefs of clans, Highland lairds and others by virtue of office. The next group comprised two informants involved professionally with the kilt. The third group covered a broad social range comprising seven informants. The last group consisted of people chosen at random without prior contact, whom I came across in the street or in Highland outfitter's shops, comprising ten informants. This total of twenty five people were interviewed using a twenty point questionnaire as an aide-memoire, but the pre-arranged interviews were of much greater depth than those conducted on the street, the latter being necessarily briefer by nature.

Tradition was mentioned by many of my informants in this particular research (and as with this present study, they were all kilt wearers) as being the reason they choose to wear the kilt when they do, or is the fundamental element in the choice of tartan. It is not unusual to hear it suggested that the whole tradition of wearing the kilt and tartan in its present form is an invented tradition dating back barely two hundred years, if that. But it may be argued that by its very adoption, such tradition has become established in the same way that applies to so many other traditions. Hobsbawm takes the view that invented tradition 'seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (1983:1) and here he may well be close to the truth, for 'continuity with the past' may be an important consideration for many. Traditions, whether spontaneously invented or not cannot be separated from the wider study of the history of society and they are highly relevant to that relatively recent historical innovation - the 'nation' (Hobsbawm & Ranger,1983:12-13). Is the 'nation' or patriotism one of the major underlying themes in the consideration of wearing the kilt in Scotland today, or is it still much more an expression of Highland identity? Inevitably, the more we attempt to define tradition in this

context, the more important it becomes to consider the symbolism of tartan as an expression of national identity. To my mind, Orvar Loefgren sets the scene perceptively, when he speaks of inventing traditions: 'Here we have a much more complex pattern of accommodation, re-organisation and re-cycling, in which different interest groups have different claims at stake' (1989:5-23). This could well be applied to the complexity of the different motives which characterise the kilt wearers of today. Whilst it is clear that the kilt and tartan are looked on as part of the national culture, inspite of being exploited almost more than any other national symbols for the purposes of tourism, now it might be argued that the kilt is in the process of gradually being returned to the people. This seems to be born out by the experience of the outfitters and suppliers of tartan, especially to judge by the experience of those in the business of hiring out Highland dress.

One of the fundamental questions is that relating to the place of the kilt in the minds of its wearers from the traditional and symbolic perspective. Storaas, when discussing the development of a Norwegian national dress, which was specifically part of the agenda in that country's campaign to become independent at the beginning of this century, refers to the importance of symbols(1986:148). By the time the dangers of Jacobitism were considered to be past, and whereas previously the wearing of tartan had been held to be such a potent symbol of Highland culture and identity (and by definition probably Jacobite and anti-government), the banning of its wear had fragmented the solidarity of which Storaas speaks. The paradox is, that once permitted for general use again, Highland dress emerges with very different symbolism, following 'the Establishment capture of tartan' (McCrone et al, 1995:52). Now it was associated with British imperial success, through its continued use by Highland regiments in the Seven Years War.

Tartan, particularly its manifestation in the form of a kilt, a form of dress that seems to enhance substantially its evocative power, is a peculiar symbol for the very reason of the strong images which it is able to conjure up in the eye both of the wearer and the beholder. It fits readily into what G.M. Cracken has described as a category of cultural meaning: 'displaced meaning, i.e. cultural meaning that has deliberately been removed from the daily life of a community and re-located in a distant cultural domain' (1988:104). In this context, the kilt ceased to be an article of daily wear amongst the greater part of the Highland community, following its proscription in 1746 in the aftermath of Culloden and the last Jacobite rebellion. The fact that it re- emerged in a different cultural context following the repeal of this Act in 1782 and continued in use in a formalised British military context thereafter only serves to emphasise this shift and in Cracken's words 'there to be kept within reach but out of danger'. displaced meaning strategy allows a culture to remove its ideals out of harms way" (1988:105). Claude Levi-Strausss's *bricolage* concept comes to mind here – the re-ordering of objects to communicate fresh meanings (Levi-Strauss, 1969:16-22), the mental dynamics of which Richard Dorson suggested allowed for 'very complicated syntheses of old and new ideas' (1972:260). The Highland culture had to rely on external or semi-detached protagonists to effect this shift; the government on the one hand saw the advantage in terms of military recruitment of restricting continued use of traditional garb to soldiers, whilst those behind the repeal of the Act were the upper class members of the Highland Society of London, with perhaps different motives to those in whose name they were acting.

The kilt can be viewed as an artefact which in the popular mind recalled the Scottish Highlands and its culture to the extent that it continued to have significant meaning after its proscription. This

allows us to draw useful parallels with the way in which today it has become the representer of an entire heritage, for those who would have access to that heritage however imagined and for whatever motivation.

> The motivation for the exceptional purchase is usually anticipatory...purchased in anticipation of a much larger package of goods, attitudes and circumstances of which it is a piece...the bridge that allows access to the past. (Cracken 1988:111)

Cracken argues that evocative power of objects gives individuals access to something that would otherwise be inaccessible to them and that by possessing such objects, they take possession of that meaning. He extends this argument with an interesting analysis of what happens to that meaning:

> ...goods accomplish this semiotic miracle without actually bringing displaced meaning into the withering light of the real world. In this capacity, the 'good' makes displaced meaning accessible without also making it vulnerable to empirical test or compromising its diplomatic status...An object comes to concretise a much larger set of attitudes, relationships, circumstances, all of which are summoned to memory and rehearsed in fantasy when the individual calls the object to mind. (1988:110)

This concept of the concretisation of the abstract is fundamental to the understanding of why people are attracted to expressing an aspect of their identity in such material cultural terms. It is arguable that with such a 'good' artefact as the kilt, Cracken's displaced meaning is actually brought into the withering light, but, interestingly, this is done quite consciously by those who put on a kilt. Furthermore such people are quite willing to defend its 'diplomatic status'.

Tartan and Highland dress were to re-emerge in a sophisticated militarily fashioned form for wear by the upper classes. In terms of price, it was now beyond the reach of the ordinary man, since the

weaving of tartan was no longer a domestic skill, thirty five years of prohibition having largely dispersed the necessary skills.[21] Now it was the province of the industrial weavers. The demise of the kilt as every-day wear may well have coincided with the passing of the generation which had known it before proscription, although it would doubtless continue in use by ex-soldiers to a degree. By 1819, Southey's observations encapsulate the transition of the kilt from being the dress of ordinary people to being increasingly restricted to the military and the upper classes:

> It is proof of increasing decency and civilisation that the Highland philabeg, or male petticoat, is falling into disuse. Upon a soldier or a gentleman it looks well; but on the common people and especially with boys, it is a filthy, beggarly, indecent garb...(1819:139-140)

I think the fundamental reason for this transition is one of cost. This was to remain a factor precluding its wider use for possibly the next one hundred and fifty years, and it is only with the appearance of the kilt hire shops, combined with the relatively recent increase in many people's disposable income, that the kilt is perhaps once again becoming a popular dress. Cost is not the only reason; its symbolism too has altered. One of the clear things to emerge from my research, is the broad distinction that can be drawn between those who are the successors of the above-quoted 'soldier or a gentleman' (in my terms 'traditional' kilt wearers) and those who might be the successors of the 'common people' (`new' kilt wearers). Their different reasons for wearing the kilt reflect two different aspects of symbolism; for the former it still reflects an expression of Highland identity, for the latter, primarily Scottish identity .

As the nineteenth century progressed, not only did the whole clan

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[21] The Sobieski Stuarts were probably the first to make the point, in *Vestiarium Scotticum* (1842:65)

tartan 'myth' become established 'fact', following the Royal visit of 1822, but also the precise style and accoutrements required for any specific occasion became defined by the arbiters of fashion, to the extent that few dared jeopardise their position in society by disobeying the rules. James Scarlett suggests that this elevation of tartan into something of almost mystic significance, coupled with the demands of Victorian society, created something from which we are only now perhaps beginning to free ourselves, and may account in part for the way some Scots view the American use of tartan:

> There were those who made it known that only Scots or those of Scottish descent might wear the kilt and that no-one could sport a clan tartan unless related in some way to the clan. This was just what was needed to put the tartan cult on to a firm footing. The unattainable is naturally sought after, so people began to want to be of Scottish descent in order to wear tartan, which thereby became a sort of status symbol...it was the Victorian standards of ostentation and etiquette that regimented tartan...rarely can there have been such a prolific marriage of supply and demand and it continues. (1990:37)

From an ethnologist's point of view the information supplied by those who have customarily worn the kilt since their childhood provides the benchmark against which the views of others, who by definition do not have any family 'tradition' of wearing the kilt, can be compared. They nearly all profess to wear it as an expression of their own Highland rather than Scottish identity. They generally accept that it has now moved into the pan-Scottish sphere and is, to all intents and purposes, the national dress of Scotland as a whole. Brought up to regard the Highland Line as the defining limit beyond which the kilt should not, except in rare circumstances, be worn, their views about this have begun to be more relaxed. Many of the criteria surrounding the wearing of the kilt still derive from those stemming from the Victorian and Edwardian eras of the grandfathers of this group of people. There is general disapproval of any tendency for the kilt to be

worn as fancy dress or even as an expression of national identity, particularly in its football supporters mode. In other words, unless worn 'properly' with the right accessories, or on the hill in a more relaxed way, it shouldn't be worn at all. The more it becomes a mark of national identity, the less apposite it seems to be for everyday wear, in the way of their fathers. By contrast the views of the 'new kilt wearers' betray very little of the conditioning of the 'traditional' group, but rather display an interesting interpretation of tradition for their own purposes.

Amongst the informants from the 'traditional' wearers who have worn the kilt from their earliest years, Alastair Campbell of Airds is typical of someone who finds that his own practice and views have been changing:

> I used to wear it a lot; we used to have a great annual pilgrimage home from the South and when one came up here one used to wear the kilt....I think wearing the kilt was a far more important thing when you weren't living in Scotland and funnily enough when you are living here, you don't have the same sort of need to assert your identity. Personally now, I wear the kilt in the evening and I wear it on sort of smart occasions. I tend to wear it at a wedding...one of the things that seems to have changed in recent memory is the old shibboleth that you never wore your kilt outside the Highlands, because I think now you wear it in Scotland; I think the Highland/Lowland divide seems to have relaxed...and if I am going to the Garden Party at Holyrood, I make the point of wearing the kilt, whereas a generation ago, I don't think my father and his generation probably would; it now becomes standard practice. (SSS.SA1996.40)

The need to assert identity when outwith Scotland will be mirrored, perhaps, in the attitude of Scottish Americans.

Alexander Stewart of Ardvorlich, another 'traditional' wearer, expresses rather firmer views with regard to the kilt as still being specifically associated with the Highlands:

> It (the kilt) is a Highland thing, I mean that is the reason I wear it...I regard myself as a Highlander...it's just one aspect of Highland identity... I've got perhaps a rather old-fashioned view of it, but I think it is an expression of your family and the clan you belong to and if it is to have any meaning at all, it really should be tied to the name you have. I think it would be the end of the kilt in the way it is now used, if anybody could wear it regardless of what their name was.(SSS.SA1996.41)

These views would not be welcome to many with tenuous connections to name and clan, especially in the United States. He also recalls the customs of the Victorian laird, in the person of his great grandfather, who after spending much of his life in India, retired to Ardvorlich in his fifties and seems to have worn the kilt very much more than would now be the case:

> I've never seen a photograph of him when he wasn't wearing a kilt...he was here until 1910 and I think there was a lot of the wearing of the kilt then, really, rather more than there is now among people like him, anyway...I wear the kilt from time to time when I'm shooting grouse, particularly, I suppose, when we are having foreign shooting tenants; I feel it's rather expected of one to appear in the kilt...I still mainly wear it on formal occasions, again for church and almost any time that otherwise I would put on a suit in the Lowlands. (SSS.SA1996.41)

Another viewpoint is expressed by John Macleod of Macleod, who in spite of attitudes inherited from his father as to the use of the kilt outwith the Highlands, finds as chief of a world-wide association, such as is the Clan Macleod, that modern pressures and expectations play an increasing part in dictating when the kilt is worn. Paradoxically, those from the tourists actually lead him to wear it less frequently at Dunvegan, because, if spotted, he can never get away from them:

> My father had very strong views about the kilt, which were handed on to me in terms of wearing it. He said you should never wear it south of the Highland Line for

> any reason whatsoever, except possibly if you were going to Court - he felt that the wearing of the kilt as fancy dress or as national costume or something you put on only for special occasions was something that was absolutely ridiculous and contrary to the whole cultural feeling of himself and Scotland. So I was marked by that and as a result, I think I would wear the kilt every day all my life really, north of the Highland Line....I wore the kilt all the time and I would today, all the time, because it's much the best garment to wear in this climate. The only thing that stops me is the tourists! Now of course, when I go abroad or when I go to England for Scottish things, I certainly wear it. (SSS.SA1996.44)

Whilst not really forming part of the above group of traditional kilt wearers, since they come from a different social background, the following group of people have all worn the kilt since boyhood. A former Lord Provost of Edinburgh holds views on tartan which certainly don't accord with those held by the above-mentioned and which are rarely found even amongst the 'new' kilt wearers:

> I'm probably a heretic although there are lots of us around. It probably won't surprise you in my role as Lord Provost people ask me often which tartan I am wearing, because I wear five or six different kilts, what the reasons are for it and is it my family tartan and broadly the answer is: "No it's not." I have a brown one, a green one, a red one, a pink dress one and I wear what I choose. (SSS.SA1996.12)

The views of the older generation, particularly those brought up in the retail trade of traditional Highland outfitters, illustrate the nature of the transition between the two groups of kilt wearers I have defined:

> Many is the time I shudder at what people are wearing the kilt, and to my mind are insulting it.... However, if you like to look at the new wedding photographs, you can tell immediately that it's a hired kilt and they are not good, naturally enough, churned in, in and out; that was one of the bad things to my mind that has come about, is this hired, hire outfit...Then I would say in the 70's it began with young men getting a kilt outfit for their twenty first birthdays and they didn't have to go and buy a dinner suit every five years...whereas people used to have about three kilts when they (the gentry) came into

> us originally - they would get a heavyweight worsted for out in the country, they would have a fine worsted for wearing in the town and a very lightweight worsted for a ball in the evening, now that's all co-ordinated into one medium worsted. (SSS.SA1996.43)

A young, modern outfitter and also a regular kilt wearer regrets the passing of the kilt as an item of everyday wear:

> Unfortunately we very rarely see people these days wearing the kilt as a day-to-day outfit, which is quite sad; they wear it for the more formal occasions. You do see it obviously for the sports occasions too, the patriotic side of things, you know. (SSS.SA1996.49)

The above quotations give a sense of the wide diversity of views expressed by those accustomed to wearing the kilt from childhood and who have in one way or another been influenced in their outlook by previous generations. For those who have taken up wearing the kilt as adults, the move represents a very positive decision on their part. In terms of the expression of identity that it implies, it is a significant decision and one which relates directly to a Scottish rather than Highland identity, but not a 'forged' identity as Atkinson would have it:

> The destruction of Highland social systems by the British state and the adoption of Highland myths and accoutrements by a Lowland Scotland in social turmoil has generated a material culture which symbolises Scotland's forged identity. (1996.65)

I believe the views expressed by the informants which follow challenge the above assertion that the wearing of the kilt in Scotland today, especially by those who have no tradition of wearing it, constitutes an expression of 'forged' identity. On the contrary I believe it might be the expression of a new or re-born identity which becomes apparent from these interviews. The new kilt wearers I talked to come from a wide diversity of backgrounds and will be seen in some measure to have been strongly influenced in their thinking by

the conventions surrounding the wearing of the kilt. This is hardly surprising, when one considers the very nature of the dress, which by definition is a traditional costume, in that it has been worn by and large in a similar manner for well over a hundred and fifty years.

My first informant of the second group might just as easily have been included amongst the traditional kilt wearers, if his background is taken into account, being a retired army officer and farming a large hill farm. However he appears to have made a conscious decision not only to wear the kilt, but also to break the mould by wearing a new specially designed tartan:

> When we came here, I had no kilt and decided that it would be rather nice to have one of our own, because I assumed that in the old days families wove their own kilts and that's how they came about. So I took it upon myself to design what I felt would reflect my personality.... as I see it kilts are, tartan I should say, is there to reflect the personality of the wearer...One or two people have said "What kilt is that?" and I have had the odd remark passed that..."Oh well, it's not a real tartan." I'm not quite sure what they mean by that, but I suspect that maybe they feel that anything that's been developed since within the last hundred and fifty years must be some sort of `nouveau riche' tartan, but as far as I can see, tartans are alive and kicking and developing all the time.. I ought to wear it more often than I do, because it's a very practical, very comfortable thing to wear... I don't feel at all inhibited in Scotland and one can wear it when it's sheeting on the hills, wear it with a pullover, just walking around casually at the weekend, whatever....(SSS.SA1996.46)

The prime motivation for Martin Robb seems to have been the Highland environment into which he moved after leaving the Army. Having made the decision to get a kilt, he made a break with tradition by not seeking out a tartan with which he might have had family associations, relying instead on creating something personal. In this sense, he may be representative of a new type of kilt wearer who wishes to get back to the pre-industrial era of natural dyes, and who is happier wearing his kilt without any of the conventional inhibitions.

For him it is more an expression of his own personality and the Highland environment he lives in than anything to do with Scottish identity. The next contributor represents a similar type of new kilt wearer in that he doesn't come from a Highland background, he doesn't have any family tradition of wearing the kilt and who, in spite of different social circumstances to those of, say, Martin Robb, is also a pioneer in his own way. Ken Dakers was born in Fife and moved to the Highlands ten years ago from there, as a head game-keeper:

> I started wearin' the kilt, it must be thirty years ago... I was quite patriotic about the thing from the start and I got a second-hand kilt and found it very comfortable....and I felt quite proud to wear the kilt. I didna wear it on all occasions, I didna have an outfit, just a kilt, a sporran and a belt. Didna have a jacket or didnae wear it for formal occasions...I felt a wee bit nervous at first, I think, but no...you didnae see so many people at that time...they were scared to wear the kilt; I was in a bar, I think and they laughed at people that wore the kilt. Your own people...I find that very strange. But the fact I'm up in the Highlands now - there's a lot more kilt wearers up here, but certainly over the years it's changed, without a doubt. They have far more pride in their identity now, far more pride... I've had quite a few kilts in my time...there's none of them really mine and eventually I thought, well my mother's a Murray, you see, so that's my immediate clan and I thought I better get a kilt made, so I got a Murray kilt made just this last year, that's the one I wore at ma son's weddin', so I treated meself... I'm no Highland born an' bred at all and I was certainly wearin' the kilt before I come up here. In fact there's no a lot o' day-to-day kilt wearers...they're kind o' scared to do it; I mean when I started wearin' my kilt to the shootin' days, I see two or three other keepers round about, Colin Gibson at Dunachton, he wears his kilt to the hill on the hot days. It takes somebody to make the move; it's not a case of being extrovert, or anything, it's a case of bein' practical... and people are taking a pride in their country. (SSS.SA1996.45)

In the kilt, Ken Dakers seems to have found a happy way of combining his patriotism with the practical requirements of his job. He also commented on the constraints imposed by the kilt-hire firm in relation to his son's wedding, with their insistence on what constituted

a correct outfit; this contrasted sharply with his own relaxed view on dress. The sentiments he expressed regarding the initiative required to wear a kilt, when no one else in his immediate environment did, demonstrate the point Flugel makes about the forces hostile to change or reform, 'man's intense fear of appearing different from his fellows' (1950:207,) and Dakers perhaps exemplifies his dictum 'truest manliness can be achieved by freedom rather than by slavish subservience to convention.' (1950:212) Essentially, he has adapted the wearing of the kilt to his own needs.

The gradual development of that identity originally associated with the Highlands, then the Highland regiments of the British Army, into an expression of national identity is being demonstrated today by many of those who take up the wearing of the kilt. Interestingly the attraction still exerted by the kilt in the military context is clearly demonstrated by Regimental Sergeant Major Ballantyne, who was brought up in Glasgow and Paisley:

> I'd never worn a kilt until I had joined the Army and went to Glencorse; 1975 was the first time I wore a kilt...I went to the recruiting office and I went there to join the Artillery or the Engineers and was swayed by a good recruiter pointin' out a recruitin' poster with a young soldier in a kilt and he says "That could be you in two month's time, that soldier could be you and have you ever wore the kilt before?" and I says not; "Would you like to wear a kilt?" and I always had wanted to wear the kilt, but had never had the occasion to do so, so that was one of the attractions that brought me into the regiment...I don't actually get to wear a civvy kilt as much as I would like to...I'm always lookin' for occasions to wear it... sadly it's being worn in the wrong types of dress now and I think the *Braveheart* film has brought that on a lot, people wantin' to wear the kilt again, but not wearin' it in the correct style...Great to see them wearin' the kilt, but there's somethin' that strikes me as not right to wear it as an every day garment.(SSS.SA1996.41)

In a sense this 'new' kilt wearer has already become a 'traditional' kilt wearer, expressing the same concerns voiced by 'traditional'

informants about the way the kilt is worn. Two of his colleagues in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, whom I also interviewed, thought that the expense of the 'attire', i.e. the proper jacket, shoes, sporran, etc. was a deterrent to kilt-wearing, principally on the grounds of cost. These two soldiers were the regimental kiltmakers and in addition to their duties also made civilian kilts for fellow soldiers in their own time. Like the RSM, neither had worn a kilt before they joined the regiment:

> I s'pose I felt a fair bit o' pride in it, wearin' ma kilt...It makes you feel a wee bit special an' that, a feelin' o' Scottishness... I think ma views have changed a lot...I think as a young boy, as a young boy growing up on the West Coast, if I saw somebody in a kilt, because it was something ye didna see everyday, if ye saw someone in a kilt...I think they would ha' been embarrassed, but grown up now, one realises, ye realise that it's a part o' our heritage, ye know, not just that - it's one of the smartest forms o' dress now.

> Aye, there's more people askin' yea, last six months to year, more and more people showing interest... It used to be a lot o' the elder people askin' for kilts, but now it's a peerie thing, twenty year and upwards... (SSS.SA1996.42)

I stopped John MacGillivray in the street, on his way to a Murrayfield rugby football international; team supporters are frequently referred to by the conservative traditional kilt wearers in rather disparaging terms, the 'grunge aspect' in Alastair Campbell's words (SSS.SA1996.40) and when worn in conjunction with painted faces, bordering on fancy dress; this use of the kilt is, perhaps more than any other, an overt expression of Scots national identity:

> The first time I hired a kilt was for my twenty-first birthday; I mean I've wore one as a child for weddin's an' such but the first time as a hire then with the money I got for my twenty-first, I bought one for wearing on holiday abroad. If I go abroad I'll take the kilt an' I wear it, so it's more abroad and where I'll be seen wearin' it, rather than jist in the street... the kilt is what I

> wear like for formal dress, functions - functions like this; ye can wear it casual as well, I mean I'm wearing it as a casual tonight, today. The kilt is the traditional dress of Scotland and it's like... a national dress for wearin' when the mood comes across, really. It's basically a mood thing; if you don't feel in the mood fer it, you don't wear it. I went to a weddin' an' I didn't wear it...I wasn't right for wearin' it that day...all the rest o' ma mates had the kilt on fer it, but I didn't an' I'm the one that wears it to other things... This is my own tartan; it's the MacGillivray...but if I couldn't get a dark..if the MacGillivray Huntin' hadn't been available, I would have got a Modern, because I would only get ma own name...unless I didn't have a tartan an' then I would go for Stewart.(SSS.SA1997.1)

Perhaps the final word on the matter of identity should come from James Munoz, an assistant I spoke to serving in a shop in the Royal Mile, which demonstrates, I think, the complex inter-relationship between tartan, the kilt and identity, the sense of belonging and pride, as well as providing a link to the New World:

> I am indigenously South American, from Chile; all my parentage, as such, has been South American, but I arrived in this country now when I think I was two years old. I feel Scottish; I have had a South American upbringing, South American name, but just through pride of the land I live in, I wear two universal or general tartans, the Black Watch and Scotland's national tartan.(SSS.SA1996.49)

I believe we can draw certain conclusions from the views expressed; generally speaking the kilt is increasingly worn today in Scotland above all else as an expression of the wearer's national identity. As more people join the ranks of those I have termed the new kilt wearers, the more limited definition of the kilt being an expression of purely Highland identity begins to diminish. Even amongst those who share this point of view, my traditional kilt wearers, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the pan-Scottish dimension. For some informants the occasions on which they choose to wear the kilt specifically to demonstrate this identity vary considerably, but in general, they adopt what may now be termed as the conventional

Highland dress of a full outfit, owing much to traditional features, for wear on formal occasions. Indeed, its use informally in anything other than a purely rural and Highland environment often provokes disapproval or censure, even amongst the most recent devotees of the national dress. The old taboos concerning its wear outwith the Highlands still linger in the minds of some of the traditional wearers, but are non-existent in the minds of the new wearers for whom the kilt has always been a Scottish dress.

With the exception of the heretics and purists, tartan is inextricably linked to the expression of Scottish identity, but refined to a more personal identity through the specific choice of clan or family tartan. In spite of an awareness amongst some of the possibly dubious origins of such associations, the importance of this symbolism is so strong that it surmounts the mythical barrier; indeed it may be strengthened even, on account of it. Whatever its origins, the meaning behind the association of name with tartan appears to play a major role in the adoption of the kilt. I am drawn to the conclusion that this is due to an increasing need, felt by many, to be able to express visibly a shared identity, both at `kin' as well as at `national' level. By a process of diffusion, the formal wear of the Victorian or Edwardian gentleman has indubitably been transformed into the national dress of Scotland for folk at every level of society, worn with pride and regarded as something not to be insulted. By a process of adaptation the kilt has also become the vehicle for the expression of Scottish identity in an increasingly diverse number of ways and on specific occasions, even though in some people's minds this may insult it. Formality through its use for weddings, graduations and evening functions is replacing the informality associated with its Highland wear.

It is against this backdrop that I now wish to look at the use of the kilt by Scottish Americans, bearing in mind that material culture is seen

increasingly to be a very necessary component of the wider study of culture. . D. Miller suggests that anthropology is, or was, primarily concerned with the meaning of artefacts for others, but then only when concerned with small communities and having regard to the concerns and pre-occupations of the societies from which the anthropologists have themselves come. He states that artefacts are 'a means by which we give form to, and come to an understanding of ourselves, others, or abstractions such as the nation or the modern' (1994:397). In this present study, we might say that artefacts are a means by which we give form to abstractions such as the idea, or the heritage. I am attracted to Miller's general description of material culture:

> It seems most reasonable to take it (material culture) as a subset of culture, so that a theory of artefacts as material culture would be derived from a more general theory of culture. If culture is understood not in the narrow sense of some particular element of the human environment, but in the more general sense of the process through which human groups construct themselves and are socialised, then material culture becomes an aspect of objectification consisting in the material forms taken by this cultural process. Hence to study material culture is to consider the implications of the materiality of form for the cultural process (1994:399).

Making the link between this and identity, he quotes Bourdieu 'our cultural identity is not merely embodied but literally *objectified* (Bourdieu ,1977:42)[my italics]. We shall appreciate the importance of this concept as it applies to tartan and the kilt, particularly when discussing the significance of these artefacts with those who have co-operated in this work. I stress its relevance here, for throughout my research I have been seeking the answer to the basic question: 'which comes first, the object or the idea?'. At the outset, I have been inclined to lean towards the position that favoured the object as being instrumental to the idea, being a firm subscriber to the belief that the power of the object could be even greater than the idea which

originally gave it birth and subsequently became embodied within it. As the study progressed, other factors began to become apparent leading to a possible modification of this stance, and these will be explored in due course.

There is, however, no getting away from the fact that material culture and the mind are inextricably intertwined. Well over a century ago, A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers observed that material culture could be seen as the 'outward signs and symbols of particular ideas in the mind' (Meyers, 1906.23). Thus far, I have used the term 'material culture' to embrace the study of the relationship between objects and the mind which could be said to result in a 'culture'. There have been numerous attempts to define material culture in precise terms and even to try and order its nomenclature to fit different disciplines. My own reading of the arguments produced confirms that material culture rather than 'material life' is the apt description for the study and that its study is, in T. Schlereth's words, 'an investigation that uses artefacts' (Schlereth,1991:236). Jules Prown believes that material culture 'must be content to be 'a means rather than an end' in cultural study. It is too vast to be manageable as a single form of analysis to be a 'subject of investigation' (Prown,1982:1), whilst Bell Upton argues for developing material culture as a field of study that 'would treat as many kinds...of objects as possible' (1985:85). Indeed the further one delves into the theory of material culture studies, the more attractive the random descriptions appear to be. Again, Schlereth takes the broad view, which well accords with much of the theoretical approach I have chosen:

> When it comes to the production of *new* [my italics] explanatory theories about human experience or persuasive grand syntheses that chart wide panoramas of human history, material culture students are debtors...material culture may be a discipline, or a field, or a coalition of varied individuals simply intrigued with

> the (possibly novel) explanatory power of physical objects as cultural meaning. (1991:238).

Tartan and the kilt are not just objects themselves and the study of material culture can be viewed as a process by which an attempt is made to see through the objects to establish the cultural meaning which is relevant (Schlereth 1991:240). If we take the kilt to be an item of apparel worn by many today in all sorts of circumstances, we have to view it as a functional object; but we also have to view it as an artefact and even as a relic (Cannizzo 1991:22). It has been adapted from its original form by others than its original wearers (the Highland pastoral community) and has been invested with a complex series of meanings in all three of the above the modes. As a functional object it can be viewed as the wear of a Highland gentleman, the formal wear of a contemporary soldier in the British army, the uniform of the piper, the Highland games athlete, the football or rugby spectator, the national dress of the Scot worn on formal occasions, to name but some, through to the dress of virtually every clan society member attending a Highland games in the United States or a clan function; and it will be worn by a large number of those who look on themselves as Scottish Americans on occasions they deem appropriate.

At the same time, most of these uses invest the kilt with the qualities of an artefact 'a product of human art and workmanship'[22] and most, certainly, with the qualities of a relic 'Surviving trace or memorial of a custom, belief, period, people, etc.'[23] In other words, from the wearer's point of view, the kilt can encompass a whole raft of meanings beyond the purely practical considerations attaching to it as a suitable form of dress for a particular occasion. In this sense, too,

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[22] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary 1976* Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.52
[23] Ibid, p.946

the kilt in the eye of the beholder will often encompass different meanings to those of the wearer. For the soldier it may well represent the proud history of the regiment, or underline the Scottish nature of his identity in the army, but for the beholder it might well evoke feelings of pride in the British army, or pride in Scotland or even conjure up an image of the brave Highlander of Jacobite persuasion at Culloden (rather than the representative of the government forces seeking to crush him). It might even conjure up a picture of British imperial power at its height, with not necessarily favourable associations. Likewise the football supporter; here it may be an image of pride in the home team on the one hand, but possibly overt nationalism on the other, or a combination of the two in varying degrees by both wearer and observer. The Scot's view of an American dressed up in full Highland regalia on a boiling hot day in California almost certainly will not accord with the wearer's own view of his outfit.

B. The View from Scotland

In this section I am going to examine the views expressed by John Carmichael of Carmichael, chief of clan Carmichael, the earl of Elgin and Kincardine, chief of clan Bruce and again by John Macleod of Macleod, chief of clan Macleod. The first two were interviewed specifically for this study – the first because he was the guest of honour at the games I attended in California, the second on account of his position as convener of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs and Names,[24] whilst the latter was interviewed during the course of

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[24]Which includes the heads of all Scottish clans and Names and set up, in Lord Elgin's words 'to protect or safeguard against the misuse of the chiefs' armorial bearings: the Lord Lyon cannot do too much to protect the chiefs' interests, so we try to do it ourselves; money from royalties (from the manufacturers and retailers of clan crests, badges, brooches and other souvenirs, goes to the Council who uses it for charities and bursaries.' (Linklater & Denniston, 1992.41)

previous research[25] and during the conversation comment was also offered which is particularly germane to this enquiry.

Richard Carmichael of Carmichael **SSS.SA1999.36**



(2) Richard Carmichael of Carmichael

RC Yes, it's about twenty years ago that I came here, to Carmichael, from New Zealand where I had been living with my family, and realised that the dormant chiefship of the Carmichaels was in need of an uplift, and petitioned the Lord Lyon for the vacant and dormant chiefship, with a view to engendering some interest world-wide in Carmichael's history, which at that time was very poorly presented, both in Princes street and throughout the world and inaccurately presented. And also because, if my destiny had brought me back from the other side of the world to fulfil the promises to my family to look after this property, then I felt I should share that historical significance with as many of the people who carry the name Carmichael as I could locate. So in 1981 I wrote to all the Carmichaels that I could find; I remember in particular it was 5126 Carmichaels in the USA, which I got from the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City. So we wrote to all of them and got some 400 replies, from which we started a clan association and held our first international gathering here in 1983, which was very successful and started sending out

[25] MA Honours dissertation '*Some Aspects of Tartan and the Wearing of the Kilt in Contemporary Scotland*' Op.cit.

> regular newsletters from the chief from that time on. And from the beginning, it was obvious the biggest and most enthusiastic group were from the United States of America and by about 1985, they were clamouring for me to go to the United States and to visit their games and their events and over the last fourteen years, I've been to Grandfather Mountain in Carolina, Stone Mountain in Georgia three times, Glasgow, Kentucky twice and just recently to Pleasanton, California.

There are some quite significant points that Carmichael makes in this opening part of the interview; his return to Scotland followed a promise made to a childless uncle to take on the responsibility for the remaining part of the Carmichael estate in Lanarkshire, where his family had been resident for centuries – he is the 30th chief and 26th baron of Carmichael – and he saw part of his responsibility as reviving the role of chief. This mirrors a trend observable amongst many leading Lowland families over the past two or three decades to establish their credentials with the Lord Lyon to be acknowledged as chiefs of the Name,[26] join the Standing Council of Chiefs of Clans and Names, and then set about organising a following. In this case the initiative has come from the chief himself, but it is not unusual for those bearing the name to take the initiative in trying to persuade a chief to become 'active'. The most interesting point is the identification of over five thousand Carmichaels in the United States and the response which emanated from his initial approach. The four hundred replies from this quarter alone indicated a considerable potential support for any effort he might make to organise his Name, or, to use the descriptive term used without distinction between the Highlands and Lowlands in America, his 'Clan'.[27] The 'clamour' from the American Carmichaels appears to have provided the real incentive to progress things to the stage where, at this year's

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[26] The Lord Lyon, the Crown's chief officer of Arms in Scotland, has the authority to determine in his Lyon Court who is the rightful chief of a clan, based upon proof provided by the Petitioner.(Innes of Learney, 1956.11)

[27] There has been, and continues to be, much discussion in Scotland as to the appropriateness of the term 'clan' when applied to Lowland Names; the Border Names perhaps have more reason to employ the term than other Lowland names: see Michael Robson's interesting discussion on this point in his *'Surnames and*

Pleasanton Highland Games in California, the Carmichael chief was the principal visiting chiefly guest of honour, a position occupied as frequently by chiefs of Lowland clans as of Highland clans at Highland games throughout the United States.

> **IMH** Good, so that's...one could say you've got completely involved in their enthusiasm in that sense, in that they like chiefs to go and visit them and it must be a lot of encouragement to them. I wonder whether you could just give me your impressions of what it is usually that inspires somebody to take an interest in the clan society, when previously they'd had no interest and how they normally come across the fact that there is a clan society and what they then do, once they do find it?
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> **RC** I think one of the most significant factors is that most of the Carmichaels I meet have never ever met anybody else in their part of the world, in their part of America, who carries the same name as they do, and it suddenly - for example this last weekend in Pleasanton, there was a couple from Southern California who had been very peripherally active, but had never been to any of the games before, and their delight at being surrounded by Carmichaels from all different places was quite amazing, and really spelt it out to me that that is what they really feel and that is that, it's the, um, the sort of...the uniqueness of suddenly finding that they've got a big family with a history and they're not just an individual in a small area.
>
> **IMH** So it's, it's joining a family in that sense, which obviously is a great attraction...
>
> **RC** Yes, it's historically, um, they're keen to know how their family fits in to the clan tree and they're very keen to know how they got to be where they are, and when their ancestors came and moved from and the general, the general direction of their lineage in terms of did they, for example, where they the Scots-Irish who went to Ireland and then went to America? or were they...did they emigrate from the west Coast post Industrial Revolution? or whatever; the whole...

Here the idea of joining the family appears to be one of the important reasons for people becoming part of the clan and joining the clan society. The connection to the wider family acts as an attractive alternative for many whose immediate family structure may well have been disrupted or broken up through dispersal and the multitude of pressures existing in today's society. Interestingly this can even extend to a surprising group of people who at the moment do not appear to be regarded in the same light by fellow clansmen, namely the black Carmichaels, which might also include those offspring of

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Clansmen'(1998:169-172)

mixed race:

> **RC** ...And again we have a lot of negro Carmichaels who are descended from released slaves of the emancipation of slavery from plantation owners in Southern Carolina in the United States, who when they released their slaves, the slaves took their name and certainly in California a big percentage of the population, the Carmichael population, is negro.
>
> **IMH** Oh really. And do they belong to...do they join the society?
>
> **RC** I'm very keen that they do and, um, anxious to try and get them to join, but I have found that, particularly with the Southern US members of the clan that they are not quite as welcoming as I aspire to be, so I'm still...that is a problem still to be addressed, we're working on it!

The last quoted remark touches on one aspect of Scottish American identity that, until now, has remained largely off the agenda and would provide an interesting topic for further examination. It is noticeable that inspite of the apparent all-inclusiveness of the American clan societies, people of African American descent bearing Scottish names are noticeable by their absence from gatherings, with one or two exceptions. My own observations made on the two occasions I attended the Grandfather Mountain Highland games in North Carolina support the unspoken contention by Carmichael that there might be an effective bar on people from this ethnic quarter being accepted into something which fundamentally depends on the idea of the direct link to Scottish roots and ethnicity. [28]

I was interested to know the importance of the role that tartan and the kilt played in terms of people's membership of the clan society:

> **RC** It's certainly a bonding agent and it's interesting to see how a new recruit, if that's the right word, um, cautiously wears a tie, or a scarf, or a sash, as the case may be, and how then next time you see them,

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[28] Celeste Ray, in *Southern Cultures* (1998,Vol.4, No.2:28-45) and Diane Roberts, in *The Political Animal* (1999, Sep/Oct:24-30) consider the relationship between identity in the American South, Scottish American identity and Scottish identity and touch on issues of race.

they've bitten the bullet and they've gone for the full regalia, and it's quite an accelerated process, particularly in the United States, where they have all these games to go to, and the United Sates Clan Carmichael USA, which is now highly organised from a fledgling beginning, when we kicked it off 14 or 15 years ago, it's now right across the United States, and any new recruit from a new area is instantly drafted in to run a clan tent at a games in their area, because of this whole games structure they have, he can't stand up there in just a tartan tie any more, so he feels he's got to get himself kitted out to do the job that he's volunteering to do.

IMH And then going on from there, do you think once they make this sort of dual transition - a person joining the clan society and then perhaps getting a kilt or whatever - do they then begin to speak in terms of having an element of Scottishness in their identity, or is your experience largely that they still look on themselves one hundred percent American, but have a connection with Scotland?

RC That's a difficult one to answer, because I think it actually is, um, both ways, depending on the individual; some of them have a much greater affinity to Scotland, the land, and others have an affinity to Scotland, the notion, and some of them really don't aspire to come to Scotland, the land, they are quite happy with Scotland the notion, go to the games, um, and develop it within the boundaries they can see and they're happy, whereas others have the necessity to come to Scotland the land to actually get a feeling for their homeland, though it's not a black and white...

Carmichael's term, 'the notion', is one that perhaps I would express more generally as the 'idea' of Scotland, and this is a theme that constantly re-occurs throughout this study; apart from any thing else, it illustrates one aspect of Scottish identity that is fundamental to many Americans, but which at first sight is difficult for people in Scotland to acknowledge, and that is that all that goes to constitute the idea upon which the identity is based can differ radically from the 'idea' that the indigenous Scot has of his or her country and on which that identity is constructed.

I was also interested in exploring the chief's views about the motives which lay behind people wishing to join his clan society and why the last twenty or so years had seen such an upsurge in interest:

RC: The, the movement of peoples, the breakdown of family values and the changes in family values - a lot of my keenest clan members are actually part already of quite strong family units, with strong concepts of family values; and I believe there is some

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> sort of connection with that and they do view the global clan Carmichael as being family, in a distant way, and they enjoy the family get-togethers; and I've tried to emphasise that by, for example at the end of our gathering at Pleasanton, we went off with a group of seventeen Carmichaels for a four day tour up to Lake Tahoe, just a group holidaying together and after the gatherings we've organised here in Scotland, I've taken, as a sort of courier, a group on a Highland tour to show them part of Scotland, and on the basis that even if it's slightly manufactured, it's a family outing together; families who are together go on holiday together and that sort of concept then works down the line towards family bonding and...
>
> **IMH:** D'you find that there's anything particularly noticeable about the age at which people start keying in to this thing?
>
> **RC:** Definitely. Definitely not under about thirty-five, unless they're brought along in their teens by granny or grandad who is keen to expose them to their roots...
>
> **IMH:** And have you any thoughts why, why it might be this sort of age that people first become interested?
>
> **RC:** They're starting to get, at that age and beyond, they're getting, they've had their family or their family has developed and they're moving forward; I think they're, they're getting more introspective into their origins and realising that they can't leave it up to dad and granddad, they've actually got to do some of the work themselves.

Two points emerge from this part of the interview; the first, that the chief certainly sees his members viewing the clan society as serving in some way as an extension to the individual family unit which people are quite happy to take on, the underlying assumption being that there is a link of kinship through the common name, and by inference, the common descent. The age at which people express interest in joining the society seems to be connected with that stage in life when people begin to have their own families and the need becomes apparent to find out about origins. This theme emerges strongly in individual interviews which I examine later, but it also illustrates, I think, a change that is beginning to happen in the way Americans of European

and in our case, Scottish, origin are now becoming much more interested in these origins than may previously have been the case as they get older. The younger generation generally is not so interested in origins and roots; from a personal point of view I know that I first became seriously interested in collecting data about previous generations of my own family only after I was married, with children beginning to appear. For the younger generation, the present is usually very much more important; in the past, the older generations within a family were always there to provide the information when needed. Today, with families dispersed and different lifestyles prevailing, that is becoming increasingly difficult. Furthermore, in the case of the vast majority of American citizens, the all-American identity was the important one, and many of the older generations, particularly the first time immigrants, seem to have preferred to turn their backs on their European origins. It is perhaps not until the third or fourth generations that an interest in roots emerges once more. One should, however, be wary of any generalisation, for there are undoubtedly some who take pride in a meticulous record of origin and ancestry.

The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine **SSS.SA1999.35**



I spoke to Lord Elgin primarily in his capacity as convener of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs and Names, the body which was formed, in part, with the idea of co-ordinating responses to the increasing pressures placed on clan chiefs through the great increase in interest in clanship throughout the world, most particularly from the United States.

(3) Lord Elgin

Richard Carmichael of Carmichael makes reference to it in the excerpt from the interview preceding this one. The earl is also chief of clan Bruce and speaks from the perspective of a head of a clan. Early on in this interview, Lord Elgin makes an interesting reference to the internet, to which many ascribe the dramatic increase in membership of clan societies.

> **IMH** I wonder Lord Elgin if you could just begin by giving me your views on how the Standing Council of Chiefs perceives the great, or the apparent increase in interest on the part of people in particular in the United States in identifying with clans, from your perspective as convener of that council, the need for your members to be really all-embracing - if I can put it that way - in having to accommodate perhaps very diverse applications for membership?
>
> **LdE** The Standing Council of recent months has been very waxed about the use of a website, because it would appear to many that this is the model example of the personal attitude, for which the members of the clan or family have towards their chief, and it could be perpetuated in a much easier and comfortable way throughout the whole world and through properly conducted Scottish clan and family network. And the question is just exactly how is it to be done. But that is the tone, you might say, of the feeling at the moment; prior to that , of course, many chiefs would be invited to travel to North America for various reasons. Sometimes it was St Andrews Day, perhaps more frequently it was the ever increasing number of gatherings which are held in Canada and the United States, where they want an authentic chief. I have only been able to go to one, which was Grandfather Mountain, some years ago, and the main thrust of course which you find is that there is a dedicated core of Scots in America, who do nothing else but travel the circuit in the summer, and they probably take a camper-home or something, and it is their life.

The Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in North Carolina has a large area reserved for camping; many people bring large RVs (recreation vehicles or mobile homes) and stay on site for a whole week, even though proceedings at these games begin on the Thursday through to Sunday. It is now possible to attend a Highland games or

gathering somewhere in the United States every week-end from mid-February through to late November. (*The Highlander,* 1999:66-70)

> And then it is probably a third or fourth generation who find that this is something new; they've heard about it, they come and they look at the tremendous display which these gatherings have, and the games, and they identify all kinds of things.... But it was not just the games, it was the combination of tartan and history and the athletic games and all these things, that I think made the American realise that he had a part of him that was different, a part of him was unique, and to have something that was unique in your blood in America, is to have a very great and very powerful, well it's a jewel of great price. And other families, of course, other nations do the same, but the Scots felt that they would identify themselves with this, and of course in other ways too, the Scots have had a fair amount to do with the building up of the United Sates and so the two really went together very kindly. What I've found and what I think perpetually is the case, it isn't perhaps until the third generation have established families that begin, as it were, to come back again into the feeling that they must do something about it; they must look up their family history, they must attach themselves to roots which, unfortunately, are now being somewhat spuriously provided to them, by various so-called authentic societies. For example there were two family of Bruce associations in North America, one is called the Family of Bruce and the other one is Bruce International. I gave my blessing to Bruce International, because I wanted a Society of Bruces; whereas the Family of Bruce Society wanted a society of people they said had been descended from either King Robert or the earlier Stewart sovereigns, which of course is all very well but it is mainly through the female line multiplied over and over again that this family survived; but the American looks at a family tree of this sort with great reverence and it is no use telling them you're terribly sorry it doesn't make sense. They've spent a lot of money on it and that's it.

This situation of dual societies will be echoed when I consider the position of clan Home in chapter six, although the reasons for the existence of two in the latter case are different from the above.

> I would far prefer a man who called him... - who said: " I am a Bruce," and I said: " How long can you trace back?" and he said: " I can trace back three or four generations", and I say: " Good, do that, get it on paper now, otherwise it'll be lost", and that is the greatest

> thing you can do for your own branch of the family. I mean this thing wanting to start off by being descended from King Robert because you can't...you can be descended from the predecessors of King Robert or you could have other descents, but sadly I have to tell you that King Robert is out!...'
> It is curious that you should say, because I had a letter this morning from Mr Kelly, in Banff, who would like to be absorbed into the Bruce family, so I am having a little thing made up, and provided he swears an oath to maintain the dignity of the Bruce Family, he will be welcome!

Lord Elgin does not actually address the question I was trying to put to him concerning the flood of people wishing to join clan societies and the problems this may cause the chiefs. Their ability to exercise any control over how heraldic insignia in particular are used is one such[29] – for they cannot exercise control over tartan in the same way -, but his last remark does in fact encapsulate the line being taken by all those societies I have come across. Membership is open to anyone who demonstrates kinship by affection (see page 250). In general terms he attributes the growth of interest in part to the attraction of attending the Highland games and becoming involved in the circuit, in part to the attraction of tartan and history. He does bear out the point I made earlier in this section about the interest emerging in the third or fourth generation; he takes a very pragmatic view of the investment people make in the genealogical side and demonstrates a very refreshing and contemporary toleration of people's motives and desires – a far cry from the purist who would rigidly exclude all but

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[29] In an interview with the Duke of Argyll for the MA Honours dissertation op.cit., conducted in 1996 (SA1996.47), he commented: "We have an organisation that was set up by the late lamented Sir Iain Moncreiffe of that Ilk in the mid-fifties, with the grandiose name of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs. I think we number 96 at present (now 129 [Whitaker,1999:211]); these are individuals recognised as head of that line. We meet once a year, under the able chairmanship of the earl of Elgin, where we review the very thing that you have been talking about, the exploitation of Balmorality, tartanmania, Brigadoonery, and which we attempt, in the most gentlemanly possible way, to stamp out through the court of the Lord Lyon, who has very considerable powers within the United Kingdom, to obviate the crassness that does develop. Money unfortunately speaks in every tongue, whether you're talking dollars and cents..."

those able to quote chapter and verse of their family tree from membership of a clan society. Later on in the interview, Lord Elgin comes back to the question of tartan and I believe his observations lend weight to the view that tartan does exercise a very strong and peculiar fascination for many people and the 'Keepers of the Quaich' society is one way that enables them to indulge this fascination:[30]

> **LdE** ... we started in Scotland about twelve years ago a society called the Keepers of the Quaich and they obtained a tartan and through the enterprising enthusiasm of Anderson and Company[31], they have persuaded Keepers to deck themselves out and it's now de riguer and you see these gentlemen from all parts of the world of every sort hue and colour immaculately dressed in Keepers of the Quaich tartan and thoroughly enjoying it and looking very smart. The bulk of the story obviously comes from North America; I think perhaps the problem is that they want to wear tartan that is of a weight of material that is not too heavy and so to my slightly curious way of thinking, a tartan made out of very lightweight stuff just looks like a dress and it doesn't hang terribly well and in a shower of rain it looks even worse. Because of the bright sun and all the rest of it, they prefer the most powerful colours, they want good modern dyes, you know, and no nonsense about it. D'you see, it's the one thing in that particular nation of which there is no shadow of doubt; tartan is the most remarkable of all the public relations gimmicks that the world has ever seen...absolutely so, and when you consider that London was taken by storm in 1810, when tartan became all the mode and people started learning to dance reels, one can't really contemplate a similar thing...

In pursuing the question of how important tartan is to the engagement of someone who decided to pursue Scottish roots, Lord Elgin expressed the following view and makes mention of other items by which many might choose to express their Scottish American connections:

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[30] The Society of the Keepers of the Quaich was founded in 1988 and draws its membership from those involved world-wide in the Scotch whisky trade,(*The Keeper*,1996, Vol 8, No.1:17)

IMH ...Do you think that it is the tartan, one of the initial sort of fundamental appeals?

LdE I think it's one of them. The other one of course is if they have a family scroll with all their names on it - they like the idea of a family tree and they also like the idea of the family badge. I'm not certain that you'll find that the clan or family badge isn't perhaps as sought after, because it's not too costly, and in their den in practically –every North American has some sort of a den - he would have his scroll of his family tree, his clan or family badge on a plaque, and he'd probably be quite happy with that for starters. But if he did have the full kit, he probably would have gone to considerable lengths to have it well done. But then of course comes the question of does he know how to wear it. I was lately opposite the very wealthy gentleman, Malcolm Forbes; I shared with him the duty of opening an exhibition of tartan in the modern sense, the modern use of tartan, in New York. I thought I would wear my just newly invented tartan trouser outfit, but Malcolm Forbes had got himself decked out in the kilt; but unfortunately the man who decked him out had forgot to tell him which way round you wore it...it was all very quietly adjusted! I think, to be perfectly honest, I don't think he meant to, but rolling in and out of stretch limousines, unless you've got proper hips, your kilt does slip round and I don't think it had got all that far round, but it was sufficient for somebody to snigger.

John Macleod of Macleod **SSS.SA1996.44**[32]

So far, I have tackled the whole question of Scottish American identity as applied to those born and bred in the United States, rather than to those who may have emigrated relatively early in life. Whilst I was talking to the chief of clan Macleod in 1996, primarily about how he saw his own role, he hinted not only at the part that overseas members played in the running of the clan Macleod society, but also drew my attention to the very active role played by ex-patriates, particularly in connection with Highland games in America. It is worth bearing in mind this influence and it is one that often tends to be

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[31] Today, Kinloch Anderson, Highland dress outfitters of Leith,Edinburgh.
[32] Interviewed in course of work for MA Honours Dissertation, Op.Cit.

overlooked, when the impression is given that all the dynamism comes from the Scottish American community as opposed to that from the Scots in the Scottish American community:

> **JM** .....the everyday reality is that the societies, the clan societies, are the people who in my view who are now the wise men of the clan, who the chief would always be consulting in the days when the clan system was actually operating; he's consulting them in a different ambiance, maybe he's consulting them in San Francisco or Houston or in Vancouver...and that keeps the contact with a much wider range of people who might have absolutely no interest whatsoever in belonging to a society of Clan Macleod, but for example when they suddenly find themselves coming here[33] suddenly realise that their granny was a Macleod or that suddenly they get an interest: "What is this part of me that I don't know anything about?" and then they become interested..and you certainly also found that from the boys out in San Francisco, with these enormous games run by, mostly, guys from Glasgow and it was ironic; I felt myself back in Glasgow, except they were all covered in kilts and tartan and they were all saying without exception, they said they wanted to come back and live here; there wasn't one who didn't say that and not one whose brow then didn't cloud over and say "But trouble is, Ah've got ma grandchildren here now, you know.

The final excerpt I want to quote from this interview helps set the scene for the way in which we might look at which tartans people wear to express their identity, or the importance of particular tartans; I think John Macleod is supporting the idea of clan tartans but is perfectly happy to stretch the point to include such variations as people may choose to wear:

> **IMH** I mean you're not too bothered about people wearing, or perhaps I could ask you, are you bothered about people wearing Macleod tartan if they've got absolutely no connection with the clan?
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> **JM** If I recognise it as being a Macleod tartan, and that's always the problem (laughter), I'm not totally sort of...you go to one of

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[33] Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye

> these Highland games in America and you see sixty thousand kilts, or forty thousand kilts, whatever, and you're lucky if you recognise four of them, you really are, so I've long since ceased to think of a kilt as a garment of personal identity, I don't think that they ever were actually; I also think that this is relevant to the fact that, in the old days when clans or whoever it might be were wearing kilts or needed to be identified because they were, let us say not attacking or killing, but they were defending in their own territory and it was necessary to be identified; now that necessity no longer exists because, broadly speaking, there isn't such a thing as clan territory, then obviously that allows the total explosion of colour, design or whatever anybody else wants to say: "I'm a Macleod, this is the kilt that I wear to prove it." Well fine, "I rather like that one, which is it?", you know.

I did not, on that occasion, really get the answer to the question of non-Macleods wearing the Macleod tartan and having stated that he did not think that kilts had ever been a mark of personal identity, he then goes on to contradict this view by suggesting that clans did have tartans by which friend could be distinguished from foe. This concept is now untenable in the light of an extensive amount of scholarship on the subject of tartans, which I have already referred to on page 4, above. However, the general acceptance or acknowledgement that the whole question of tartan identity is largely subject to the choice or inclination of the wearer can be inferred from these remarks, I think.

This series of observations from chiefs of clans with functional clan societies having an international dimension are a suitable prelude to the next two sections of this chapter, which concern my own observations made as a result of visits to Highland games in the United States.

C. Grandfather Mountain Highland Games



(4) Parade of the Clan Banners in the Main Arena

My first visit to a Highland games in the United States was to the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, Linville, North Carolina in 1996. It was this visit, in fact, which first attracted my interest to the possibilities of examining the expression of Scottish American identity, with specific reference to the material culture of tartan and the kilt. For any first-time visitor from Scotland, the initial impressions must usually be those of surprise and amazement at the scale of the games, compared with those at home, and particularly at the number of people who choose to wear the kilt and an extremely varied selection of forms of Highland dress. The over-riding impression is one of a vigorous interpretation of 'Scottishness' by a very large number of people.

On closer examination, the Grandfather games, for long reputed to be the largest event of its sort and certainly the largest in the Eastern United States combines many different elements to give it its

undoubted wide appeal. I shall mention the main elements to illustrate this scope, but only some are of immediate relevance to this study.

My first visit was in the forty first year that the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games had been held since its foundation at the MacRae Meadows in 1956. They were founded 'to foster and restore interest in traditional dancing, piping, athletic achievement and Gaelic culture'[34] ,and all of these activities feature at different times in the programme. The most noticeable presence was that of the clan society tents. Apart from the grassy bank bordering half of one side of the games area, in its spectacular setting at the foot of the Grandfather Mountain and on which were located the Review and Patrons' stands, the entire arena was encircled by pavilions allocated to the different clan societies, numbering 153 in total.[35] It is this feature, above all others, that distinguishes these games and every other like them held in the United States from those held in Scotland. Scottish food vendors, some retailing particularly unappetising looking versions of products familiar to those living in Scotland, attracted large queues of people; another area was devoted to merchants selling every conceivable sort of accessory connected with Highland wear, books, discs and tapes of Scottish interest, whilst yet another area was devoted to traditional Scottish crafts such as weaving, and arts such as clarsach and fiddle playing. The two Celtic entertainment groves featured a succession of musicians and popular groups playing both traditional and contemporary versions of Scottish music, the latter groups incorporating the bagpipes with guitars and percussion in particular.

The most interesting section for me on that visit were the stands

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[34] *41st Grandfather Mountain Highland Games Programme* (1996:13)

manned by volunteer members of two organisations, COSCA and TECA. The Council of Scottish Clan and Family Associations and the Tartan Educational and Cultural Association were present at the games primarily to help visitors find their Scottish roots (COSCA) and the tartan associated with their name, if any (TECA). Both stands had a constant stream of enquirers throughout each day that I was present. It was often following a visit to one of these organisations that visitors were then directed to one of the clan tents to pursue their enquiries in more detail and if eligible to sign on with the relevant clan society as members. The enthusiasm of all those engaged in this exercise was remarkable; from those providing the information, whether from various reference books, or from data bases held on computer, to those seeking the information. Many initial enquiries seemed to be speculative, but on being advised of a possible connection, or of the link with a specific tartan, the extra-ordinary reaction which such a link provoked was amazing to witness. Invariably the person was very excited. In the case of those who were aware of some link, but uncertain as to how to proceed, positive information had an even more noticeable effect, to the extent that they appeared relieved that at last their antecedents genuinely qualified them to be 'Scottish'. Observing these reactions and the subsequent enthusiasms displayed at the various clan society tents, including those manning the Home/Hume Society tent where I was greeted as a long lost cousin (and I had been totally unaware of the existence of such a society), led me to consider devoting time to examining this phenomenal interest which so many people appeared to have in establishing a link with Scotland and with expressing this aspect of their identity so enthusiastically.

The desire for roots and heritage, so evident on an occasion such as

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[35] Op.Cit pp 34-35

this, is expressed convincingly by David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country* and these three quotes convey the essence behind this search:

> Our rampant nostalgia, our obsessive search for roots, our endemic concern with preservation, the potent appeal of national heritage show how intensely the past is still felt...we preserve because the pace of change and development has attenuated a legacy integral to our identity and well-being. (1985:xxiv)
>
> The ability to reach and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose and value...Those who lack links with a place must forge an identity through other pasts. (1985:42-42)
>
> The past remains integral to us all, individually and collectively. We must concede the ancients their place...but their place is not simply back there in a separate and foreign country, it is assimilated in ourselves and resurrected into an ever changing present. (1985:412)

On the occasion of this first encounter with the mass expression of Scottish identity, I was happy enough to observe and absorb the many different facets by which this Scottishness was manifested. The strength of the idea of clan membership was perhaps one of the more significant elements, strongly re-inforced through the fact that it was the clan societies who 'signed on' people, thus appearing to give the seal of approval. The fact that many of these societies operated policies which maximised the possibilities for people to join, through lengthy dependent sept name lists and generous rules of association[36], only serves to illustrate one of the underlying features of Scottish American identity, that of inclusiveness and the sense that one has of a conscious desire on the part of those involved to expand the recognisable Scottish American presence in the United States, where possible. The clan societies seemed to be fulfilling their 'gatekeeper' role in the most inclusive manner.

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[36] A typical membership application form might be phrased in terms similar to those,

Colonel Bob McWilliam **SSS.SA1999.38**



(5) Colonel Bob McWilliam

The current president of COSCA is a great enthusiast for the promotion of the Scottish connection, albeit maintaining a reserve in his own mind when it comes to people wearing tartan with which they have no specific connection, or if they have a Lowland connection whose name does not have a clan society. I interviewed him during my second visit to the Grandfather Mountain Highland games, in July 1999, whilst he was fulfilling his duties at the COSCA stand.

RMcW I am the current president of the Council of Scottish Clans and Associations and we are

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such as from Clans Munro, Carmichael or Graham and others; see Appendix IV.

> a sort of umbrella organisation, covering the clans and family associations here in the United States. We were formed back in 1974 by a fellow by the name of Dr. Herbert Macneill, and he formed us to take care of a need at that time for people who wanted to form clan societies with their particular names and there was no structure for this, there was nothing for constitutions or byelaws or what their rules were, how to organise things and how to acquire additional membership. So the Council of Scottish Clans was formed to address that and we drew up a number of publications that we called 'How to' books; how to start a clan society; what publications you get involved with to solicit membership and typical here in the United States this would be '*The Highlander*' and '*The Banner*' and then we also at that same time there was a growing number of Highland games, which since 1974 has just exploded here in the United States; at that time there may be fifty or sixty throughout the United Sates - games - and now there's two hundred and seventy games and festivals here in N. America, just in the United States. And these run now in the South practically all the year round . So at the games there has been this, particularly here in the United Sates, this great interest in the roots: "I know I'm Scottish, can I belong to a clan, can I wear a tartan and that's all I know ?" - they have no idea where in Scotland they came from and in many cases these are sept names of major clans, so that that particular clan probably would not be at those games, and if a clan name like a Campbell or a MacDonald or something, if they're there, we just send them down to the tent; and if it's an obscure sept that nobody is familiar with, then we have a book.

These introductory remarks suggest an organisation which is devoted to helping people find their roots and encouraging them to explore their Scottish background. There appears to have been an explosion of interest in the 1970s. Whilst I was talking to Bob MacWilliam, his vice-president, John Napier, joined us and after informing him of the direction of my research, he volunteered his own opinion:

> **JN** Yes, after Alex Hayley's '*Roots*' came out, what, in the late sixties, the Scottish American movement which had been kind of modest for forty five years - maybe fifteen Highland games and maybe the same number of clan societies, where it's mushroomed now - 296 games, 170 recognised societies in the US

> alone,[37] and my theory is that after Alec Hayley's '*Roots*' encouraged black Americans to research their own backgrounds, particularly in West Africa, the great majority of white Americans whose ancestors had come over before the American Revolution didn't have a particular ethnic identity as the later ethnics - the Polish-American, Italian-American and so forth did, and so being mainly of British ancestry they cast around and a lot of them had Scottish ancestors and it was their attempt to assert their own identity from the British Isles and the Scottish connection is one that was readily visible.[38]

Napier in fact goes to the nub of the argument about the reasons for Americans' interest in their Scottish ancestry and all that goes with it. Whether Hayley's book had quite the influence he ascribes to it is, perhaps, debateable; that it did spark a whole new agenda amongst black Americans is probably true, even though, as David Lowenthal says (1985:228): 'much of his 18th century data (Hayley's) was shown to be invented or transformed. The actual facts could never be known, Hayley retorted, and in any case mattered less than his fictionalised symbolic past with which millions of black Americans identified...In short, factual faithfulness was jettisoned for a symbolically serviceable past.' There is an interesting parallel here with the stance adopted by COSCA; the underlying assumption is that if you bear a certain name, then, for all intents and purposes, if that name happens to be one identified more likely as not as Scottish, then you have Scottish roots. Bob McWilliam elaborates further on this theme:

> **RMcW** We have a number of references, but our principal book for reference is called: 'Tartan for me' and it's in the seventh edition and is written by Dr. Philip Smith, who drew essentially the bulk of his information from Black's '*Surnames of Scotland*' and then through additional computer research he's got this now into several thousand names and we use this as a resource. If the name would show up, he has all these

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[37] See Appendix V for a current listing of clan societies in *The Highlander* directory 2000 , Vol.38, No.2A.
[38] Op.Cit

> names listed, and he'll have them listed as a tartan they can wear or a clan they could possibly affiliate with . Now many people of course could affiliate with maybe three or four different clans and many people have no clan affiliation, but they have their own tartan that's come through the ages. [39]

To illustrate the imperfections of this system, McWilliam claims that the above enquiries relating to name and tartan represent about a third of COSCA's total number of queries and that the remaining two thirds are from Lowland families which according to him lack any association between individual name and individual tartan. He chooses to ignore the fact that of the 107 clan societies represented at the games that day, no less than twenty eight of these were Lowland rather than Highland names, all with their own tartans, of course.[40] I got the firm impression that in COSCA's and Bob McWilliam's mind a name with an established clan society somehow qualified as 'Highland' and thus fitted more neatly into the general American perception of 'Scottish' being essentially 'Highland' in nature, just as tartan illustrates in peoples' minds a Scottish Highland identity rather than a Lowland one. To accommodate this substantial two thirds of tartan-less names enquiring after their roots, 'Districts' have come to the rescue:

> **RMcW** ...the other 66 2/3 % are from Lowland families and the only thing that we can tell them is the origin of where that name came from, and there's this great interest in these districts. Now we have a District Association and we're keeping all these cards, like Galloway district and the major districts in Scotland, and what we're finding is this great interest in the districts: "Oh, my family came from there, well how do I find out about that district?" So now the District Associations are beginning to build, and they maybe will be the Lowland equivalent to the clan societies. There are some districts that have presidents; unfortunately this is just beginning, its something we thought we could do, so we've been doing it.

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[39] Op.Cit
[40] 1999 Grandfather Mountain Highland Games Programme, p.33

I found it quite revealing that as many as two thirds of the enquiries were from people with names which were perhaps of Lowland origin. My own experience of conducting groups of American tourists round Scotland bears out this sort of percentage, with the majority of people seemingly having their origins in the central belt of Scotland. Even when the precise location of forebears is known, whether it be Paisley, Kilmarnock or Clydebank, people will still endeavour to find some Highland connection through a maternal line. This would appear to re-inforce the notion that the greatest attraction to those seeking their roots is the heritage and possibly the culture associated with the Highlands, expressed most visibly in tartan, rather than the heritage more closely identified with the Lowlands. This latter is perhaps less romantic, and typified more by industrial achievements and commercial success; paradoxically it also associated with the defeat of Jacobitism and in being instrumental in ending the traditional life of clan based society and therein lies the greater appeal of the former. It is only with the widening of interest and the availability of more information through organisations such as COSCA, that a greater 'respectability' is now being attached to areas of Scotland outwith the Highlands. Now that 'District' tartans are making their appearance and some of the profounder qualities ascribed to the Scottish character, such as industriousness, thrift, steadfastness and a respect for religious and educational values, qualities frequently associated with the Lowlands in the past (but by no means exclusive to them), the sense of place may be altering amongst those seeking a connection with Scotland. Part of this process may also be due to the increasing need felt by the Scottish American movement to accommodate the 'Scotch-Irish' element of the diaspora, contributing a large proportion of those engaged in the quest for origin and whose ancestors came predominantly from the southern Lowlands.

Because so many people first establish a link with Scotland through enquiring at the COSCA stand at a games, and they have volunteers attending anything up to fifty games a year throughout the United States, it is worth quoting Bob McWilliam's detailed explanation of how his society handles an enquiry:

> **RMcW** So an individual comes up with a name...we'll use as an example my name, McWilliam and it's a known name, so we go through and look this up alphabetically and sometimes we'll take the person through, hand carry him through the whole thing, and other times we'll say: "Hey, this is a do-it-yourself, spelling is alphabetical, when you find your name then come and we'll see what we can sort out." So we come up to McWilliam and we see that it's affiliated as a sept, not as a clan by itself, but as a sept of the Gunns, the Maclellans, the Mackays and the Macleods and there is a McWilliam tartan, and the Robertsons; well, so the guy says, inquirer says: "What clan can I belong to, there's a whole bunch of them?", and the answer typically, our response to that is, if there's an oral or written tradition as to where you came from geographically, then we will put you down in the area where, let's say where the Robertsons were, and we have these maps that are even available in Scotland; right if your family tradition is from this area, you can be a Robertson or up in the North East part you can be a Gunn or a Macfarlane, but more typically, they have no idea where they came from. All they can say is: "Well, great-grandfather said we were Scottish and that's all I know." So then we get into this sort of poetic licence which everybody appears to get kind of upset with, but the people that we deal with are very happy to find anything. So they want to affiliate with something Scottish and if one of these clans is at the games, we will send them down to that tent; if more than one is at the games, we send them down to both tents, or all tents: "and so you talk to those individuals and you might get something more than what we can give you, that would help you out; or in the worst case scenario, where there is nothing, you have to sit back and see which one of those clans you would like to affiliate with, in terms of what they are doing at that tent, how those people are...

The 'poetic licence' that Bob McWilliam refers to here is indicative, I think, of the sort of vulnerability felt by many Scottish Americans when it comes to ascertaining precise location and connection with

any particular clan. There is no doubt that the inclusive nature of the process such as described here must inevitably contain fairly substantial areas of doubt, both in the minds of the imparter of information, and its recipient. Nevertheless, when the over-riding priority of establishing a Scottish connection is met, the subsequent detail is possibly of less importance; access to any specific tartan, rather than tartan generally, is a bonus .

> When they find out that they can belong to a clan and wear a tartan, it's amazing the reaction you get from these people; it's like a...it's almost like a religious experience, and what it is, is..to carry on from what John says, this guy's just an individual here in the United States and he has nothing other than his name that he can associate with. Maybe he can belong to Rotary or all that sort of stuff, then all of a sudden he's got a genealogy link with something that in the United States is highly regarded; the Scots are highly regarded, the tartans are recognised and here's something that somebody can grab on to, and in the United States, the Scot, the Scottish spirit is highly romanticised- it's right out of the author Scott's, it's his stuff and if you start talking to them about the nitty gritty of these clan societies, they don't hear it...So, alright if the clan then is not there, and here in our...at this particular games, then we have them fill out a card with their name and address and the clan that they wish to affiliate with. Now we have a roster, a current roster of all the clan societies here in the United States and three times a year we mail, we have a mailing to all the clans that we have cards for. Now when we started out, we had maybe four or five hundred cards that we mailed out; now last year we mailed out about five thousand cards to the various clan societies...

McWilliam's phrase 'here's something that somebody can grab on to' is very expressive of the whole tenor of these quests. These two extracts convey the flavour of COSCA's approach, the enthusiasm of its president and the underlying mission to try and accommodate all who wish 'to affiliate' with a clan or clan society. There is little doubt that COSCA has been highly instrumental in the whole process whereby Americans have felt enabled to claim Scottish roots and thereby the accompanying heritage that is promoted as an integral part of Scottish identity. Some may argue that for many people the

apparent connection is rather dubious, not to say bogus even. The clan societies themselves are often only too willing to make a link apparent, fired with much the same enthusiasm as the COSCA representatives, for once an enquirer is directed to a specific clan tent, and the name fits one of any number of apparently connected septs, or the known place of origin of an ancestor fits in with clan geography, such a person's application to join that society is usually more than welcome. The membership application forms of these societies generally ask the applicant to list details of the specific connection, either through name, descent by blood, by ancestral residence, or whether the applicant wishes to join in an associate capacity.[41]

The comment that struck me most from the above-quoted part of my interview with Bob McWilliam was "...it's amazing the reaction you get from these people; it's almost like a religious experience." Following the interview, I spent the rest of the morning sitting alongside the volunteer helpers at the COSCA stand and I was able to witness at first hand the reactions of those who discovered that they might have some connection with Scotland. The following extract indicates the general flavour of these enquiries; there were two or three people fielding questions throughout the day.

Recording at the COSCA tent, Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, North Carolina. **SSS.SA1999.38**

People enquiring about the Scottish origins of their name...

COSCA assistant:	P.H.A.L., P.H.A.I.L., what is your spelling?
Enquirer:	I think it is P.H.A.U.L.

[41] see Appendix IV for a selection of clan society application forms

COSCA: OK; it's associated with the name McPhail, a.i.l., alright, McPhail has a number of clans that they are associated with or just their tartans, and with McPhail we've got Clan Cameron, Clan Scanton, which is an Irish clan, then we have the McPhail tartan itself, which the gentlemen next to us with the computers, they can find out for you. Clan Mackintosh is another one; so today we know you can go, you know the Mackintosh is an active clan, we also know that Cameron is active. I know that Cameron is here, let's see if Mackintosh...OK yes Mackintosh is here as well, so you'd want to go and check both of those clans out; Clan Cameron is located No 23, and Mackintosh is on X08; X08 is up that way, and 23 is around the corner here, and its maybe a clan, then we have the McPhail tartan itself, which the gentlemen next to us with the sept, look at the sept list on their stall and see what you can find out.

Enquirer: Thank you so much.

COSCA: You're welcome.

Another query:

COSCA: They have a tartan, so you can do this too. Here is the Paisley tartan, its actually quite lovely; let me show you where Paisley is located in Scotland; right there. Here's England, Ireland, here's Glasgow. Is this your last name or is this...

Enquirer: It's my maternal father's, and then maternally Griffin...

COSCA: Griffin, well let's take a look at that. (To IMMH) Will you see if there's Griffith, I'm sure it will be a form of that too. Certainly. I tell you at the end of the day my alphabet gets lousy. We have Griffie, no Griffin and no Griffith. And the Griffie is showing Terry tartan, which is Irish, so what I am going to do, let's head on over to Ireland and see what we can find. Not Scots Irish, so let's go to full Ireland. Griffin, here's Griffin and your Griffin is also Welsh .

Another query:

COSCA: MacMichael? There it is there you go; one at a time; MacMichaels have their own tartan; MacMichael is also associated with Clan Stewart. Now if you want to see the tartan, these people next door could show you the MacMichael tartan, I don't think I have that tartan here. You could also talk with Clan Stewart; now although it is showing a tartan association with Clan MacMichael , that isn't to say that Clan Stewart will take you on as part family, you may not be on their sept list , so Clan Stewart is here, so you can talk to them and they are located right over here, form 6...

This excerpt gives a little of the flavour of the queries and the way

they are answered. In every case that a positive Scottish identification was made on this occasion, the recipient of the information expressed delight in a number of different ways, ranging from awe, sheer excitement, quiet satisfaction to unbelievable joy, and in one instance, to the equivalent of 'having a religious experience'. If they were with friends it was not unusual for a great hug to follow such exclamations. On one occasion the enquirer could not stop shaking the COSCA representative's hand. One happy person literally did his impression of a Highland dance , before going off to the clan tent indicated. The pace was fast and furious and the volunteers used a number of reference books to field these queries. From the content of the answers, it can be seen that in general terms, the volunteer is really only able to put any given name in the widest context of a specific clan and the subsidiary sept names that have been listed in Dr. Philip Smith's book '*Tartan for Me*' for that name; the link with a tartan is then made, where it exists.



(6) Dr Philip Smith (2nd left) fielding queries at the TECA stand next to COSCA's

Historical inaccuracies abound in this sort of operation and the

volunteer with whom I was working cheerfully acknowledged woeful ignorance, particularly in connection with the Scots-Irish and with an answer she gave to a later query. She had no hesitation in adding a little mythical elaboration to history connected with a name if she felt that the customer would be that much happier and keener to pursue the enquiry at the appropriate clan tent. It certainly raises the whole question of how organisations such as COSCA portray Scottish identity and whether the image they project of Scotland is the one that people most readily identify with in terms of satisfying their own search for connections with the land of their forefathers, actual or imagined. On the other hand, it might be that the sort of concern engendered by this approach in the minds of those who would have nothing but a factual portrayal of the past is misplaced. Those who go on to discover more about their clan and family connections to Scotland, and for whom the historical past is important, will find quickly enough the information they seek, whilst those who are not bothered by the means in which the connection is made, however slight such connections may really be, are only too glad to have established the link. This then enables them to build their own particular version of Scottish American identity if they so choose.

One of the principal reasons that people seek clan connections appears to be that of wishing to join a wider family and COSCA's president summed up this feeling neatly:

> **RMcW** In the United States, the typical clan function is number one a family sort of thing, a warm and fuzzy feeling; I'm affiliated with people of my long-term long association, historical association, number one.

In the final part of this interview, I sought the president's views on the stage in peoples' lives at which they began to show an interest in exploring possible Scottish roots and why he thought people were

interested. I wanted his views on whether young people were taking part:

> **RMcW** Well. There's both. We, most of the older people have got a pretty good idea, but we still get a good number of older ones, but the younger ones, we're having a huge number of the younger ones; and of all kinds, they come well dressed or they come in tee shirts and they come with tattoos and earrings and some of the women have tattoos in the most amazing places, you know, and motor cycle bikers, guys all dressed up to the nines in their tartans and in suits, you know coats and ties and so on, so its a broad, broad spectrum and I think you've seen that here. It used to be pretty much an old timer, well lets go and find out, but not lately; and then we find these people "Well I'm here because my girlfriend's got this name and I'm told she's Scottish, is this Scottish?" We had a German, 100% German came up to our tent and said "I've got to have some Scottish blood in me, I just love the bagpipes, and can I wear a tartan?" "Well you can wear the national tartan" "Well, isn't there something more...? "Well is there something significant in your life that's Scottish?" and of all things, he says: "Well, my father was a prisoner of war on a farm in Perthshire, during World War II, and I said: "You could, if you wanted to, wear the Perthshire District tartan." This guy lit up like a roman candle. "Where do I find it?" So I said: "Well go down to the vendors tents and look on the clan tartan tie rack, and you may find it, because they have these tartan district ties now." Well he went down and found the Perthshire, and he came back wearing it; he thanked everybody in the tent, nobody could believe it. Well, that is the phenomena of the attraction and they believe, Americans still believe, that the Scots have all the good of everything I believe, all the values that because the way our families are fragmented and so on, the old family values, the old work ethic, or these things are suddenly...the Scots, at least in the United States, they are perceived to have all these wonderful qualities that Sir Walter Scott gave them in the Waverley Novels and people also want to identify with that because our TV, our media destroys everything.

When I made the point that the Scots identity might be particularly attractive to people of European origin seeking to qualify their American identity in the way other ethnic groups were doing, he agreed:

> **RMcW** Right, and within the United States, when you start listening...the Scottish, the famous Scots in the United States, its an incredibly overwhelming roster of names of people that have done wonderful things not only on the economic side, but on the national political side and all across the board and its a marvellous,,,that's something I can associate with; it's what the blacks are now doing with their athletics and its all the pomp and pageantry and you can live a Walter Mitty life, totally separate from your humble author's space or your place in the assembly line and you can come to a games like this fully attired, in the grandest outfit and everybody accepts you, so that's part of the magic.

I found that the last sentiment reflected a discernible pattern present at all the games I have attended. I had the feeling that many wearing the kilt, whether in its simplest form with an open-necked shirt, or in more formal mode with bonnet and brogues, through to full Highland dress with lace jabot, plaid and even dirk, were glad to have an opportunity of 'dressing up'. This allowed them to adopt a totally different persona from the one they might have to project in office, or work-place, during the working week. The attraction of assuming the visual appurtenances associated with Scottish identity is a forceful one and individual contributors confirmed that this is one of the great bonuses attached to Scottish American identity.

The games demonstrate an enormous variety of dress and a small minority of people undoubtedly treat it as 'fancy dress' and go to great lengths to equip themselves with weaponry and other accoutrements which they think help them to re-enact much earlier modes and periods in Scotland's history. The vast majority of the thousands of people who do wear the kilt take care to be correctly dressed, whether they choose a formal or an informal style. They are encouraged to do this by the example of the many hundreds of people manning the clan society tents spaced right round the arena in two rows, in the case of the Grandfather Games, and the example set by them and those

officiating, judging and the official visitors from Scotland is there for all to see. One cannot fail to be struck by the exuberance and enthusiasm of those wearing the kilt, with the majority of people making a determined effort to demonstrate what may either be a confident and well-established Scottish American identity or a newly found one; indeed it is often difficult to distinguish between the two, if possible at all.

To further illustrate the motivation which encourages people to participate in the Scottish American movement, if I may term it that,[42] excerpts from an interview with one of the COSCA volunteers re-iterate the themes already touched on. I have included that part of the interview dealing with her experience as a helper, and have included it in complete form as I believe this effectively conveys the way so many people appear to feel; other comments she makes are more germane to the chapter dealing with personal perceptions of Scottish identity.

Elspeth Rowe **SSS.SA1999.34**

> **IMH** ...would you like to talk about your experience a bit, as standing behind the COSCA table, so to speak?
>
> **ER** In working the COSCA tents, which I have had the pleasure to be able to travel to many Highland games throughout the Mid-West, Minneapolis, Illinois area, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and then down into Atlanta, Georgia, Stone Mountain and down to Grandfather Mountain, which are the two largest in the United States, and helping out at the COSCA tents and working with people and their

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[42] . I use the term 'movement' to describe the totality of organisations and activities in America which define themselves as being Scottish or Scottish American; they include, for example, COSCA and its entire membership of clan societies, the Association of Scottish Games and Festivals, trusts and foundations such as the Caledonian Foundation USA and the many social organisations such as the St. Andrews, Caledonian and similar societies to be found throughout the country.

direction as far as their desire to be Scottish, their want, their need to find their own roots and genealogy is very exciting; I think it's a high because you can link them, even if it's in a very small way, to what their needs are and their needs are definitely to be Scottish.

IMH And do you think that need is driven at all by the fact that - I'll put it another way; why do you think they want to identify with the Scottish option, if you like, however tenuous their connection may be?

ER I think that they can look at the personality that Scotland and the people lends us as Americans, all the different personality traits, I feel that it is an honourable trait, it has romance to it, I feel that there's excellent family values, I think the clan system is a whole - if they know anything about the clan system and how it was - played a huge role in the history and the making of Scotland; I think that that all is desirable, things that people want in their lives, to be able to belong; it is a sense of belonging, and I don't think that you will find that in any other ethnic background.

IMH Do you think that it is also partly to do with the fact that, with this much more mobile community we live in today, that people find perhaps traditional groupings are much less stronger, both family, community and so forth and this idea of clanship therefore is more attractive?

ER Absolutely more attractive; I think it's, I think in America, being a melting pot in having very many different - possibility of having many different backgrounds - I think that they definitely want, they desire, they want that sense of belonging.

Whilst exploring the inherent qualities which people associated with Scottishness, we touched on the visual aspect of the identity:

ER Very visual; I think it's easy for us to relate to, to the common language , I think it's a very visual idea that we can grasp as far as the tartan and the wearing of the tartan...

IMH It's because you can actually express it?

ER Actually, you put on your tartan and you're wearing your name on your forehead, I mean that's basically you're carrying a sign of who you are and people can recognise that and it's a sense of pride and I think that that's what for me what Scotland was all about; my heritage was a sense of pride and I can live

that on a day to day basis in the Scottish community with the wearing of my tartan and the wearing of my family on my sleeve, so to speak.

Elspeth Rowe makes a good point here, if one considers that identity is marked at every layer right down to the family level in this context, whether it is invented or not.

IMH Right, so in a sense this is one of the easiest ways to make a statement about your identity in the same way that other ethnic groups have their hyphenated identity?

ER Right; I think that I can put on a pair of lederhosen and you would understand that I was a German, but I can put on my tartan and that understanding becomes my family name, which is very specific.

IMH In your experience, do people put on their lederhosen?

ER In my experiences?

IMH In the States, here?

ER Um, yes I think in going to different ethnic festivals, I think they do – the performers will - but not the people in attendance.

IMH And is that the difference between the Scottish community and other national groupings?

ER I think so; in attending a lot of different festivals, I think the performers will wear the national costumes and things and the people who are attending may wear a bit or piece, or pin, where, when you go to a Scottish Highland games unlike any other festival - even the Irish, we wear it all, we have it all.

IMH That is the essential difference?.

ER Right.

IMH Do you think that younger people are as interested as you obviously were, or is it more people who are settled in their identity, as an American identity, a little more mature who then start exploring these things? What is your experience of people coming to your (COSCA) tent?

ER I'm finding that the, I would say

people in their thirties and forties are definitely interested in the clan system, in their identity and following their name within that system. I think the younger people, thirty and younger, are bringing more of a Celtic flavour to the festivals; I think they are experiencing the wonderment of the arts, the music, the dance, the bag-piping, the Celtic rock portion of it. I think they'll grow into - they definitely want to wear their kilts, they definitely want to be a part of a family, but they are not as interested in the politics of the clans - the clans right now, the systems of it, or the business end of being at a Highland games and running a clan.

IMH Just the enjoyment?

ER Right. They're there to celebrate it, which is good for us, because us in our thirties and forties and on up, we need to have the younger people to teach us how to celebrate the history and things like that.

IMH And one final question; do you think when people want to wear the tartan and they're told that, in fact they haven't any specific association through name, or maternal or paternal connections, that they are happy just to wear any tartan - that they are not too disappointed if they can't find a specific tartan associated with their name?

ER Could you ask me that question again?

IMH There's a lot of emphasis put on: 'Am I entitled to wear the tartan if my name is Smith, show me the Smith tartan', but if there isn't a Smith tartan and all the advice you can offer is: 'Well there is a tartan associated with a district that your forebears may have come from, or there's the Jacobite tartan or the Caledonian, or whatever your interests may be', do you think people are happy with that rather more general solution?

ER I think they are, I think they are and that's what has developed those specific tartans and I think back of, you know, my knowledge of historical perspective, that you didn't necessarily carry the name of the chief to wear the tartan; you were either a tenant , or you were there for his protection, or you married in, so you may not have carried the name but the tartan was theirs, or there was even a specific weaver that they had, or two specific weavers that were craftspeople that created the tartan.

IMH Tartans of course, in the days of the clan system, weren't those that we'd recognise today, it was more probably a domestic association with certain areas.

ER In similar weave that that particular...and I think that that somehow that tartans were not really developed until the 1800's, after proscription?

IMH Yes, they really started being associated with name , as you say, from, really, the great visit of King George to Edinburgh...

ER I think the enthusiasm that I feel with people who want to be connected to a form of heritage or historical perspective, somehow they want to be connected to Scotland and they may have just a small ounce of Scottish blood in them, or they can trace something in a district, for a district tartan, that creates celebration in their own way and their enthusiasm and that's what keeps it alive in America. I think a lot of it in America is a celebration of Scotland, not necessarily as a genealogy but as a celebration of Scotland.

Elspeth Rowe, a woman in her early thirties, manages to pin-point many of the essential elements which manifested themselves during the course of my research. People may well wear lederhosen at a German festival, but those who do will be the performers, not the generality of people attending the festival as visitors. At a Scottish gathering, on the other hand, a substantial proportion of the visitors also wear the national dress, and this difference is fairly fundamental; 'wearing one's name on the sleeve' is a mark of great confidence in one's identity, and is uniquely Scottish through the medium of tartan.

The stand next door to the COSCA one at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, and neighbours whenever possible at the other games was the TECA stand (the Tartan Educational and Cultural Association). Bill Johnston was instrumental in founding this organisation which works in very close association with the Scottish Tartans Authority in Scotland. Both these came into being due to disagreements emerging as to the way the Scottish Tartans Society was being run; Bill Johnston was responsible for setting up the American side of the latter organisation as well and most of the

Americans involved switched to TECA on its inauguration some ten years ago. Sadly, he died in 1999, to be followed as president by Dr. Smith, who some years ago compiled the *'Tartans for Me'* reference book. TECA functions in tandem with COSCA in fielding enquiries, but naturally focuses more on individual tartans rather than clans. Whilst I was interviewing Bob McWilliam, Dr. Gordon Smith was exceptionally busy at his stand next door, constantly referring to his computer which holds an extensive repetoire of tartans.

Bill Johnston was careful to draw a distinction between the conducive environment of a Highland games, when it comes to wearing the kilt, and other social occasions such as weddings. The following excerpts help to re-enforce the impression that other contributors have given that Scottish identity in America has to be viewed very differently in terms of its expression from the way its symbols are used in Scotland. Bill Johnston, an avowed tartan scholar, is careful to distinguish between different elements noticeable in the American approach.

Bill Johnston **SSS.SA1998.56**



(7) William 'Bill' Johnston president of TECA

> **IMH** It seems that generally there is a continual growth in interest in the whole matter of tartan and not only the number of people who wish to identify with existing tartans, but in people who, if they cannot satisfy themselves in that direction, are interested in having their own tartans created for them. Where do you put the upsurge in interest? Has it been a long-standing thing?
>
> **WJ** Well that's hard to answer; it's often said that a Scot does not know that he's a Scot until he leaves Scotland and in America the Scottish people are proud of Scottish heritage and so in America there is far greater interest in Scottish heritage, Scottish history and so forth, than we find right here (in Edinburgh).

During the course of my discussions with Americans on the subject of identity, cultural heritage was quite frequently mentioned as an important element in an attachment to Scotland, and Bill Johnston pinpoints this early on in our discussion. Tom Schlereth, described by Kenneth Ames as "one of the most influential cultural historians of our time" (Schlereth, 1992:xix), suggests that 'cultural history' is a good general rubric for material culture, and

> ...if those remaining material culture scholars can be persuaded to recognise the explanatory powers they would gain by approaching material artefacts from an historical perspective, might not we think of ourselves as cultural historians? (1992:19)

Schlereth proposes that material culture becomes "an investigation that uses artefacts...to explore cultural questions" and "is a process whereby we attempt to see through objects...to the cultural meaning to which they might relate or that they might mediate" (1992:27,31). Even if material culture is "only a means, rather than an end" in cultural study (Prown,1982:1), it does provide the means to link elements from several disciplines into one comprehensive study; the all-embracing word culture described in the *Companion*

Encyclopaedia of Anthropology as:

> a system of symbolic meanings and symbols themselves and behavioural artefacts by which people manipulate and continuously transform the total web of meanings within the system (Ingold,1994:375)

is but one of the elements common to those I have in mind, namely the study of history, social anthropology, sociology and ethnology. From an ethnological perspective, and here the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* description of the word ethnology may be apposite:

> The science which treats of races and peoples, their relations, their distinctive characteristics, etcetera (Onions,1980:685)

The study of material culture allows us to explore artefacts 'by which we give form to and come to an understanding of ourselves, others or abstractions' (Miller, 1994), and here I would extend this to include nations, ethnic and kin groups, clans and other group identities, and whereas anthropological discourse might currently be seen as dialectic/dialogue between the 'self' and the 'other', or in some cases, as really a projection of the self, ethnology is perhaps more concerned with the meaning of artefacts for ourselves. So we have to approach the question of the study of identity in material culture terms bearing in mind the essential symbolic nature of culture and this suits our purposes well, for I have already discussed the emphasis that this study is bound to place on this quality. When it comes to the ideas contained within the concept of cultural heritage, then we have to consider the question of identity in the context of its use as an expression to describe how an individual perceives himself and his place in society in relation to others, for identity by implication has to have a cultural element. Bjarne Stocklund draws our attention to the possible role played by the great international exhibitions held in the nineteenth century in changing the 'focus of interest in folk culture

from spiritual phenomena (folksongs, folk tales and so on) to material culture in the second half of the nineteenth century' with their particular emphasis on traditional costume and peasant dress (1993:111). We might add that through this domain of material culture came the particular expression of individual identities referred to above, but exposed to public view in an altogether different setting from the habitual.

My conversation with Bill Johnston turned to his views on wearing the kilt as a mark of cultural heritage in the United States:

> **IMH** ...would it be unusual for people of Scots origin in the States to get married in a kilt?
>
> **WJ** Yeah, unusual, though it does happen, but it's not a big thing even amongst the Scottish American community; while they may have a lot of activity in the Scottish American community, when it comes to a wedding, they are not necessarily headed right directly for Scottish formalities. Some of them do, but not as many as you might expect.
>
> **IMH** So when in the States do people usually wear the kilt, if they do wear the kilt, in your experience?
>
> **WJ** Going to the Scottish games, of which there are many in the States and some people go to a number of different games and so they will wear Scottish dress and take this great interest in Scottish heritage at the time of the games. Now then there are Scottish country dancers who will wear the kilt and so forth while dancing and I see many of them who will come in street clothes to the dance, carrying their kilt hidden and when they get there, go to the gents and change to a kilt for the dancing. There is that wearer, and then many of us are members of societies and associations, St Andrews societies, Caledonian societies, and will wear them for those occasions; there are very few who will wear them naturally on the street day in, day out; some do, but not many.
>
> **IMH** When you entertain enquiries at highland games, do you find that, on the whole, people are just establishing a link with some tartan, as long as there is a tartan.
>
> **WJ** Well, yes, that's interesting

because at the highland games we operate in a tent , or a stall what-have-you that is provided to us by the games and the people come up and ask us questions about their heritage and one of the hardest things we have to impress on people is, they go up and say: 'My name is so-and-so, or my grandmother's name was so-and-so' so they know it's a Scottish name and they think therefore here is a clan of that name and therefore there is a tartan of that name. So we have to dispel that first of all and then we do have references where we can tie in a name to some other clan that does recognise that name and family, and my! Are the people happy to learn such and 'Oh can you show me that tartan?' which we do. Others we have to say 'Yes, you have a Scottish name, but we don't have a clan affiliation, so we find that name in prevalence in such-and-such area, and if you don't have any other knowledge or reason, may be that's a suggested tartan you might like to wear, or if you know where your granddaddy came from, that district tartan or the clan that was dominant in that area might be appropriate.' But at any rate they are happy to get that kind of information.

IMH What about the folk who want to have their own tartan?

WJ This usually occurs amongst people who have been associated with their heritage for some time; they're not new found people, but they've been associated some time and they say 'All these other families have a tartan, why don't we?' And so somebody sets about saying 'I will design one', or they will come to us and ask us to design one for them, that's done.

IMH And you have a panel of designers?

WJ We have a core group in our International Association of Tartan Studies, known as the Guild of Scholars, about a dozen in number, but it includes almost half the group in America, and half the group located here in Scotland and one other in Canada, and this group of scholars are the ones who are the core group that we consider we are supporting.

Matt Raesaenen, in discussing migrations in Europe after the second world war, suggests that 'the concept of identity has become increasingly important in cultural disciplines since the 1960's' and that 'one of the most crucial dimensions in acculturation is ethnicity'(1995:14). Peter Niedermueller's assertion that, 'the ethnic identity of a group may be expressed by means of common cultural

traits common values, norms and symbols (1992:112) serves to illustrate the commonality between the themes discussed so far and those of ethnicity and identity, which, in a sense, lie at the root of the meaning of culture to the individual.. At this point we may also consider the implications of identity for the individual; Raesaenen points in particular to the fact that, generally speaking, two theories of identity prevail in America:

> "The theory of 'e pluribus unum' (many become one), and the 'melting pot' theory which means the eliminating of cultural varieties. The latter means that becoming an American calls for the renunciation of one's homeland and values, old world languages, customs, symbolic forms, however quaint and attractive, must by this theory, give way to the American way of life. These two theories are diametrically opposed. In the first the ethnic group does not change, it co-operates with the larger society. In the USA the cultural units of ethnic groups co-exist and co-operate...individuals are necessarily ethnic, but this ethnicity is an asset" (1995:15).

In the construction of individual identities where the desire to incorporate a Scottish element is concerned, the motivation is often linked to the desire to access a cultural heritage not available to the all-American identity postulated above. Furthermore, the emphasis increasingly placed by ethnic groups on need to qualify their American identity with an ethnic one leads to similar pressure or need amongst those who have for long forsaken any such qualification. Here I am thinking in particular of the original European settlers, predominantly from Britain and then progressively from other North European countries. Generally the earliest settlers shared a common language in English and political developments rapidly brought about the emergence of a clear American identity which could be understood to be North European White Caucasian – essentially Anglo-Saxon in origin, with admixtures of Gaelic and Scots elements and later re-enforced with Scandinavian and German migrational streams.

Subsequent patterns of migration to the United States brought well defined ethnic groups who, through a combination of their later arrival and economic circumstances, together with more obvious linguistic differences, retained their identity in certain measure, and in many cases still do.[43] For these latter it it might be rather easier to re-instate their hyphenated identity if they so wish, even after some generations, whether it be Irish American, Polish American, Italian American or whatever. For the former it is not so easy, particularly for those in the first category mentioned above. The concept of an Anglo American has yet to emerge, but for the Scottish American, the access key is readily available, because that identity incorporates specific values, visible symbols and cultural connotations which combine to express Scottishness.

> **IMH** ...it always fascinates me to have folk who have a choice of heritage, if you like, from their forbears - it could be Scots, it could be Ukrainian, it could be Italian or what-have-you - do you see folk participating in more than one stream, are you aware of people subscribing readily to their Scots heritage, but also, let us say, to their Ukrainian heritage?
>
> **WJ** No, I can't say that I see that at all; maybe a few who have not only Scottish heritage - and that may, or may not, be Ulster Scots heritage and also an Irish heritage and so therefore some may be interested in their Irish heritage as well as their Scots, but related to other ethnic groups, Italian, Ukrainian, Russian, whatever, I don't see it.

I wanted to know whether Bill Johnston thought that tartan played a part in people choosing the Scots option:

> **WJ** I think it has a lot to do with it; tartan and the Scottish dress - there's something a little more glamorous about having a Scottish heritage than, we'll say, having an Italian heritage.

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[43] See R. Byron in *Ethnologia Europaea* Vol 25(1995:33-44) and J.D. Hill(ed)History, Power & Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas 1492-1992 (1996).

'Glamour' is the word he uses to distinguish the Scottish heritage from others, and by inference, this would seem to be due, in his mind, to the attraction of tartan,(although Scotland's past might also exert an influence). This point is very supportive of my contention that the role of tartan in identity 'selection' is an important one and is further elaborated in chapter seven. The fact that he observes its wear generally restricted to specific Scottish occasions, even to the extent of Scottish Country Dancers changing at the place of meeting into their kilts, rather than wear them in the street, is perfectly understandable and perhaps too much stress should not be placed on the reluctance of people to parade their Scottish identity outwith their own milieu. That Bill Johnston sees people choosing their Scottish as opposed to other potential sources of heritage lends weight to the argument that tartan does have a significant role to play in this choice.[44]

With over 4000 tartans already logged on to the computer, TECA has a wealth of material with which to satisfy its enquirers. This explosion in the number of tartans that have been produced is a true reflection of the enormous growth of interest on the part of individuals in wearing tartan. The greatest number of these new tartans have been registered by Americans.

In addition to the clan society tents and those of societies such as COSCA and TECA, and Scottish Heritage USA , which promotes and raises funds for the National Trust of Scotland, the visitor to any Highland games in America is also confronted with a very large selection of vendors' stalls. Everything to do with Scottish attire and adornment, including replica weaponry, through to books, tapes and

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[44] Sadly, Bill Johnston died in April this year, aged 84

CD's on Scottish themes with a large selection of contemporary historical works, folk and traditional music, and others catering for those interested in traditional weaving, dyeing, and other crafts is on offer. It is difficult to come away from a gathering without feeling part of a vibrant society, rejoicing in its Scottish roots and connections. When the traditional features of a games are added to the above elements, with anything up to thirty pipe bands playing, and over a hundred clans participating in the 'Parade of the Clans' each day, not to mention the athletic events, piping and dancing, and other competitions designed to attract the participation of large numbers of visitors, the meaning of Scottish heritage in American terms begins to take a distinct shape and form. The games act as the prime element encapsulating so much of what people appear to be looking for; to those starting out on the journey of discovery, perhaps quite by chance as a casual visitor to Grandfather unaware of any particular connections, the occasion must surely be very exciting, fulfilling as it does, what appears to be a growing need on the part of so many people for a sense of community and belonging.

D. Pleasanton Scottish Gathering and Games

My visit to Pleasanton, California, where Caledonian Club of San Fransisco was celebrating its 134th Gathering and Games, was an altogether different experience. The Alameda County Fairgrounds setting at Pleasanton, whilst lacking the wonderful scenic backdrop of the Grandfather Mountain and the distinctly rural ambiance, more than made up for these with the sheer scale of the enterprise, with the promoters suggesting an attendance figure of around 100,000 people over the two days of the games. The scale and location by definition make these games accessible to a very large number of people in the Bay area of San Francisco; many are looking for a pleasant week-end diversion and don't necessarily have any particular Scottish interests –

unlike Grandfather, which is much less accessible and demands a certain enthusiasm and commitment to attend on the part of the general public.[45]

Apart from the attendance figures, the most noticeable thing that struck me was the scale of the vendors section. I counted eighty six stalls in total, accommodated in five different halls, covering an extensive range of goods, the vast majority having some connection to things Scottish. Compared with Grandfather Mountain, with its ten stalls, Pleasanton was a shoppers paradise for anyone looking for tartan by the yard, made up in kilts, skirts, plaids, scarves and ties; Highland dress accessories, clan crests and badges, jewellery, books, handicrafts, giftware, weaponry both new – a very large selection of claymores and Lochaber axes – and old, with some fine late 17th century/early 18th century broadswords, dirks and pistols, to mention but some of the things on offer. Among those firms present were several well-known names from Edinburgh's High Street and the stalls attracting a continual crowd of people were noticeably those offering genealogical and heraldic services, with computer print-outs of coats of arms and Name or Clan histories. These latter seemed to be fulfilling the role played by COSCA and TECA, (neither of which was present at these games),[46] but for a fee. The principal emphasis of this entire section appeared to be the satisfaction of the need many appeared to have to link into Scotland's past heritage, and just about everything offered for sale reflected this. The interpretation of this past and its historical accuracy would merit a separate study, but in terms of providing the physical means for people to demonstrate a

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[45] The general public have to park their cars some way from the gathering ground and queue for a shuttle bus service to take them up to the games; by the middle of the day, the walk from the furthest car parks to the bus takes up to 15 minutes.

[46] Both organisations do not yet have sufficient volunteers to represent them at all the major games; up to now they have tended to concentrate on those held in the east of the country, which tend to be more accessible to their council members.

Scottish identity, it appeared hugely successful.

With over thirty pipe bands competing in the various grades, (including the winners of the World Championships in Glasgow of a fortnight earlier), together with individual competitions for pipers, fiddlers, dancers and clarsach players, there was a constant musical background to the proceedings. It would be fair to say that the atmosphere was infectiously Scottish plus American, both blending to provide a remarkably vivid tableau which would certainly encourage anybody to explore their Scottish roots, even if they thought that there was only an outside chance that they might have them. Whilst fewer clan societies were present than in North Carolina, the seventy eight tents of these societies provided a focus for the different clan and family groups, and new members were invariably welcomed with enthusiasm. Various societies of wider Scottish interest in the region were also present, and together they all provided a continual flow of hospitality. In addition a number of catering stands dealing in traditional Scottish fare appeared to be doing a roaring trade; in spite of a temperature in the high eighties fahrenheit, the fish 'n chip stands always had long queues, as did the Scotch pie vendors.

We might find it incongruous at a Highland Games to come across Mary, Queen of Scots, with a large retinue of assorted courtiers, Highland guards, soldiers, ladies-in-waiting and hangers on, perambulating at regular intervals through the crowds, displaying costumes which were striking for their apparent historical accuracy. At Pleasanton, it seemed perfectly normal to have to make way for Her Majesty, or any other group of re-enactors, be it the Fraser Highlanders or some long-forgotten group from the past. What I did find rather more unusual, was to have to make way for a live wedding procession, with the entire wedding party, from bride and groom (in

feilidh mor)[47] downwards, dressed in period costumes covering a span of some three or four hundred years – with most having a Scottish flavour, but by no means all; particularly striking was the fact that the procession was led by a lady piper wearing the great plaid, something I had not seen before. The couple had been married earlier in the morning in one of the clan society tents!

The Parade of the Clans, as at Grandfather, provides an opportunity for many people to take part in something and each clan fields as many adherents wearing its tartan as possible; it is one of the highlights of the day, and re-emphasises the prominence given to the clan by the Scottish American community. The official guests are usually clan chiefs, more often than not from Scotland, and they take the salute at the parade.





(8) Parade of the Clans at Pleasanton, with (9) the Chiefs taking the Salute.

[47] The great plaid, one length of tartan worn in the traditional way, as opposed to the

The Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, which have been going since 1956, pay great attention to protocol and form in matters to do with procedure and clan organisation. Those held by the Caledonian Society of San Francisco which are much older, seem to take their own line and unlike the Scottish American community of the South-Eastern States, appear unbothered by strict protocol. This poses a problem for the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, and others. Although Richard Carmichael gave the following answer initially in relation to a question about the Kirkin o' the Tartan ceremony, it has a direct bearing on Scottish perceptions of Scottish American traditions:

> **RC** ...the Caledonian Club of San Francisco have been doing this now for a hundred and thirty four years, not the Kirkin of the Tartans, but the whole, the whole games and that is a very long established tradition, and some of the things they're doing are quite potentially upsetting to the old Scottish school, if that's the right expression; for example, all the chiefs of their games (Pleasanton) now have three feathers;[48] and the past chiefs have three feathers in a circlet and they have people in charge of different factors of the games with two feathers, so, um, the hereditary chiefs of the clans who were guests of the games were sort of lost amongst the feathers, to a certain extent and that was, to some people that is probably very upsetting, but because of the sheer length of time that they have been involved in these games, they - to my understanding - feel they have the right to re-invent and re-apply some of the old rules (SSS.SA1999.36)

Carmichael notes the difference between Scottish and Scottish American practice, illustrating the way tradition is perceived and how the different communities on either side of the Atlantic respectively view it.

> **RC** ... and I think that is what is happening with the Kirkin of the Tartan, that is what is happening with Tartan Day, that is what is happening with their saying, well we've got chiefs of the games, a chief has three feathers, we'll have three feathers, that is

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feilidh beg, or little or modern kilt.

[48] Only chiefs of a whole name or clan are entitled to wear three eagle's feathers in their bonnet; chieftains of leading cadet houses wear two.

what's happening with my Carmichael honour guard, who created themselves out of nowhere in the mid-eighties and now we have four be-kilted and pith-helmeted, dirk-carrying honour guard who follow me around at all the games, and banner bearers and the like and it's a sort of new tradition, made in America for America, but with a Scottish base, and I think the whole of these things together show a, a pride and an aggressiveness - no, we won't wait for mother Scotland to tell us how to do it - we'll do it the way we want to do it.

IMH So, one could say that, I mean, that they feel their own distinct sense of ownership, if one can use that term?

RC I think that what they feel they've got, is their own and it's not something that should be subservient to the old country and that it's alive and well and free and moving forward and will do so regardless of my opinion, or your opinion, or the high heid ones in Glasgow or Edinburgh, it's just going to happen and they'll make it happen.

IMH What d'you think the reaction is, if it's discussed, in the Standing Council (of Scottish chiefs) to, to these ...developments?

RC It has been discussed...and I know it's not met with universal approval and the chiefs who were at these recent games were charged with discussing it with the Caledonian Club of San Francisco and we, um, decided to forego the opportunity to discuss it directly with them on approximately the lines I have been discussing; with the games are attracting nearly 100,000 people, they're very obviously not all Scots and it's a fairground and festival presentation and it really isn't within our judgement, or our gift, on old guidelines alone to do anything that remotely damages that, that whole presentation; and so it is a problem for the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs and for the Lord Lyon, but it's one in which I personally don't feel, and certainly the other chiefs who I was discussing it with, who were Hunter and Maclaine of Lochbuie,...we felt we were not in a position to march in and demand these changes, so it's back to the drawing board. I'm sure there must be a compromise, an accommodation somewhere along the line...but it falls nicely into the category you're discussing of America going it alone.[49]

The distinct divergence and potential for the development of home-grown traditions amongst the Scottish American community is well

illustrated here; the matter of concern is one of detail, the entitlement to the chiefly three feathers in the bonnet, but in a way it goes to the core of perceptions surrounding clanship and the distinct position held by a chief. The moment this distinction becomes diluted, through entitlement arising out of office other than headship of a clan, the whole construct of clanship in the Scottish sense is called into question. It will be interesting to see how those who are just as concerned in the United States on this point react to the trend apparent in Pleasanton, let alone those involved over here.

This reference to parts of the Scottish American community making their own rules is important It illustrates an aspect that many find it difficult to comes to terms with, particularly those from the more traditional south-eastern states and those concerned with such matters in Scotland. There appears to be a sense of confidence which is capable of generating a growing number of local interpretations as to what constitutes Scottish American practice in questions of acceptable protocol and, particularly, dress. Thus a number of people carrying out official functions at games adopt various accessories to wear with the kilt, such as dram flasks and dirks, to name but two, which would be thought excessive or even laughed at in Scotland, where the tendency over a long period has been to eschew any extra ornamentation about the person. Once that confidence is established , it is natural for a variety of different customs to emerge and for the Scottish American to assert that his interpretation is as valid as any other. It has to be said that in matters of dress there are a large number of 'How to..' books, advising on correctness.[50] In essence these values derive from what I have already referred to as the traditional kilt-wearing world and which is essentially pre Second World War/mid-1950's in its nature. Another point re-inforces and

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[49] SSS: SA.1999.36

explains this confidence. There are many Scottish Americans, particularly those often involved in manning clan society tents, who can trace their origins very precisely – with known dates of emigration, geographical location of forebears and their lineage – who question why their intepretation of their Scottish heritage should be any less valid than that promoted by contemporary Scots in the Old Country.

In other words they believe in their ownership of the heritage as much as anybody else. The fact that the heritage may be presented in a certain way, with such emphasis on the past, or the imagined past in Benedict Anderson's terms, to suit the Scottish American construction of identity inevitably contrasts with the Scots' view of heritage in terms of contemporary Scottish identity. The agendas are not the same, but one can discern similarities and here we come back to the symbolism and hidden meaning of tartan and the kilt and its place in both societies. Just as Scottish perceptions are, I believe, constantly evolving, so too are those of the Scottish American community. For them, however, the actual significance of tartan as an integral part of that heritage to which they aspire might be said to be substantially different to the way it is viewed in Scotland. I shall be considering what is perhaps the most noteworthy illustration of this difference in the final chapter devoted to the Kirkin o' the Tartan ceremony; but the significance of tartan has already been alluded to in the context of the enquirers at the games and will emerge further through illustrations from individual contributors.

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[50] Such as J. C. Thompson's *So You're Going to Wear the Kilt* (1981).

CHAPTER THREE

Personal Participation Perspective

My participation in a number of events and projects provided me with valuable opportunities to assess the importance of tartan to different groups of Americans from more of an insider's perspective. When participating in an event on an equal basis with others, the role is rather more than that of participant-observer; the observing becomes less overtly conscious, and much more a subconscious one, which in a sense demands a different perspective when drawing any conclusions from the experience.

A. Caledonian Foundation USA

I attended the third and fourth annual symposia[51] of this organisation, held in Sarasota, Florida, which endeavours to draw together the leading Scottish American umbrella organisations active in the United States; each conference has a main theme around which working and study groups are structured with a view to advancing the general promotion and co-ordination of the Scottish American interest in the USA. The first of these two conferences was devoted to examining Scottish identity and education, with particular reference to Scottish Studies courses in both Scotland and the USA and to exploring ways in which the different umbrella organisations might more effectively combine to promote Scottish interests. I was invited to speak and took part in a panel discussion which followed. The second conference was devoted principally to exploring aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment and its influences in America. Much the

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[51] 3rd Symposium held February 26th-March 1st 1998: 4th Symposium held February 25-27th 1999

same organisations were represented on both occasions. For me, the principal interest was in meeting with the individual representatives of these organisations and exchanging views on a basis of equality. From the contacts made at the first conference I was subsequently able to extend my fieldwork with their help.

Initially the over-riding impression given to me was that the majority of participant organisations were representative of what might generally be termed as the 'kilt and caber' interest. For these, Scottish heritage , the kilt, tartan and Highland games were all one and the same thing, and their agenda and perspectives were very much limited by this vision. Leading this group were organisations already discussed in some detail, such as COSCA, TECA and also SHUSA.[52] With large memberships,[53] they confidently approached the agenda from their perspective and that alone. They didn't appear to recognise the need to take account of other positions, such as those advanced by participants interested in education, commerce or the wider sphere of activities, particularly those which might benefit from a rather more broadly-based Scottish American profile and one which didn't place quite so much emphasis on tartanry. At the root of these discussions was the question of what was meant by Scottish American identity, and ethnicity – although the latter term was never directly examined for its meaning in this context.

Significantly at this first of the two conferences, the majority of the male participants wore the kilt, and much emphasis was placed on the formal luncheon and similar social events. For most people, it appeared quite natural to wear the kilt during the proceedings, since this was specifically a Scottish American function. It was not until I

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[52] Scottish Heritage USA

[53] COSCA, for example, represents all the Scottish clan and family associations and societies in the USA

too donned my kilt, on the second day, that I felt real attention being paid by many to anything I had to contribute in informal discussions. The principal speaker from Scotland was a banker and what he had to say failed to elicit the sort of response one might have expected from most people anxious to broaden the scope of their activities; but he wasn't wearing a kilt on that occasion, which may have contributed to the politeness rather than enthusiasm with which he was heard.

One of the main items on the agenda was the celebration of Tartan Day due to take place for the first time that year (1998); the Caledonian Foundation had been active in its promotion and in securing its endorsement by Senator Trent Lott , the Republican Majority Leader (a Buchanan).[54] The fact that the Scottish American community decided to follow Canada's lead and name April 6th Tartan Day, the day chosen to match in meaning St. Patrick's Day for the Irish, and to ignore St. Andrew's claims for this purpose, encapsulates the symbolic significance which tartan has for Scottish Americans.

My impressions of this conference, therefore, re-inforced the notion that for many Scottish Americans involved in specific interest organisations, the kilt and tartan had become paramount as a mark of their commitment to and expression of their Scottish identity – to the extent that they found it difficult to envisage an agenda which did not place these considerations at its head.

The second conference the following year was in stark contrast with its predecessor. The seeds sown the preceding year appeared to have germinated, for the main item on the agenda, the Scottish Enlightenment, succeeded in widening the perceptions of most of those who had demonstrated a rather narrower vision before.

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[54] See Section **B**. below.

Furthermore, with one of the key-note speakers from Scotland concentrating on 'Scotland the Brand'[55] and overseas perceptions of Scotland and Scottishness, the conference seemed more prepared to widen the agenda and begin to put tartan in a slightly different perspective. Markedly, the majority of people chose not to wear the kilt on this occasion. Whether this demonstrated greater confidence in their own identity is open to question as those I asked about this change in style would only comment that, with topics on the agenda lacking a distinct tartan flavour, it seemed more appropriate not to wear kilts. It may well be the case in other *milieu* that the decision to wear the kilt implies great confidence on the part of the American that he is not violating any particular Scottish traditions attached thereto. I do not think that this was a constraint on this occasion. I came away from this conference sensing that most people realised that the idea of Scottish identity could embrace very much more than traditional heritage and its symbols and the principal organisations recognised the need to co-ordinate their activities. This was acknowledged through the formation of 'The Scottish Coalition', [56]but interestingly the first joint statement put out, in co-operation with other societies, was one exhorting Scottish Americans to support Tartan Day.

B. Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia, offered two opportunities to examine the question of tartan and the kilt from a participant's perspective, albeit these two occasions were very different and neither fell into the same bracket as those referred to in the previous section.

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[55] The overseas marketing arm of Scottish Enterprise, a Scottish Executive Agency.
[56] Comprising The American-Scottish Foundation, Inc., the Association of Scottish Games & Festivals, The Caledonian Foundation, Inc., the Council of Scottish Clans And Associations, Scottish Heritage USA, Inc., and the Tartan Educational And Cultural Association, Inc.

The first of these was my delivery of a talk on the 'The contemporary wearing of the kilt in Scotland' to a group of alumni of the University of Edinburgh.[57] The occasion was hosted by a Scot, long resident in Atlanta, as were most of the Scots in the audience; the other half were Americans of Scottish descent who had all studied at Edinburgh for a period in the past and with very few exceptions the men wore their kilts for this occasion. Some of them were extremely active in the Scottish American community, taking the presidency of St. Andrew's societies, Burns societies and similar associations, whilst others were relative newcomers to the active community, but appeared to embrace its traditional aspects with enthusiasm. Whilst delivering the talk, the difference between the respective positions of speaker and audience was as one would expect. However, the discussions and conversations after the talk, once that artificial barrier no longer existed, allowed me to inter-act with those attending very much as a participant in the exchange of views. This equality of situation was interesting in that it allowed those who wished, to be very forthcoming about their views on Scottish American identity and how it was expressed, much more so than had been apparent at the brief question and answer session which followed the talk.

In general the views expressed confirmed the status of tartan as being the visible expression of identity but not necessarily the catalyst for the exploration of that identity. The Scottish Americans had almost all been aware of Scottish roots and the genealogical quest had been the most important element contributing to their adoption of a Scottish American identity, subsequently demonstrated through the acquisition of a kilt. In so far as the subject of the talk was concerned, many expressed interest in the distinction I draw between the traditional and the new kilt wearers and the subtle difference in meaning the kilt has

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[57] Talk given to Georgian chapter of American Friends of University of Edinburgh

for these two groups. I suspect that a only a detailed survey of American kilt wearers would enable one to draw out any similar distinctions, with a probability of the difference between Highland and Lowland in the context of kilt wearing being apparent only to the generation accustomed to wearing the kilt before the explosion of interest in clan societies, dating from the 1970's.

The second opportunity to participate in tartan matters arose through my being engaged as a consultant in connection with an exhibition mounted by the Atlanta International Museum. The museum's 'mission statement' reads:

> The mission of the Atlanta International museum is to advance global understanding by celebrating and experiencing the many cultures of the world through exhibitions of international art and design.[58]

Its exhibition entitled 'Tartan: The Cultural Fabric of a Nation' was held in Atlanta City from mid-August 1999 to mid-June 2000 and is the nineteenth in the current series. The Scottish American community in Georgia is considerable and the second largest Highland games on the East Coast are held each October at Stone Mountain in the state,. The Atlanta International Museum of Art and Design specialises in bringing examples of other cultures to Atlanta through annual exhibitions. The above-titled exhibition was designed around tartan and its significance in Georgia as well as in Scotland, whilst incorporating a number of exhibits from local sources in addition to those loaned from the Scottish Tartans Museum in Franklin, North Carolina, The Museum of Scotland and other sources. Working with the curator of this exhibition[59] afforded an excellent

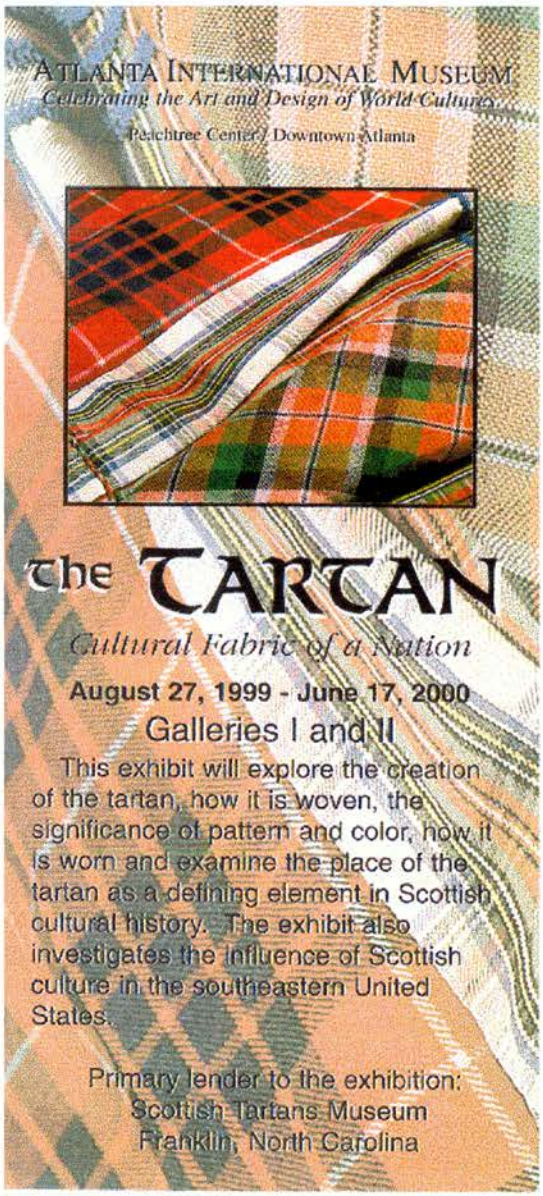
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21.2.1999.

[58] Atlanta International Museum brochure, 1999

[59] Janice Morrill, of the Atlanta History Center.

opportunity to note the relatively seamless transfer of the cultural heritage of one group of people, the Scots, to that of another group, the Georgian Scots. The content of the exhibition was as much about the growth of traditions pertaining to the culture of the latter as to that of the former.



(10) Tartan Exhibition Poster

Working through the proposed exhibits and the captions, I was more conscious than ever of the extent to which the kilt has become not only the universal badge of those pretending to Scottish origins but

also, through the multiplication of new *setts,* [60] a symbol of individual identity which is constantly being adapted to accommodate a growing demand. In other words, constraints which Victorian etiquette imposed on the 'entitlement' to a specific clan tartan and the way in which it could be worn (Scarlett, 1990:37), and remained in place broadly unchanged through to the late 1950's/early 1960's. The advent of the kilt-hire firms later on in that decade, finally saw these constraints succumb to the pressures of public demand and new attitudes allowed the design and manufacture of a wide variety of new *setts* to flourish. The historical development of tartan and the wearing of the kilt was relatively simple to catalogue, but at the same time one could not help but be aware of the extent to which this tradition has become so symbolic of a cultural heritage, itself under constant re-interpretation and adaptation.

The exhibition, divided into two galleries, covered the evolution of tartan dress, its history in the Highlands and wider use in Scotland, its weaving and manufacture, design and qualities; its registration, its use in Georgia today and examples of the work of some contemporary Scottish Americans. Visitors were presented with a variety of exhibits to illustrate these themes. Perhaps the most striking were the full-size mannequins; they included one demonstrating how an officer of the 78th, or Fraser Highlanders, would have appeared at the time the regiment was on service in North America (late 1750's) and the uniform shown is a reproduction one worn by contemporary re-enactors. Other costumes include a reproduction 17th century gentleman's *feilidh mor* , a reproduction 18th century ladies *airsaid*, or long tartan shawl worn in the form of a dress, a genuine late 19th century military uniform, the day wear Highland dress worn by the late Dr. Gordon Teall of Teallach, founder of the Scottish Tartans

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[60] The word used to describe an individual tartan pattern or design.

Society, and a contemporary evening wear outfit.

Smaller exhibits included children's kilts, the shawl said to have been worn by Mrs. Marjoribanks in 1746, at a ball given for Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and a selection of swords, dirks, sporrans. Examples of tartan cloth in its different forms and styles enabled the visitor to appreciate how the material has developed over the course of three centuries. A large number of photographs complemented the objects on display and from these the visitor could follow the historical development of Highland dress and tartan, right down to the present day, with images of the Prince of Wales, Tartan Army football supporters and shop assistants being amongst those shown. The draft texts for the exhibition panels are attached in Appendix VI and they convey a flavour of the exhibition, whilst at the same time giving a useful condensed historical survey.

The museum's own journal summarises the place it believes tartan holds in Georgia:

> In the contemporary world, tartan attire serves as an important way of expressing Scottish heritage, especially among those who are removed from their homeland.
> The wearing of tartan is a significant part of the social lives of Scots and Scottish descendants in Atlanta and the Southeast. A sampling of local associations and events, including the Stone Mountain Highland Games, illustrates the sweeping resurgence of Scottish identity witnessed in the United States, expressed particularly through the wearing of tartan. Why are Scottish-Americans so keenly interested in expressing their heritage? And what part does tartan play in this cultural expression? Examples relating to the local Scottish-American community of Atlanta explore these issues. (*Passport*:1999.5)

There is a perception that expatriate Scots tend to don tartan on more occasions than they might do when at home in Scotland. In a

community such as the Scottish-American in Atlanta,[61] this might well encourage members of the latter to take the plunge and acquire a full outfit, perhaps for formal wear, as has one of the exhibitors, Jim Anderson, who carves 'cromachs', or shaped walking sticks and crooks; he is quoted in one local newspaper:

> I wear a kilt as often as I can – for black-tie occasions and Scottish functions, and I usually like to stop off somewhere on the way back home while I'm wearing a kilt, just to get a reaction.[62]

In his case there seems to be an additional element in deliberately provoking comment on his demonstration of identity. For many, the purchase of a kilt and simple accessories alone might be sufficient to proclaim their identity, particularly at occasions such as the Stone Mountain Highland Games. The question which the exhibition does not really address is why there is so much interest. It is almost as if the story of tartan speaks for itself and the heritage it represents.

When considering imparted meaning, we can usefully refer to Susan Pearce's paper devoted to the examination of a uniform jacket in the National Army Museum, London.(Pearce,1996) She chose to analyse Lieutenant Anderson's coatee, which he wore at the battle of Waterloo on June 18th 1815, and to explore the raft of meanings it encompassed. In particular, she examines the 'signs' and 'symbols' (in Leach's terms (1976:12) imparted by the jacket:

> Objects...operate as a *sign* when they stand for the whole of which they are intrinsic part, as the jacket does for the actual events of Waterloo; and in this case the relationship is said to be metonymic. They operate as a *symbol* when they are brought into arbitrary association with elements to which they bear no intrinsic relationship, and in this case the association is said to be

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[61] In 1990, the last census revealed that 103,766 people in the metro Atlanta area claimed Scottish heritage. (The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, August 1999)
[62] *Northside/Sandy Springs Journal* (22nd Sep, 1999.B)

> metaphoric. This association is a human device which bears no logical investigation, but apparently we instinctively behave as if it were true, particularly when objects...are connected with our deepest hopes or fears...The crucial aspect of the jacket, which differentiates it from most other kinds of message-bearers, is that while it survives physically it retains its metonymic relationship to the battle itself; of Waterloo, whatever meaning may be attached to it, the jacket remains *not* in Leach's terms a 'symbol'...but, in his terms, a 'sign', an intrinsic part...The cycle of signified –signifier ...is constantly repeating itself throughout the span of an individual's consciousness...and it is the sum of these perpetually shifting meanings which makes up our perception of social change. (1996:23-25)

This is very much to abbreviate Pearce's analysis of the multitude of meanings the jacket possesses, both for those who observe it today and those alive at the time of Waterloo. The main point she is getting at, I think, is to consider the museological object which transforms meaning. In her words:

> This analysis helps us to understand the working of the emotional potency which undoubtedly resides in many supposedly 'dead' objects in our collections. It gives a framework for understanding better how our relationship with material culture of the past operates, and shows that this is part of the way in which we construct our ever-passing present (1996:26).

This analysis illustrates aspects of the power of an object of material culture. An interesting parallel with the kilt and tartan may be drawn; when somebody decides to wear a kilt, a complex set of emotions may be said to come into play in many cases, and especially when worn as a positive marker of identity. What is fairly certain is that a kilt made from tartan cloth often encompasses a whole range of images in the mind of the wearer, as well as in the mind of the observer, and these images are both metonymic and metaphoric. Events surrounding the kilt as an object from the past, with whatever associations these may call to mind are invested in it in its contemporary form. Perhaps the re-enactors use of uniform comes close to animating the emotions

contained in an object such as Lieutenant Anderson's coatee allowing the past and present to be 'co-eval' (Fabian, 1991:48). The emotions and images contained within such replications often demonstrate that the wearers take on all the language of the original in the sense that they 'become' the same sort of people who originally wore the uniforms, making an extra-ordinary link with the past. Charles Edwards, one of my informants, is involved with re-enactment groups concerned with World War II, and he referred to this incidentally:

> I went out early in the morning of battle and went down to where the British barracks where, to see what the turn-out was going to be like, and as I did so, I went through the German barracks and the Germans were out in full kit with steel pots on, and everything, fiddling round with some motorised vehicles, trying to get them going, sergeants clomping up and down, you know, all in character. Then a few barracks farther down in the British compound, fellows were out drinking tea and smoking, and having a spit and a draw! But being in character. (SA1998.57)

Because the kilt is such a strong marker of Scottish identity today, it has a duality of function going way beyond that of a 'dead' museum object, which latter, as Pearce demonstrates, also has a remarkable life of its own. For the Scottish American, in particular, I believe the kilt often combines these two roles and that it is used as much as a sign as a symbol to express the identity of the wearer.

In the same way that the Waterloo jacket is "capable of a very large range of interpretations and how this relates to the way in which the present is created from the past" (Pearce,1996:127), the kilt, too, can fulfil a similar function in the mind of the wearer. Ann Gorman Condon in her essay *The Celestial World of Jonathon Odell* (Pocius [ed] 1991.96) draws our attention to Ricoeur's work (1970:20-36) on the meaning of symbols in relation to his collection when she says:

> Put simply...beneath the manifold varieties of human

> expression there exists an underlying pattern, a network of affiliations - be they economic priorities, political loyalties, aesthetic values , neurotic needs or spiritual ideals – that provides a basic unity to a person or culture.

In particular, she summarises his three-stage model of analysis to decipher both the apparent and the latent meaning of symbols to allow us to recover their full meaning, thus: 1. Surface meaning recorded – immediate, intentional (in our terms, e.g. clan tartan). 2. Hidden, unconscious, indirect or obverse contents of symbol –(the surface is an illusion or mask', e.g. Highland/Jacobite). 3. 'Reflection' on correspondences within (2), above, to apprehend the full philosophical richness and arrive at a new interpretation of the symbol's meaning– a new sense of its total significance- a speculative stage but the symbols demand this special reflection (e.g. Scottish identity within the American context); this work allows us to explore both the positive and negative implications of cultural symbols (Condon in Pocius(ed), 1991:98). Pocius's introduction to the above-quoted collection of essays suggests that 'it (the artefact) can no longer be considered a simple illustration of a people's past or present, but a complex blend of competing expressive concerns that takes a unique three-dimensional form' (1991:xix). I rather like this neat summary of the 'accumulator' idea. Many have wrestled with appropriate descriptions of this extra-dimensionality, if one may use such a term; Hobsbawm also expresses the thought well:

> ...visible symbols such as flags, are still the most widely used methods of envisaging what cannot be envisaged. (1990:50).

Tartan could just as easily be substituted for the flags in the above quotation, for it, too, has the power to conjure up 'that which cannot be envisaged' in the same way.

C. Moultrie

Moultrie is a small town in southern Georgia which has the distinction of being the home of the Ellen Payne Odom Genealogy Library,[63] the chosen depository of, at the latest count,[64] the genealogical records of one hundred and twelve clan societies in the United States. Beth Gay, the editor of the *Family Tree* hosts a 'Scottish Weekend' every year at the library and I was invited by her to give one of the talks during the weekend. It was an excellent opportunity to meet another wide section of kilt-wearing Scottish Americans, for the kilt was *de rigueur* dress for the weekend. I chose the theme of the kilt in contemporary Scotland, and following my talk a number of those present entered into animated discussion afterwards, interested to know more about how Scots felt about their national dress and why more people did not wear it more of the time. The gathering was primarily an educational one, with speakers addressing a variety of topics germane to the heritage of Scotland and the Scottish community in America. The proceedings concluded with a Kirkin' o' the Tartan service, which I shall cover in chapter 8.

The highlight was a banquet on the Saturday evening, attended by about one hundred and fifty people; with two exceptions all the men wore kilts – some in formal attire, others more informally dressed. Traditional Scottish music was provided for the entertainment, and the haggis was piped in by the local volunteer Fire Service's pipe band and suitably dealt with during the course of Robert Burns's Ode. Whilst the elements of this evening were all essentially Scottish, with the possible exception of the 'knobbly knees' contest following dinner, the atmosphere was distinctively Scottish American. I put this down to the colourful interpretation the Americans bring to a

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[63] Founded through a bequest by Ellen Payne Odom, a resident of Moultrie, GA
[64] *The Family Tree* December 1999/January 2000 p.2

traditional celebration, engendering a special atmosphere and quality which marks it as American. For me, it was an excellent example of cultural transfer, because the occasion embodied continuity perhaps more than anything else. In terms of the significance of the kilt, there is no doubt in my own mind that it was fundamental, on this occasion, to the way those present expressed the Scottish element of their identity; the ladies too, all wore tartan, either in the form of sashes or skirts. It was tartan that provided the unifying theme, whilst allowing for the friendly rivalry between those of different clans which contributed to the overall fun and enjoyment of the evening. Howard Shaw, the President of the Clan Chattan Association USA, commented to me:

> Ordinary folk like us to keep Scottish culture, tradition and heritage alive and it will be our fault if we lose it.

The implication here is that it is the Scottish American community that is shouldering this responsibility now, more so than are people in Scotland; if this is a correct interpretation, then it goes some way to explain why the Scottish American appears to have no qualms about his or her interpretation of that culture, tradition and heritage.

I was left with the impression at the end of the evening of a complex series of identities in competition with each other, but the Scottish one undoubtedly predominated; with the majority of men in kilts and the women with tartan sashes, it would have been surprising were this not the case. On another occasion and in different dress I could imagine these largely Southern Americans being just as happy in their Georgian or Carolinan American identity. Another thing that struck me about this particular occasion was the age of those attending; I would surmise that the majority of people were in the mid to older generation bracket, with the only youngsters present being in the pipe

band. Perhaps this was not surprising, since the entire programme of the 'Scottish Weekend' was really designed to appeal to older people.

I summarise the programme to indicate the mix of activities which went up to make this educational weekend:

Friday:		Registration in the Odom Library
	7.30 pm	Dutch Treat Old Fashioned Ceilidh
Saturday:	9.00 am	R.D. Brill on Edgar Allan Poe
	9.30 am	George & Carol Worthley on Harry Lauder
	10.00 am	Chuck Bearman on the activities of The Tartan Educational & Cultural Association (TECA)
	10.30 am	Andy Mowat on 'How to wear the kilt'
	11.00 am	Bob Edgar on The Unification of Scotia at the Time of Kenneth I
	11.30 am	Col. Bob McWilliam on The Council of Scottish Clans & Associations (COSCA)
	1.00 pm	Special Guests Piped in by the Centerville Fire Department Bagpipe and Drum Band Society and escorted bt the Honor Guard – The Scottish American Military Society, Savannah, Georgia We celebrate the Cat Confederation – Clan Chattan
	1.05 pm	Opening Ceremonies with Clan Chattan, Clan Henderson Society in US & Canada, Clan Fraser Society of North America, Clan Brodie Association, Clan MacTavish
	1.15 pm	Kitty Carroll Falconry Demonstration
	2.15 pm	Ian Maitland Hume on Aspects of Identity & The Material Culture of Wearing the Kilt in Contemporary Scotland
	3.00 pm	Valerie Gray of Scottish Heritage USA & Handmade Heirlooms
	3.30 pm	Allan Irvine, Storyteller
	6.30 pm	Gala Ceilidh and Banquet Clan officials in any clan or officials of any Scottish organisation are invited to participate in the 'Piping In' by the Centreville Fire Department Drums & Pipes and the SAMS Honor Guard
	7.30 pm	Address to the Haggis
	8.30 pm	Bonniest Knees Contest and songs by Eric Duncan & Carl Peterson
Sunday:	11.00 am	Kirkin' o' the Tartan, First Presbyterian Church. Those who wish to carry banners

meet at 10.30 am. You are welcome to carry your own banner or members of St. Andrew's Society of Tallahassee will be glad to assign one to you.

12 noon Luncheon in the Social Hall

An eclectic mix of heritage, history, custom and practice, traditional Scottish elements, culture, education, entertainment, religion and celebration which combined American and Scottish influences in such a way as to give the weekend a unique Scottish American flavour.

D. National Tartan Day in Washington DC

Any examination of the significance of tartan in a contemporary American context would have to mention a relatively recent phenomenon, one that once again underlines the capacity of the North American Scottish community to launch an idea for celebration purely within the North American context. National Tartan Day is one such example.

On December 19th 1991, in response to action initiated by the Clans and Scottish Societies of Canada, the Ontario Legislature passed a resolution proclaiming April 6th as Tartan Day.[65] The Caledonian Foundation USA was attracted to the idea of initiating a similar celebration in the United States and discussed the possibilities with other Scottish American organisations at its annual conference in 1996. The following year, 1997, was the first year Tartan Day was celebrated on April 6th in the United States.[66] The joint committee issued the following invitation:

> April 6th marks the anniversary of the declaration of Scottish independence in 1320 at Arbroath Abbey on

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[65] Scotland Online website www.tartanday.com.1

[66] *Caledonian News*, Winter 1997

> the east coast of Scotland. The document included the following lines: '*For we fight not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life.*' The observance of Tartan Day commemorates all that is best in Scottish history and culture as well as the great contributions that Scots and Scots-Americans have made to the history and development of the United States. Contact one of the following organizations to learn more about the celebration...[67]

The idea was taken up enthusiastically by Scottish American organisations and societies throughout the country. The Republican Senate Majority Leader, Trent Lott, asked the Senate to note Tartan Day in 1997 and the contributions of Scots to the development of the United States. In the course of his remarks on that occasion he observed:

> Mr. President, a Tartan provides an instant recognition of a family and its kinship. By recognising Tartan Day we are commemorating all that is best in Scottish heritage...I am proud to declare my Scottish-American ancestry and it is an honour to recognize the 677th anniversary of the declaration of Arbroath. Tartan Day is indeed a significant day for all Americans.[68]

He subsequently ensured that Tartan Day became National Tartan Day by moving a Resolution in the Senate which was passed unanimously on March 20th, 1998:

> Senate 'National Tartan Day' S.RES. 155
>
> Whereas April 6 has a special significance for all Americans, and especially those Americans of Scottish descent, because the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scottish declaration of Independence, was signed on April 6, 1320 and the American Declaration of Independence was modeled on that inspirational document;
>
> Whereas this resolution honors the major role that Scottish Americans played in the founding of this Nation, such as the fact that almost half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Scottish descent, the Govenors in 9 of the original 13 States were

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[67] *Scottish Life*, Spring 1997
[68] *The American Scottish Gazette*, (Vol V, June 1997.3)

of Scottish ancestry, Scottish Americans successfully helped shape this country in its formative years and guide this Nation through its most troubled times;

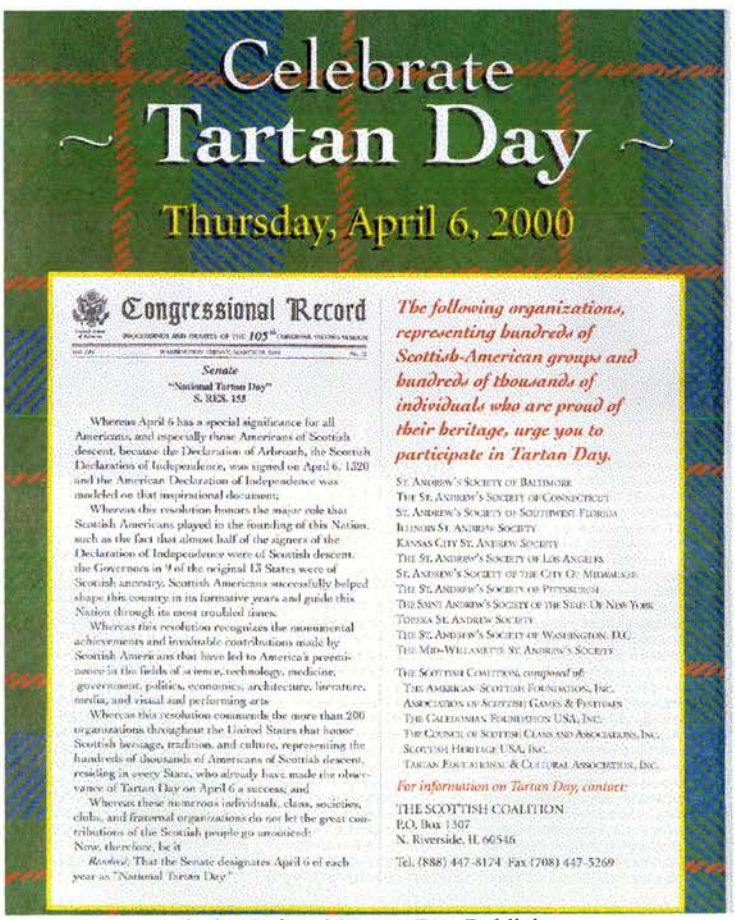
Whereas this resolution recognizes the monumental achievements and invaluable contributions made by Scottish Americans that have led to America's preeminence in the fields of science, technology, medicine, government, politics, economics, architecture, literature, media and the visual and performing arts

Whereas this resolution commends more than 200 organizations throughout the United States that honor Scottish heritage, tradition, and culture, representing the hundreds of thousands of Americans of Scottish descent, residing in every State, who already have made the observation of Tartan Day on April 6 a success; and

Whereas these numerous individuals, clans, societies, clubs, and fraternal organizations do not let the great contributions of the Scottish people go unnoticed:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved That the Senate designates April 6 of each year as "National Tartan Day."[69]



(11) National Tartan Day Publicity

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[69] *The Highlander* (Vol 38, No 1, Jan/Feb 2000.76)

If not the culmination of a process whereby tartan is enshrined as *the* icon of Scottish America, this resolution certainly is a significant marker on the way to it becoming so. Whilst the choice of the date of the signing of the Declaration of Arbroath can be understood, given the sentiments it expresses regarding independence and the possibility that it may have inspired the authors of the Declaration of Independence, the name given to this day of celebrating the Scottish contribution to the American nation perhaps underlines the different perceptions that Scots and Scottish Americans have concerning tartan and its significance. Scottish Americans with whom I have discussed this informally have no problem with tartan, but are sometimes ready to admit that we Scots might have difficulty in understanding how they view it.

The highlight of the April 6th celebration on this occasion was the National Tartan Day Ceremony on the Capitol steps. The setting was incomparable, with the Capitol building providing a magnificent backdrop on one side, and the remarkable vista to the Washington Monument on the other. Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie, Chaplain to the US Senate, welcomed the assembled company after the principal guests had been led in to the central area of the steps by the US Air Force Reserve Pipe Band. George Reid, MSP, Deputy Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament then conveyed Greetings from the Parliament. Resolution 155 was read out by one of the twenty-five senators present (all claiming Scottish descent), and following remarks by other speakers, the Wallace Award was presented to Senator Trent Lott in recognition of his services to the Scottish American community. Senator Lott, wearing a kilt for the first time, in a Buchanan tartan, responded suitably and noted that the profile of Scots was increasing measurably in the United States, and now that Tartan Day was designated a National day, this was bound to increase.

The British Ambassador (who also stressed his own Scottish credentials representing a quarter of his ancestry) then introduced the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who earlier in the morning had read the Senate opening prayers, in his kilt, the first time in so far as anyone could determine, that a kilt had been worn in the Senate Chamber. The proceedings ended with the US national anthem and a benediction from the chaplain.



(12) George Reid speaking; Senator Lott is seated immediately to left of podium.

We then made our way into the Senate building, where, during the course of a luncheon, Senator Lott remarked that by his estimation next year's Tartan Day ceremony on the Capitol steps would be attended by perhaps half the Senate. Perhaps the most striking thing about the ceremony on the steps was the presence of politicians and diplomats from Britain; it was as if it was beginning to be recognised that what had previously been regarded as a peculiarly American tartan 'kitsch' event, was rapidly coming of age, after only three years of existence, and that it might have more significance[70] than was

[70] In terms of domestic political votes, by being seen to promote the 'Scottish'

originally thought. This impression was re-inforced at the British Ambassador's Reception that evening in the Embassy; even the ambassador suggested that he might have to wear a kilt next year, whilst the Scottish politicians each had to say their piece establishing their credentials. It was as if Tartan Day suddenly had to be taken seriously.

I was privileged to take part in the 'Living Legacy of Scotland – Scottish Influence in the Development of America' Forum, held the following day at the Smithsonian Institution. This event was further evidence of the desire of the organisers to bring a wider and deeper dimension of Scotland's legacy to America to the notice of the participants in these celebrations. A number of speakers addressed different aspects of Scotland's contribution of thought and ideas seminal to the development of the United States. My own contribution was focused on the development of tartan and the kilt and their significance in contemporary terms both in Scotland and the United States, to provide a link with all that has gone before and the fact that the National Day celebrating this culture and heritage had been called after the most easily recognised symbol associated with Scots everywhere.[71] During the course of the next day or two, several people came up to me, commenting on the fact that I had drawn attention to the need for Scots to try to understand Scottish American perspectives, particularly in so far as tartan was concerned. Kate Malley made a particularly interesting comment:

> It's important that the individual feels that his or her identity is recognised by others – this is often a real problem for Americans in Scotland; it's easy for high profile groups, but it is definitely a contributory factor to the attraction of Scottish American identity. Funnily

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dimension of the Union.

[71] Paper delivered to the 'Living Legacy of Scotland ' Forum on April 7th 2000 – see Appendix (VII) .

> enough, there is less need in the Mid-West, it's more of Coast thing, both East and West.

I think she was saying that Americans find people in Scotland less understanding of their Scottish American identity and that they feel a little vulnerable, perhaps because they are still constructing or re-discovering this identity, whereas Mid West Americans are more secure in their American identity alone. This would imply that the hyphenated identity is more attractive to Coast Americans, possibly because of the much larger presence of distinctive ethnic groups, but I acknowledge that there might well be other factors which contribute to this difference.

E. American Visitors to Scotland

In concluding this chapter, I should also mention one further 'interface' I have been able to have with Scottish Americans. Acting as a tour guide during the summer season, during the course of which many Americans with Scottish roots formed the bulk of the visitors for which I was responsible, the day in the week's tour devoted to Royal Deeside always provided a good opportunity to wear and talk about the kilt. In my experience, this usually proved one of the best days of the tour and provoked a never-ending stream of questions about tartan and the kilt and for Scottish Americans it seemed to go to the heart of the matter, in so far as they were concerned. It was this that for them was the real and for some reason the necessary outward expression of all they felt attracted to and all that combined to provide their own identity and link with their cultural heritage. Perhaps it is because they are not living in Scotland that this need to have the visual re-assurance of these roots arises? Or perhaps it is because of the inherent strength and universal recognition these symbols hold that constitutes their attraction?

It may be that their 'imagined' Scotland was incomplete without the kilt and tartan, so strongly are these images promoted in America, particularly in so far as the tourist market is concerned.

In every group I conducted, there was usually at least one person who was determined to acquire something in 'his' tartan. The tartan was more often than not known, but it was also not unusual for the search to begin with the visit to Scotland. Another situation which arose from time to time was that of someone starting out the tour without the least claim to any Scottish connection, but by the end of the tour being determined to buy something in tartan, because he or she felt that that represented the Scottish heritage to which they had been introduced. In the latter case, people would sometimes go as far as to mentally affiliate themselves to one clan or another, depending on how they viewed both the clan's exploits and the colour and sett of the tartan associated with the clan. The following examples illustrate these different approaches.

I recall one visitor from Texas, a retired professional man, who enquired the first day of the tour where the best place would be to buy a complete Highland outfit; I suggested he wait until the latter part of the tour, where Edinburgh offered possibly the widest selection of outfitters. In spite of this, he enquired every day whether we had yet arrived at the 'right' place; once in Edinburgh, he had no hesitation in spending a large sum of money to purchase a fine Mackenzie kilt, Prince Charlie doublet, hose, brogues, and all the accessories. His mother was a Mackenzie, and he was determined from the outset to get the outfit; I had suggested to him that he could probably find everything from a supplier in the United States, but his answer to that was: 'No, I want the genuine thing.' This implies that although it would probably be hard to tell the difference between the two sources, if any at all, something of known Scottish provenance was inherently

more valuable to him in the way he expressed his Scottish connections.

The second example concerns a man in his mid-40's who thought he might have some connection with clan MacInnes; in the event, as the week progressed, he realised that it was more likely to be with clan Menzies. I suggested that if he wished to buy a scarf or tie in that tartan, there should be plenty of choice. No one was more surprised than I, when on the last evening as we set out for a 'Scottish Highland Evening and Entertainment,' he appeared swathed in the great plaid or *feilidh mor* of Menzies tartan, complete with 17th century style shirt, antique style dirk, and completely confident that he had done the right thing. I subsequently gathered that he had been very moved by the film *Braveheart* and had made up his mind during the week to go for this style of outfit.

The last example concerns a Campbell. It was only after he heard the story of the massacre of Glencoe that he realised his forebears must have been from Scotland. The solution to the tartan problem was, on the face of it, an easy one. Each time we stopped at a suitable place I suggested he might find something in Campbell tartan, but as the tour progressed, no purchase had been made. It was not until the last day but one that he confessed to the rest of the group that although he was extremely proud to have discovered a possible Scottish heritage, he was too ashamed to buy anything in the Campbell tartan, on account of the deeds his clan were associated with in Scotland's past history. It was only when everybody in the group assured him that the past was well and truly behind us, that he had the courage to make his purchase of a Campbell tie, to the acclamation of everybody on that tour.

In all the three above examples, it was wearing tartan in some form

that seemed to act as the endorsement of the Scottish connection, perhaps because it was the visible affirmation to others of feelings more often kept to oneself.

To the American 'an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritances of family and race; an individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling' (Lewis, 1955:5,7), the attractions of finding roots to the past have been enhanced considerably since Lewis wrote these lines. His terms are more apposite to the myth, perhaps, rather than the reality. The re-definition of ethnicity 'from racialist phrasings to formulas of cultural distinctiveness' has helped in the contemporary analysis of the question of identity; now the emphasis is no longer on the inherited genetic dimension, but rather on the idea of common descent 'as a trans-generational vehicle for the transmission of an authentically rooted culture' (Wolf, 1994:6). This shift should allow us to be very much less dismissive of claims to Scottish roots, whether real or imagined, and more understanding of the need that people have to log on to the cultural dimension, than may have been the case in the past. At the same time it is apparent that for the un-informed, the attractions of a genetic connection are still extremely powerful and exercise a continual fascination as these examples help to demonstrate.

There is a widely held perception that tourists have a direct effect on the cultures they go to see, in that these adapt to the tourists' needs partly for financial gain.

> The post industrial world engendered feelings of alienation and loss of soul...the tourist seeks to see life as it really is, to get in touch with the natives, to enter the intimate space of the other in order to have an experience of real life – an authentic experience. Yet tourism ends up by promoting the preservation of fictional re-creations of ethnicity as expressions of

> ethnicity become commodities to be bought and sold. (Norkunas,1993:2)

In a sense this can be applied to the way Scotland plays to its 'tartan strengths' to accommodate the tourist and with groups such as those I have described above, one is very conscious that the promotion of tartan assists this 'fictional re-creation of ethnicity', but that is what they come to see and find. Witness the universal reaction of approbation on the kilt-wearing day alluded to above. Perhaps it is all part of the process of such visitors 'striving to transcend the discontinuity of modernity.' (McConnell,1976:23)

CHAPTER FOUR

Two Clans and their Societies

My original intention was to examine one clan in some depth, and a previous introduction together with the knowledge that the Munros were working on a visitor centre based on the old Rent House of Foulis pointed to this particular case being a good target for my research. It was amongst the smaller in so far as membership of its clan society was concerned, thus making for a rather more compact entity. I planned to look at different aspects of the clan with a view to examining the way the present-day clan society reflected the aspirations of its membership, in particular that part of it resident in the United States. The chief, resident in Scotland, at one end of the spectrum through to American officers at the other would each be able to comment on the way they each saw the clan. The focus for visitors coming to see the ancient clan territory was to be a new interpretative centre, which itself promised to be innovative. These factors seemed to represent a very active clan association, which was well organised, unified, vigorous and forward looking. It appeared to be typical of those clan societies which, based on a secure foundation, with a number of inherent advantages, were able to pursue an agenda well-suited to fulfilling the needs and expectations of its world-wide membership. It should provide a good opportunity to analyse the part the kilt and tartan played in the consideration and expression of the overseas Munros' Scottish identity.

I had also become involved, very much on a personal level, with a clan whose societies and functioning appeared to contrast sharply with the Munros, namely that of the Homes.[72] The comparison would be revealing in that the Munros are an old established Highland clan,

devoid of the excessive romanticism which many of the Jacobite-supporting clans have attracted to themselves, being firm supporters of the government throughout much of their history. The Homes belong to that group of Border names, (and Lowland names) who, as a result of pressure from their American adherents, have over the past few decades begun to emulate the Highland clans, to the extent that they are now to all intents and purpose indistinguishable. In the particular case of the Homes, though, a number of factors have combined to make for a rather fractured organisation, in sharp contrast to the Munros.

The views of the Munro chief parallel to some extent those already expressed by the chief of the Bruces and the Carmichaels; in terms of the functioning of the clan association, however, they are clear and provide a yardstick against which to compare the Homes, whose chief I did not interview formally, choosing instead to base this section on the interview with one of the most active American participants in Home affairs and who, incidentally, initiated the split that occurred in the clan Home society in 1996.

A. The Chief of Clan Munro's Perspective

Hector Munro of Foulis **SSS.SA1997.136**

We started the interview talking about the development of the clan centre – Clanland as it was to be called – and I shall examine aspects of this below. I was anxious to get a picture of the Munro clan association and the relationships between Scottish and American members.

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[72] Pronounced Hume.

HM Perhaps that brings us on to the Clan Association itself, which was founded in 1937, and really...

IMH One of the earlier ones...?

HM I think it was one of the earlier ones; there were some well back beyond that, and it was founded, I think, on the instigation of a local Munro here, when my great grandfather was alive - they talked quite a bit about it, but it just came about on his death. My father succeeded in 1935, I think it was, to the estate and to the Chieftainship - he was quite a young man - he was only twenty four when he succeeded his grandfather; he was a regular soldier and I think it sort of went through a period in the doldrums, then with war, when he was captured, it didn't really take off again until probably the late fifties/sixties, when it began to become more active and it really began to take off when the American branch was formed, I think in 1963 and we then...we always had quite a lot of visitors coming, and I think without sort of blowing one's own trumpet, a lot depends on the attitude of the family themselves. My grandmother was a very, very open, easy person and anyone who came to the door was invited in and given a cup of tea, lunch or whatever, and I think that very friendly open attitude and the fact that the family was still living on this property after 700 years, created the catalyst to take it into America and further afield, to New Zealand, Australia, Canada, France, even Portugal, Holland and because they were always given this friendly welcome, even when they arrived unexpectedly on the doorstep, people went back home with happy memories and the feeling of belonging to the family; so that continued on to a certain extent when my grandmother died in 1973, I think it was, and my parents came to live at the castle and, likewise, there's still that welcoming feeling, but I'm wondering now whether...there was an ulterior motive in thinking of the Clan Centre...

The idea of the Clan Centre seems to have emerged just as the numbers of visitors to Foulis appeared to be posing a problem for the family:

HM ...I was concerned that more and more pressure was coming on the castle and you can deal with, you know, a few hundred visitors a year, coming in dribs and drabs, but particularly now that the days of being a gentleman farmer as such are gone as such...I mean for me, I'm certainly a working farmer...I couldn't see that I would be able to welcome people and pay attention to them and give them time,

> certainly in my life as a farmer, and I felt that they come from, you know they do come almost on a pilgrimage and if we weren't actually providing them with what they wanted, we had to look at an alternative and the idea of a Clan Centre really, I felt, was one way of doing that, because it meant that they wouldn't go away feeling cheated, or upset, if they couldn't actually meet the Chief...It's the personal thing, I think that's it...I realise how much the personal touch actually counts and I think that's why the clan Munro has succeeded so well in pervading the whole association with a feeling of family and belonging. I honestly don't know whether that can be achieved with a larger clan; the fact that I've probably – if I don't know most of the members by name, I know them at least by sight – the whole association, world-wide.

Earlier in the interview Hector Munro had told me that the total membership of the association throughout the world was approximately 1,800 people. The importance of the personal link between the chief and his clan as represented both by the clan association and the individual visitors to Foulis emerges quite clearly from the above, and the pressures now resulting have contributed to the idea of setting up a clan centre. I was interested to explore further the difference, if any, between the United States and other countries and following a comment about the impossibility of answering a host of genealogical questions we continued with this theme:

> **HM** Well funnily enough, I saw in a newspaper article that New Register House is trying to go onto the internet with all their records, so again that will help the folk in the States; but thinking of that and possibly comparing all the different nationalities, the ones who are keenest on the whole thing are obviously are the Americans and it is very noticeable the difference between the two North American countries, Canada and the United States. We do have a small association in Canada, but it struggles the whole time; it's partly, I think, due to...there's a very strong provincial rivalry between the Canadian provinces; Nova Scotia does't speak with Ontario, because they think Ontario has all the money and Ontario doesn't speak with Quebec because of the French Question and then Alberta has all the oil...it's reflected in the association.
>
> **IMH** Your brother's in Nova Scotia...?

> **HM** Yes, he's in Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotian branch of the Clan has virtually died out and I asked him last time he was over, whether he thought it could be resuscitated, because there's actually some money in the kitty sitting there and having discussed it with a few Munros in Nova Scotia, he didn't think it was possible; again that may be because, a bit like ourselves, they're steeped in Celtic culture - they haven't lost their Celtic culture in Nova Scotia...

With a Gaelic culture and awareness of their Scottish heritage present in the very recent past, the need to revere this culture perhaps does not really exist; it is more a case of Nova Scotian Canadians of Scots origin recognising the need to sustain what they may be in danger of losing by default. (Bennett: 1998.)

> **HM** ...likewise here you'll find very few local Munros play an active part in the Association; we're always struggling to get a council together. We rely on a body of ten very keen Scots to virtually run the association...
>
> **IMH** Even to the extent of not bothering to join?
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> **HM** Yes, even then. I mean we've got, I don't know, speaking off the top of my head, may be two hundred Scottish members, but they're very inactive, although having said that, there's definitely a growing interest, I think partly kick started by the growing interest from the States.
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> **IMH** That's interesting because it really reflects part of the concern...
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> **HM** Yes, I think it is being semi driven from abroad, yes from the overseas interest.
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> **IMH** I am particularly interested in what you say about Nova Scotia, because one of the reasons is perhaps the fundamental maintenance of so much of the tradition that is apparent there?
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> **HM** Well even in Ontario, my wife has an uncle who lives in Canada, and he actually lived in an area called Glengarry County, in Ontario, where a lot of Munros settled - they were United Empire Loyalists who came up from the States from North Carolina and were given land grants up there and there are still quite a few Munros in that area. Again, because there are so many MacDonalds and Rosses and Mackenzies, everyone in that area of Scottish descent, albeit two or three hundred years ago, they don't appear

> to have the need to become members of an association, in the same as those in the States. But it's also noticeable that the Americans don't seem to have this inter-provincial rivalry as much between individual states as the Canadians do, and there's no doubt too, that finance comes into it. The Americans are a lot better off than the Canadians; they are prepared to travel and each year, certainly in our association, they have a gathering in a different state and it could be in Washington State one year in the Far West and then in New York State the next, but they all go to it, I think because they are affluent enough to afford it. So that keeps the whole thing going, but my own personal opinion is that it is bred out of a little bit of insecurity in the States; life is so fast over there, it's very difficult to stand out from the crowd in America. There is a need to belong to something, and I think maybe the fact that you can show that you're different matters to them and the fact that they belong to a clan association and can wear a particular tartan, can say that they are descended from an area in Scotland, matters.
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> **IMH** I mean this is a relatively recent thing, because...what were their concerns prior to this need, do you think?
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> **HM** I suspect it is a breakdown of the small community and breakdown of the family unit within society; I think that it's been very noticeable since, I s'pose, the sixties when they began to become serious about looking at their roots and everything else. You'd always had individuals who were aware of their connections with Scotland, but I think it has definitely speeded up since the sixties.

This section of the interview encapsulates the principal theme that I have found running throughout my research, namely that of the break up of the community and family and the voluntary inclusion of tartan as one of the attractions of the clan association membership; in particular, the chief highlights the differences between those parts in Canada where people can still have a very strong sense of their Scottish roots, such as Glengarry County and in Nova Scotia and the consequent lack of interest in the Munro clan association. This contrasts with the American enthusiasm for attending clan gatherings, and it may also reflect the different attitudes to travel in the two countries as well as the factor of Canadian regionalism. The other point which struck me here was to note the beginnings of a reversal of

influences which might begin to be reflected in the way Scots looked at the clan association over here.

I had the opportunity of looking at a video recording of the last international gathering of the Munro association. [73] A number of American members attended [74]and some were wearing either the kilt or skirts in the appropriate tartan, though surprisingly not as many as I would have expected to see; I subsequently discovered that a fair proportion of those visiting were relatively new members who had not yet taken the plunge and acquired an outfit. The chief had some interesting comments to make about dress:

> **HM** I've just found (a photograph album)...that was a gathering we had I think, well, it must be 26 or 27 years ago, and you'll see there's one or two American...yes you tended to get the tartan ties being worn...the thing is I'm a bit of a stickler for black shoes with a kilt; the Americans would wear anything with the kilt at that time, but...
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> **IMH** This was before the white stocking...
>
> **HM** Yes, there's an American wearing brown shoes and all sorts of things...
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> **IMH** Is that yourself?
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> **HM** Yes that's me...twenty-one and a lot more hair in those days.
>
> **IMH** Do you think...yes its interesting how it has evolved; do you think because dress is evolving, what we find today difficult to accommodate, and I'm just talking about the white stockings for example tomorrow could well be the norm.
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> **HM** I sincerely hope not; I think that particular thing has been propagated by the hire companies and nobody else; I don't think it was an

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[73] The clan Munro association has an international gathering at Foulis Castle every five years; this recording was made in 1997, and was lent to me by Hector Munro.
[74] Over 200 members from USA out of a total of over 450: *Family Tree* (Vol. VIII, No.1, 1998.11A).

American thing - it's entirely due to Mr. Chisholm in Inverness[75] and all these people who have brought it about and I think our only mechanism is example; we have got to continue wearing the kilt as we see it correctly and that will wipe that particular thing out eventually; it's just a fashion and a fad, but the one element I feel about Highland dress that's got to come in more and I'm sure you will have noticed it in the video of my own son, who was there wearing a waistcoat and an open shirt. Now we've got to relax and become less formal in the wearing of the kilt; it's gone through a sort of formal phase and now I think people want to be able to wear it much more casually with a jersey or an open-necked shirt.

IMH Do you favour that?

HM Yes I'm all for that, because I want to see the kilt worn and, I mean it's like I no longer go around wearing a plaid - that has changed - I wear the philabeg and whereas a hundred years ago I would have worn the full kit, so it does metamorphose and I think that as long as we're in the driving seat and hopefully not Mr. Chisholm and his white socks, I think it's alright. And again I think we have got to set an example to the Americans, to all the other nationalities, of how the kilt should be worn... I mean we've got a wonderful chap who turns up and wears a sort of petticoat underneath his kilt; I haven't managed to change him from doing that, but it's quite obvious because the petticoat hangs down below the kilt. But definitely we've noticed a discernable interest in getting things right, as the Scots would do, and not just American or whatever, which is good.



I think the above excerpts speak for themselves; Hector Munro, belongs very much to the 'traditional' kilt wearing fraternity (see chapter 3) and is concerned about standards, but also acknowledges that the way the kilt is worn, when referring to his son, is something that should evolve and that it should retain and even increase its appeal in this more informal age.

(13) Hector Munro of Foulis with the manager of Clanland

[75] Chisholm's, Highland outfitter in Inverness.

In so far as the Americans are concerned, he notes that they are keen to get it right, and that in his association there is less tendency to 'overdo' it today. Later on in the day he recalled that at an earlier Foulis gathering one member from the United States turned up in plaid, dirk, feathered bonnet and every other accessory he could think of and appeared not to mind standing out from everybody else. This would not happen today, at least at a Scottish Munro gathering. Whilst talking about the Clanland visitor centre, he made a comment which I include here as being pertinent to association membership:

> **HM** ...it's not something for everybody and it's interesting that the age group where it suddenly hits you (is) at 45-50, you know you're not going to be here for ever, and that's when people really start joining these associations.....Yes, there's a discernible age and time and time again I've had it said to me by people "Oh, we usen't to be interested in this at all, but we just want to begin to get things down for our grandchildren" and it's a bit like membership of the National Trust - it's not quite the same, because it's more to do with eternity, you know, people suddenly realise that their life is really a very short blip in the history of time and it matters to them that they know where their grandfather came from and everybody else. Although I'm glad to say, we are getting more young people coming to the gatherings, as you probably saw on the video; there's some nice...whether they're driven along screaming by parents, I don't know, but there is a distinct interest in the young and actually that last gathering we had this summer, we meant particularly to have it as a fun time, that's why we had a dance afterwards...

B. The Clan Munro Association Newsletters

Whilst the chief can give a personal view of the nature of his clan association, the newsletters produced by both Scottish and American associations encapsulate the purposes and nature of clanship in this modern age; it is after all a specific act of revival, rather than something that has evolved naturally to its present state. With the severe proscriptions against Highland society which followed

Culloden in 1746 and the abolition of heritable jurisdictions the following year in 1747, the pace of change in that society accelerated rapidly from that which some observers believe is discernible at the beginning of the eighteenth century or even earlier and which continued well into the nineteenth century. Robert Dodgshon, in charting the transformation of chiefs into landlords (1998: 102-107), makes the point that this process may well have started at the beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly following the two phases of the Statutes of Iona in 1609 and 1616[76]. Some of the traditional concepts of clanship may have lingered on, in very reduced form, in the minds of that small number of people directly connected to those few chiefs still occupying those lands in which they had exercised their patriarchal role previously. By the end of the nineteenth century it was all but dead. The first clan associations begin to make their appearance around this time but we have to wait until 1937 for the formation of the Clan Munro Association, and at the Highland clachan at the great Empire Exhibition in Glasgow, the second annual gathering was celebrating the 900th anniversary of the arrival of Donald, the first Munro, at Foulis in 1038, with a membership of four hundred.[77]

In the pre-amble to the 'Purposes of the Association', the first Annual newsletter comments the 'societies are coming under the critics lash for being concerned too exclusively with matters of sentiment...the problem of the Highlands is...to stimulate interest among clansmen and clanswomen whose lot is cast far from the home of their ancestors'.[78] Thus right at the beginning, the association recognises where much of the interest in its activities is likely to lie. The

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[76] The Bishop of the Isles, acting as the king's Commissioner , met with the leading West Highland chiefs, and obliged them to subscribe to these Statutes, by which the Privy Council hoped to bring the chiefs more firmly under central control.
[77] *Clan Munro Annual* No.1, 1939 pp.3.6
[78] Op.Cit. P.3

purpose of the Association is 'is to confirm and strengthen the deep-rooted virtues and aspirations of the clan. The intention is indicated to the membership as follows:

1. Regard the spirit of our ancient motto: "Dread God" – in the modern rendering "Reverence God"
2. Continue the loyal tradition of the clan
3. Promote the welfare of the Scottish Highlands
4. Preserve our mountain fauna and flora
5. Foster the Gaelic language and the good old songs and customs
6. Encourage the weaving and the wearing of our clan's tartans
7. Renew the family spirit of the clan at home and abroad
8. Protect the lands and property of the clan
9. Help the young of the clan and the distressed
10. Add such fitting objects as the council may determine[79]

With the chief still in possession of the original clan property, even though much reduced in extent, the Munro association started out with a distinct advantage. Many, if not all, of the above objects would be as much in place in the promotion of a new clan society today. In 1951, the chief was writing:

> ...in these disturbing times which the world is passing through, clan associations have a great contribution to offer – as can be truly seen from the pages of our magazine – to international understanding and unity, through our mutual interests and the common bond of a great name, be it Monroes from the USA, Munroes from France, Holland, Switzerland or Sweden, or Munros from north and south of the Border or from all corners of the British Commonwealth.[80]

And in the same number, Captain Patrick Munro of Foulis says:

> From him (Donald) all Munros claim descent and therefore I feel that, in welcoming you here, I am not only welcoming you to my family home, but to your own home – the home of the Munros.[81]

Such sentiments must have a very great appeal to those seeking a

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[79] Op.Cit. p.3
[80] *Clan Munro Annual* No.3, 1951 p.3
[81] Op.Cit. p.17

family link or a point on which to focus their search for roots. The very welcoming nature of both the present chief and his father, ably helped by his mother – as many Munros are quick to point out – inevitably results in strong bonds being formed between the members of the clan association who by no means all bear the name Munro. This raises the question of which names may be linked with that of Munro and what constitute the qualifications for membership. The matter was visited in the magazine of 1961, which must have been at the very beginning of the period of increased overseas interest. The clan historian, Dr. Jean Dunlop, contributed an article on "The Septs of the Clan Munro" in which she wrote:

> Duncan Forbes of Culloden noted (in the 18thC) that "In each clan there are several subaltern tribes who own their dependence on their own immediate chief; but all agree in owing allegiance to the supreme chief of the clan and kindred". Today we include these subaltern tribes among the septs, and the word might be said to include all branches of the clan bearing different surnames...There are two distinct categories of septs – those related to the clan by blood, and those linked to it by other ties; the blood link is not always apparent or easy to establish and in order to understand how this came about, it is necessary to travel back 400 or 500 years to a time when few Highlanders had surnames...they used patronymic or descriptive or place names...Subordinate tribes (were those) who looked to Munros for protection...or rendered professional services.[82]

A later number enumerated precisely what these sept names were and extended the scope of eligibility by adding a category of 'real interest', or, as other societies term it 'by affection'.[83] One of the themes dear to almost every clan association, and one which featured in the 'objects' listed above, a theme expounded and developed to its fullest extent first by Dame Flora Macleod of Macleod in the years after the Second World War, is that mentioned by Hector Munro on the occasion of his Coming of Age at Foulis:

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[82] *Clan Munro Magazine* No.7, 1961 pp21-24

> Any society which can bring people of all races and creeds from all over the world together in such a wonderfully informal atmosphere as we are experiencing now, is providing a very great service to mankind...[84]

The importance of this to the Munro association was increaingly reflected in the increase in overseas membership – to the extent that a Clan Munro Association was formed both in the United States and in New Zealand in 1968, to be followed by another in Canada in 1974. The magazine re-iterated the importance of this overseas aspect in the 1988-89 issue:

> The Association looks on the clan as an extended family and through world-wide membership a friendly and informal welcome and hospitality have been enjoyed by many members. Friendships have been made and understanding fostered transcending national and even continental boundaries, by the link of a common name or descent....From the beginning it (the Council) has included members living outside the U.K., who are kept informed ...and from the early days we have been strengthened and encouraged by support from overseas. The formation of branches has been left entirely to local demand and initiative.[85]

A comment by N. Carl Monroe, the retiring President of Clan Munro Association USA, captures the feelings which so many American members probably share:

> I think our theme of emphasizing our heritage has been beneficial to all of us...I have learned with a much deeper appreciation where our roots are from and of the great contributions to society that have been made by Munros round the world.[86]

and, on an earlier occasion:

> Our involvement in our Munro Clan has given us a whole group of special friends, many of whom have

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[83] *Clan Munro Magazine*No.10, 1967 introduction
[84] *Clan Munro Magazine* No.12, 1971 p.6
[85] *Clan Munro Magazine* No.18, 1988-89 p.8
[86] *The Munro Eagle*, magazine of Clan Munro Association USA No.26, 1996 p.6

> become closer than immediate family. It is with this special sense of appreciation that I encourage each of you to come to our annual gatherings, visit our tents at the Scottish Highland Games and take advantage of the fellowship that grows out of our unique heritage.[87]

The final extract I would like to quote to illustrate the sort of framework a clan association such as that of Munro was planning to provide to meet the aspirations in particular of its overseas members, comes again from its chief, in an article entitled 'The Way Forward for the Clan Munro Association'[88]

> As we move forward to the 21st Century, we see a rapidly changing world. More and more, we need stability, roots and a sense of belonging in this increasingly transient life. This is when the Clan Munro Association has such a vital and exciting future role to play.
>
> Since 1937, the Association has both grown and consolidated, and whilst the chief has always called Foulis 'the home of all Munros', the organisations on which we rely to keep the spirit of clanship going has never had its own focal point. Foulis Castle is a private home...but the Association would be greatly strengthened by having such a base at Foulis, and this is what the Council see as the way forward.
>
> We in Scotland have always relied on a few dedicated members to run the Association with disappointingly small back-up from what is still the highest concentration of the clan, the Munros who still live and work in the homeland. In this we recognise that those of you who live thousands of miles from Foulis and Scotland come on what is a form of 'pilgrimage' to your 'home'; those of us who live here are no less proud of our heritage, but we may be too apt to take it for granted, or find such visits more difficult...but if the Association were to have its own building, the Council are convinced that membership and a sense of kinship would be initiated in many Munros hitherto un-inspired, and strengthened for us all.
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> By creating the Clan Munro Heritage Museum we can give the first time visitor an authentic interpretation of clan history and Clan Munro, and existing members a fine sense of belonging; the memory of our clan's achievements can be preserved for the future in a

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[87] *The Munro Eagle* No.23 1992-93 p.10
[88] *Clan Munro Magazine* No.19, 1991 pp.3-4

> building where your efforts and money can be tangibly translated into telling the clan story and where archives and other materials can be safely housed.

These were the first thoughts to be articulated in public concerning the creation of a clan centre and once again the chief highlights in this passage the essence of clanship as it seems to be to him and his council; a sense of belonging, of satisfying the quest for roots, the recognition of the need to provide a 'home' for the clansman on his pilgrimage; the re-iteration of bonds of kinship, family and community and provision of a focal point to house the heritage of the clan, now that pressures were growing on Foulis Castle.

The next section will consider the development of that centre and its success in meeting these aspirations, particularly bearing in mind the expectations that the above plans may have generated amongst the American membership, with 650 members as at 1998, by far the largest of the overseas associations of the clan.

C. Clanland and the American Expectations

I first became aware of the Clanland[89] project in 1997, during the course of a study visit to Foulis Castle;[90] on that occasion we were shown the Clan Room, the focus of clan interest for any Munro who had made the pilgrimage from overseas to the clan 'home'. There were displayed there many of the surviving artefacts associated with past chiefs, the memorabilia accumulated over several centuries, together with a comprehensive display of clan tartans and Highland dress items. Genealogical charts listing the main Munro lines and their septs were there to help those seeking more information about

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[89] The name given to the new visitor centre based on the old Rent House of Foulis, to reflect the main theme featured, the life of a clan-based society in Easter Ross in former times.

[90] School of Scottish Studies visit March 12th 1997

their roots, and the chief and his mother explained the lengths to which they often went in satisfying the queries of hungry American visitors. In retrospect, it was this visit that first sowed the seeds in my mind of using the Munros as the clan on which to focus some of my research, particularly in view of the fact that they were about to develop a visitor centre devoted to satisfying the enquiries of the sort mentioned above. In my interview with Hector Munro, he outlined the approach to the Clanland project:

> **IMH** ...I've been outlining the concepts which I am trying to get to the bottom of -the relationship between the visible expression of identity, particularly the wearing and the use of tartan- possibly more the wearing of it-in these times and to try and compare the activities that Clan Monro is presently engaged in, against the background of perhaps how the whole idea of clan associations developed in the first place, in so far as it has struck you both in the States and elsewhere, because ultimately I'm interested in trying to pinpoint what is the real driving force behind the present strong interest that people outwith Scotland seem to express in demonstrating their association with Scotland. ..'
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> **HM** Well if we turn to the idea of the Clan Centre as such, which came about in 1990, I think, when it was first mooted, and it really came initially from own Scottish Clan Council, who felt that the room we had set aside in our castle, and have had for probably the last twenty years, whereas it was meant to be a tribute to the Munros who came and visited from overseas, we felt more and more, it was really rather an amateur exhibition and I think it was also becoming very obvious that more and more people were making the effort to come to Scotland, so we looked at the possibility of laying on something more professional; we launched an appeal in 1990/91 to all our signed up Clan Association members worldwide.
>
> **IMH** How many?
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> **HM** I think probably signed up - 1800 - which isn't a big number; I mean we're a relatively small clan - I mean even here in Scotland, there's not an awful lot of people called Munro compared with MacDonald or Mackenzie or Ross; but any way we sent out the appeal and really what I suppose were very surprised and pleased initially - we put out an appeal for £80,000- and within nine months we had actually raised

> that, which was fairly remarkable. So having got that initial fundraising done, approximately 50% was raised in the States and 50% elsewhere in the world, we then began to look into what we were actually trying to achieve and initially we thought of the Castle and then we decided no, we had probably a better story to tell than something that would only be seen by Munros. We moved it up with an idea of converting the Stables and Steading behind the Castle, at Foulis Mains here, and then as it sort of metamorphosed and began to grow bigger, I began to really worry that, if we were trying to attract 10,000 people it was going to interfere with our private lives and the last thing we wanted was really for the...for our own farming and private lives to be interfered with. And then we identified another site right down on the A9, with a wonderful old historic 18th Century building, which was originally the Rent House... for Foulis Estate, and it was lying empty and there was a dis-used small restaurant down there and we seemed to think that the two tied in very well together.

This extract sums up the way the idea developed into the practical action of seeking financial support from the clan association's membership; the project then went through a number of vicissitudes following the demise of the old local authorities in 1996, since both the Ross and Cromarty District Council and the Highland Regional Council had indicated some funding support. In the event, the Heritage Lottery Fund assumed the main funding burden and the project finally emerged as a £1.25 million scheme. During the course of these developments the nature of the scheme had to change from being one exclusively focussed on Clan Munro, to one embracing clan life more generally, in view of the high element of public funding and the need to establish a wider visitor base:

> **HM** ..And the idea of the content of the exhibition also changed in that we realised that we couldn't just have purely Munro stuff, because we would appeal to the wider public; so what we decided to do was to try and explain the continuity of landholding and the continuity of the clan, by using Munro examples, because they could be actually replicated anywhere over the Highlands and probably even in the rest of Scotland. So by widening it out in that way we felt that we could appeal to a much wider audience, which we would need in order to justify the expenditure. ..But its going to be- whereas we possibly thought originally of it as being rather a dry museum

> type of exhibition - it's now going to be multi-media exhibition, with really using modern technology to get across the concept of first of all the historic building itself and why does it exist. Well it exists because in those days, when it was built in about 1740, the clan system was still actually intact and most of the tenants on Foulis were tacksmen and sub-tenants and owed allegiance as such to the Chief; so we explain that story, that they paid their rent in kind - it was just at the time of the agricultural improvements, when for the first time really in history, there was an exportable surplus in the Highlands, and so the building was situated down on the shore, because transport obviously was far easier by sea than elsewhere and, having established that fact, we can then look back at what shaped the landscape, because there are in this particular area of the Highlands - you have a very distinct landscape - where you've got the strip of agricultural land along the seaboard and then stretching back into the mountains, where you've got a much more pastoral system and eventually up into the high hills. We want to explain how the pastoral system gave way to a much more formal farming system, and that in a way fits in quite nicely with the demise of the clan system, whereas people would, you know, have been much more reliant on the pastoral economy of the past...[91]

The switch to a more general interpretation posed certain problems with respect to overseas Clan Munro expectations:

> **HM** ...but it's been quite difficult because we have had to try and keep so many people happy; we've got to look at the populist interest in the exhibition, also bearing in mind that a lot of money is coming from the States.
>
> **IMH** Specifically Munro?
>
> **HM** Yes, and the balancing act has been quite difficult and I don't know whether we'll succeed anyway, but time will tell. But that brings us back, I suppose, on to the raising of money in the States and the fact that the Americans have said to us, unofficially, that if we were to do something specifically Munro and not necessarily down in the public eye, there is major money across in the States that could be put towards that; I mean already they're thinking that they are not going to be satisfied entirely with what we're...more detailed, more specifically the Munro thing.

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[91] The design and text of the exhibition was provided by Gordon Lyall Associates, heritage design consultants; see Appendix V for draft proposals.

IMH A Munro room?

HM Yes, that sort of thing, although we are having that element in the Clan Centre, down at Foulis Ferry there, in that we've set aside a library and research room on the second floor, which we want to concentrate more or less entirely on local history; maybe widen it out a wee bit to the general history of the Highlands, but try and make it specifically to this area, to Easter Ross as such, for the clan, and that will be open to people interested in doing research and that's always been our idea and we have one or two quite eminent historians who are members of the Association...

In the event, Clanland opened for business in the autumn of 1998 and it was planned to have a few months over the quiet winter season to settle the staff in and make sure the exhibitions, catering and other facilities were all functioning properly before the official opening in the spring of the following year. I paid a visit in November 1998 and was struck by the extent to which the exhibition theme faithfully reflected the policy mentioned above, that of treating the visitor to an experience of clan life through the ages as it had been lived in Easter Ross, using the Munros as the framework. The draft schedules of the displays and their descriptive texts are included in Appendix VIII for detailed references in the exhibition. The smaller part of the exhibition was devoted to local wild-life, part of the site being designated an SSSI[92]. At the end of the Rent House a small auditorum had been created with continuous showings of a special video presentation; the draft texts of this presentation are also included in Appendix VIII. This struck me as a very effective presentation, with the central character, Anna, re-discovering her roots; interestingly the character chosen was not an American, or Canadian or other overseas Munro, but a girl from Glasgow in her mid-twenties. Only one small descriptive panel covered the subject of tartan and the kilt; I felt that its insignificance , in relation to the exhibition as a whole, was somewhat surprising, a feeling re-enforced

by the fact that there was not a single piece of tartan visible throughout the whole visitor route, not even a piece of Munro tartan. I suspect that the designers of the exhibition may well have decided to avoid using tartan through a misplaced sense that it might be suggestive of Tom Nairn's 'Monster' and that 'it has to be exorcised from our culture and from our conception of what it is to be Scottish.' (McCrone, Morris & Kiely: 1995.52-54)

This was a point I took up with Hector Munro afterwards; I should add that all the family and clan treasures and memorabilia which had taken pride of place in the Clan Room in the castle were also absent. Likewise, although there were various representations of chiefs from the past, which formed part of the video display, there was no mention of the current chief or the Clan Munro Association. The chief's response to this was that the exhibition designer had cut out anything he considered representative of the 'romantic' element and that he 'had gone for the facts'. I suggested that for visiting Munros, whether from overseas or the UK, this was bound to create a sense of 'deprivation', as above all else, it was on Munro home ground. Further discussion on the point suggested that one approach might be to 'beef up' the Munro content a little bit, but also to allocate a small space to a revolving exhibition of material from other clans in the North and East Highlands.

By the time of my next visit for the official opening, nothing had changed in the exhibition area, but the adjacent shop compensated to a great extent for the absence of Munro tartan and specific memorabilia to do with the clan, through the extensive range of goods, books, maps and charts available for sale. The opening ceremony itself was a simple affair, with the chief and his family and a large number of local

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[92] Site of Special Scientific Interest, as designated by Scottish Natural Heritage

Munros in attendance, together with other personalities of the name. The ceremony was shared by the president of Clan Munro Association USA, Anne Monroe Digger and her husband, who volunteered their views on Clanland.

Anne Monroe Digger & Don Digger SSS.SA1999.35

> **IMH** ...what I was going to move onto was Clanland and the project at which we have just been at the opening ceremony today by Donnie Munro, the former lead singer of RunRig ...The original concept as explained to me by Hector was to have a centre which would enable visitors from all over the world with a Munro connection to come and feel free to participate in clan history and so forth and to take a bit of pressure off the house itself, busy working farmer that he is and because of the way the funding has worked out , it was deemed advisable to extend the scope of it to represent Highland history generally, in this part of the Eastern Highlands. I just wonder whether you could comment how you see it, as Munro folk, and how you see it representing Clan Munro and whether it meets your expectations?
>
> **AMD** Actually it does. I'm very impressed with what they have accomplished here and I was pleased to see it, because originally it was going to be just Munro, and then when the Lottery became involved, it was that we could not be just Munro. But in fact Munro was the representative clan, it could be any clan, but it is represented here and I think quite nicely; I have made some suggestions for improvements, yesterday, and I think some of them will take place.
>
> **IMH** What sort of improvements?
>
> **AMD** Well we walked through the museum, through the display area - not the museum - yesterday, and we saw some things which we thought could be done differently or changed, I suggested that - they have a referral to Richard Nixon, which isn't a particular compliment to our country, he resigned, and I suggested that instead of that, in 1968, the Clan Munro USA was founded. I think it's lovely and I think they're going to continue to expand, I hope - we're certainly hoping for that.

I wondered what they thought about the Munro content of the

Clanland exhibition, in terms of artefacts and visual material:

AMD As far as the history of the clan, I think it's good the way they have done it; they are limited in room and they can't really use the artefacts and there's no place to display them. Hopefully some day in the future
there will be another building for artefacts or memorabilia, that would be a goal in the future.

IMH Any other significant suggestions that...?

AMD I'm not sure that they're significant, but there were just suggestions that...

DD: One suggestion that we discussed with them is that pretty much everything in there is written down in the original spelling of clan Munro, which is M u n r o, yet the people throughout the world use different spellings, so we suggested thet they might want to bring out that point, that there are Munros other than Munro and bring that out when they describe the origin of the clan - how they came about, so that people would feel more comfortable than perhaps if their name is spelled differently...

IMH So they wouldn't feel excluded?

AMD And so I think they are going to do that, they liked that idea, and then President James Munroe is spelt wrong, they have the Munro spelling, rather than the Monroe, which is technically incorrect, and that's the name is spelt.

DD Well another thing that we had discussed earlier and we brought it up again, is the Lottery, the sponsors have asked that this be a blend of Munro and the Highlands and that Munro is dealt with very effectively, clan Munro, as a representative clan, but I know we in the United States often at museums and places like that have exhibits on loan from other museums, organisations or whatever, for a limited period of time; and those people feel part of it and we would like them to consider having loans, exhibits from other Highland clans, which would be there for a specific point in time, and that would enhance the inter-action of the clans and I know there are problems in doing that from a security standpoint- it would have to be a certain type of thing that the security and construction here would do, but I think that could be worked out and there could be a space, and space is a problem here, but where there is an exhibit from another clan always continuing for a certain length of time and we would like to see that pursued if that could be

worked out.

The salient points to emerge from this discussion were the ones I expected concerning Munro artefacts and it was apparent that the idea of allowing space for other clans to be featured was under active consideration by the Council. What did strike a familiar chord, although it was unexpected, was the problem arising out of the different spellings of the name Munro and people's sensitivity to this. This will be mirrored strongly when I come to consider the case of the Homes and it would certainly appear to be a matter of great sensitivity, particularly for Americans, who may feel vulnerable through not having the same spelling of their name as the chief. Does this represent an element of insecurity of identity, particularly when some of the linkage to the clan homeland may be tenuous or uncertain in nature? I took the opportunity of asking these American representatives of Clan Munro about how they saw identity.

AMD ...I think that what's happened is that we've spread out all over the world and even within the United States families go anywhere now, and I think they miss that contact with their roots that had years ago, when they were in communities and they supported each other and so now when you have these gatherings, you feel that all these people are your cousins and it's wonderful to have this big family that you can identify with, and you all have one common interest, no matter what you might do, whether you're rich or poor, or...

DD One interesting aspect to that, when the Clan Munro USA was founded back in '68, as it started to grow from a small group of people up in Massachusetts and Virginia, that were connected , they gave consideration to should we have regional associations rather than a national and after a little study by those people, they said no, what we really want is a very national, a very flat level organisation that even though it's more work to bring people together from all over the United States and to communicate with them, that they really wanted a single organisation...

AMD The subject was brought up again this year and we really don't want to split in any way; even though we'd still have one big gathering , we really don't want a lot of little sub-groups, it defeats the...it really does...

Once again, the key reason behind the search for roots appears to be the break up of families and communities in which people were quite secure in their identity; however in my conversations with the Monroe Diggers reference was also made to the visual impact and attraction of the Scottish identity in particular.



(14) Anne Monroe Digger with her Chief at the opening of Clanland

Unfortunately the earlier part of the interview was over-recorded, but my notes suggest agreement that, for the first time visitor to a Highland gathering, the appeal of the Munro tent lay as much in the visual appearance of those manning the tent (an impression I re-confirmed in July 1999 when calling in at their tent at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games – with six Munros wearing kilts and the tartan banner very much in evidence) and the undoubted attraction of the pipe bands (which were in evidence throughout the day), as with the possibility of making a connection through name or geographical place of origin. Don Digger also alluded to this aspect of the

heritage:

> **DD** The Scottish pipers are used at so many ceremonial events, that are not even Scottish events, but they like to bring that in, in terms of funerals, weddings and all that sort of thing, and think it presents Scotland in a very favourable way with the tartan and that draws people's attention , it really draws people's attention to it; and I think one other thing is the gatherings which are planned over a two year period and heavily publicised are a blend of having a good time, studying your heritage and doing the business of the clan and that attracts people out and they continue their interests in that sort of thing, but I think in terms of our clan, the Munro clan, that the gatherings are a major attraction for families to come on in... and they are held in different parts of the country.

In view of my plans to visit the 1999 Clan Munro gathering in Nova Scotia being frustrated, I hoped to make up partially for not being able to interview more Munros by inviting responses to a general question as to how people viewed the manifestation of Scottish American identity and the part tartan and the kilt played in this; the question was circulated by the president at the gathering, but I was favoured with only one response.[93] This failed to answer the specific point I had raised about the relationship between tartan and becoming a member of the clan association, although great grandfathers's tartan rug could be said to have played a significant role. Perhaps, more importantly, it confirmed the doubts I had had about pursuing this avenue of research, at arm's length, so to speak, in the context of one particular clan.

The picture that emerges from this survey of the Munros may be summed up as follows: the Clan Association provides an excellent means of communication between the groups in different countries and through the newsletters and magazines produced by the Scottish and American associations, members are kept up-to-date with the

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[93] email from Ronald G. Munro included in Appendix XI.

latest thinking on the objectives of the association, activities and major plans such as Clanland. Because the association is a relatively tight-knit one, boasting some 1,800 members world-wide (compared to Clan Donald, with its 7,000 for example), and because there are still a core group of Munros living in the ancient clan country, including the chief in particular, any initiatives launched by the association appear to meet with very favourable response. Undoubtedly the personal contacts maintained by the chief and his family with the membership as a whole, and the welcome accorded visitors at Foulis, help bind the clan together and generate a feeling of family and kinship – actual or imagined – so that everybody feels they belong. This must satisfy the most ardent seeker of roots and connections, should they be fortunate enough to have a link with the Munros. Whether visitors in the future will feel embraced in the 'home' to quite the same extent in the future, following the opening of Clanland, remains to be seen, especially as the centre appears not to fully satisfy the potential Munro demands, as opposed to those made by the general visitor. In spite of this, the overall impression given is one of a fully functional, active and forward looking clan organisation, in the modern sense of the word, through its associations throughout the world; in particular, the Scottish branch does not appear to assume any special authority over those in other countries, all providing members of the council. The part played by the traditional elements of the tartan and kilt are rather harder to discern, but I would suggest they are not insignificant and contribute considerably to what people assume to be their Scottish and clan heritage.

I would now like to examine the clan Home and its societies by way of contrast, but also to demonstrate the particular power that the 'idea' of the Scottish heritage on people searching for a way to connect with, and express a Scottish aspect to their identity, and to demonstrate some of the problems which may arise through the lack of a tight-knit

clan organisation. I do this with some trepidation, seeing that I am about to treat with my own clan, but also in the knowledge that through addressing the problems, satisfactory solutions which may be to everyone's benefit may more easily present themselves. As an example of the power of Scottish identity, it is probably even more effective than the Munro example.

D. Clan Home, a Contrasting Case

When I visited the Clan Hume/Home Society International's tent at the Grandfather Mountain Highland games in 1996, I experienced, in a very modest way, some of those feelings which many experience on first discovering an organisation connected with their own name. Up to that point I had no idea that the Homes had a clan society or any formal organisation. Unlike the Munros, there had been, in so far as I could tell, no home grown initiatives to set up such an organisation, in itself quite a strange circumstance given that the name had been the most important in the East March of the Borders and that the majority of other great Border names, such as the Kerrs, Scotts, Elliots, Johnstones and Armstrongs, all had formed societies with active participation from their leading members in Scotland. It was therefore with surprise and delight that I found the tent manned by the president of the American society, together with a number of supporters, relatively few of whom appeared to bear the name Hume. For the sake of clarification, the spelling varies, often according to the personal preferences of past generations; the two main spellings, both pronounced as in Hume, are this version and the original settled spelling of the place in Berwickshire, spelt Home.[94] I discovered that the society had been formed in 1979, with permission from the then chief, Lord Home of the Hirsel, but that that was as far as his

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[94] Subsequently changed to Hume, on the purchase of the barony of Home in 1766

involvement went, since he showed no subsequent interest in the affairs of the society. The initiator and first president, Al Eaton became interested in forming a society, on moving to the United States from Canada, whilst being aware that his own name probably derived from Ayton, in Berwickshire, a former Home property; on the maternal side he did have American Hume connections.[95] From the outset, the society aimed to accommodate those who might be able to trace their roots back to Berwickshire, by including, in addition to the two usual spellings of the name, other variations and phonetically similar names, together with a number of place names which had been Home properties or had other links; these septs numbered thirty four in total, at the last count.[96] The fundamental difference between the Home and the Munro societies, however, is that the former has been entirely American driven, whereas the Munros, with the support and active encouragement and involvement of their chief, have seen a reverse pattern, with the Scots being the initiators, and the Americans following on.

At the time I came across the Home society in 1996, I was aware of some differences of opinion as to how its affairs should be conducted in the future; in fact, at that time one of their members had already decided to form a breakaway society, believing that it should be more active than just having an annual gathering at Grandfather Mountain Highland Games. Thus the Clan Holmes/Hume/Home Society was formed as a separate entity entirely from the Clan Hume/Home Society International. The likely confusion that this duplication could cause did not seem to deter the prime mover of the split, to the extent

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from the Earl of Home by Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, 3rd Earl of Marchmont

[95] A large number of Humes in the United States descend from George Home, the eldest surviving son of Sir George Home of Wedderburn, both of whom were forfeited for their adherence to the Jacobite cause in 1715; George, the son, settled in Virginia in 1721. Other Humes descend from families previously migrated from the Borders to Ulster and thence to America (Donaldson, 1982).

that both societies took advertising space regularly in the Scottish American interest papers, such as *The Highlander*, the one next to the other. This duplication struck me as being potentially very damaging to the long-term interests of the Homes and thus began my own involvement in seeking to bring the two together again, whilst at the same time engaging the interest of our nominal chief, the Earl of Home.



(15) Author with Al Eaton at the Clan Home tent – Grandfather Mountain 1999

Lord Home recognised the desirability of trying to re-unify the two societies, entrusting me with the task of liaison between the two. With this authority, I then embarked on the delicate process of trying to quantify the essential difference which had led to the split and to see if there was sufficient common ground between the two to come

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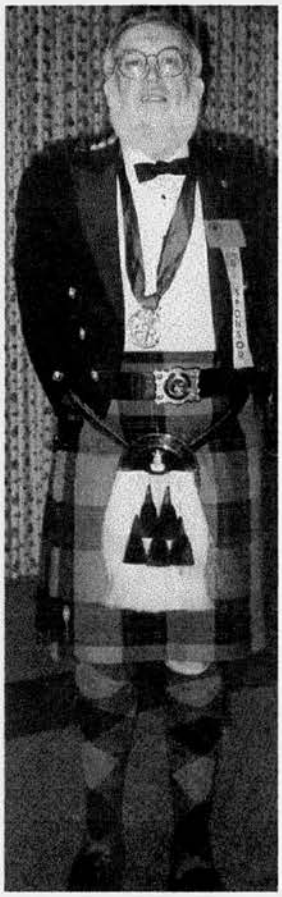
[96] *Home Works* Vol 16, No.4, 1998

together again. If this could be achieved, the chief indicated that he would be prepared to take a more active role, as he recognised the growing interest on the part of the American clan members in being able to identify with the original country of their forebears, and more particularly, with the nominal chief of the name. In addition there was a third Hume/Home society whose existence I discovered once I started making enquiries of Al Eaton; this had been launched by a lady in the south of England, again with the apparent blessing of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, as he was styled at the time. This lady disagreed with the Scottish American interpretation of clan and heritage connections and I recognised that the chances of opening a tri-partite dialogue between all three societies was not something that was going to be very easy. Dialogue between the two American ones was going to prove almost as difficult in view of the relatively recent split and the underlying reasons for it.

E. An American's Motivation

When I first met Mac Grady, the instigator of the break away society, in 1998, I little expected that he would ultimately become one of my key informers in so far as this thesis was concerned; I could have just included the material I gathered through interviewing him along with that of other informants, but on reflection I feel that the background of the Home societies outlined above, particularly the way in which it stands in such stark contrast to that of the Munros, provided a more comprehensible setting by which to measure Mac Grady's perceptions of his Scottish identity. It would also provide a useful way in which to determine the relative importance that tartan, the kilt and the associated material culture played in making this identity so attractive to him. This has been one of the prime reasons for including the Home element in this section.

R. W. 'Mac' Grady **SSS.SA1999.34**



This conversation was conducted in Mac Grady's home; he insisted on having bagpipe music playing in the background, and the room we sat in almost resembled a 'shrine to Scotland'. Photographs of my informant wearing the kilt on different occasions, together with his sons similarly dressed were joined by certificates of membership of the various Scottish societies with which he is associated. The Home tartans, the clan crest nicely mounted on a wall plaque, the 'Scotland of Old' map of the ancient clan territories were also in evidence, as were mementoes of visits to Scotland, including a medal on a Home tartan ribbon given to him by the clan chief.[97]

(16) Mac Grady as president of the SHS

IMH So, Mac, I wonder if you could just tell me, firstly, details like when and where you were born?

MG I was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 1930, schooled there, went to Cleveland State University and not interested at all in my ancestry. I really didn't know anything about my paternal or maternal backgrounds. Moved to Florida in 1959, to the Cape Canaveral area and became involved in politics; I was elected as mayor in 1962 and served until 1975. Just before I went out of politics, we bought a home in North Carolina, in Highlands, North Carolina which Highlands is the highest incorporated

[97] The way collected objects are illustrative of identity in Scottish terms could form the basis of a separate study; I am grateful to Professor A. Fenton for drawing my attention to Bjarne Rogan's treatment of collectors and their mania in (Braavig & Krogh [eds]1997).

city in the Eastern United States and it was founded by two Scotsmen, Kelsie and Hutchinson. We bought a home there; I wanted to go into some sort of business; the home was near the highway, the main highway in the tourist area, so I went to England. I was a guest of BOAC airlines; just before that time I was in the caravan business, I was in what you call rent-a-caravan business from Great Britain to the United States and while I was there on this inaugural flight of BOAC's from Miami to London, I had some time to spend and I purchased a module in Bournemouth, had it shipped to Highlands[98] and used it, had it assembled and used it for the first year like a guest cottage for my kids and the second year, I didn't have much to do up there, I was involved so much in Florida in different things, politics and everything else, I wanted to do some sort of a business so I went back to England and went to the Scottish Tourist bureau and Scottish exporters and saw this incredible array of tartans and Scottish goods and things like that. My wife wasn't with me and I immediately started buying the stuff, I figured I was going to use that module and use it as a shop. So I came back to Highlands and I told my wife what I had done, that we were going to open up the Scottish shop here and all this merchandise was on its way from Scotland. I knew nothing about tartan, I knew nothing about clans, I knew nothing I just knew I just liked the music of Scotland, I liked the colour of the tartans and so forth and I didn't have any idea that I was connected in any way. So we opened this shop in 1973 and we had a loom and everything else in the shop; I brought it totally intact; it was shipped on the deck of a ship and I had it trucked in from.....from the coast up into Highlands and we sited it near my home and so we just opened this shop. I had very, very few little things in the shop the first time we got it. Bought these things over and thought it was a lot but when you start putting in the shop it didn't look like very much and people started coming in. I first called it the Scotch-Irish shop, I was trying to attract people from Scotland and Ireland, not really knowing what Scotch-Irish was; I've since learned, you know, the Scots-Irish is the term used by Americans as really for Ulster people, but I didn't want to hurt anybody, I wanted to get business, I was in there, you know, to do business. But 90% of the people I guess that came into the shop, were interested in Scottish and they would ask me different - I bought things by the looks, not by the clan or tartan or anything else - and they'd come in and they'd want: 'Do you have Macdonald or do you have Buchanan or do you have Grant or do you have Lindsay or whatever?' and I knew nothing about it and they wanted to know 'What is your clan , what is your tartan?' Well I really didn't know, I am just opening a shop here. So that led me to

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[98] A township in North Carolina.

> enquire about... people would say: 'Can you get me this tie or scarf or kilt or something else in this tartan?' Well I eventually found out who the suppliers were, the vendors and the manufacturer in Scotland and I started bringing those things over and I ran into some companies in Scotland that were very informative to me, particularly Inglis Buchan, he was out of Galashiels at that time, I went there and he built me a beautiful display, full wall display, and I had five hundred different tartan ties, everything from Abercromby to Wemyss, I guess, and that was really the beginning of it and as far as my interest, people kept asking - everybody that came in, you know: 'What is your clan, what is your clan?' Well I said I didn't have any; I thought that I was Irish, my name was certainly Irish, Grady, and I didn't know anything. I knew my father said he was born in England, but I didn't know, you know, where or why or anything. So I came to - I was going every year to Scotland and England, because of the shop; we'd go over there and buy things and travel the whole country.. And I was to the War Memorial at Edinburgh and I saw all these Grady names up there on the wall and I started, you know, checking and trying to find out maybe somehow, how were we connected with this. My father did not have a middle name, his name was just Joseph Grady and I didn't know his mother's name, I just knew it was Elizabeth; she married a John Grady, but her maiden name was Hume;[99] I didn't find this out until several years that I was in the business up there and I just couldn't believe it; so at that point I became so excited to know that I had a clan and family connection to Scotland, that I was immediately, you know, I was a Hume. Bought everything that I could find in Hume, you know, I have three kilts now and joined the various societies in promoting the Homes, as well as all other clans. I formed, I was appointed by Gordon Teal to the council in Comrie, Scotland, I was on the full board there of the Scottish Tartans Society, and then I opened up an extension of the society in Highlands in the eighties, nineteen eighties, I forget exactly what year, and opened a full scale museum there and we brought a lot of artefacts over from Scotland and together we built here, we had a very nice museum in Highlands. It subsequently moved to Franklin; I became involved in other societies and I gave up my work with the Scottish Tartans Society, but it has just been full-blown ever since that time and I guess I just can't stay away now from things Scottish.

I have included this rather long extract from the beginning of the interview, not only to demonstrate the way that Mac Grady came to

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[99] In fact on a previous occasion, Mac had told me that his mother's name was Holmes; in his mind this is now entirely synonymous with Hume.

assume his Scottish identity, but also to illustrate the degree of his enthusiasm, and particularly to try and convey the fact that he barely paused for breath whilst imparting this information. From the simple question of place and date of birth, an unstoppable torrent of thoughts and reminiscences poured out, as if the whole construction of his identity could now be validated through the telling of it to an external party. Jumbled though it may be, a clear theme emerges; the attraction to things Scottish began with tartan and developed through the discovery of the apparent family connection, through to developing the link with the name and then the demonstration of the new identity through the purchase of kilts.

Mac Grady not only joined the Clan Hume/Home society international and the Scottish Tartans Society (in which he became very active, as mentioned above), but also founded the Scottish Highlands Society in order to extend his activities amongst the Scottish American community, although entirely on his own terms. In fact this society is entirely his own fiefdom and it is he who invites personalities to become fellows; it seems to lend extra cachet as well. For such an enthusiast and activist, the rather pedestrian attitudes of the Clan Hume/Home society were to prove too limiting, and this gave rise to the formation of his own Hume society, but carefully named to reflect his particular priorities and to further establish , in my own view, a sort of legitimacy to what was becoming quite a complex construct of a Scottish American persona. A further extract exemplifies this:

> **MG** ... I'm President of the Scottish Highlands Society, where we honour very prominent people, Americans of Scottish descent such as Cliff Robertson, Malcolm Forbes, Brit Hume, Billy Graham, Dan Quayle - usually at some very big annual affair, where they are accepted into the college of Fellows and they're presented with a silver quaich and some of the people, some of the more prominent people, like Brit Hume, who is probably the number one telecaster in the

> country, had never seen the Hume kilt before. He always knew he was part of the Wedderburn family[100], but we got him his first kilt and he wore it in Moultrie, Georgia I believe in 1990 and he was the proudest man that you ever would see for wearing that kilt; he was just so proud of having that kilt. Well this has just developed into a sort of recognition society and we have a limited amount of members that belong to it, but we meet annually and during the year, we think about who has made some contribution, some major contribution in the United States to those people with Scottish backgrounds. I am also involved with the Clan Ho(l)me(s), Hume Society; we've been honoured clan at several games and most recently in Ocala, Florida, in November of 1998 and I'm self-appointed President of that society as well. I also formed the Scottish Society of the Treasure Coast, here in Vero Beach, about four years ago, so that would be 1995 we started that; I started out with three people - today we have three hundred people that are members...we've no paid people, they're just so happy to be involved in something Scottish. So many people have never been to Scotland...they like to talk to people from Scotland; they're just overwhelmed by...I don't know, I never knew anything like this existed...

Quite apart from his own personal experiences and the satisfaction gained from identifying a potential family connection with Scotland, which, in itself, appears to be quite sufficient to kick-start the whole process of 'belonging', Mac Grady's active promotion of Scotland over the years must have contributed in some measure to the explosion of interest which we are now witnessing. I was particularly anxious to get him to articulate the reasons for people choosing the 'Scottish' option in preference to other possible root connections:

> **IMH** Can you perhaps give me your views as to what it is that sparks this interest amongst people in their Scottish backgrounds, when they might have - well perhaps English grandparents or Dutch grandparents or Irish grandparents even, Ukrainian or Russian or whatever mix you care to dream up, why it's the Scottish element in their forebears that is so attractive?
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> **MG** I don't know if there's anything specific; my mother was a European, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian area; just never occurred to me, you

[100] The Homes of Wedderburn, the senior cadet branch of the clan.

> know, to do anything in that line at all, and my wife is the same heritage and I don't know, there's just something about it, once you find out and see how excited some of these people are as far as devotion to their clan, their tartan, you just want to be a part of it, it just...you search, you search in your mind and whatever people that you know to find that one percent, two percent, five percent, thirty percent of that Scot and you just grab it, you latch on to it like a star and you just keep going until you get deeper and deeper and deeper and I don't know - it's magical.
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> **IMH** Would you say in the first instance it is the actual visual aspect to tartan; that there is a quality about tartan that is attractive, or...?
>
> **MG** I think the names appeal to me. I've always wished I had a name like Alexander Graham Bell, or something like that, I think it's just incredible, like your name, Ian Hume, you know I'd give anything to have a name like that because mine is, you know, British, but it's not specifically Scottish and I was always...the chiefs, I think, so many Americans have such an allegiance to their chief, whether they know him or not ...and I guess the chiefs have been very important to me. I first met Lord Home in the seventies, I guess it was something like that, in Scotland and just shortly after I found out that I was connected to the Homes and I was just so impressed and he certainly was not a real Scottish clan chief as such,[101] but he was still, you know I knew he was just a Borderer, not just a Borderer but a Border family and he was recognised as the head of the Home family and in my eyes he was the chief and I recognised him and we supported him as the chief, happy to support him, he volunteered to be head of our Scottish Highlands Society, as the honorary President and the Clan Home Society that I formed, he volunteered to be that, so we used him as one of our officers on letterheads and so forth; he has since died and David, of course, is the new earl of Home and he's not as active as his father was with us, but we still recognise him as the titular head of the family of Homes.

In this part of our discussion, Mac Grady managed to illustrate, unconsciously, I think, the point that I have already made about the nature of the American view of what Scottishness implies; an assumption that, somehow, it is really only one hundred percent genuine if it embraces the Highlands, and by implication all the myth

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[101] Bearers of double-barrelled names cannot be recognised as chiefs of a whole name (by the Lord Lyon, under a decision *Campbell-Gray* 1970) – in this case

and symbolism attached thereto. The fact that after the discovery of a Scottish connection, this turned out to be with a Border name and therefore, in the light of his perceptions of Scottishness up to that point, its chief could not be a Highland chief of a real Scottish clan. This reservation then has to give way to the acknowledgement that perhaps, after all, his chief was a proper chief who could fulfil the role anticipated for him.

> **IMH** So it seems to me that the appeal lies in the overall construction of clan and family belonging, sense of kinship...
>
> **MG** It's that connection you always search for, you know you look for your roots and you can see your roots easier in a piece of tartan than you can in a book...It doesn't take a scholar to look at a piece of tartan, that's your tartan and they can make all the things they want out of it; sometimes they think, well the red stands for something and the black stands for something and the...you know, they try to find something within that tartan: why their family wears those tartan, why those yellow stripes, why those white stripes and it's just fascinating....I just don't know...I can't tell you in one word, you know, why they do that, but I think once they get into it, once they see a tartan that's connected to their family, you have them for life.

The phrase that struck me particularly was the one that bears out my conjecture that tartan, for many, tartan could play a fundamental role in their relationship with Scotland: 'you can see your roots easier in a piece of tartan than you can in a book...'

The fascination which the kilt holds for so many is not just its peculiar mode when compared with the normal male attire in contemporary society, but its accumulated meaning. This is particularly important for those who may decide to become kilt-wearers for the first time, whereby it is used as an overt expression of identity, possibly as much to re-enforce that identity in their own minds as in the minds of others.

Douglas-Home (*Whitaker's*, 1999:211)

Miller's observation that "artefacts such as clothing...are a means by which we give form to, and come to an understanding of ourselves, others, or abstractions such as the nation or the modern" (1994:397) could be extended to include 'or Scottishness. It is important not to lose sight of the origins of the kilt and the society from which it came; it is important to take account of different ways the complex meaning of the kilt reflects and perpetuates the original meanings with which it was endowed in Gaelic society and how those meanings have both been perpetuated and altered in modern society. We may note here that "cultural forms can be carried through history, giving an impression of stability while being charged with new and different meanings and used in varying ways by different groups" (Frykman & Loefgren, 1987:5). Albert Barburin reminds us, in his paper on the function of things, that there is a united common structure of meaning shared by all cultural symbols, such as clothing, and that the unity between the symbolic and the practical, which is inherent in all man-made things, and the ambivalence that exists between the two, has given rise to the idea of the semiotic status of things:

> Elements of material culture, when entering into a semiotic system (e.g. a ritual), function as symbols, when falling out – as things. (1997:7).

Thus, the kilt can function in both roles, but will more usually be seen as a symbol rather than as a thing, particularly in the North American context, but also in the context of much of its contemporary use in Scotland. Again, in Miller's words, " the vast symbolic potential to be drawn from exploring the attributes of things is limited only by the ingenuity of a particular social group" (1994:409). The social group with whom we treat, the Scottish Americans, is a multi-faceted group by any definition, but the ingenuity with which those adhering to this group have interpreted the symbolic power of the kilt and tartan is demonstrated in many different ways. Where this ingenuity has been used to explore the concepts of identity is of paramount interest to me.

First confronted with such ingenuity on my first visit to the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in North Carolina, in 1996, I knew that it was a subject which merited closer examination. Furthermore it is the indistinctive nature of the boundary between the everyday and the ceremonial apertaining to wearing the kilt, summed up by Bogatyrev in his study on Russian folk costume (1971), that exercises an added dimension of interest;

> ...anything in folk everyday life has a whole spectrum of function – practical, social, aesthetic, magical, regional identity and several others. In daily life – for folk clothing – these functions might be social, aesthetic and regional identity functions; on festive occasions – ceremonial, aesthetic, national, regional identity...(1971:297).

His spectrum may be understood to include folk clothing, if the kilt is such, as a fundamental symbol of ethnic identity too. His emphasis on the aesthetic is also interesting, for it allows us to bear in mind the peculiar appeal of the tartan weave itself. I do not propose to engage in a consideration of the nature of that peculiar appeal in so far as it relates to the actual technicalities of pattern and design, other than to note it. Ruth Barnes noted that 'in Indonesia, textiles have become a primary topic of interest, because of their prominent presence at certain rituals, because of their distinctive characteristics and iconography and certainly because of their aesthetic appeal' (1992:162); much the same could be said of tartan, if not more so. Mac Grady elaborates on this theme:

> **MG** There's no other country in the world that has anything like it, nothing...You wear it and people ask you what it is and you tell them it's my clan tartan and what's the clan and they ask you all questions about it and surprisingly the number of Americans, I think there's somewhere now forty to fifty million Americans that have some Scottish connection, and they search and they give you all sorts, they might give you fifty names of people in their families, you know, is this one Scottish, is that one, check this out ,

> check that out...we try very hard...I go to a lot of Scottish Highland games here, which are very big, as you know, and I usually set up a Scottish clan tartan information centre and people come to me by the hundreds and I have all the reference books and the tartan books, Black's Surnames and everything else and just my own personal collection, I have a very large collection in my library here of Scottish..but they'll come back all day long...well try this one, try that name and once they find that they're hooked, they're hooked on it for ever and then their families are hooked and you know, first they buy, you know first they want to see the colour and then they want a piece of the colour, you know a little scarf or a tie or something like that and eventually they want everything, they just... they play the Scottish pipes and everything else and I just don't know...it's very... it's certainly unique in the world as far as heritage is concerned, no question about it and the tartan, I would say, would have to be number one to bring them together...The tartan, it is the tartan.

This part of the conversation yielded several noteworthy points; firstly, it appears that Mac Grady's grandmother was the one with the Holmes surname, not his mother as suggested in the earlier part of our discussion (see footnote no.101, page 158) thus indicating, perhaps, an unwillingness to acknowledge other continental connections in his most recent ancestry. Secondly, he articulates quite clearly the powerful attraction of the different elements of Scottish heritage; in his case it may be said to be a combination of name, the whole concept of clans and chiefs and finally, without any doubt in so far as he was concerned, it is the tartan that is the key which unlocks the door to this vast store of roots and heritage.

If we re-consider the problem faced by somebody like Mac Grady, in his search for identity, one can begin to see the attraction presented by the Scottish option in particular. This due to its visibility and apparent cultural heritage, and even more so because it appears to present the idea of a group identity more effectively than other options. One may observe here that some people appear to have no problems in taking on a Scottish identity in preference to others which

may be available, or perhaps because none are readily available and the Scottish one appears to be the most attractive, and in so doing they often bear out Nurmi's observation that:

> A new inhabitant can identify with the local culture even so strongly that he becomes enthusiastic about maintaining old traditions and symbols. Sometimes he is more enthusiastic than the natives. The new inhabitants do not return to the same lost house as the natives but they build something on a firmer foundation...they take home territory which the natives have lost...a new kind of lost house, a home territory in an illusory sense (1995:245)

The chord he strikes here is one that will be readily identifiable to the natives, in our terms the present-day inhabitants of Scotland, who generally fail to understand the reasons which drive the new inhabitants, the contemporary Scottish American who may have recently taken on this identity, to articulate this identity in what to them often appears a parody of the old traditions and symbols which combine to form the cultural heritage. In particular the use to which tartan and the kilt are often put by these new inhabitants, combined with a mythical perception of the past in many instances, brings about two interpretations of Scottish identity which often differ in many more points than they share. This was one of the points which I set out to address in my Tartan Day paper in Washington.[102]

The next part of our discussion centred on the wider influences at work which caused people to try to quantify their ethnicity in more precise terms than perhaps they had hitherto. Mac Grady mentioned the theme that was to be taken up by many of my informants subsequently, the developing pressures being felt by the European American, when I asked him to comment on the break-up of families and traditional communities through dispersal on account of work

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[102] See Appendix VII.

leading to a possible increase in interest in roots:

> **MG** I think it is getting increasingly popular in the United States, for one thing, the European population in the United States is dwindling and by the year 2010, the white European population will be in the minority in this country and I think you're finding more and more that all ethnic groups are rallying together to kind of preserve what they have and I think you'll see the Scottish connection even greater than it is - it's hard to believe it's going to be greater, but it's going to be greater, because you can see them moving together, they're hanging on, they don't want to lose their identity and I think with a piece of tartan, you know, they have their identity and I think it's going to be just incredible the growth of the tartan industry in the United States beyond what it is now - it's incredible now, but I think it's going to be more and more...I can't believe the number of people who come to me at games for the first time. They had never been to a game before, they just didn't know anything about it and by the thousands so, as I say there's forty or fifty million people still with Scottish blood in them and it's going to take a long time before they are all out, then the parents of course, if they're involved a little bit, and then those kids are going to get involved a bit, they're going to wonder what their tartan is, what their clan is, so you're going to have it perpetuated for centuries.

The pressure for hyphenation of identity seems to have come about through the more obvious emphasis placed on it by such groups as the Native American, the African American, the Hispanic American, to mention but some. Mac Grady's reference to a 'dwindling' European population reflects this perhaps. We appear to be witnessing the fracture of an all-American identity, if indeed, there ever was a genuine one, but I do not propose to examine these complex issues here. I note them for their relevance to my prime objective, the examination of the part the kilt plays in the Scottish American dimension of this fracture. Cultural heritage also plays a significant role in all of this. Bertalan Andrasfalvy believes that nation has to be considered here, which poses a problem for the all-American concept of identity, for he suggests that "the individual receives his personality essentially from a particular cultural country", and he goes on to say:

> This national character (language, dress, music, custom, tradition, the symbolic system of jokes, expression, etc) is the greatest treasure of the individual as a member of the community; this particular character results in differences between nations – national character – *the very basis of the feeling of identity* (my italics)- ...and the precondition for one national culture, feeling of identity, national spirit is *other* national cultures, feelings of identity, national spirits... (1995:22)

Many would argue, quite justifiably in my view, that there is a distinct culture and national character which identifies the American nation, but within this culture there also exists a sub-set of older national cultures, both dormant and active, upon which members of each distinctive ethnic group can draw at will. Indeed they may switch fairly easily between one and the other depending on the circumstances demanding any particular expression of identity. However, by their very existence, these older cultures continue to pose a threat to any generic national culture if there is a perceived need to positively retain or enhance a sense of ownership of the older cultural heritage. The motivation for so doing is often related to the relative power any particular individual is able to exercise to the advantage of himself or his group, relative to the success of other individuals and groups. If we acknowledge that there may be a conflict between these two different sorts of national consciousness, then we may usefully substitute 'ethnic consciousness' for Andrasfalvy's 'national consciousness (which) is the most important component of the individual's feeling of identity, for it is this which provides the means for self-expression, for self-definition, for dealing with one's intellect and emotions' (1995:23).

I was interested in the age at which people started to become involved in things 'Scottish American'; for Mac Grady's children it was one significant event that sparked this interest, but he thought that usually

it was in middle age, after the death of parents. Malcolm Forbes[103] appeared to be the catalyst in this instance, though, and this part of the conversation then led on to Highland dress generally, and in particular, Grady's claim to be the one who first introduced the concept of district tartans to the United States.

> **MG** I had a big affair in Highlands; it was the first real big fellowship ceremony[104] and my guest that I invited personally, was Malcolm Forbes. I simply called him and asked him if he would like to come to Highlands, we've opened this little museum up now and we'd like to honour him and so forth, and he agreed to come. I think that's the difference between a man like Malcolm Forbes, you know, he doesn't need to be invited to go anywhere, but that showed me, you know, that his roots were deeper than any business connection that he has; I doubt if he was asked to the Quantas Club, or Rotary, or anything like that, he probably wouldn't have come; but he came for two days and spent the night with me in Highlands and at the banquet, I had my children - my son Tom, I asked him to be master of ceremonies, but I told him if he was going to be master of ceremonies, he was going to have to wear a kilt; so he got a kilt...
>
> **IMH** What age?
>
> **MG** He was thirty, about thirty; my other son, Patrick, who was probably twenty at the time, he was not too sure about the kilt, so he wore a tartan jacket. Since, he acquired a kilt; my daughter, who is in Vermont, wore a kilted skirt and my son Bob, who lives in Duland, now is fully kilted, playing the bagpipes and just as excited as anybody could possibly be about his Scottish connection. But I would say for my family, personally, Malcolm Forbes threw them together, because they all looked up to Malcolm Forbes as the businessman of the world and my son Tom, who was the MC, is an attorney and he specialises in security law - he particularly wanted to see Malcolm Forbes and was in Scotland two years ago and he called me from Edinburgh, he was staying at the Caledonian Hotel overlooking the Castle, and he just went on and on and on over the telephone, you know, about this place - my God, you know, what is it? Who am I? kind of thing. It's been great for me; I get so much pride out of... you see all my pictures around, with all my kids and my wife and everything, kilts and kilted skirts and

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[103] The late head of the Forbes family, proprietors of the well-known *Forbes Magazine*, and very proud of his Scottish roots.
[104] of Mac Grady's Scottish Highlands Society

> everything. I guess what...getting a little further into it, when I was on the Council of the Scottish Tartans Society, I had Ken Dalgleish of Selkirk design a tartan specifically for me – the Home tartan - but in red, red replaced some other colour and I have that registered as Grady of Highlands and I have a Grady of Highlands kilt, as my kids do, as well as Home, because once you get involved, you need, you need more than one kilt. You can't have just one kilt; I have three kilts, I used to have four, four jackets and (for?) the different occasions.

In this excerpt from the Grady interview, we see the culmination of Mac's Scottish ambitions manifested through the design and weaving of a new Grady tartan, based interestingly on the Home sett.



(17) Mac Grady's study with chairs covered in the Grady of Highlands tartan

I believe this encapsulates the place which tartan holds for him in terms of his own Scottish identity and also the importance that he attaches to its correct wear –'what you can wear and what's not

legally free to wear'; in other words he is happy to go along with the element of exclusivity and entitlement that for many people belongs to a past age. The paradox is that at the same time his own contribution to the manufacture of tradition associated with heritage and the perpetuation of sundry myths associated with that heritage has been not inconsiderable. It is a good example of way the material culture is 'a tool in the identification process'. In our studies Bo Loennqvist's advice to ethnologists is that we:

> should focus on tensions between different lifestyles and the options available expressly in our modern society ...instead of cataloguing specific features, one should present the *salient characteristics* of the mobile field of varied behaviours ensuing from different strategies. Material culture then becomes ...a tool in the identification process itself, a kind of vocabulary in a cultural language (1995:48)

Mac Grady then goes on to explain how he has assumed an advisory role, with no doubt that this is authoritative; the exercise of this sort of patronage, extending to validating the concept of the 'District' tartans (discussed above with Bob McWilliam of COSCA) for those without clan tartans also reveals something about how he sees his role:

> I'm pretty good on Highland dress, I know Highland dress now very well-daytime dress and night time dress and I advise people. People call me, you know, 'What kind of tie should I wear with this jacket, this affair' things like that and I really enjoy helping them out, it gives me a great pleasure in telling them. I am in the process of writing a book, I've been in the process for some years - I hope to do it shortly - may be after I come back going to Scotland this summer, Scotland and Ireland this summer from June to September, but it's going to be principally on Highland dress from the beginning of wearing the tartan till now and the proper way to wear Highland dress; what you can wear and what's not legally free to wear, but something that's appropriate. You know, we lead them into national tartans if they do not have a clan connection, or a district tartan and I think I was probably the first one in the United States really to get into the district tartans; I saw a need for people desperate to find a tartan connection - they'd say they were from outside of

> Edinburgh but they don't have a clan connection, so through the district tartans, Musselboro' - whatever we were able to put 'em in a district tartan , wear the tartan of the district.

Looked at in the light of this exchange, it is perhaps now easier to understand the reason Mac Grady decided to go his own way in building up a society which accorded more with his ideas of what a clan society should be. I had several conversations both with him and Al Eaton concerning the split, but both wished these to remain 'off the record'. Suffice it to say that the difference of personalities possibly played a considerable part in the resulting schism, but as I write, the chances of reconciliation are improving. Both societies recognise the need to come together somehow if they are to enjoy the patronage of the chief, expand their membership and realise some of the other plans that have been mooted in the past, such as the establishment of a clan Home visitor centre in the Border homeland.

As a first step, the original society decided at its Annual General Meeting in 1999 to change its name to the Clan Home Society International and following on this Mac Grady has decided temporarily to retain his society's complicated name – Clan Ho(l)me(s)/Hume Society, with a view to merging this into the above society some time in the period 200-2001, when he will be quite ready to take a back seat. Futhermore, the chief agreed to give his blessing to the first clan Home gathering in the Borders in 2001. We shall see whether, by then, clan Home will be in a position to start emulating the example set by the Munros as much as fifty years ago and whether the continuing increase in interest, particularly from a new generation of members in the United Kingdom as well as the United States, will enable the society to realise its ambitions.

My own active involvement in the process of unifying the disparate

elements which make up clan Home has been rewarding to the extent that I have been able to combine the role of agent with that of observer. This intimate view of the process of collective identity construction to meet the needs of individuals has also revealed to me the very important part that tartan plays in the form of identification by the individual with the larger collectivity represented by the clan. One of the first questions that has been put to me by people intending to come to the gathering in 2001 has been: 'Will we be able to buy lengths or items in the Home tartan there?'[105]

F. The Clans on the Web

The final area I wish to look at in considering the differences between the two types of clan organisations which form part of this study is the world wide web. Clan Munro has two websites, one Scottish and one American, which I shall refer to and a third Canadian Clan Munro Association site. The two American Clan Home societies each have their own, which in itself reveals the element of competition between the two, which I have already discussed. The contrast between the sites is interesting.

The Clan Munro USA[106] site goes under the title of the *Munro Eagle On-Line* and consists of ten pages of comprehensive information covering all aspects of the clan. The history is fairly comprehensive, with a link to a 'James Munroe' site, (a nineteenth century President of the USA). Photos include Foulis Castle, the present chief and the hotel in Santa Fe where the 2000 gathering takes place. The clan tartan, crest and a list of the septs precedes the Munro web links and

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[105] The Home tartan is not generally available in the outlets supplying items in clan tartans, on account of the clan's small size and/or low profile; thus it usually has to be ordered in some quantity from the weavers.

these include the Scottish and Canadian Association pages, a discussion group and the Scottish web pages featuring Clan Munro. There is also a link to the Clanland web site, Foulis Castle and a genealogy forum. For any visitor to these pages the impression given would undoubtedly be one of a very well organised clan association and email addresses are given for membership and other information.

The Scottish Clan Munro Association site[107] is rather modest, by comparison with its American counterpart. The main page, with a Munro tartan background, provides a list of links to specific information, which include a message from the chief, details of the association, news and membership information together with a history page and a link to the clan centre at Clanland. Taken together all these pages present a comprehensive summary of the association and, once again, the impression given to any visitor to these pages is one of an extremely well organised society.

In terms of depth of coverage and impression given the Home pages suffer by comparison, but all four sites are noticeable for the varying emphasis they place on tartan. The most restrained in this respect are the American Munro pages, whilst the most striking is the Grady Home society's site, followed by the other Home site. The principal difference between the two clans which strikes me is one of endorsement. In the case of the Munros, the chief is quite clearly intimately involved, whilst this is apparently not the case, at this stage, in the case of the Homes.

The Clan Home Society International presents its pages of information against a faded background of Home tartan, and is very matter-of-fact and informative. In particular, the opening paragraph establishes its

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[106] http://www.clanmunrousa.org and see Appendix (IX)

'legitimacy' and sets out its aims 'to preserve the history, culture and traditions of this great border clan'. [108] There follows a list of principal features, such as the society's newsletter '*The Home Works*', details of the Annual General Meeting, the links to other Scottish sites (e.g. The Tartan Pages), and then the clan history page, tracing the origin of the family and listing some of the ancient Home properties in the Merse, together with the sept names already referred to. The accompanying map is actually a map showing the best salmon fishing pools on the River Tweed, and does not mention the majority of places in Berwickshire associated with the name, but would appear to be the only detailed map of the area available to the compilers of the page. Finally a link to the 'Clans of Scotland' map is provided, but this map, whilst mentioning all the other great Border names, fails to mention the Homes! Contact links to the President, Al Eaton, the editor of the newsletter and the clan society historians follow.

The rival web page, sponsored by Mac Grady's society is headed 'Clan Home', with 'Hume' and 'Holmes' in smaller print on the next line. This alteration in the style of the society's name reflects the action already taken by Al Eaton to simplify his society's name. The main pages also have a Home tartan background, in the true colours, and browsers are invited to ask email questions about the history and other activities. A much more abbreviated history is offered, but care is taken to include mention of the present clan chief in the same way as does the other society. However the noticeable difference between these two sections is the inclusion of Brit Hume, 'noted Television Director', in the list of 'best-known family members',[109] sandwiched between David Hume the philosopher and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the late chief. This provided a distinct link to the American Humes,

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[107] http://www.clan-munro-assoc.demon.co.uk and see Appendix (IX)
[108] http://www.evcom.net/~pigboy/index.html.1 and see Appendix (IX)
[109] http://bally.fortunecity.com/leitrim/210/home.html.2 and see Appendix IX)

and Brit Hume is one of those who has featured in Mac Grady's honour ceremonies in his Scottish Highlands Society. Perhaps the most noticeable difference of all lies in the list of septs. The familiar ones are there, but also listed are 'Grady' and 'MacHarg'.

This underlines more than anything, I think, the very personal nature of the society Mac Grady set up following his break away from Al Eaton's society. Iain MacHarg is a very good young piper, whose mother was a Hume, and whom Grady has helped , to the extent that he is now called the 'Clan Bard' on the website, with links to his own pages. One other noteable difference between the two sites is that Grady's site contains a number of current photographs of different personalities, such as MacHarg, Brit Hume and the present chief to name but some. Finally, amongst the events mentioned is the Scottish gathering planned for 2001.

Anyone browsing the Scotweb, Rampant Scotland or Electric Scotland pages will come across the Eaton society in due course; I do not believe the same is true of the Grady site, as there are no outside links that I can discern; its address seems to be passed on to known members to facilitate contact between them. In the event of people accessing both sites, a confusing picture of clan Home would be bound to emerge. Access to either one or the other would also give a somewhat distorted view of the totality of the associations available to people wishing to know more about their Hume origins or wishing to join a clan society. It is perhaps the fact that the web highlights the distinct split in the clan societies in the United States in a very visible way, that has increased the recognition of the need to come together. In the sense, it is a very powerful tool, reaching people who may never ever attend one of the Highland games at which the representatives of either society may be present, and which has the potential to exert a great influence whatever the outcome of the

present negotiations may be.

The final site which should be included is a genealogy orientated Hume site, promoted by a Hume[110].These five pages include links to photographs of Hume and Wedderburn castles, as well to the Home tartan and crest/clan badge. The history is taken from a book , *The Great Historic Families of Scotland,* and the most interesting item is a link to the Bibliography which the promoter of the site has compiled in connection with the name. This appears to be very comprehensive and is the one link of all the above-mentioned sites, both Munro and Home, which does perhaps provide the greatest amount of detailed information. There is a well set out discussion page, which from my own visit appeared to consist of many more enquiries than answers. These were often from people bearing the names of the listed Home septs who wanted to know when the association with Home was made, and information specific to their own origins. Other links were to Al Eaton's society, and a variety of sites which would satisfy those enquiring for more detailed 'roots' information via deeds, wills and similar records.

In a sense, 'The Hume Family Home Page', which does not actually show the tartan but prefers to feature the Lion Rampant and Saltire on the first page, provides much of the information which would normally form part of an official clan society web site. I could certainly envisage the eventual amalgamation of all these Home pages, once an officially approved organisation came into being; they would then probably much more nearly resemble the Munro clan association sites.

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[110] http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~hume and see Appendix IX)

CHAPTER FIVE

Personal Perceptions of Identity and Ethnicity

In this chapter, I propose examining the question of Scottish American identity from the perspective of the individual informant, each one an expert on his own particular identity. Individual perceptions have already been considered to some extent in the foregoing chapters, but, with the possible exception of my last informant, Mac Grady, their contributions have been in the context of the wider examination of what the Scottish identity means in its American context. In Grady's case, the two are so completely intertwined that I thought it more logical to treat his views in the context of the clan Home society's affairs. The first two informants' views which I will consider were selected because of their known attachment to Scotland and because both had some knowledge of their family connections; both were habitual wearers of the kilt on appropriate occasions and both took an active part in a variety of Scottish American community activities. I think it should be noted that each had a day or two to think about the topic and that this probably led to a degree of reflection before the actual discussion, in that both knew I proposed to ask questions which required to some extent a process of self-examination. I wished to probe the reasons why each had opted for what was undoubtedly a fundamental part of their identity – the Scottish element. In particular I attempted to structure both these discussions in such a way that the informant felt free to articulate his thoughts and perceptions without having the constraints imposed by a rigid programme of questions, a practice I have tried to follow throughout. I felt he should cover the topics most appropriate to his own particular perception of identity.

A. The Individual Construction of Identity

Charles Edwards **SSS.SA1998.57**



(18) Charles Edwards

For Charles Edwards, the quest for more information about who he was and where he had come from began relatively late in life, and then through a chance event, the discovery of some photographs, his interest was greatly increased. One of the reasons for choosing Charles Edwards as an expert informant – in addition to those mentioned above- was that he had divulged in an earlier conversation that he had four possible European identities to choose from, thus qualifying him admirably for this part of my research into why people choose the Scottish antecedent past, in preference to other available antecedents. I have already acknowledged that there may be limitations to using key informants; however I believe the advantages of collecting such a detailed amount of data from those who in my

estimation have a valuable contribution to make in the assessment of the role tartan plays in the iteration of personal identity more than compensate.

> **IMH** I wonder if firstly you could describe the connection you have with Scotland?
>
> **CE** I think it is probably best to describe that connection in some sort of historical context because it is probably important to question if not the first one, then at least the second or third one. Obviously since I was very small, I've known my mother's maiden name was MacInnes and my father's name was Edwards, but those things didn't mean a great deal to me. Out of four grandparents I knew only one and that was a rather domineering German lady. The mysterious Edwards grandfather died in 1918 in the influenza epidemic; the equally mysterious grandfather MacInnes died of heart failure in 1919, so I never knew either of them and didn't really begin to start asking questions about who I was and that sort of thing, because I was an only child and my father's family was very small. He had two brothers and one sister; one brother lived out in Washington state - we were in Chicago - one brother and one sister, neither of whom had any children; they were in Chicago; my mother had one brother who died in 1942; he had one daughter, who lived in New York. So we were a very small family all spread out and under those circumstances, I began somewhere, I think, probably naturally, in my teen years , to begin to wonder who I was and what I sprang from. I don't think I have ever thought of it in those terms, but I began to be curious and I remember this being fed by having discovered - my father was in the photographic business and they were moving the laboratory from one location to another - and I discovered a whole bunch of old photographs, which were being prepared to be thrown out, and to my knowledge that was the first pictures I had seen of my grandparents, my father's parents, and I rescued those without telling my uncle, Charlie, after whom I'm named, I rescued those without telling him that I was doing so. I still have them and they are the greatest treasures...and it was probably when I was about thirteen or fourteen and that started me thinking about who these people were in the images and who I was and where I came from. But I never put that in context of Scottish, or Irish, or German or Welsh; I just kind of wondered who I was and where I came from...

He contrasts his own experience with that of the child of a friend, where the kilt seems to have played an important role almost from the

beginning of the child's consciousness:

> **CE** ... I have a friend in Chicago who is also Scottish, friend Jack Baker has - Jack married late in life - Jack is now forty six...forty five and has an eight year old son. Ian started going to Highland games when he was a year and a half - I remember carrying him and having him sleeping on my shoulder; he had his first kilt, which I happened to find for him, when he was about two, a little wee thing...He started drumming when he was about three and now he's very good, he's even composing some music and hangs around with the pipe bands. There would be no question about Ian knowing who he is and whence he springs. But there was absolutely none of that in my family and if anything it was quite the opposite; we had music, but it was - my father and uncle having been musicians - it was jazz for the most part and I mean there were never...no bagpipe music, there was no ceilidh music, there was no George Formby, there was no..we didn't eat pasties and Lancashire hotpot, none of this sort of thing, there was nothing ethnic in my family, nothing at all.

Here we should note the introduction of the concept of ethnicity into his thinking, in this case related very much to the material culture of foodways and to musical expression. The subsequent exchange then revealed something of the complexity which must face all Americans who also look on themselves as having an additional strand to their identity; in Edward's case, the way he chooses to express this is also interesting; American before either the Scottish or Welsh, whereas most people I have talked to term themselves as Scottish American. It is also revealing that for one who, as will be seen from the progression of the discussion, looks on himself as distinctively Scottish American, the other elements of identity have to be recognised and given some due, in sharp contrast to one of my previous informants, Mac Grady, who did not really wish to dwell on or consider any but the Scottish element:

> **IMH** Right, so the photographs are significant?
>
> **CE** They were significant in getting

me thinking about who I was.

IMH And so then how do you perceive your identity now in terms of being American and these other elements to it, if I can put it that way?

CE Well you know I don't perceive myself as being anything other than American and I suppose if I had to make a hyphenated exchange, it would be American-Scottish, American-Welsh, perhaps an American of Scots-Welsh background. But I'm very proud of that and you know it's meaningful to me.

IMH It's meaningful because it gives a link with past generations?

CE It's meaningful because it gives a link with past generations, but it also gives me somehow, perhaps mystically - who knows - a link with a much larger world and with a much larger history; even in school, I was much more interested in world history and European history than I was in American history, for whatever reason, and there's a tangible link by being Scots-Welsh in background that is quite important to me.

IMH Would you say that of the two you have just mentioned there, that one was more important to you than the other?

CE I think that, and we discussed this this afternoon, it's kind of odd because the Scots identity is certainly more important to me and I don't know why that is, because as I said to you, if anything I was closer to my father, growing up, and still feel - both my parents are deceased - feel much more of a kinship, more my father's son than I ever was my mother's, and so you'd think somehow that I would feel more of a kinship with Edwards and the Welsh side, but I don't; I feel somehow that I'm more deeply Scottish and maybe that's the product of having spent nine months in the womb or something - I don't know. It definitely has precedence.

IMH So given that, that is perhaps the paramount element of the hyphenated part of your identity?

CE Definitely Scots-Welsh, not Welsh-Scots...'

Having established the route Charles Edwards followed to the Scottish part of his identity, which also included an interest in British military history and a visit to Scotland in 1960, when he 'drove up to

Edinburgh...Perth and...up to Glenshee and it grabbed somewhere in the very depth of me...being up in that wild country. Something resonated and I don't quite know what it was...', I then wanted to explore the influences which led him to wear the kilt, and what wearing it really meant to him:

> **CE** ...Then I was doing (in my job) fundraising work on the East Coast - I've been in the fundraising field since the middle 1960's - and we were doing more and more black tie events, and in those days you rented a tuxedo, what was probably $25 or something like that and I found that I was doing this once a year, then I was doing it three times a year, then I was doing it five times a year and having to travel with it to several different cities where we were kicking off fundraising campaigns...and I said this is silly, I oughta just bought the thing, so I'll just buy a tuxedo. In the nature of these things I was there and didn't get it taken care of, didn't get it taken care of and then I started thinking, 'Why, when I have this Scottish background?'..I don't know if I saw a photograph or what, but I ended up buying a kilt and a Prince Charlie and I've never looked back. It was actually for formal wear and part of that, I think, was to be different, part of it was to stand out, part of it was to be a little bit more resplendent, but I've absolutely never regretted it. You know wearing the kilt to me now is second nature and I think that was the first one I got I was 28 years old and that's thirty years ago.
>
> **IMH** Grand. So that was obviously quite a leap, when perhaps it wasn't necessarily very common in the circles in which you were moving?
>
> **CE** It wasn't common at all and it was with some trepidation that I did it. My wife at the time, I've been married the second time now, but wife at the time was French and thought it was pretty ridiculous, but then many things about the French are ridiculous and I've had a forty year love-hate relationship with them too - people I love greatly but then it's an aspect of the Auld Alliance, I guess. I don't remember, I don't remember seeing anybody else with a kilt in those days. I wasn't going to Highland Games or anything like that, I just got it really as formal wear. It wasn't until, oh, let's see, probably about 1980 that I became involved in any way with any Scottish organisation. I was in New York City and again I don't know what prompted me to do it, but I was single at the time and maybe I was looking for a social outlet, that may have been it, as I joined both the Alliance Francaise and the St. Andrew's Society of the City of New York at the same time. Neither of them led to companionship or anything, but I

did start to associate with Scots and it was really when I moved to Chicago in 1982, where there is a very strong Scottish presence, and when I met some people in that way who were around my age and started going to Highland Games with them, that sort of thing, that it really took off. I found that there were others and that we were not just isolated people out there somewhere and frankly I also found that...I mean one of the distressing things in New York was that at the time, age forty, I was probably the youngest person at a St Andrews dinner by about thirty-five years and that's somewhat off-putting and gave me the feeling - 'My God, Scotland's over the hill or at least the Scots here are, why am I doing this and why am I bothering?'.. but in Chicago there was a vibrant population of young people of all ages, Burns Night dinners, St Andrews Society, charitable works, you know the bands come through every couple of years, there are all sorts of things happening and it became fun. In a celebration, a way to get together with people who felt much the same, who felt the same things and we didn't really think what we had to talk about to share with them.

IMH It's interesting that, so the Scottish element obviously assumed a wider importance, because you had the companionship and so forth. Were there any other attractions of the Scottish bit that you could possibly identify…?

CE I think...I don't know if I could pick out anything else that's definitive, but the sense of belonging and being able to physically demonstrate that belonging to a tradition, not necessarily military, but at least sort of warlike - Glasgow on a Saturday night - and a longer historical record. I think there was some...I've thought about this sometimes, you know, about what is the...I've found it fascinating, you know, the two dominant forms or influences in my life are Scotland and France and as mentioned earlier, my first wife was French and I love France - I go whenever I can, many friends there, I speak the language and all these years later from the New World I've got something in me that connects in the same way, but I'm not Catholic, so there's not that, there's not a religious connection of any kind; I think it's probably, if anything, it's that overall historical tradition and record and being able to connect myself with that and the kilt and some of the other trappings are physical manifestations which I'm sort of proud to carry on.

In response to a question about the visual impact of the kilt and his own attitude towards wearing it he highlighted the 'optional' element:

CE I mean I take a lot of delight in

> wearing the kilt, but by the same token, I don't have to; I probably wear it more than a lot of people do, simply because I find it a very comfortable garment. I've grown used to it over these years. Would my Welsh identity or would the French identity have been stronger without the kilt? They might have been, but I just can't say. I don't feel that I'm Scottish because of the kilt; it is a way of expressing it, but I don't feel that's what defines me. There is a certain perverse pleasure sometimes in wearing the kilt, because people do take notice; it's not something that people expect to see. It's a garment that looks very, very good if it's worn well and part of wearing it well is feeling comfortable in it and I feel very comfortable in it and I think I do look good in a kilt, so I think there is a certain fashion at play here - I've always liked clothes and that's one of the appealing things.
>
> **IMH** Well that is one of the great attractions.
>
> **CE** Clearly, but I'm not sure how I would answer that question; it would certainly be a little different, I suppose, if there were no kilt, if Scotsmen dressed like Welshmen.

Charles Edwards made another interesting comment whilst we were talking about uniforms, but this time in reference to one of the categories of people I have not considered in my research, the ex-patriot Scot, born in Scotland. I include the comment here if only to highlight the different perceptions about the kilt to be found in Scotland and America, although the attitude expressed here may be said to be a 'generational' one, something we have touched on in chapter three; I have categorised the two main groups of people to wear the kilt in Scotland as the 'traditional' and the 'new' kilt wearers. Edwards brings forward the concept of 'traditional non-wearer', which should perhaps be noted, but which I found to have no real constituency amongst Scottish Americans born in the United States:

> **CE** ...There are people who are more Scottish than I am...a man in Chicago who was born in the Shetlands who has owned a major company, his wife is an American Scot - I don't think he has ever worn a kilt; he has a tartan sportcoat, but has never worn the kilt and this is a generational thing too, I think,

> but you know his family is not the lairds, his family is one of the traditional non-kilt wearing people in Scotland, and so it would not occur to him to wear the kilt...

I wanted to explore Edwards's views on kinship feelings and this opened up another interesting vein in the complex body of opinion on this topic;

> **IMH** So really what I am trying to probe, if you like, is another aspect of the expression... of kinship, which sometimes has quite a high profile - the clan, however remote or distant the actual blood relationship, or non-existence of blood ties may be, but the feeling to be part of folk who, however they may have come by the name Macwhatever, all share something and derive some satisfaction perhaps, if that is the right word, from that sort of feeling. Do you think, because of your feelings as you have expressed them would demonstrate an affinity in any event, that it's superfluous, that it would be a substitute if you didn't have such strong feelings?
>
> **CE** My feelings are more Scottish than they are MacInnes and I think probably that is because historically the MacInneses were a very small lot; I think the Clan MacInnes Association only had perhaps 65 or 75 members; I'm usually the only MacInnes that I ever run in to and I look to see if there's another MacInnes kilt, or skirt or MacInnes sash of some kind, but rarely ever see one, and I think...so I feel my affinity as a family is wider one than just MacInneses. Now my friend Jack, whose son Ian is so involved in things, Jack is a Clan Donald member; Clan Donald is big in this country, just like the Campbells are big and you know there are societies and local groups and other people and I think if I belonged to Clan Donald, or something, yeah, I might feel an affinity with my clan much more than I feel it now and I think somehow I'm a little embarrassed that I don't know very much about my family, I just know a name and it's embarrassing and frustrating. The genealogical tracks...I know where the man was born, in Pittsford, Vermont, but I don't know whence he came and where his father was from - that was my grandfather so, you know, grandfather MacInnes, 1871, Pittsford, Vermont - who his father was and where he was born I don't know.

Once again, we come across the one of the fundamental questions that everyone would like to have answered at some stage in their lives, the 'where do I come from?' question. There also appears to be an element of scale or size which determines the attraction of adherence

to a group. This 'power of belonging' to a larger group might therefore invest its members with more self-confidence in the group identification. In the case of this informant, clan affiliations appear unable to fill the gap in the way they do for so many other people; thus the individual has a rather more difficult task in constructing his own multi-layered identity, particularly if he chooses to ignore the simplistic type of attachment that seems to cause someone such as Mac Grady so little problem. If Mac Grady had had a MacInnes grandfather, one suspects that by now he would either have re-organised the MacInnes clan society into something much more active and embracing, or formed a breakaway group along the same lines as his own Ho(l)me(s)/Hume society. For someone with a great respect for correctness and tradition in all matters to do with Scotland, such a course would be probably unthinkable. Charles Edwards appears to be one of those people who feels a quiet responsibility to further the links between the Scottish American, or American Scottish – as he would have it – community; he feels a deep sense of kinship with Scots, without really being able to put his finger on the reason for it. The knowledge of the existence of a blood relationship plays a strong part in this, and contributes to the formation of what he terms the 'ethnic identity' which finds expression, not only in communal activities and good-works, but also in the 'surface manifestation' through wearing the kilt, as is evident from the following:

> **CE** ...People you get to know after a while, I think, kind of admire - I like to think they do, at least - depth of interest; it's not just surface and after a while they realise I'm down here at this conference, I work with the Caledonian Foundation here in the USA, I've served on the board of governors of the Illinois St Andrews Society, I've served on committees for Highland games, we take the dogs to Highland games, I've done pro bono work for Scottish organisations in terms of fund raising, board building, and I do it because the commitment I have goes deeper than just when you put on a kilt. These are my people, our ain folk as it were, and even though I am generations removed, that bond of kinship is definitely there and I

want to do things, and I think people who know me in the fundraising profession understand that and see my wearing the kilt as being simply a surface manifestation of something that goes much deeper and they admire that more than the fact that I am brave enough to wear a skirt.

IMH Do you think that this expression of identity is stronger among those who can lay claim to Scottish antecedents, than perhaps amongst other ethnic origins, if you like?

CE I really doubt it. You know in a city like Chicago we have a Puerto Rican parade, a Mexican parade, Italian Columbus Day parades , St Patrick's Day parade - none of my friends who were born in Ireland ever wear green and they don't go out on St Patrick's Day because they say it's an abominable habit... The Scots tend...they don't tend to kind of parade out down the middle of the street. We tend to do things quietly and we have our games with eight or ten thousand people there, but we do it off somewhere, but we are not the ones on St Andrews Day, we get together and have a dignified dinner dance and have some fun. St Patrick's Day they get out on the streets and...

IMH Just taking that a wee bit into a slightly different realm, do you think that in these days of pressure, if you like, on - I don't know whether it's the right way to describe it - on all-American identity, pressure to have something else as well, in the same way to much... to an extent which we are beginning to see in the UK where people are having to confront not just their British identity, but whether it is Scots, English, and the English are perhaps having the greatest difficulty coming to terms with this, but the fact is that all-encompassing identities, because families are dispersed, travel is vastly easier, in a global society it's more important to have something, if you like, rather more expressive as part of one's being?

CE We tend to do a lot of hyphenating of things in the United States, you know African-American, American-Scottish; I find it fascinating that it's never American-African, it's African-American, but I consider myself to be an American Scot - American Scottish identity ...I think if you asked anybody in the room here, Americans, or at the Illinois St Andrews Society or whatever and you were able to pin them down they would say they were Americans first, but that there is a very important subsidiary identity which gives them something that is much closer to the heart than being 'an American', and that is whatever the ethnic identity is...

Tartan had the final word in this discussion, which to my mind moves us one step closer to unravelling its relationship in this complex matter of identity:

> **IMH:** And there is an interesting flow back; I think, and I don't know whether you would agree, but I detect...that one of the reasons behind the increased use of the kilt and so forth in Scotland is linked in some way to the growth of the practice over here.
>
> **CE** I think it's absolutely certain; it's the rising tide raising all boats; indeed, there's been a lock, I mean the water our side of the pond has raised. You know you take a look at Scotland and see that all this is happening, it becomes more acceptable, it becomes more... these things just happen; synchrony is a nice thing that just happens with Scottish identity. Going back to something we said earlier, that we were about earlier - and very quickly - I think the American-Scots who are as active in the community as I am, feel a great kinship to the mother country and we're delighted we're able to go over there and people like you, Alastair Dempster and others come over here, because one of the things that we deal with all the time is how do we maintain and strengthen those ties and what are the nature of those ties and how can in this country help Scotland and be more...develop deeper links to it. After Lockerbie and Dunblane, the amount of money that came out spontaneously, that wanted to do something, inadequate as it may be, but all over this country, Scots were immediately starting to send money to their local St Andrews societies to be sent over to Scotland. We wanted to do something for our ain folk and the blood relationship is there and it is probably a much stronger flow than we expect, than we really know. I think what we are seeing in these days, in the last twenty years, is the covenality of that flow as expressed in tartan and the exchanges back and forth that we are making and I think that's good for both communities.

The sense of belonging, which underlies the whole Scottish American connection, is well articulated in his phrase: 'We wanted to do something for our ain folk and the blood relationship is there...', even though many might find it difficult to quantify it in such precise terms.

David Pritchard **SSS.SA1998.58**



My other expert informant who had had previous intimation of the general form our discussion would take, was very secure in the knowledge he had of his own family's roots. Furthermore, through an upbringing in a large family milieu presided over by a grandmother who was well versed in these roots, David Pritchard had inculcated into him, at an early age, the whole ethos of Scottish values handed down over the generations:

(19) David Pritchard

DP I was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, in the States, February 12th 1940, descended from any number of nationalities - Welsh, Scottish, some English, German - but the primary emphasis within the family, particularly on my father's side, was on the Scottish.

Once again, with a number of 'ethnic' identities to choose from, the Scottish predominated, seemingly from the outset, but unlike the previous informant, Pritchard was aware of the Scottish dimension from the earliest age and it was this dimension that coloured the way the family lived, albeit within the context of the frontier, and very much as Americans. Although I didn't pose the specific question, I suspect that none of his forebears would have looked on themselves as Scottish Americans in the sense that we are now discussing identity; there was no need to, for the earliest James Forsyth had fought for Washington in the American War of Independence and the earlier

settlers had no difficulty, it seems, in making the transition from Scot, or Welsh, or English, to American if they sided with the republican cause. For those who found themselves defending the British cause, although they may previously have been involved in the Jacobite rebellion, the adoption of an American persona posed much greater difficulties, and these Loyalists were for the most part obliged to leave the land in which they had originally settled and make a new life under the Crown in Upper Canada. Many commentators[111] have noted the paradox of these former rebels, by far the greatest number of whom were Highlanders, serving loyally in the British army during the Seven Year's War, and then in the Wars of Independence, only to be forced to leave the land with which they had been rewarded. From that time, the priority of those who considered themselves to be Americans was to build the new country where English was the established language and where the values were predominantly those of the Old Country, which for those from Scotland meant the culture and religion of the Lowlands. Their previous identities were subsumed into that of what became the dominant group in the United States, essentially Anglo-Saxon-Scottish, Protestant-Presbyterian, in other words the American model against which all future immigrants were to be measured; if they didn't match, or couldn't metamorphose into this model, then they tended to become the first 'hyphenated-Americans', and of the many groups from Europe who did emigrate in the nineteenth century, perhaps the most obvious were the Irish and the Italians. These, and the others, would retain their distinctive hyphenated identity primarily for linguistic and religious reasons; Old America spoke English and was Protestant.

I would like to examine the question of boundaries in concepts of identity and ethnicity a little further, since in essence the individuals at

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[111] Including Fleming (1994.42), Hunter (1994.45-46), Lenman (1981.86) and

the heart of this study, who constitute the expert informants, are unlike the traditional close-knit cultural ethnic group which has a clear identity related to that culture at the outset. They more often have a starting point of accumulated cultural backgrounds which have been fused in varying degrees into their present American identity. The extent to which they take note of these past influences probably varies according to the parental or grand-parental influence in their own family. The fundamental question in so far as I am concerned is why, when they arrive at the point of wishing to qualify or hyphenate their American identity, they choose the Scottish option in preference to others. And once chosen, do they necessarily feel constrained to adopt the Scottish identity to the exclusion of all other versions? At the root of the question lies the concept of ethnicity. Charlotte Seymour-Smith expresses the key elements in the concept very aptly:

> The key features of this concept are the identification and labelling of any grouping or any category of people, and the explicit or implicit contrasts made between the identified group and another group or category. The features of labelling and contrast are dynamic...Boundaries established by both labelling and contrast do not prohibit individuals from moving back and forth between respective groupings or categories, nor do they prohibit peoples from identifying or being identified differently as they move back and forth...Ethnicity may be objective or subjective, implicit or explicit, manifest or intent, acceptable or unacceptable to a given grouping or category of people. Paradox and ambiguity often characterise ethnic designation and ideas about culture, society, class, race or nation...it cannot be separated from the study of self-identity systems...self-identification and stereo typing are viewed through the laws of ethnicity as complementary, dynamic and mutually supportive phenomena. The core of an individual's identity resides in his or her genetic heritage (1990:95-96).

The last sentence of this quote is the one that perhaps gives us the clue to unravelling the paradox of the attractions of a Scottish identity to people who in many cases will have been quite content to be

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Meredyth & Somerville: (1993.154-155)

American since their forebears first arrived on the continent. For what really drives the quest is the need for roots, and if a genetic link can be established with Scotland, then the door is open to access all the cultural heritage with which it is associated. Again, we come back to one of the fundamental questions this study seeks to answer: is it the power of the tartan/kilt symbol that awakens this interest in the first place and drives the quest in a Scottish direction, as opposed to, say, a German, or a Ukrainian or, even, an English direction? It is important not to confuse nations with ethnicity, bound up as they are with myth and memory, in Anthony Smith's words. He suggests that there 'can be no identity without memory, no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation. But this is also true of the concept of an ethnic community...and is the nation simply an enlarged ethnic community?' (1986:2) It may well be in some instances, but it patently isn't in the case of the United States of America.

Smith notes that Gellner was positing in the 1960's and 1970's the idea that without cultural homogeneity, modern societies would not be able to generate the necessary ideology to sustain the nation (1986:10). However what we are witnessing is the re-definition of cultural homogeneity to reflect the smaller *ethnies* which together make up the larger nation. If anything the trend is the reverse of what Gellner was anticipating as older cultural entities begin to re-assert themselves. Perhaps one of the reasons for this durability of the older ethnic grouping is advanced by Smith:

> Ethnicity is largely 'mythic' and 'symbolic' in character, and because myths, symbols, memories and values are 'carried' in and by forms and genres of artefacts and activities which change only very slowly, so ethnie, once formed, tend to be exceptionally durable...forming moulds within which all kinds of social and cultural processes can unfold (1986:15)

Anthony Smith is lucid in his explanations of the construction of ethnicity and it is worth staying with him to explore these a little further, since an understanding of what we really mean by ethnicity is fundamental to our understanding of what may be the motivation for the adoption of the Scottish identity. I think the idea that an ethnic group is distinguished by similar cultural traits probably presents no problem, in other words the primary distinguishing features are cultural rather than biological. Where we do have a problem is in determining whether it is these self-same traits that exert the attraction of a particular ethnie to others, hence providing a comfortable qualitative identity to the seeker, even though there may be no actual past connection with such a group. Anthony Smith describes identity arising from:

> Ethnic features formed out of shared interpretations and expressions over a period of time take on a binding exterior quality for any member or generation independent of their will and of their perceptions. A quality of historicity that itself becomes an integral part of subsequent interpretations and expressions. (1986:21-22)

Having discussed the case of the Bosnian Muslims and the power that this chosen ethnic name evokes, in terms of atmosphere, drama and meaning for those within and which may be quite absent or different for those without (1986:23), he goes on to suggest another reason which to further articulate the possible attraction of the Scottish identity:

> In many ways the sine qua non of ethnicity, the key elements of that complex of meanings which underlie the sense of ethnic ties and sentiments for the participants, myths of origins and descent provide the means of collective location in the world and the charter of the community which explains its origin, growth and destiny The sense of interpreted common ancestry and origins; because we came from the same place and a common ancestor, we necessarily belong together and share the same feelings and tastes. (1986:24)

Smith chooses as one of his examples, that of shared culture in relation to the Scots sense of ethnic identity, mentioning the kirk, law and education as providing a continuing embodiment of memories of independence (1986:26). I am not sure that squares totally with the Scots current sense of ethnic identity, and it is noticeable for the lack of any mention of the Celtic heritage. Nevertheless the sentiment can be understood in terms of the construction of a cultural heritage which leads ultimately to Benedict Anderson's 'Imagined Community'. But there is no doubt that in his comprehensive study, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations,* he gets to the heart of the matter. In a small passage he suggests:

> Symbols more important internally – reminders of common heritage and fate – inculcate traditions and moves to new generations and recall distant common ancestors. They act as visible spurs to the emotions of awe and nostalgia. (1986:49)

This applies directly to the kilt and tartan. Nostalgia for the past plays an important part in the individual construction of identity, but we shall get an underlying sense of something more fundamental which seems to lie behind the increasing trend for those Americans of European origin, who don't have any conscious ethnic affiliation, to seek a hyphenated identity. Eric Hobsbawm touches on this when he says 'the call of ethnicity... is merely a protest against the status quo or more precisely against the 'others' who threaten the ethnically defined group. (1990:63) In our case the ethnically defined group which begins to appear to be threatened is that self-same group from which the seekers of more specific European ethnicities come from, i.e. the North European White Caucasian. The threat is perceived to be from the growing numbers of other *ethnies* in the United States which are distinguished usually by colour and/or language which combine to have a noticeable influence on the cultural traditions derived broadly

from Europe.

Whilst this last consideration is not mentioned specifically by David Pritchard, other informants certainly make the point and I will let him elaborate on his particular family mix:

> **DP** Well, even from my earliest recollections as a child with my parents, with my grandparents - my grandparents were very much, my father's parents, were very much older than my mother's parents and were very much focused on family, they lived in an agricultural community south of Indianapolis. The families had both very much grown up together on the American Frontier; we're less precise in who the Pritchard was, who came obviously ultimately from Welsh stock. We know very specifically who the family is descended from on the Scottish Forsyth side, but these two families were very close on the Frontier, there were not that many people and there was a degree of intermarriage occurred, and so as it happened, my father's parents were both Pritchards, but they were both Forsyths as well. For some reason, perhaps because of a stronger identity with exactly who and where they came from, even though the Pritchard name was well known throughout the county and very much respected - in fact my grandfather's name was David Pritchard as well - for some reason the Forsyth, the Scottish identity as old Covenanters was very strong. They were a very religious family; on the American Frontier they had embraced the Campbellite Movement - which again - there was a very Scottish identity with that, but it started of course as an ecumenical movement, it didn't start as a denominational kind of thing... I think the thing that was important about Scottishness, in the sense of the Scottishness, was there was a belief that there was an underlying set of ideals and values that were something greater - and again keep in mind here I was a young boy in 1940's America being taught that my forebears were something called Old Covenanters - without even having the historic reference to understand what that meant and yet that was being preached to me, not preached harshly. I can remember my grandmother...who became the family genealogist and actually co-authored a book on the tree of the Forsyth family, which was the descendants of David Forsyth,[112] although she did have chapters on the Forsyths in Canada and one thing and another, but she preached constantly about values; the values of loyalty, of

[112] First went to America in 1768 and returned with his wife in 1770. (SA1998.58)

> honesty, of integrity, of caring for others, a lot of the kind of values that to the American of Scottish descent come out of Scotland.

I was anxious to learn how David Pritchard felt about the German influences, if any, as one side of his family stemmed from that country, and what part these played in the family's perception of itself; in particular, one might have expected these to parallel the Scottish values to some degree, particularly in so far as the religious influences were concerned:

> **DP** ...actually my first German ancestor came earlier than David Forsyth, was a man of the name Andrius Gar. He was born and raised in Rothenburg, lived in Dinkesbuhl; he left Dinkesbuhl - we still have the text of the letter which came from the Lutheran church there – he largely came because of religious reasons, came to Philadelphia, believe it or not I still have two shoemakers' hammers that he arrived with and frankly I think my next step is to find a home for them in a museum - things like that get lost. We also have the English bible which he used to learn to speak English, because the only way he really could do it was, he'd know a phrase from the German bible, and the Lutherans knew their bible, so he could look up the phrase in German and then go to the English and that was how he'd decipher words, and there is a great deal of family pride in that, even down to my mother's father who was a violin maker; of course the Germans have a tremendous history of violin making. But there were on my mother's side as well Scottish threads which came in and my grandfather's name was Ernest Gar - not exactly a Scottish name - but she was descended as well from a man named Moses Forbes...a captain in the Connecticut Militia, he was signer of the Connecticut charter, he is buried in the Old State House graveyard, which is considered sort of the mark of whether you really belonged - it was one of the old families, and she was very proud of that. She claimed membership in the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution and in both cases because of Moses...of course there was the relationship with the Forbes family, but there was quite a combination in her family; there were Schaeffers, which were German, the Gars. I think the identity of that side of the family really did tend to become much more American, largely because the same recurring thread that continued through my father's family didn't recurr there.
>
> **IMH** OK, so that brings us to what I

was trying to get at, the combination of the fundamental element of American, of feeling American, and then this add-on dimension; I mean how important is it?

DP People need very deeply, I think, to know who they are and where they come from; we've seen this in American Black culture and the strong effort in the last few years to try to get started with Alex Hailey's book *Roots*. It's not so much that you're Scottish or that you're American, but people tend to define themselves as being American descended from blank...whatever that is; in my own case it tends to be American descended from Scottish. It's descended from a lot but that...it is interesting to contrast that with my wife's point - as I said she grew up, born and raised a Hamilton, but on her mother's side she is descended from Govenor Bradford of the Bay Colony, and so she finds herself somewhat in the middle on that.

Anthony Smith, in his *Ethnic Revival in the Modern World* (1981), addresses the apparent change in concepts of ethnicity by suggesting that a revival is taking place, in which ethnicity is subject to a wholly new approach by which there is an attempt to preserve the past and at the same time create a new person using the old foundations. Through this revival, a new society emerges which preserves the links in the chain of generations. (1981:24). Although he is concerned more especially with what might be termed minority ethnic groups, for whom ethnicity provides the tangible and readily identifiable indicators common to a group, such as language, food, music and, we might add, dress, all used to claim 'place and advantage' (1981:154). Although his work is viewed less favourably today, we can also apply Gans's 'symbolic ethnicity', which expresses 'a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour' (1979:9) to the group we have discussed above. If Americans descended from 3rd and 4th generation Italian, Irish or Polish migrants can construct a new ethnic identity for themselves using materials which may be irrelevant to their everyday life, but which recall the symbols and traditions of their forebears (Smith,1981:157), then this symbolic ethnicity is equally available to

those stemming from the older migrant groups when they too feel the need to respond to Black Power, which Smith calls 'white neo-ethnicity' (1981:156). In fact he suggests that ethnicity has been woven into the fabric of American society to a far greater extent than in other states, which is the reason that symbolic ethnicity amongst white *ethnies* differs from ethnic revivals elsewhere (1981:159).

It may be useful at this point to take note of some current terminologies regarding ethnicity offered by Barnard and Spencer (1996:190-192). Whilst the primordialist view saw it as 'a predominantly biological phenomenon...and being an effective means of recovering lost ethnic pride', the instrumentalist tended to claim ethnicity 'as a product of political myths, created and manipulated by cultural elites in their pursuit of advantage and power'. The constructivist theories arising in particular from *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* edited by Frederick Barth , which treated ethnicity 'as a continuing ascription which classifies a person in terms of their most general and inclusive identity, presumptively determined by origin and background' (1969:13), have developed even further to the point where 'the contingency and fluidity of ethnic identity...is made in specific social and historical contexts' is emphasised. (Barnard & Spencer, 1996:190)

From this point we are lead, once again, to consider the particular attractions which the Scots option appears to have for those made aware of it in one way or another. The fact that those who are reasonably comfortable with existing identities can access others, such as the Scottish, and incorporate all or part of these other, (the extent often depending on the social circumstances in which Scotland emerges as the land of origin) bears out Sharon Macdonald's view, where she sees "identity not as an inherent fixed matter but as produced and fluid" (1997:99). Moving on from Smith and Gans,

current anthropoligical thinking might term it as a process rather than a product. Ultimately the need to connect with one's roots is perhaps the greatest of all motives which drives a person to leave the shelter of their inhabited identity, the identity that they have grown up with, and to seek extensions to it, particularly if there are positive pressures such as those referred to above which might facilitate such a search. "Where you are from is a key part of who you are" (Macdonald, 1997:144); as long as the United States provided the answer to the 'where', then the all-American identity appears completely sufficient. As soon as this ceases to be a satisfactory place of origin, through the perceived lack of ethnic roots, then the search for origin becomes significant.

The German influence is acknowledged, and pride is retained in the memory and the possession of material links with the original immigrant, in this case the shoemaker's tools, but the values associated with this influence become American, rather than German-American. The same could be said, to a degree, of the Scottish influence, and it does not appear to emerge as specifically Scottish American until very recently; the mention of Hayley's *Roots* by yet another informant underlines the feeling shared by many, at least in the Scottish American community, that the apparent requirement to qualify one's American identity is a recent phenomenon. Pritchard then goes on to suggest that interest in the European dimension perhaps begins to emerge to any noticeable degree only from the time of World War II, or possibly to a lesser extent following World War I. I found this observation particularly noteworthy, in that it may indicate one of the reasons for the apparent lack of interest in Scottish connections before the 1950's:

> **DP** ...but in the latter part of the nineteenth century, many of those early American families began to realise they were losing track of the

> original roots and hence my grandmother with the genealogy. My father, at his level in part because I think transatlantic travel became something for more than just the very wealthy, people from the hinterlands of the United States, Indiana being very much in the centre of the States, suddenly found themselves after World War II - World War I , two of his brothers were in the trenches, so there was a consciousness of Europe...At my grandmother's level within the family there was the formation of a Forsyth Family Association which she was instrumental in; the gatherings were huge and I still have one of these old roll photographs of literally hundreds of Forsyth descendants and it was an important thing to be at those events. It was a Forsyth family within an American context, but very conscious of being Scottish. Then coming down to my father's generation; first off he did start coming to Europe and he and mum were coming on pleasure, but Edinburgh was an absolute 'must' place to stop; he had to go on to Stirling, because the myth of the family goes back to Robert the Bruce, when supposedly Forsyth was govenor of the castle there and this was where suddenly, initially as a small boy, had a Forsyth necktie to wear to Sunday School. My dad showed up in his trews and my mother laughed at him, but he was still very proud of them, and so there became a more physical identity with it. But I do have to say, unlike so much of what I perceive as being Scottishness in America - which is very much focused on Highland games, the kilt and these kind of outward signs, with little focus on the inward - this was a family, probably because part of it was religious based, but very educationally based, the big piece of the pride in Scotland was on intellectual prowess, accomplishment and that sort of thing, including the overlay, then, of religion and duty to others.

Dave Pritchard makes an important distinction here of the outward, visible, and the inward, invisible attributes of Scottishness:

> **IMH** And so as a boy you were introduced in a sense to the more outward, visible marks of this Scottish...
>
> **DP** I would like to think it was of an inward and spiritual grace but...!
>
> **IMH** Inward spiritual, which sought exterior expression!
>
> **DP** Right, and a willingness to do so and I think American, American culture was very much affected. Keep in mind, in World War I the boys were over here so briefly and it was over in a flash and they

all immediately came home. World War II, of course, was more extensive, number one, many American boys spent much more time staying in the British Isles prior to the whole D-Day thing and then of course the Cold War broke out and that led to American army spending far longer in Europe than anyone ever anticipated and America began to be less jingoistic and began to look outward more and that's when I think a lot of Americans, Scottish or otherwise, began to say: 'Where am I from?', but the Scottish, no question, became a very big thing.

IMH Right, just to pursue that a little bit further, do you attribute any particular influences at large which might be accelerating this process of seeking other elements to identity, if I may put it, to the all-American identity?

DP Well I think there is a seeking, there is a consciousness that there have been some 'traditional American values'; we're suffering I think some of the same problems that probably Scotland itself is suffering from today, but with a culturally diverse society and whole new threads coming in, the classic being that the fastest growing religion in America today is Islam, largely because of the Black community, but we do have a tremendous influx of people from Middle Eastern countries. But I think that what it is, is that somewhere people feel things have become disjointed and values lost, and so there is a seeking back for those traditional values; the politicians occasionally try to use it - witness the Republican effort to seek out family values -we see a lot of it coming in in the American fundamentalist religious movement, but I think that a lot of people as they think, are trying to think back to where did those values come from originally, and that there is developing a sense that an awful lot of that did come from Scotland, from clans.

IMH And is it also, d'you think, because of the very nature of the way we live today, spread out, and the break-down of relatively stable communities, families close together?

DP It certainly has been destructive to the sense of family and it makes it more difficult for family to hold together and a need to look for reasons to hold together.

I think this passage elaborates on some of the reasons for the increase in the 'roots' search; it suggests, in particular, the significant affect the participation of the United States in the European theatre of World

War II may have had in re-awakening this aspect of people's identity which perhaps hitherto had lain relatively dormant during the process of settlement and absorption into the American ethos. This perhaps applies more particularly to those whose roots were British. David Pritchard's family, with its closely linked groups of relatives in adjacent counties in the mid-West combined with a strong inherited Scottish approach to work, education and religion – common to many other North European peoples, but in this instance specifically identified as Scottish – has enabled him seamlessly to pick up the tangible Scottish tartan symbols which his father first came across during his post-war travels. This contrasts with Charles Edward's experience, where he found himself drawn to this part of his family's past. Having sensed it was there, he then gradually sought out the symbols to express it; once again the chance to adopt the kilt as formal wear seems to have been the way David Pritchard chose, although he was introduced to the kilt at an earlier age:

IMH Then if we can go back again to another element which we've already talked about, the actual outward demonstration of this Scottish connection, perhaps you could just tell me a little bit about how you use that, how you see it, and I'm talking about the occasions when you might decide it's appropriate to wear a kilt, for example?

DP I think this is generally true of America; when I was a kid growing up, if I wore that kilt - by fourteen, if I wore that kilt it was an exception rather than a rule and there weren't many others doing it. I think increasingly across America, particularly on formal occasions, the idea of someone wearing their kilt as formal wear has simply become something of an accepted pattern; for instance my wife and I go every year over to the Harvard court facility, the New York Yacht Club, to celebrate New Year's; this last year there were about ten of us. Now mind you, this is a limited size party - I think it's limited to something like eighty couples - and ten of the men had kilts on; if there's eighty couples, that's one out of eight and that's just about the percentage who are descended from Scots. The interesting thing is we are the only group who stand apart as a group and of course invariably

people say: 'Oh, we have to get you all together, we have to get pictures of you all together', so in that sense it's great fun, but where once one might have felt a little foolish appearing at a party that way, today it's a matter of pride.

IMH What do you attribute that to?

DP Oh I think - I wish I could attribute something big to it but - I think more than anything it's - maybe when I was a fourteen year old I showed up and a couple of other kids went home and said: 'Dad, why can't I do that,?' - us kids have grown up to be the old boys now, and we're doing it, we're having a whole lot of fun doing it. I don't think you can attribute anything in particular other than there is more and more a willingness within America to focus less on being American and say: 'Let's have those ethnic roots a little bit.'

IMH So this is perhaps part of the wider ease with which you can appear at your functions because there is more emphasis on the constituent elements?

DP There still are situations where there will be a party which will require some kind of formal wear, kind of business occasion, and my wife and I will be going; she's proud of her own Scottish heritage, but I'll say: 'I think I'll wear my kilt' and she'll say: 'No, come on', not wanting to stick out from the crowd if you will. At the same time, this last year - well, I'll give you an example living on Martha's Vineyard, occasionally there will be a wedding or a funeral or something like that there really isn't a good piper on the Island, but there are several of them over on Cape Cod, and I will call up one of my friends who's a piper -some of them will make an inquiry: 'Can you get a piper for the
funeral? and the piper will come over on the boat but he'll change after he gets over, into a kilt. I was asked by the Highland Light Society of Cape Cod to give the address to celebrate Tartan Day and obviously it required that I appear in kilt and I had no hesitancy about putting on my kilt at home, wearing it across on the boat, and the funny thing is, as you do it and rather than people reacting with: 'Look at that silly man', instead it's that they come up and they speak to you about it. They immediately proceed to then tell you about their Scottish roots, they invariably want to know what tartan it is, but they then - and it's almost like the ship's doctor who has to listen about every appendectomy for five days on the way over - but actually I don't feel that way about it and it becomes something of a shared experience then, because we talk about how our ancestors came over and it can be anything from 1870's -1880's Glasgow kind of thing to

before the Revolution; it's a wonderful experience.

IMH So in a sense the visible expression enhances the totality of the identity?

DP: Oh absolutely, I mean it is...it is something for an American who didn't grow up with any degree of it to, if you will, overcome; but once someone has said: 'OK, I'm going to accept this with a degree of pride', he finds it constantly re-inforced because he gets the feeling of the pride others feel within that thing.

IMH You may not have had it expressed to you, but how do your children view this?

DP It's interesting, it's made all the more interesting by the fact that my oldest son is married to a young lady who is half-Scottish, half-Scottish in the sense that her father was English and her mother was Scottish. The kids look at dear old dad at this point in a kilt as though he's gone a bit over the top. I think the time will come when, as they become more secure within who they themselves are - part of it I think is just something their father's penchant for, the dramatic, maybe that's why I'm a documentary film producer - I find some fascination in that kind of thing; they both wear trews.

'Let's have those ethnic roots a bit', as Pritchard puts it; the willingness to demonstrate visibly the Scottish roots. In so far as his sons are concerned, though, he touches on one of the elements I am attempting to examine – the age at which men feel confident in donning a kilt. His sons wear trews; Mac Grady's sons initially opted for trews and tartan jackets; youngsters who have been brought up in the environment of Highland games have no difficulty at all, such as young Ian, the son of Charles Edward's friend. We shall be able to delve a little deeper into this aspect in the following section, where most of my informants are young men. Much seems to depend on the family environment and the extent to which people are involved in the Scottish American community; I had an opportunity to talk informally to Bob McWilliam's son in Sarasota, a young man of nineteen or twenty. He wore a kilt, and had done so comfortably for as long as he could remember – but then his father had been

intimately involved in the affairs of the clan societies and Highland games for the past twenty years. Pritchard speculates that gradually his sons will find it increasingly attractive to place more emphasis on the Scottish part of their American identity; for the moment, with young families, living at considerable distances from each other, the need to do so does not appear to exist, there are other priorities. But when it comes to influence, there is no doubt that that of the grandparent can be significant, as it may well be in the Pritchard case; in answer to a question about his children's feelings of Scottishness, he commented:

> **DP** They do probably, probably at this stage, to a lesser extent and I think to some degree because they were removed, because we moved East, from that kind of family experience - you know the extended family that I had growing up - it is part of that tragic American loss. As well I look at the one who is married to the girl who is half-Scottish, she is not un-typical, in fact she was just recently naturalised, but she kept her British citizenship until our grandson was born...but she is not untypical of the second generation; she was born in England, but she came so young that she really is like second generation where she has worked very hard to be American. It is typically, within the American culture, the third generation which says: 'Wait a minute, let me re-capture'. It may well be that my kilt will go to my grandson when he gets big enough to wear it, because I strongly suspect he will. Let me say this, I'm going to do everything I can to imbue him with that.

The piper from Cape Cod, to whom David Pritchard makes reference, might well fall into the same category as the members of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, to whom Bill Johnson referred. They are more likely to wear the kilt once at the place they are required to wear it, rather than wear it as a matter of pride, or as a matter of course, on the way there, but then I suspect this must be entirely a personal decision based on individual preference.

In my mind, I suppose I have quantified both Charles Edwards and David Pritchard as, in my own terms, 'traditional kilt-wearing' Scottish Americans; I think this is because they both have a sense of history which goes beyond that purveyed by the clan pages on the web or in the potted tartan guides; individually their stories are very different, but they both appear to consider authenticity to be important and both seem to cherish traditional values and eschew too romanticised a version of their Scottish heritage, in sharp contrast, perhaps, to the approach of the 'new (kilt-wearing)' Scottish American as represented by Mac Grady. I am conscious of the fact that I am using these terms in a similar way to those I have applied to Scottish kilt wearers, but I believe the comparison is a fair one. The 'new' kilt wearer is not really bothered about the finer points of the Highland Line, or, in many cases, the precise details attached to mode of dress or type of tartan, but is generally anxious to wear the kilt 'with pride' and recognises it very much as a symbol of his national identity. The 'new' Scottish American, likewise, is not in the least bothered by traditional conventions attached to tartan and mode of dress, but also wears the kilt with just as much pride and as an expression of identity. Similar comparisons can be made on the 'traditional' side too. To illustrate this difference, and bearing in mind the remarks Mac Grady made about his own 'Grady of Highlands' tartan, my discussion with David Pritchard on the subject makes the point, with his instinctive reluctance to parade his 'Pritchard tartan' on occasions when its 'legitimacy' might be questioned:

> **IMH** There's only one other area I'd like to pursue a little, Dave, and that's on the actual 'what you feel' about legitimacy in terms of tartan and all that sort of thing; whether it's important in your perception that, for example in your case the Forsyth tartan is the one you will always wear and you feel a certain proprietary...have a certain proprietary attitude towards that and so that if you come across somebody

else wearing the Forsyth tartan, what would be your reaction, if turns out in fact that they're Mr and Mrs Schmidt who have actually no Forsyth connection?

DP Well the funny thing is at that point I would say: 'Good for them' and try to adopt them into the clan. I would try to tell them the history of that, and tell them the true history of tartan and I mean we all know that the Forsyth tartan was not given the pattern with other in 1337, the whole thing is a 19th century invention, but I would explain to them with a whole bit of pride who the Forsyths were, and who they were before that time of the formalisation of tartan, but to relate a story ...about 1967 my father was reading in the *Cincinnati Inquirer* about a woman in...Dunkeld; her name was Mabel Pritchard, she had married a Welsh bank manager, she was a weaver by avocation and it later became her vocation after his premature death, and it bothered him that he didn't have a proper tartan or kilt to wear and so she designed a Pritchard tartan. Well, my dad was utterly fascinated with that, and so he wrote off to Mrs. Pritchard, they later became - my parents and Mrs. Pritchard - good friends, Mrs. Pritchard was older. She gave them a piece of the original fabric she hand wove; my wife and I still have a napkin of this Pritchard tartan in our library along with other napkins she wove for my father-in-law in Hamilton tartan, before my parents died. I knew that she would be dead a few years ago when I was coming over here and I thought wouldn't it be fun to have some of that woven, so it doesn't have to be the Forsyth tartan, and I wrote off to the heirs and successors of the industry known as Calacottar chaircrafts...I get a letter back from a researcher from the Tartan Society,[113] Keith Lumsden... he looked at the tartan and he became very disturbed because it's very close to the Dress Stewart and after all, that is a Royal tartan. I with some delight as an American I said: 'Well, you have to understand we Americans have a little bit more humour about that sort of thing'... 'I can't register that tartan because...' He referred me to a weaver in Selkirk, a fellow by the name of Keith Dalgleish, he runs a mill I gather was owned by his father before him; he's the guy behind the whole reproductions tartan thing - he took a look at this piece of fabric and said: 'I don't have any problem at all with that' he said the colours were so substantially different. He said: 'Yes in pattern there are some similarities, but no one is going to mistake them.' At which, as far as I'm concerned says enough for the Tartan Society and he wove a whole bole of it. Those are the trews my boys are wearing and in fact on formal occasions - because it's a dress tartan with a lot of white in it - that typically is what I wear. I wear a Forsyth tartan in everyday context; unless I'm going to some kind of

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[113] Scottish Tartans Society

> very Scottish affair, where the question of 'What tartan are you wearing?' is the case, then I will go back to the Forsyth, even on a dress occasion, because again you come back to this business of legitimacy and to wear the other requires an explanation.

In fact this story confers as much 'legitimacy' on the Pritchard tartan as that enjoyed by many of our more recognisable ones. I suggested that his children would probably have no problem at all with the Pritchard tartan; for them, the tradition will have become firmly established and being one generation removed from the commission to Mr. Dalgleish, they may not sense the need to explain its origin.[114]

I believe that the attitudes expressed by these two informants, taken together with the discussion I had with Mac Grady, analysed in the previous chapter, have provided a framework of considered opinions against which to measure the opinions expressed by a number of informants in the next section; these are opinions which were offered with no prior discussion or conversation, and which were thus instant reactions to my questioning.

B. Informants at the Pleasanton Games

During the course of the two days over which these games were held, I selected six informants to interview; of these, the first was the only one which was not completely random, since I had already determined to locate the Clan Home tent, armed with information from Mac Grady. I was particularly anxious to speak to the representative of the clan on this occasion, as I knew he was a very recent recruit to the membership of Mac Grady's society, having joined, via the web, on receiving confirmation from Grady that his name was definitely linked

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[114] This would accelerate the 'three generation' rule whereby a tradition is established, according to Shils (1981:15).

to the Homes. I did not wish to challenge this assumption in any way, but in my own mind it was a classic case of using a local place name associated with a Home property,[115] and thus deemed a sept, to make the link. Informal conversations with Mac Grady had already revealed his own relaxed attitude to the accuracy of any such connections; indeed he chided me for being too much of a stickler on these sort of points, suggesting I should accept the inclusion of these somewhat bogus septs in the 'spirit of clanship', or words to that effect. Knowing how he had constructed his own particular Scottish persona, it was not a point to pursue too vigorously. In a case such as this, where one has a personal interest in the accuracy of such things, it is difficult to be completely objective and also to pursue what might be legitimate questioning if damage to relationships were to be the eventual outcome; I have to plead to not being a dispassionate observer in this case, although I hoped that the questions I put to Gene Paxton did not betray any scepticism on my part. Gene is quite a large man, and was wearing a T-shirt and trousers, unlike just about every other clan society representative manning a tent. It was his first venture into the business of representing the society at a games, and he had done his best to arrange the folders of information about the Homes and display the tartan banner and name, but in the absence of any particular knowledge of the Homes and their history or of the Borders, the main contribution he brought was his own personal enthusiasm. I believe the following excerpt of our discussion gives the flavour of his own approach to Scottish identity and what it means for him:

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[115] In this case, Paxton House, Berwickshire, which was built by Patrick Home of Billie in 1758 on land owned by the Homes since the Reformation

Gene Paxton **SSS:SA1999.37**



(20) Gene Paxton manning the Clan Home tent at Pleasanton

IMH ...now we're sitting here at the games in the Clan Home tent and we have various descriptive literature on Clan Home and the tartan at the back of it and you are presiding over this tent - I wonder if you could tell me how you come to be sitting where you are?

GP Well, I've always been interested in Scottish history, mostly because somewhere along the lines my father said we're Scottish, and that's always caught my attention and I've never been able to find anything on my family name until recently. So, anyway, I joined many different organisations to do research and finally I stumbled across this clan, clan Home, on the web, and here I am now.

IMH The fact that you relied on the web to make the link with...linking your name which is perhaps associated with one of the great Home properties in the Borders is a very interesting comment on how information is now passing about matters Scottish. Before that, however, what was it that attracted you principally - I'm thinking in particular in terms of your first remark, in which you indicated you had always been interested in things Scottish - could you go into that in a little more detail?

GP I think most of that has to do with, um, I was trying to find the identity of my name and, er, just where we fit in, where we came from, and, um, that's mostly it. I wanted to know the roots of my family and do some genealogy.

IMH When you started this search, did you have any information at all about when your family came to America or its origins?

GP I had nothing; my dad passed away a few years back, but he's always heard we were Irish and there was a big argument in the family that some would say we were Irish and some would say we're Scottish and they're from the hills in Missouri, so not a lot of research is available there, or literature.

IMH So, going on from there, why did you opt for the Scottish option ?

GP Well, um to be honest I'm half Filipino, so I've always heard of my mother's side of the family; and I just...they're really curious in finding out what my dad's side is, because once again there was no information and as far as they know, um, in the hills - the Ozarks - a lot of them, they don't seem to care where they came from.

IMH OK, so given that you wanted to link into the Scottish element, could I ask you, what was it that particularly appealed about the Scottish identity that made it... made you decide to examine it further?

GP Well, um, I would say, I really like - of course everyone says the kilt and all that - but I would think more of the feudal system of um, the different castles and er families, that's mostly what I'm trying to think of.

IMH So it's more the whole construction of traditional Scottish society, would you say that was one of the main appeals?

GP Yes, I really like the traditional Scottish society more than...I've been there to Scotland a few years back, and I still love it, uh, but I like more the traditional music, that really grabs me,

IMH You mentioned in passing the business of kilts and tartan, would you like to elaborate on that, how that aspect appeals to you?

GP Um, it's kinda hard to say, er, I like the idea of being able to identify the family with the different tartans, because I've always pretty much liked the colours and things like that; I would say over here

there's not really much identity for Americans; you know, they just go through their daily lives not really knowing what's going on. I don't know if I'm gettin' myself across here, a...ha...

IMH ...you've mentioned an absolute core element in this whole business of identity; would you like to just perhaps think aloud about what has happened to American identity to really develop this need for, if you like, additional identities?

GP Yeah, well, first off our country is only 200 years old, so we don't really have a past; you know people talk about the native American or Red Indian, OK they were here first but, er, the settlers since then, you know, we don't really have a lot of - I don't know how to say it -

IMH Perhaps it's more particular ethnic lines...?

GP Yes, so you know, we look to our forefathers to try and follow what they have, like so we're only 200 years old, we don't have a real past.

IMH Do you think that the, the all-American identity is changing in the sense that now more and more different strands of American folk are looking for this additional identity and this encourages the whole process to develop perhaps faster than it might otherwise have done?

GP I'm not sure I understand the question...

IMH Well like if you start with the American Indian and then developing the American African identity, and then the Hispanic American and Chinese American, this is now beginning to put pressure on those perhaps, also, who can link into European identity; what I'm interested in, is why amongst those who can link into the European identity, why they particularly favour the Scottish one if they can find the link?

GP Well, er, I think the thing is, um, with so many different cultures coming in, holding on to their own identity, such as the Indians from India, or there's a lot of Vietnamese coming over; such as Americans who have particularly Scottish backgrounds, you know, they want to show the pride of their background. There's a lot of supermarkets coming up with just Vietnamese or Chinese only and, or the Hispanic society from Mexico and everything written in Mexican, um, I think there is a loss of identity there; we want to fit in somewhere ahh..

IMH So this all adds to the adds to the desire to link in and d'you think something like these games is really helpful in that process?

GP Oh, definitely, um, not only does it have us to, how do I put it, link us to Scotland; it also shows other cultures just what our background is; you know there's been number of small festivals that have a lot of Scottish there, you know, and of course there's a lot of traditional Latinos there and we all got together and just did different shows and they appreciated it. It was very good. They have a chance to see what we're about and we see what they're about.

IMH Yes, that's interesting too. Do you think the fact that...we have this element of tartan makes it much easier for Scottish Americans to participate, 'cos visually there's an expression of it?

GP Um, yes and no. Myself, I would like to get a tartan but ...you know, once again the cost, so I don't feel uncomfortable not wearing one, but you know it would be nice to have one.

IMH Yes, I'm thinking particularly also of the fact that... you can show your identity...by wearing a kilt if eventually you get one, or on occasions like this by...?

GP Or even just a clan badge or anything.'

I don't think there is such a person as a typical Scottish American, but if one were looking for a representative of one of the more common categories of 'new' Scottish American, then one would really have to look no further than Gene Paxton. His initial interest in genealogy and his own origins, together with the added impetus of his mother's known Filipino family background, appear to combine in a desire for a European qualification of his identity. The connection with Scotland, initially made through the web – but developed through an interest in traditional societies, enabled Gene Paxton to establish what in his terms was a genuine Scottish identity. For him, the pressure and presence of other ethnicities in American society is very real, and makes itself apparent even on the shopping trip to the supermarkets. This, coupled with the perceived lack of history which a 200 year old

society has to accommodate, contributes an important dimension to the need for an expansion of a straight-forward American identity. On the other hand, the visible expression of the new-found Scottish element appears not to be very important; whilst a kilt would be desirable (and he had on display one in the Black Watch tartan which he used to wear in re-enactments, but has since outgrown), it is by no means essential and the most modest symbol in the form of a clan badge suffices. Tartan was a useful extra, but the romance of the Scottish clans perhaps has a greater role to play in the minds of those such as Gene Paxton. I was also interested in the emphasis he gave to the point that Scottish gatherings played a part in establishing the fact of Scottish identity in the minds of other communities.

R. Jenkins, in examining the anthropologist's view of the 'sociology of culture', proposes that 'ethnicity as a social identity is collective and individual, externalised in social interaction and internalised in personal self-identification' (1997:13). I think this has already been demonstrated very clearly in the excerpts so far of informants' views on identity in relation to America and Scotland. It also raises the wider question of the place collectivity plays in the individual construction of identity. As individuals we often appear to be driven towards identification with collectivities of various kinds to satisfy an inner need to belong, or feel part of. These collectivities, when expressed as *ethnies*, are culturally distinctive and result in ethnicity having 'something to do with the classification of people and group relationships' (Eriksen, 1993:4). By keying in to place of origin, particularly if that means the ability to access a whole raft of cultural meanings, as in the case of Scotland, for example, the individual is fulfilling this collective need in great measure. Anthony Cohen has observed that 'locality is anathema to the logic of the modern political economy, and perhaps for precisely that reason, is increasingly vocal in almost all spheres of contemporary life' (1982:7). However, I will

leave a question in the air as to whether adopting a hyphenated identity of the type we have been considering fully answers the individual's need in terms of responding to the pressures of the modern age in the context of contemporary America. Eriksen points out that Glazer and Moynihan argued in 1963 in B*eyond the Melting-Pot* that the American melting-pot never actually occurred and that rather than eradicating ethnic differences, modern American society has actually created a new form of self-awareness in people, which is expressed in a concern about roots and origins (1993:8). He also ascribes the extensive academic interest in ethnicity to the fact that it is now impossible to ignore on account of the visibility of this phenomena. One aspect of this visibility, in Scottish terms, lies behind the basic question I am seeking to answer as to whether people choose to pursue the Scottish identity because of its visible symbols, or whether these symbols are merely a bonus when it come to expressing that identity.

> Identity is a construct and a creation from available social roles and material...and the problem of identity consists in how we constitute, perceive, interpret, and present ourself to ourselves and others. (Kellner, 1992:143)

Scotland and its associated identities, with its cultural heritage and, if desired, high visibility, presents a readily accessible model encompassing a range of ideas which allow the individual to exercise extensive choice which my informant demonstrates. However the initial key may sometimes be tantalisingly beyond the reach of some of those who would have it. So the probability is, that in this construction of identity, we will call on a palette of mixed colours – some to give depth and background to our work, others to provide the highlights and individual features; the palette we choose to work from will offer a range of possibilities and if we are attempting to create something which differs substantially from the present picture, we

may allow ourselves the luxury of fairly colourful alternatives. Nostalgia for the past will be a component, as will 'the family romance in which a make believe ancestry offers a second identity, a glamorous alternative to the present' (Samuel & Thompson:1990:8). We may choose to build in an element of tradition which can be illustrated by symbols, and in the case of a Scottish identity, the palette offers multiple choices. In *The Myths We Live By* Samuel and Thompson comment that:

> It is not easy for historians trained in a rationalistic tradition of cause and effect to evaluate the power of symbols, the force of illusion, yet it is none the less real for all that...We need as historians to consider myth and memory not only as special clues to the past but equally as windows on the making and remaking of individual and collective consciousness, in which both fact and fantasy, past and present, each has its part. (1990:19-21)

I find this comment from historians very interesting because it appears to acknowledge the highly complex processes engaged in the construction and expression of identity and ethnicity, evaluations which are certainly also familiar to ethnologists.

Ed Owen **SSS:SA1999.37**

My second Pleasanton informant could not have been more different, in terms of background; I selected him from amongst those in the South Bay Scottish Society tent since he seemed to be taking a prominent part in the proceedings and thus, I imagined, would probably be a third or fourth generation American at least. How wrong I was, for at the outset of our conversation it transpired that Ed Owen's mother had arrived with her mother from Glasgow in the 1920's, so that on his mother's side he was first generation American.

The influence of any other European or British connection was limited to the Welsh origin of his paternal name, about which he knew nothing. Although he was not conscious of his Scottish roots in his childhood, his upbringing did contain some Scottish influence, such as foods, but he was not really aware that these were traditional; it was only later that he seems to have gradually become aware of the Scottish connection:



(21) Ed Owen, president of the South Bay Scottish Society

EO '...that and so as I sort of got older and I started to look more into my genealogy and history, then, then I found aspects that were much more the tradition, so I started to look a little more at the Scottish history and get involved in genealogy, so that's what sort of puts me here.

IMH That's interesting and it implies that your paternal side was not so strong; in addition to

the influence from your mother and her parents, d'you think there are any other aspects of the Scottish identity that re-inforce its appeal?

EO Well, you know, it's hard to define, it's...part of it is very visceral, I mean it sort of is...this is where you fit, a little bit. I also think in America, ...because the European roots of America are so British, so Scottish, so Welsh, so English and for a long period of time this is a very Caucasian country that there had, there's sort of been this traditional pride in non-white culture, non-British culture, you know those kind of things, I think over the past few years, those who come from British roots and others have worked more at ...establishing those roots and because you're white, or because you're European, it doesn't mean it's all the same, so I think that people look at our cultural experience more.

IMH So would it be fair to say that, as other ethnic groups have begun to major on expressing their identity as an aspect of the American identity, this has put a sort of pressure on European origined Americans to do... likewise?

EO I don't think it's put a pressure on, I think it's given permission to is probably more accurate.

History and genealogy are presented as the superficial path to what Ed Owen terms as a 'visceral' element of identity, and he then goes on to make reference to the oft-repeated notion that the Caucasian Americans, with their natural dominance, probably did not feel the need to express their ethnic identity in the same way as those Americans from other ethnic origins; the fact that they now feel free to do so, or to use his phrase 'have been given permission' to do so arises from the need for deeper cultural roots as much as anything else. A hint here of the quest for heritage, for traditional culture from the land of origin which is linked to increased mobility, although Owen's priorities appeared to be anchored very much in the latter; his involvement in the South Bay Scottish Society reflected this too:

EO ... I think that, you know when I

> hang...with other people who come from a Scottish/British background, then your food choices, your experience, they all sort of make more sense and there is that sort of commonality that you find, yeah.
>
> **IMH** Can we now just move on to a slightly different aspect, the visibility, or relatively high visibility of Scottish identity, particularly where we're sitting here in the Pleasanton Games. D'you think this has anything to do with the appeal, both generally and to you in particular?
>
> **EO** Um, I like the games. There is an appeal to the games, but I do a lot of other things behind the games; I belong to a Gaelic study group; I take Scottish fiddle lessons; so there are other things, so I live a lot more to it besides that, yeah.

And from a later excerpt:

> **IMH** ...obviously you are involved in the South bay Scottish Society - could you just tell me a little about that and what that involves?
>
> **EO** Well, South Bay Scottish Society is an organisation that's basic purpose is to perpetuate Scottish culture, education in this area and there's not a requirement for somebody to be born Scot. And so what we do is we go to the different games, different activities and we help people maybe identify their tartan or provide a little bit of education. And then we sponsor things like waulkings and ceilidhs and we do a Robbie Burns Night, and so we do some of those kinds of things, yeah.

During our conversation I was anxious to establish how important tartan was to Ed Owen; in the course of doing so I happened to chance on a very forthright view of the role and significance of tartan and the care taken on his part to seek out a 'legitimate' solution illustrates the salient point that, even if it does not have a high priority in the wearer's expression of his identity, once the decision is made to don it, then it is important to follow the 'correct' course. This legacy of the Victorian age, which I have already referred to in chapter 3, and the snobbery attached to it – mirrored in the feelings expressed by Martin Robb when wearing a kilt of his own design tartan (p.37), is a

powerful force and reaches deep into the psyche of all kilt wearers, whether they be Scots or Scottish Americans. Nevertheless, we are continually confronted with a paradox here, for this very ingrained notion encourages many to attempt a break-out from the confines of traditional practice whilst at the same time adhering as much as possible to the self-same traditions; thus the tradition itself is constantly evolving and being renewed, so that at any one point in time it is only possible to say, perhaps, that the traditional way is the way adopted by the last wearer but one. In this instance, the tradition of the District tartans is, relatively speaking an old tradition, and yet it has always been deemed inferior to that of the clan tartans, being more associated with the Lowlands than the Highlands;[116] however it is now taking on a life of its own, as Bob McWilliam from COSCA was quick to point out. In the final analysis, Ed Owen feels he has every right to do as he thinks fit because of the legitimacy his first generation Scottish American status gives him:

> **IMH** So in your case, it isn't the instant appeal of a clan tartan that, if you like, comes to the fore as it is often in the case of people who have perhaps less connection and less reason?
>
> **EO** No, and actually, um, I chose a district tartan; my grandmother was a Cameron and my grandfather was a Millichan. So the whole question came up of what tartan do you choose and what clan; I chose a district tartan partially because it was from the area that my grandfather Millichan is supposedly from, which is Dumfries, in Nithsdale, Nithsdale district. I chose that partially because I'm Scottish American, this is my sort of rationale behind it, because there sort of is the requirement of the tartan. Well, I didn't come in for the tartan, I really came in for a lot of other issues, so I tried to...I didn't belong to a clan, Millichan which was a district, so I sort of put those things together and said

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[116] Originally tartans were thought to have been associated with local districts rather than with clans or families and were generally woven in the home; possibly before, but certainly after the repeal of the Act proscribing the wearing of tartan in 1746, weavers such as Wilsons of Bannockburn were producing district tartans. See *District Tartans* (Teall and Smith, 1992) *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Martin Martin, 1703) *Tartan* (Hugh Cheape, 1995) *Tartan, The Highland textile* (Scarlett, 1990) among others, for detailed discussion.

OK I fit in this sort of Scottish American way, if you will.

IMH So it's really following a path which lets you enjoy your positioning quite comfortably and confidently, that's the essence, and in fact you pull out the various elements that seem to fit and confirm that?

EO Right, and so that I feel like it's more sort of more legitimate, if you will, instead of well, instead of the tartan making you. It's hard to articulate that, but it isn't like I wanted to be a wannabee or something like that; I wanted to try and sort out what was the most legitimate.

And later on in the conversation:

IMH So would you say then, that with a whole range of interests in Scottish culture, history and genealogy, the tartan is just a re-inforcing element; it isn't essential or fundamental in so far as you're concerned?

EO No, I mean I think it's a point of snobbery at times; I think that, you know people say to me: 'Well you wear a district tartan'. It's like not quite as good as wearing another...which is nonsense to me. So I have a little bit of problem with that sort of snobbish piece, because, like I said, I'm first generation, I'm as legitimate as...you know, but I get a smile on my face over it.

IMH But you have the confidence to, to do it, whereas many wouldn't !

EO Yes, but it doesn't make me any more or less, like I said, I intentionally chose this 'cos I felt it was the most legitimate integration.

What particularly struck me about the president of the South Bay Scottish Society was the care with which he selected the elements to express his own particular Scottish identity and the confidence that he instinctively displayed through knowing where in Scotland his immediate family roots lay, inspite of earlier efforts to connect him with Wales; like many other informants, Ed Owen seems to have become really interested in detailed research with the onset of middle

age:

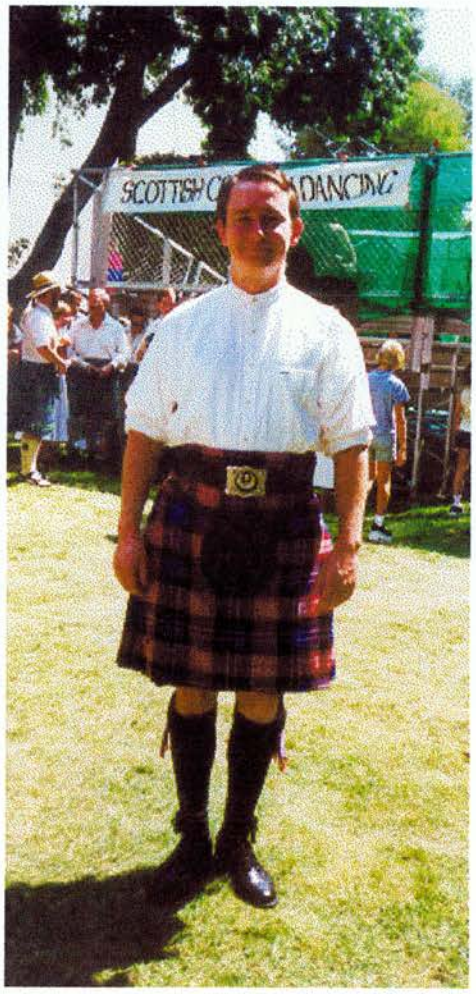
> **EO** I was going to school with a woman from Scotland and you know, you sort of talk about the foods that you eat and those kinds of things and she says: 'Oh, you're much more Scottish than you know...because you just didn't put that name on it, it was like how I was raised by my mother and my grandmother.
>
> **IMH** You hadn't actually identified with being Scottish ...
>
> **EO** Right, that's right, it was how I was raised, dominantly by my...actually the funny thing was my, it was sort of everybody to make sure that I knew that my last name was Welsh, of Owen, but I knew even less about that, I mean even though my last name is Welsh, I know very, very little about sort of those roots, because I don't, I don't...it's a sort of great experience...I don't have that visceral connection, I have much more of the Scottish, so I say I'm Welsh by name, but Scot by blood.
>
> **IMH** Do you think that, also, it's not until you're a certain age that you become interested in this whole business of roots and culture, when did you first...?
>
> **EO** Well actually it's been a gradual, you know it really has been a gradual process, but I think it's probably been - I'm fifty now - probably started more so in the last ten years and then, and now recently I continue to get more serious about the genealogy issues...because what I've also found out is, in tracking those down, how you're raised makes more sense.

I first identified my next informant as a possible target as he was paying great attention to a stand in one of the merchandising halls, on which were displayed a large selection of clan crest badges, clan ties, *sgian dubhs*[117] and similar goods; he was with his wife and appeared to be of the younger generation and was very ready to answer my questions.

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[117] Small ornamented sheathed knife traditionally worn in the stocking with Highland dress.

Ian Kirk **SSS:SA1999.37**



(22) Ian Kirk

IMH Ian Kirk, hi there, and where d'you come from?

IK Alameda, California.

IMH And can I ask how old you are?

IK Twenty seven.

IMH Can you tell me, Ian, I see you're wearing a kilt and it looks grand, can you tell me how you come to be...doing that?

IK Well when I was young one of the greatest joys I had at church was, we had a Founders Day at our church and ...on that day, we were piped into church by a bagpipe and the full band and it just kind of started off there. My family's always kind of been interested, we've always kind of kept track of our history and for me, I guess, it ...just took a little more hold of me, at least the Scottish aspect of it, took a little more hold of me than it did on other members of my family, and I just kinda fell into it and, then as I started Scottish Country Dancing, it's become even more a part of my life.

IMH Can I ask, did you have specific family connections before, so you could follow that through?

IK ...I'm only able to trace back the Kirk name... and even that is questionable in some places, so... there really hasn't been much of a history to trace back, no real roots, the last known Scottish ancestor was from mid 1700's.

IMH So that was a family tradition that one of your forebears came over, and there wasn't any specific Scottish element in your upbringing, then?

IK No, no.

IMH So...apart from the pipe band and so forth, or let's say because of the pipe band, because that really kicked the whole thing into play...?

IK Right and, as my grandparents aged, they started giving away things ...and I was also given what was supposedly the Kirk crest when I was in High School ...and put it on my wall, which of course still always pulls at you a little bit.

IMH ...I see you're wearing a kilt; which tartan is it?

IK United States St Andrews.

IMH United States St Andrews, a great tartan, and that presumably encompasses both identities for you?

IK That's exactly it, and since as far as I can tell the Kirks really aren't a clan, at least as far as we can tell, at least not officially, was the only tartan with...adequately represent who I was.

I believe this extract from the earlier part of my interview with Ian

Kirk conveys yet another dimension of the subject under discussion; the power of the visual symbol of a crest theoretically providing a link with the old country and the deep impression left by the pipe band, leading eventually to an interest in Scottish country dancing, which in turn has evoked an interest in family roots – in this case, a quest that is unlikely to be very rewarding – and the eventual expression of that part of his identity to which he feels most strongly drawn through wearing a kilt in a tartan combining the two fundamental elements of that identity. The 'power of attraction' of a pipe band, and the way it can stir people's deeper emotions, calling forth a complex imagery connected with Scotland in general and the Highlands in particular would merit separate study. As with the other informants whose views we have considered thus far, Ian Kirk has gone very carefully about the construction of his own particular Scottish American identity and I was anxious to explore the impact that tartan had had on him. This led directly to a reference to a theme which by now will have become a familiar one to readers of this work, namely the problems posed by 'melting pot' America when it comes to identifying a culture one can call ones own:

> **IMH** ...Do you think that when the initial attraction to the pipe band music started...the fact that inevitably tartan is part of that was one of the elements in the attraction of the Scottish identity?
>
> **IK** Yeah, just because it's, specially coming from a culture that, the American culture where it's a melting pot, where it's especially being Caucasian, you get a mixed blood and there's no, there really is in the United States no - except for and I think it's becoming more prevalent here - is there is no tracing of it, no, no real recognising of one's ancestral roots; for me it's even a more, a more outward sign of my roots.
>
> **IMH** D'you think this is because...the various ethnic streams are tending to place more emphasis on ...hyphenating their identity, that the Caucasian elements are now looking to latch into their origins more closely?
>
> **IK** I think it has a lot to do with it,

> just because we have done so much to emphasise other ethnicities, cultural identities, I think a lot of Caucasians are looking back...at themselves realising that they had a history too, and they don't really realise what it was and I think a lot of them are attracted to that...in fact that they have longer roots than they thought they did.
>
> **IMH** You can visibly display the Scottish identity; d'you think this is one of its great attractions?
>
> **IK** I think it's one of its great attractions; I also think that it's...there's a great , rightly or wrongly, a great romance, romantic notion to go along with it that is greatly attractive to many people.

So for Ian Kirk, tartan unequivocally is an 'outward sign of my roots' and furthermore it conjures up a notion of romance. Exploring this last theme further, I came across the first reference by one of my informants to the two recent films which so often occur in conversations with Americans in relation to Scotland; *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy.*

> **IMH** Would you like to recall any particular elements in that notion that strike you?
>
> **IK** Well I think I can just look back, you can look at the popularity of movies such as '*Braveheart*' or '*Rob Roy*' and both the popularity and...their length, and they're still ...very popular movies...a lot of people went to see them. I can make jokes from one of those movies and people who have absolutely no other experience with me will know the joke, because of seeing the movie.

Any discussion of Scottish American identity today which did not make a reference to either one or both of these films would be incomplete; their influence has been enormous. I do not propose to analyse this influence in any detail here, indeed the subject merits a thesis of its own; I would only observe that they have become extremely popular viewing in the Scottish American community and are readily available on video, being extensively advertised in the papers and periodicals serving this community. Their main impact

has, I think, been twofold; firstly to generate a great interest in Scotland's Wars of Independence and Wallaces's heroic struggle against the English [118]and, to slightly lesser extent, in the conflicts between the Highland culture embodied in Rob Roy and the government's attempts to control and suppress that culture. Secondly, to embellish the heroism and romance attached to these struggles with very strong visual depictions of Highlanders themselves, wearing the traditional great plaid, or *feilidh mor*; the paradox here, of course, is that William Wallace and the supporters of his cause were represented as wearing what might have approximated to the garb of the ordinary clansmen in the Highlands of the 17th century, three hundred years before it probably came into use and which, even then, would not have been worn by the Lowlander Wallace and many of his followers. Such historical inaccuracies have been generally acknowledged to have had no detrimental effect on the impact of *Braveheart*; on the contrary they may even have enhanced its ability to romanticise an episode of history to the extent that the concepts of freedom which both films develop have been embraced as being in some way applicable to the present day. To my mind, many who term themselves Scottish Americans identify closely with William Wallace and Rob Roy, for these two represent the romantic vision they wish to have of Scotland. The growth of interest in the kilt generally and the great plaid in particular (of which the young man getting married at the Pleasanton Games was a typical example, see p.93) can be ascribed in considerable measure to these films, I think. Whilst conducting Americans on tours of Scotland throughout the summer of 1998, I don't think there was a single group which did not wish to enter into a detailed discussion of these films, their accuracy and veracity, both in terms of historical content and the way dress was portrayed. For Ian Kirk and his generation, the impact has

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[118] Evidenced through increased sales in books dealing with this period of Scottish

been to provide another way into their Scottish roots and past:

> **IMH** D'you think that the idea of...the Scottish romance actually goes rather deeper too, that there are elements or qualities in it that have an appeal that outweighs all the...more superficial elements?
>
> **IK** Well, I know for people such as myself...you know of course there's always the inaccuracies ...
>
> **IMH** So you mix them altogether and you've got something quite...strong which...
>
> **IK** Not necessarily correct or accurate, but it's something that I think most...of the people here will have the same cultural experience and cultural identity; that kind of amalgam of, of all these bits and pieces we've taken.
>
> **IMH** Yes, so they all merge into something which is tangible and that also sits easily with your American identity?
>
> **IK** Right,...I think everyone here...most of the people view themselves, I mean who are Americans, view themselves as Americans, but also as Scottish and I think it's actually very integral part of the whole, whole thing.

So it all becomes part of 'the cultural experience and cultural identity'; in the construction of our own identity we doubtless feel perfectly entitled to embody the imagined and mythical, and when that is visually represented by films, it becomes that much easier to do. To draw the line which divides myth and reality is, perhaps, unrealistic or even unnecessary, if the resulting construction enables us to take our place easily in any community or society to which we may feel we want to belong. The power of the collective to represent an amalgam of a huge range of influences is infinite and not every member of that collective need subscribe to the totality of ideas which it may represent. The collective that is represented by the Scottish

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history, according to Weems & Sons, Scottish booksellers, Manchester,Tennessee.

American community provides different answers for the different needs and aspirations of its aspiring or actual members. It transpired in Ian Kirk's case, that he was the youngest of his Scottish Country Dancing group and that his fellow members' children had largely moved elsewhere, leaving him feeling somewhat isolated, an isolation that lacked the compensation of having a clan society to which he could belong. Ian Kirk illustrates further aspects of identity in relation to locality and community, perhaps reflecting some of the pressures that now increasingly exist in American society. The break-up of traditional neighbourhood communities, the dispersal of generations within families through exceptional work mobility and the break-down of much of family life itself bring problems which Virpi Nurmi expresses well:

> People have a need to be part of some cultural community. Being a part of a unity is part of one's identity. If a person does not have the feelings to build up his identity, he becomes isolated and usually starts to look for substitutes to his isolation. The problem of identity seems to be about one not finding one's cultural place. Without any ethnical connection to any group, one can lose one's sense of oneself as a person...The isolation of a modern person makes the home territory, native region, very important...belonging to something is a part of identity and home territory is a category which everyone can own. At the same time home territory is a compensation for things lost. It is about people missing a feeling they have lost. (Home territory) the expression includes the idea of identity being connected to a certain time and place, also the past, the time and place that are lost. (1995:239)

There seemed to be no immediate answer for this particular informant:

> **IMH** So do you see difficulties in finding a peer group which you can connect with, or not?
>
> **IK** Definitely. In fact this time we were here, we're... there are a couple of organisations that I would like to join, an organisation of more kindred spirits, but ...in my specific geographical area there are very few and again without any known clan

allegiances, supposed clan allegiances, you can't really go to any of the clan organisations and...

IMH You've got to start up a Kirk society!

IK Exactly, exactly.

When I suggested that he might start up a clan Kirk society, his reaction initially was one of amusement; but after I had switched off my tape recorder, he wanted to pursue the idea a little further and was surprised to learn that he could either follow this route, which a number of other names without any clan affiliation have done,[119] or he could join one of any number of clan societies whose objects might be in sympathy with his own. I also suggested that organisations such as the South Bay Scottish Society could well meet his needs. I think Ian Kirk is typical of the 'new' Scottish American who is still in the process of assembling the elements that will enable him to fully enjoy the identity that he has chosen for himself.

I decided to select my next informant from amongst a group of people in the clan Graham tent; he looked to be around thirty years old; as it turned out his story was a good example of the dilemma faced by so many Americans when it comes to choosing which country of origin of ones ancestors one chooses to adopt in the construction of an identity. In Scott Graham's case, where there was a strong maternal family influence tracing its roots back to Germany, but in the end the paternal line was to be the decisive one:

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[119] Akins, Blackstock, Brough, Irwin, Little and Sproat are examples of names with recently formed clan societies; *The Highlander* Vol 37, No.3, May/June 1999:60

Scott Graham **SSS:SA1999.37**



(23) Scott Graham

SG My father a long time ago tried to trace back our family tree and our lineage and knew that we were Scottish, but I had no idea just how far back we'd come, since our family had come to America. He had done a little research and stuff like that and then unfortunately he passed away and he didn't live with us - my parents had been divorced for a while - and after he passed away we found many documents and a bunch of stuff about our Scottish heritage and documents that he had gathered by trying to trace back . Kinda got involved and started coming to this, you know, visit a few of the Scottish games and things like that and traced it back even further and just got more and more involved with it as it went on.

IMH What sort of age where you when you started taking an interest?

SG Probably around twenty three or so; I always knew I was Scottish but, I'm also part German and my mother's side of the family is, we could trace that back to when they actually came over; we knew exactly when they came over...

IMH That was from Germany?

SG From Germany, yes; our Scottish heritage goes back...left Scotland probably in the late 1700's or something; even my father truly didn't know exactly the dates when our family had come over here, but we've now been able to trace that back so it's been nice.

IMH So you've actually been able to nail it?

SG Well, not an exact date and stuff, but a time frame and within a twenty year time frame, that my father's or our family came over here from Scotland so...

IMH What particularly interests me is the, the Scottish versus the German side, too; is there any specific...does one weight more heavily than the other, put it that way?

SG ...actually now the Scottish side weighs more heavy than any thing; the German side only because my mother's side, the family's more extensive; there's very few of actually from my grandparents vintage; my father had one brother and unfortunately he passed away also at a younger age, so it's me and my brother are the only lineage from that side of our family. The German side of my family is really extensive, so we always knew that...I don't know, I guess we look more, we like the Scottish side of the family better.

There does seem to be a relatively high proportion of Scottish-German marriages in the antecedents of my informants; I can only speculate that one of the reasons for this may be because of a shared Protestant work-ethic. From the outset one of my objectives has been to try and determine what it is that particularly influences the decision of people to opt for Scottish rather than any other available European identity to bolt on to their American one. Scott Graham articulated his

preferences and the reason for his choice quite clearly in the following excerpt, which seems to confirm that tartan and the kilt are, on the whole, an integral part of the Scottish heritage which has such an attraction, but they are not necessarily the dominant influence:

> **IMH** What is it that particularly that appeals about the Scottish aspect of identity?
>
> **SG** Oh, it's the history, it's the history of Scotland and just going all the way back to you know, the William Wallaces, and things of that nature, is definitely something more interesting than looking back on the kaisers and things of that nature.
>
> **IMH** Does the, does the whole visual side have any significance, d'you think, I mean, as we see here the tartan and so forth?
>
> **SG** Oh I think the whole culture is definitely more lively, more colourful, the bagpipes, the tartans, the kilts and you know things of that nature and just the history. I think it is something more interesting.
>
> **IMH** When did you get a kilt for the first time?
>
> **SG** I bought my first kilt just this year; my older brother Bill, who is actually the commissioner of the West Coast Grahams,...I've always came to the games with him and he has more than one kilt and I used always borrow one of his, but this year I actually went out and purchased my first kilt, but I always had the sporran and the leggings[120] and everything else were all mine, but you know, kilts are not cheap, so finally invested in one this year.
>
> **IMH** So that's a great leap forward.
>
> **SG** Yes, very much; well I mean, you can piece together the leggings and sporrans and stuff like that but kilts are a major purchase, especially a very nice kilt; I mean you can find cheap ones and stuff like that but the real good quality ones are going to cost you a good part of your monthly salary, so it took me a while to get up to that ...

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[120] Woollen stockings.

I wanted to pursue the part he thought the visual symbols played in attracting those who might not have such clear links with Scotland as he had, through his name, and from his answers I concluded that these, together with the films we have already mentioned and all the other elements such as the history, genealogy and culture, combined in his mind to form this all embracing term 'heritage' and that it is the totality of the heritage, which is the fundamental attraction to people in so far as he is concerned:

> **IMH** ...Do you think that the visual aspect attracts a lot of people who may not have a specific link, such as you have with your name...?
>
> **SG** Oh, definitely; I think especially a lot of the movies like '*Rob Roy*' and '*Braveheart*' and stuff like that have also helped these...gatherings and also probably brought a lot of people who wouldn't have tried to trace back their heritage at one point in time but knew somewhere along the line that they were Scottish and probably those movies and stuff like that have actually made them more involved and wanting to know their heritage and stuff like that, but definitely these games are extremely colourful and I think they bring a lot of people who are not Scottish, just to come, just to be part of it.

Given the random nature of the process used to select my informants, I was fortunate enough to chance upon one who might fit my category of 'old' Scottish Americans, even though he had become involved with his clan society only in the previous year. With a known Scottish background and certainty of his roots at least to the ancestor who first arrived from Scotland, his chance visit to the Pleasanton Games, whilst staying with relatives, was the catalyst that provoked a much greater interest in the ramifications that stemmed from his Scottish connections:

Gaston Macmillan **SSS:SA1999.3**



(24) Gaston Macmillan

GM It's been kind of a family thing for a really long time... my dad was really big on, when I was a kid, on you knowing who you were and where you came from and the Macmillans are pretty good about keeping lineage, and in North Carolina where I grew up, there was several people who did a lot of research into Macmillans ancestry. It's kind of funny I'm the direct descendant from the first Macmillans of this line of Macmillans that came from Scotland, and it's very easy to trace my ancestry all the way back to Scotland and....me and my brothers and sisters actually owned the original home and farm that was first owned by the Macmillans in North Carolina when we first came, so it's just a lot of family pride, I guess...

IMH Do you, manning the

Macmillan tent at games such as this, as you probably have done for a little while now, oh you're just starting?

GM When I was little, we used to go to Grandfather Mountain, a lot...and that was a lot of fun. And I moved to California about ten years ago and I had had no real association with the Macmillan family, or the clan, or anything out here at all and a year ago my sister moved to Pleasanton, which is here, and I knew that the Highland Games were out here but I'd never wanted to go and, and so we came last year and we stopped by the tent and met some of the other folks who were here and it just kind of re-invigorated all those things from when I was younger again, and I remembered how exciting it was to know a lot of people who were related to you and you know, just that extended family, it's just a lot of fun.

IMH Yes, that must have been great to renew that interest, particularly as you'd done it so much when you were younger.

GM When I was little, I didn't really understand as much about...it was so normal, you know I'm named after my grandfather and my little brother's named after the first three Macmillans who came from Scotland, and you know it was just like normal stuff; and then getting away from it, because probably it was so commonplace I kinda put it aside and then coming to the games it kinda reawoke and I'm at an age where I'm married and I have a two year old and now I kinda want her to be able to experience this.

IMH So I was going to ask you whether you think this is one of the significant things which evokes an interest, is that once one settles down a little bit and the next generation comes on, you then really start...

GM For me it's true.

Gaston was about to celebrate his thirty-sixth birthday and for him one of the incentives to become involved in the Macmillan clan society appeared to be because he had started a family and had started to turn his thoughts to passing on information and family traditions in the same way that his parents had done when he was a child. With such a defined ancestry, this incentive may be said to be almost an imperative, although, interestingly, his knowledge of the actual place in Scotland from which his Macmillan forebear had set out for

Carolina did not appear to form too important a part of this tradition:

> **IMH:** ...I'm wondering where they came from in Scotland.
>
> **GM:** I'll have to look in my book...
>
> **IMH:** It doesn't matter, it's just...
>
> **GM:** I can tell you about the ancestry in North Carolina and then in America.

It seemed highly probable that his ancestors formed 'part of the organized emigrations from Argyll, Skye and Sutherland to North Carolina' which Alex Murdoch examines in some detail, and which took place in the two decades leading up to 1775 (1990:442), since Gaston told me that the original farmhouse, still standing, was built in the 1760's.

The catalyst which re-awoke the Scottishness in Gaston Macmillan was the visit to the Highland Games, recalling his childhood experiences, and the principal elements of the games, particularly in a visual sense, seem to have been the primary attraction; re-entering the Scottish community had also encouraged him to wear his kilt much more often than he had done previously:[121]

> **IMH** D'you think the fact that Scottish identity, particularly, is so visual, is one of the things that makes these sort of events so attractive and successful?
>
> **GM** Oh, yeah. You know, with the flags, there's lots of flags and... the tartans are very beautiful and people love to dress up... you know, and then you also have...the pipes and drums and the marching and the drum majors are just the most beautiful visual thing you could ever see, and the

[121] This information was imparted after I had finished the actual interview and put the recorder away.

dancing, yeah it's awesome; it makes it a lot of fun to come. Makes it really easy to come inside, you know.

IMH It does; nobody feels excluded in that sense?

GM No, and I don't think we want to exclude people; I mean personally the way I feel is, yes, inclusive. It's nice to know who your clan is and have a lot of pride in your clan...

IMH ...do you in your own family, d'you wear the kilt on high days and holidays, or how do you go about...?

GM Yeah, as often as I can, throughout the year; it's at Thanksgiving, Christmas parties, just going out to big fancy parties, going to peoples weddings, yeah we, I dress up as much as I can.

One gets the sense that wearing the kilt on the occasions described above is as much about seeking an escape from the humdrum of daily life in the office as about demonstrating Scottish identity: 'I dress up as much as I can', and this is a theme that has become more apparent as this study has progressed. I was interested in his reactions to Tartan Day (which I will discuss in the next section of this chapter), and I think they demonstrate the great increase in confidence amongst people in the Scottish American community about expressing their particular identity more openly and visibly, in the same way that other ethnicities are known to do, particularly the Irish:

IMH D'you think the profile of the Scottish element in American society is relatively speaking low, let us say compared to the Irish?

GM Low? Yeah, I would say that's probably true; Irish cops in Boston, St Patrick's Day...

IMH What d'you think of something like Tartan Day?

GM Tartan Day? I'm not sure people would understand what you're talking about (laughter).

IMH You know that's been going for three years?

GM Never heard of Tartan Day! Isn't that terrible?

IMH No it isn't, it's significant I think, not terrible, it's significant that in spite of all the efforts, it hasn't filtered through that there is such a thing now in the States, April 6th.

GM I'll know it now; I think that's a great idea. I think a lot of people, you know maybe it's an illusion, but I think a lot of people in America are wanting to know more about where they came from, whether they're Scottish or from anywhere else and I think that's a great thing; you know one of the things I learned when I was a little kid was...a lot of your strength and you know, your personal strength and personal power comes from knowing who you are, which means you have to know where you came from an, you know, if you look through history, the way they subjugate people is to separate people that they want to, want to control from who they were in their past and from what I understand about Scottish history, that's never really quite happened there and so there's a lot of strong - people have a lot of pride in being Scottish and it's probably not as popular as the Irish sentiment is in the US, but it's very strong within the Scottish element; it's great, it's a very powerful thing and the more people know about their history, the more effective they are as people and the more capable they are of working together as a nation.

IMH It's very interesting in what you say there and relating to the apparent need now, increasingly, for American identity to have more specific qualifications, so you have a bolt on identity, if you like. D'you think this has come about because of the apparent interest on the part of various ethnic groupings to promote their own ethnicities, for want of a better word; that this is now putting pressure on those from European, and particularly, say, in origin from the British Isles, to become a little more familiar and secure in their origins in that sense, whereas many of their forebears tended to drop their Scottish leanings when they came over here?

GM In America there was a big push to be American and not to be, not to have a connection to your ancestry and I think through the generations that's waned and I think that has more influence than, than competition between people knowing their ethnicities.

Although I was aware that I had introduced the concept of ethnicity into this particular conversation, I think the foregoing excerpt

demonstrates primarily that, in Maccmillan's view, it is knowing about the past origins of their family that is becoming increasingly important to Americans; the previous ethos of losing the past and becoming American appears to be on the wane. This may be because immigration to the United States has now been dramatically curtailed, and generationally there is more stability; this in turn begins to encourage a greater sense of enquiry amongst those who have been settled in the country for more than one or two generations. Gaston believes it is not so much a case of competition between peoples of different ethnic origins but identification of and with those different origins. For him there is a ready made past and a very visual way of expressing it, so much so that he told me that although having joined the Californian branch of the clan Macmillan society the previous year, he had already been elected vice-president, with a view to taking over the president's position next year. I got the impression that this was largely due to his enormous enthusiasm and his ability to welcome those who perhaps were not so fortunate as he in knowing about their roots.

My final informant from this group of people provides another good example of someone making a positive decision to examine and identify with the Scottish (maternal) part of his family's past, although in this case, he has full knowledge of his paternal roots. Once again the fundamental visual attractions of the Scottish option seem to have played a strong part in this interest.

Mark Racicot **SSS:SA1999.37**

Mark is thirty one years old and I was particularly interested to find out the relative importance of the two different European origins, in so far as the perception of his own identity was concerned:



(25) Mark Racicot

IMH ...What I'm interested in knowing, Mark, seeing you're wearing a fine kilt there...what first sparked your interest in the Scottish aspects of identity?

MR Well, when I came out of the military, I was in the army for three years, and I was talking with my mother about her lineage; she was not well at the time and I wanted to learn what I could before she passed on. And she told me that one of my ancestors was clan Macneil, and I wanted to learn more about it, so I did a little bit of research, not a great deal, and found that there were some traces back to Scotland.

IMH And once you were able to...have a tag to follow, what particularly appealed to you about the Scottish aspect of your family's ancestry, because presumably there are other elements to it too?

MR Well, primarily because it was something new. My father had taught me from very early age my French heritage, the Racicot family name being from France and those... ancestors...came here

about 150 years ago. But I knew virtually nothing about my mother's side, so that was new, so I took that up as kind of a new hobby.

IMH And ...d'you find you're torn between two streams, so to speak?

MR A bit, because the two, while they do not have any direct conflict with each other, they are very dis-similar and since I have some knowledge of the French side, I'm learning now more about the Scottish side.

IMH ...What is it that particularly appeals to you about the Scottish side; it's difficult to summarise, I know, but it has different elements; perhaps you could tell me some of them?

MR Well, I think primarily because, as I said, it's new, also perhaps because I look at this as something that's, well it's rather exotic from the American standpoint; it's not, hum, how do I want to say this, it's not something that you see a lot of people talking about except at gatherings like this, here at Pleasanton or Sacremento or Campbell. So it's not pervasive in American society; I don't have a lot of personal experience around here to say yes, I know something about it; it's only at places like this that I learn.

Perhaps it is the 'exotic' quality of the Scottish dimension that encapsulates the sentiment which encourages so many to seek an attachment to this particular strand in their past. It is a quality that quite effectively embraces virtually all the material cultural elements with which we have been concerned. The kilt and tartan, drum majors and pipe bands, kilted athletes and Scottish dancers, all parade before an extensive background of clan societies and their tents, not to mention the parade of

the clans with their tartans. To this material culture may be added the more intangible, but no less exotic quality of what is perceived to be Scottish heritage and culture, from *Braveheart* at one extreme, to the more mundane recital of Scottish achievement in so many fields at the other.

This particular informant readily admits to the pull of the pipes, so to speak, though in his case it is the particularly glamorous role of drum major that appears to have been the defining factor in his adoption of the kilt:

> **IMH** And when it comes to wearing the kilt, when did you decide to get a kilt for example?
>
> **MR** Well, actually I'll blame that one on the army. I'm a member of the 91st Division Band; it's an army reserve musical group and we have the distinction of being the only reserve band in the entire United States that uses pipes and drums and have had for the last thirty three, thirty four years and because of the pipers - it happened at the same time as I was learning from my mother - that ...went to re-inforce each other and when I became the drum major of the band, I was able to wear the kilt in public when they were performing with us and it kind of grew as an extension of doing it in public for performances to come to gatherings like this, wearing a kilt. And in fact even tomorrow my best friend is getting married and the bride has asked that I wear a kilt to that, because she knows I wear one for the army. So it's kind of fun to do that.
>
> **IMH** ...so you reckon that the kilt in any event has a fairly strong pulling power in terms of showing this identity?
>
> **MR** Yes, I believe that would be a fair statement; it's kind of...being a drum major in a reserve band, you have to want to be the centre of attention in some way to be a good drum major. Wearing a kilt in American society, I think, also speaks to the need or want to have attention; there's nothing that gathers attention more than a man in a society where they don't wear kilts, going into a store, stopping at a gas station; on the way here for example I stopped at a ' 7 to 11', and I got two comments from passers by - I don't know them, they don't know me - but it's like: 'Hey, nice kilt' or something like that; so it's kind of fun in that way.

I suggested that the apparent trend in the States for people to add on to their American identity, something that seems to have been going on for quite a time and particularly in the case of the more obvious ethnic groupings, might be the stimulus which enables people to launch into

a Scottish identity fairly comfortably, particularly because it's so visible. He thought that this could be one of the main reasons. Mark Racicot also subscribed to the view that part of the interest was because of America's lack of tradition, or an awareness that those groups to which people could trace their roots had much stronger or older traditions and that a complete sense of identity perhaps depended on the incorporation of root culture into that identity, a 'sense of fullness', as he puts it:

> **MR** ... I also believe to some extent that it's likely that America, being a relatively, comparatively young country, we don't have many of the traditions that European and Asian countries do, so we look to where our people came from to find out what were they like, what did they do and then to import that to give us some sense of fullness; that might explain why so many people are going into research about their ancestors.
>
> **IMH** That's interesting, 'cos certainly a lot of people at games like this are attracted to name research and identity with a clan. Do you participate at all in your own Macneil clan society activities?
>
> **MR** I haven't, but I have just now found the booth here, which we're standing in front of, and I was going to go over there and pick up the form to apply for membership in the clan association, to learn more about what they do.
>
> **IMH** So this will mark a further stage in, in expression of the Scots part of your life?
>
> **MR** Yes.
>
> **IMH** D'you think, relative to other identities, the Scots carries perhaps an element of romanticism which is also an attractive element?
>
> **MR** Most certainly; again I may touch on something I mentioned a while ago; there is something about the ancestry; the British Isles in general are for most Americans, I think, kind of romantic. We look at London, the fog enshrouded beacon of where many people came from in the United States; we imported the language, at the very least that says something; and then to look at the countries surrounding - Ireland and Scotland specifically - it's kind of a natural extension of that to look at Britain as a

> whole and say: 'Yeah, that's really cool, it's really neat, it's romantic, it's exotic. It is not us, but we came from there.

These particular games marked an important stage in the elaboration of the Scottish part of his identity for Mark, through his wish to find out more about clan Macneil and become an active member of their clan society; but his final words are also definitive in the way they mark out Scottish American identity as opposed to Scottish identity. The exotic and romantic elements are the means by which his American identity can be embellished and filled out.

C. Epilogue

In this final section of personal perceptions, I have chosen to further illustrate some of the points raised by my two classes of informants, through excerpts from conversations with two women, both informed observers of and participants in the Scottish 'scene', with strong Scottish connections, which they demonstrate enthusiastically. One of them, Elizabeth Rowe, I have already quoted in the context of her involvement with COSCA; but during the course of my conversation with her in Sarasota, she also gave me a glimpse of her perceptions regarding her own identity; in her particular case, these connections led her to embracing several clan societies. At first sight this might appear rather strange to those who deem it possible to have allegiance perhaps to just one clan society. Both these ladies seemed to find no problem at all in embracing more than one:

Elspeth Rowe[122] **SSS:SA1999.34**

ER I would have to start with the fact

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[122] Interviewed in Sarasota, Florida

that attending Highland games at a very young age in the Milwaukee area was my first feeling of my identity with the Scottish American community, plus my own grandparents coming from Scotland into Northern Ireland and eventually travelling into America in the late maybe 1890's - 1895, so we've only been in America for about a hundred years; so it's with that identity that led me to the Irish festivals and Scottish festivals in Milwaukee and eventually branching out to the Mid-West.

IMH Right, and your grandparents came originally from Scotland to Ireland before going to the States?

ER Yes, yes; my paternal grandparents came from the Highlands of Scotland into Northern Ireland and then eventually Northern Ireland into the Chicago area.

IMH Where did they come from in Scotland?

ER In Scotland it would be just south of Inverness in the Loch Moy area, Mackintoshes...

IMH Oh, Mackintoshes. And so it was your parents who used to take you along to the Highland games when you were young?

ER Actually it was myself as a teenager that explored the opportunity; I think there was a generation gap between my grandparents and my parents as far as background or genealogy. I felt that my grandparents wanted to be very American, so therefore squelched the idea of their Scottish or Irish background they wanted to be very American so they really didn't talk about it quite so much. But I had the internal interest to seek that out and that's what took myself to them.

IMH And presumably your parents likewise picked the need to be American from their parents...but what triggered off, if you can cast your mind back, what triggered off going to the first games that you went to?

ER What really triggered it was my cousins...outside Belfast had written a book of genealogy from the late 1600's, and they had sent us a copy of it and I believe in just looking at the book and researching back and seeing my name in that particular book of genealogy, I felt that I really needed to find out more about it and what would lead me from historical content of Scotland and Ireland 1600's to what brought me here today and how I could relate to that, how I could grasp it.

IMH So it was establishing the roots?

ER Right, establishing the roots.

IMH And then you became a regular attendee, did you?

ER Regular attendee, as much as I could get.

IMH Signing on with the clan association?

ER Signing on with the Clan Mackintosh and also with Clan MacThomas – had some heritage there - Clan Donald, which is maternal side, also working with several of the childrens' areas, Milwaukee School of Highland Dance working with them and funding...and eventually COSCA, which is the Council of Scottish Clans...helping other people search out their identities too.

I have included this excerpt to illustrate the point made earlier that first and second generation Americans appear to have much less interest in passing on details of family history from the country they have left and that it is not until the third generation that many want to pick up this thread again, a common sociological 'fact' associated with many other groups. Lord Elgin made the point, in chapter 2 (p.55) and Ed Owen typifies this category, from the fore-going section. In my conversation with Elizabeth Rowe, no specific mention was made regarding her own use of tartan, but she referred to the impact it made whilst explaining her view of the expression of Scottish identity through her work for COSCA (p.81).

Beth Gay **SSS:SA1999.37**

Beth Gay is a remarkable person; I first met her at the Caledonian Foundation symposium in Sarasota, Florida, in 1998 and on that occasion she made known her enthusiasm for all things Scottish and it was immediately apparent that she was very deeply involved in the

affairs of the Scottish American community. Her principal interest is in the dissemination of information about what is going on in the community; as editor of the *Family Tree*, the publication of the Ellen Payne Odom Genealogical Library in Moultrie, Georgia, she not only keeps her finger on the pulse of the Scottish American community throughout the United States, but more properly could be described as being one of its heartbeats. She is enormously energetic, enthusiastic and encouraging to all who want to participate; in her own personal sphere she is the member of at least four clan associations, Donald, Home, Henderson and Chattan, and on different occasions I have seen her take part in the parade of clans at different Highland games under the banner of three of these. I think she expresses some of the essential truths about Scottish American identity in the interview I recorded at the Pleasanton Games, and particularly on the point of multiple allegiances, which I have touched on above; for her, the important thing is 'being loyal to your heritage':

IMH ... I wonder whether you would like to say a few words about how you perceive Scottish identity from the American point of view, when it really...poses some problem for many who, once they begin to dig into their past history, find that they may well have connections with more than one clan?

BG Most Americans are pretty much muts; we're a mixture of so many things, but usually if you are related to one Scottish clan, you're related to many Scottish clans and I personally do not see a problem with that because these are all your families, your various ancestry families and they share a common heritage, And I think this is one thing that is the reason for the Scottish movement being so big all across America. I'm from Georgia and here I am in California and it's like being in an extended family setting; there are no strangers within the Scottish community and you can join as many clans as you wish to join and it's not a matter of, of being fragmented in your loyalty, because you're loyal to your Scottish heritage, if that makes sense.

IMH ...Do you think that the clan societies in their effort to embrace membership...in any

way detract from the core value of any one or other particular society, by stretching the boundaries, so to speak?

BG I don't think so; for example, clan Henderson has a category where you may walk up to the tent and say 'my name is anything, but I love clan Henderson, I would like to be apart of it' and clan Henderson has a category called 'Henderson by affection' and for the people that know a little bit about Scottish history, that's exactly the way, in the old days, that clans got new members and that's where all of the septs or allied families came from, was someone who either lived in the area or was nearby and said I would like to be a part of your clan and I will fight for you and I will swear my loyalty to you. So I don't see that anything is diluted.



(2) Beth Gay demonstrating her áffection' for Clan Henderson, by marching with them and in the Henderson tartan during the parade of clans

So membership of a clan 'by affection' neatly accommodates all those with no particular place to go, or those who would wish to participate in a clan's activities. Whilst this concept would probably seem entirely foreign to Scots, and indeed of no value to those with an innate sureness of identity, its attraction to Americans looking for a 'hook' to a specific clan it is very attractive. This is particularly so

when membership of that clan then bestows a sort of legitimacy to wear its tartan. It has to be said however that not all clan societies operate this type of category.[123]

We went on to talk about the reasons for the great increase of interest in Scotland on the part of those who would seek their roots there:

> **IMH** ...Why do you think there's this huge interest in finding a Scottish element to their American identity?
>
> **BG** That's a complicated question and a question that could take several hours to answer, but number one, especially in the South and on the Eastern seabord of the United Sates, because of the immigration patterns, there are so very few people who do not have Scottish ancestry; almost everybody shares a huge Scottish and/or Celtic ancestry; I think today, too, in this...our world has become plastic and our world has become technical and our world has become so cold in many ways, that I think we all have a deep-seated inner need to touch something that is real in our lives. I was just in a clan Chattan meeting this morning and John Sexton was speaking..he's the President of clan Mackintosh in this country, and I noticed that Mr. Sexton had very distinctive ears; he has very distinctive ears, his earlobes are long and a distinctive fold on his ears, and I looked around this meeting where there where maybe forty or fifty people, and thirty five of those fifty people had the same ears; the blood runs strong, you know, the genes don't tell stories. Our genetic makeup doesn't care if Sherman marched through Georgia and destroyed the records, or if we can't find the link; you know, you'll look at someone's hands or someone's nose or their ears or the shape of their eyes and you can see...it's just written very plainly to see that the blood does run strong, and that you are actually a member of this great extended family.
>
> **IMH** D'you think also the particular growth in interest, which has perhaps been apparent in the last twenty or so years, is due to now, a different perception of identity amongst Americans. What I'm thinking of particularly, as different ethnic groupings,

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[123] See Appendix IV for examples of membership requirements for a selection of American clan societies

> perhaps the more visual ones have made a great play for their origins, now it's the, the old originals, if you like, who are also finding the need to link into their past roots?
>
> **BG** I think the clan, the old clan system has a great deal to do...maybe even more than that, because ...it's already organised for us. All you have to do is know your name; all you have to do is know your grandmother's name or your grandfather's name, so that it's very easy to find your place in this community, just as easy as it can be. As opposed to even the Irish or the Welsh or some of the other Celtic groups who were not so neatly organised as the Scots, and I think the reason for the upsurge of the clan membership and the clan movement is once again, it's been made easier for us by something as simple as the invention of the typewriter which has now evolved into the computer. The invention of copying machines which now everybody has access to and the internet is just making everything explode, and it's a multi-billion dollar business, purely economic business in this country, and so many people make their livings from selling Scottish merchandise and it has a huge impact in Scotland. But I really think that it is due to the fact that the Scottish animal, so to speak, comes to us ready organised.

Clan organisation, computers, accessibility, all this clearly plays a very important part in the growth of the community; in spite of her deep involvement in the 'clan movement', I believe that the point she makes about it being a ready-made structure is a valid one, albeit the structure had, at the outset, the slimmest of foundations. It is through the energies of the individual clan societies, with the encouragement of the likes of Bob McWilliam, that this accessibility has come about. Perhaps a more accurate way of describing it would be the re-construction of the clan movement on the foundation of the old loyalties and sentiments which survived down to the present day. There lingers in the 'folk' memory of the Scottish American a picture of the celtic kin-based society, in which clanship with its chiefly and paternalistic hierarchy accomplished valiant deeds and lived a traditional way of life, relatively immune from other influences. Contemporary clan societies can but faintly echo such sentiments, but they are, in a sense, representers of that tradition extending the

principles of mutual association to a modern 'kin'. Tom Nairn puts it slightly differently when writing about Scots themselves, but endorses the point, I think, inspite of his inherent dislike of 'tartanry':

> Most Scots had no actual connection with earlier clannic or Gaelic society and hence no 'folk', or other recollection or tradition upon which Highlandism could easily be grafted. On the contrary, Gaelic culture had often been despised by Lowlanders. Nonetheless, the required recollections and 'traditions' were soon synthesised. This was possible because, with all its absurdities and unrealities, the process relied on something real.
> All intelligent visitors to Scotland have been conscious of the contradiction: a 'phoney' identity-claim to which perfectly un-phoney people cling, and with genuine passion. The contradiction has always been obvious, but its persistence manifests a fundamental 'wish and the will to continue being something', and hence to go on presenting a new image both to the outside world and to oneself. (2000.25)

This attachment to an 'imagined community' identifies itself through both name and, even more, through a common tartan. I have also included Beth Gay's comments on genetic traits in the above excerpt as a point of interest, though I do not propose to examine this particular aspect further. Our conversation then turned to the visible expression of the Scottish identity:

> **IMH** That's very interesting. Given that strong starting point, d'you think the fact that the visibility of the Scottish identity, as opposed to perhaps some of the others which may be an option for people with different origins in Europe, has any part to play with it?
>
> **BG** May be so, but the Scottish, and it seems in the past few years in this country the Scottish visibility has increased so many times because of the movies, *Braveheart, Rob Roy* and movies like that, there, even Shakespeare festivals all over with *Macbeth,* you know, but I think the visibiltiy has a lot to do with it simply because somebody whose name is Hume or Macdonald, well we have people who come in the

> Library and say: 'My name is...you know, James Macdonald, what am I?' They don't know, they have no idea that Macdonald is a Scottish name, or other, Fergusson or some of the more obvious names, and so I think the visibility helps those people realise that, yes I am Scottish, oh, clan Wallace for example, membership has exploded since *Braveheart* simply because all these people names Wallace realise: 'I'm Scottish, you know, I'm a part of this'. So it has...there are all kinds, thousands of reasons, but I think the visibility has a lot to do with it.
>
> **IMH** And in terms of another aspect of that visibility, the fact that you can show, er, show your adherence if you like through tartan, d'you think that has something to do with it?
>
> **BG** Oh, sure. You know it's like any other, if you're a boy scout you wear a boy scout uniform, anything that you do that has a visible sign of what you are doing I think increases your interest, because you'll... I'll be walking down the way here at the games and someone will come up to me as I'm wearing my Lord of the Isles Donald tartan, and say aye, and you're a Macdonald! Or I'm sure with you, they'll say hello Mr Hume. So it's great fun, and I think the biggest reason - forget all the academic stuff - the biggest reason is it's so much fun, it's just a delight and a joy and it adds a dimension to our rather frenzied and hurried - we have to work so hard to make, contrary to what some people think about Americans, all Americans are not wealthy - most Americans have to just work to their ultimate capacity to make a living and survive and do well - and so here comes something that is a joy and a delight that you can be involved in and do, and it adds a dimension of a...to you life, it enriches your life and your whole family life so much; I think that has as much to do with it as anything else too.

Beth Gay draws our attention to something that to me, at least, came as a bit of a surprise, namely that a Macdonald might not necessarily have the slightest idea that his name was Scottish in origin. This was subsequently borne out by the Campbell example I have quoted on page 123. It is indicative, perhaps, of the subjective element in a study of this sort, where one's own pre-conceptions are bound to have some bearing on the way information is interpreted. The native understanding of names and their association may be instinctive to me, but on reflection one has to recognise that an entirely different

interpretation may be put on a name. This is particularly so if the only association has been a family and domestic (American) one, with no element of family origins attaching to it. Over the course of my research I had become so used to people with names which did not appear to have any Scottish origin whatsoever proudly exhibiting their Scottish credentials, that such a reversal of the situation being possible had not occurred to me hitherto. We did not dwell particularly on the specific attractions of tartan and the kilt because I felt that Beth placed a fundamental importance on these symbols in the totality of Scottish expression, from my previous conversations with her. I think her emphasis on the 'fun' aspect echoes the view expressed by Gaston Macmillan; joining the Scottish American community offers a wonderful way of adding a completely different dimension to the ordinary hum drum life of the workplace, and it probably plays a considerable part in the dramatic growth of the community.

Celtic Craft Centre



(27) The Highlander outside Celtic Crafts in San Fransisco

On the day after the Pleasanton Highland games, I happened to go into the Celtic Craft Centre on Columbus Avenue in San Francisco, attracted by the traditional figure on the pavement of a Highlander in full dress, which previously advertised a tobacconist's shop in Edinburgh. Knowing that this firm of Highland outfitters had its main shop in the High Street, Edinburgh, I was anxious to discover what the staff felt about the games, for they had had a stand in one of the merchandise halls. Bill James, who had come over for the games from Scotland, gave me his views in a surprisingly un-enthusiastic way, which I would summarise as follows: the attendance at the games and his takings were slightly down on the previous year in his estimation; furthermore, he believed that there is 'very little to the Scottish American movement', with few people coming into the San Francisco shop off the street, even those with Scottish names. The shop's main business is catering to the needs of ex-patriate Scots and their requirements for Highland dress for weddings and dances. This view seemed to contradict everything that I had observed over the past two years,[124] so I put similar questions to the shop assistants. Catherine Beanance (who said she was a Gillespie) and Stachan Thornton (who had come straight from Kircaldy, Fife, with her director) both disagreed quite strongly with James Bell. This was especially the case in so far as the Pleasanton games were concerned, and they both confirmed that there had been very great interest, particularly from those with Scottish names, in clan badges and crests , ties and sashes. The atmosphere at the games undoubtedly helped this interest for those having a day out, with the atmosphere particularly enhanced by the kilts, bagpipes and parades. Bill James

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[124] His shop may not be 'mainstream' in so far as the Scottish American is concerned, where shopping at Highland games is almost more attractive. Established shops catering to this trade also tend to be in the East and Southeast of the country. Why his perception of business at Pleasanton differed from that of his sales staff is difficult to quantify.

appeared a little surprised at their assessment, because I should imagine that he measures the value of the business by the number of outfits or kilts ordered, and it has to be said that many of those buying at the stalls were probably making their first foray into the Scottish world which the merchandise represented. He did add, however, that he thought the games represented 'an escape for people of Caucasian origin' and that 'Scottish culture was a ready made identity they can link into, even including the Germans and Scandinavians, as a reaction to the other ethnic hyphens'. So here we have the re-iteration of a fairly constant theme, that a highly visible identity such as the Scottish American is attractive to many who see the other main ethnic groups in America as perhaps beginning to diminish the importance and profile of their own North European ethnies.

Joseph MacWilliam

My final informant in this section of personal perceptions made, I think, one of the most valuable contributions, albeit the briefest; he happened to be in the next seat to mine on the flight from San Francisco. It was a brief conversation on the first leg of the flight to Cincinnati, during the course of which Mr. MacWilliam told me that he had just retired from being the head of Cincinnati High School, where he had taught for thirty five years. When he first started teaching there were four black pupils out of a total school roll of some 3,600; now the proportion of non-whites in the school has risen to about 88%. The cultural pressures in the school are such that all the emphasis is on contemporary material icons and mutli-cultural icons at that; the dwindling proportion of white children are inevitably influenced by these pressures, in which the white-dominated historical past is resented and not portrayed, to the exclusion of any

reference to their own traditional heritage. Thus even the Christmas Tree is now unacceptable in the school on account of its associations with and perceived symbolism of a WASP culture.[125] In his view the structure of society is disintegrating through this pressure to ignore the culture of the past and Scottish Americans, for one, do not want to be assimilated; that is why they instinctively are now fighting to hold on to their heritage. This is the incentive to go to Highland games - even for non Scots white Caucasians – to: "Hold on to European identity, before being assimilated into the new mass United States identity; (European) Americans are not aware of the extent to which their culture is under assault – they will end up as 'remnant bands' if they do not attend to their heritage." A stark view, but one which nevertheless echoes those sentiments expressed by my other informants in the sense that those Americans of European origin seem to feel themselves under these sort of pressures, whether they are as overt as the Cincinnati High School example, or are more generally perceived to exist. Joseph MacWilliam was rather pessimistic about the whole situation and he had recently bought a cottage in the West Highlands, so that his son "Could access his heritage in a positive way". I established that he did not possess a kilt, but that his son did. I could not but help recall in my mind the image of the second-generation Edinburgh Sikh wedding group posing for their photograph in Prince Charlie jackets, kilts and saffron turbans, and reflect upon the power of these symbols in the construction of their Scottish Punjabi identity – a very different interpretation of multi-culturalism, with the accent on the heritage of the past, as represented by tartan.

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[125] White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

CHAPTER SIX

The Kirkin' o' the Tartan

A. Symbolism

The complexity of the messages conveyed by a ceremony which, whilst ostensibly Scottish, is in fact a North American tradition, offers us a deep insight into the symbolic power of tartan. The origins of the ceremony have been the subject of much speculation in the United States, with claims seeking to establish the blessing of tartan, usually within the context of a religious service, as a direct consequence of the Act of Proscription of 1746, following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. This theory is neatly encapsulated in an anonymous contribution to the *Munro Eagle* (1994:27):

> The Kirkin' is strictly a North American tradition, but its origins go back into Scottish history. The Scots have always had strong Christian convictions, whether they be Catholic or Protestant and have always observed Sunday as the Lord's Day, a day of rest and worship. This was the day when the Sunday or dress kilt was worn – a fine quality wool kilt. Because of the significance of the family tartan, in helping to unite the clans in the old days, a special event was held every year. The clansmen gathered together, dressed in their finest tartan, to re-dedicate themselves to service to their Heavenly Father and to give thanks to His watchful care over them during the year.
>
> This service was known to have taken place in the time of the Protestant Reformation in the 1500's. By the time of the Proscription of 1746, which outlawed the wearing of anything tartan by any Scot, this ceremony obviously could not be held. There is evidence that some clansmen took to carrying swatches of the material to kirk concealed on their person. At some point in the service the clergyman would give a blessing, the clansmen would fondle their bits of tartan and, with no overt signal given, a sort of underground Kirkin' would take place.

This, and similar theories appear to have been current ever since the

first known Kirkin' took place in the United States, when the Reverend Dr. Peter Marshall held a service in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, DC, on April 27th, 1941. At the time he was also Chaplain to the US Senate and Chaplain to the St. Andrew's Society of Washington, DC.[126] His motivation was, apparently, to draw the attention of people in Washington, particularly those with Scottish connections, to the need to make financial donations to the British war effort, for at that stage the United States had not yet entered the war on the side of the Allies, and things were not going at all well for the British forces. David Pritchard gave me his version of the story:

> ...it may be American myth, it may be let's call it Scottish American myth, that there's this idea that somehow or another during the time when tartan was banned in Scotland, that it was...that families would sneak in late at night and get the tartan blessed. Whether that actually happened or not, I think it's a wonderful story...My understanding of Kirkin' O' the Tartan is...that it was started in the early stages of World War II, actually to a degree before America was even in, but already giving support to British efforts. There were a tremendous number of British citizens who came over probably in part to lobby the American government...there were all kinds of things going on, and I think it started in 1941...but the man who started it was Peter Marshall...and the idea was to bring those people together from the Scottish American community with the Scots who were there, and these were very dark days. (SSS.SA1998.58)

Whatever the reasons for devising the service were, it undoubtedly had some special appeal or resonance and may well have been invested with its mythical origins by people drawing a parallel between the fortunes of the Jacobites, who had suffered so much following Culloden, and the British forces at that time. Mac Grady subscribes to the general story, adding that people still believe it:

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[126] The present Chaplain to the US Senate, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, confirmed to me during the course of Tartan Day celebrations in Washington, DC on April 6th, 2000, that his predecessor had held the first Kirkin' in 1941.

> Well the Kirkin' in the United States was started by Peter Marshall, in the 1940's, I believe it was, in Washington, DC. And he just came up with a name and they were going to have this Scottish affair at the church...and so they asked him 'What are you going to call it?' so he said: 'Well, just call it the Kirkin', you know the Kirk is the Church of Scotland', and it was the Blessing of the Tartans, and while we would have been told when the tartan was banned in 1746, that people who had some tartan were not allowed to display it, but maybe they had pieces of tartan at home and they would take it to church and the minister would bless it. Whether this is actual or not, I don't know, but people believe this – the way it happened...and the members of the church that are familiar with it, they bring their own family tartan to the church and they make banners out of it on poles and they walk in procession led by a piper to the altar. (SSS.SA1999.34)

Today the 'Kirkin' has become an integral part of the celebration of Scottishness both in the United States and in Canada. The service invariably forms part of the Sunday morning programme of Highland games throughout the country and is often held annually by the different St. Andrew's Societies and Scottish American associations and communities. It also often forms part of annual clan society gatherings. The supreme paradox is that it is uniquely a North American tradition, and quite clearly an invented one if the colourful origin theory related above is discounted. And discount it we must, for it is now generally held (Cheape, 1995; Hesketh, 1961; Telfer Dunbar in McClintock, 1951) that tartan had no particular family or clan significance until the very late 18th or early 19th century. As worn by the ordinary Highlander it is unlikely to have been available in any other form than simple homespun cloth. Furthermore, those who would have been most affected by the Act of Proscription were offered the opportunity of enlisting in the newly formed Highland regiments of the British army, where the kilt in the government, or Black Watch tartan, or variations of it, formed part of the uniform.

Benedict Anderson offers an apposite view of the function of symbols:

> Symbols are more important internally – reminders of common heritage and fate -inculcate traditions and moves to new generations, recall distant common ancestors. They act as visible spurs to emotions of awe and nostalgia. (1983:49)

Within the context of the Kirkin', tartan would certainly fulfil such a function. Anderson also makes another observation which might help to explain the particular significance of this ceremony of blessing within the context of the church service:

> The Jewish case, like the Greek or Armenian later, stands in the strongest possible contrast to the Phoenecian, Nabataean, Namian and above all Assyrian experiences in which more or less strong ethnic states were destroyed and their inhabitiants absorbed without ethnic posterity, illustrates the central role of religious traditions and distinctive priesthoods and rites in maintaining ethnic identity. While not denying the importance of both location and automony, it is clear that priesthoods are more important than politics and homelands in safeguarding ethnic identity and securing ethnic survival over centuries. (1983:119)

I am not suggesting that the Scottish American community is comparable in terms of ethnicity with the groups giving rise to Anderson's observation. It might however offer one pointer to the reason the Kirkin' service has become so firmly established in the Scottish American community and that it is perhaps the most potent assertion of ethnic identity. The tradition that it has accumulated over its lifespan might suggest that the religious dimension acts as a safeguard for the values which are expressed on these occasions.

The symbolism reflected in this service of the Kirkin' seems to mark one of the essential differences in attitude between Scots and Scottish Americans towards tartan. For the former, tartan may be said to represent a powerful expression of identity, whether with clan or nation; for the latter, there appears to me to be an additional element

in this symbolism, one of almost religious significance, where tartan has come to represent not only clan and family kinship in its widest sense, but also the visible identification with an entire cultural heritage. To this extent tartan is held by many as something to be revered in a way that some Scots find some difficulty in understanding.

The service itself tends to follow a broadly similar pattern and the 'Blessing of the Tartans' is often incorporated within the body of a Sunday morning act of worship which may be the Holy Eucharist, or Communion, or morning Prayer or mass, depending on the particular denomination. It was more usual to find the 'Kirkin' in Presbyterian church services, at least until recently; now, however, it is also known to form part of Episcopal and Roman Catholic services as well.[127]

I believe that the religious context is important, the better to enable a deeper understanding of the sentiments the Kirkin' expresses. Dr. Charles McCook has progressed from being chaplain to the Order of the Tartan in the State of Georgia in the late 1970's, to chaplain to Clan Donald in Georgia and is currently chaplain to Clan Donald USA. During the course of these duties he has taken many Kirkin' o' the Tartan' services, particularly at the annual Stone Mountain Highland Games in Georgia, now second only to the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in terms of size on the East Coast. Dr. McCook's 'meditations' or addresses at these games (McCook, 1995) help reveal the significance of not only the Scottish connection but also the part which tartan plays:

> I would suggest that in this "foreign land" we too are experiencing an eclipse of the virtues of the culture

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[127] See "Tartan of New Scotland"web page (http://www.reseau.chebucto.ns.ca)

> which prompted our forefathers to seek these distant shores. Like the Hebrews of old, we too must live again a part of our cultural past. Like those of old, we must capture the nobility of the past in the ties of family. This is the one feature of this Scottish revival which has impressed me so. It is bringing families together in a way that we have not witnessed in recent years...|It is the strong ties of family that our future resides. In an age when the family is being fractured and the society is bordering on the anarchical, the recovery of the Scottish family identities can become the leaven which may still transform this land into that of our father's aspirations...So look not upon these Tartans as mere pieces of cloth! They are the fabric which is helpng literally and figuratively to re-establish our family identities, which are causing our families "to live again."[128]

This extract demonstrates the special link between tartan and family and by extension with the values which Dr. McCook recommends to his congregation. In another meditation, he equates the Scottish American community with the Hebrew Diaspora in being instrumental in the preservation of the cultural heritage of their forefathers:

> How like those Hebrews of old we may be! Some did not return to the land of their fathers. That did not mean that they had neither interest in Israel nor the ideals for which it stood. Quite to the contrary. They sent money back to help preserve that which remained and to build anew, even as many of us are doing today with our particular clans, buying acreage where our clans once held forth; restoring castles and properties. But the story does not stop there. No, that group Hebrews in Diaspora actually became one of the vital centers of learning and the preservation of the Hebrew culture. It was from this group that Ezra came in 400BC with the Torah, the primary resource of the Hebrew faith. Had he not done this the ideals and aspirations of the Hebrews might have passed from this scene of history.
>
> Likewise we too have a similar opportunity to preserve a heritage and to find in it the God given call to lead men to the light...My call today to you who call yourselves Scots is to revitalize the dreams of our fathers...As we seek to recapture a part of our glorious heritage with this and other Scottish festivals, let us not forget the dreams of our ancestors: let us make a reality of those dreams. Let every Scot here accept the

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[128] Stone Mountain Highland Games 22.10.1989

> challenge to be alight so that "His glory may be seen upon Thee!"[129]

Not only is the minister urging his listeners to celebrate their heritage, but to take an active part in preserving it, with the unspoken suggestion that it is increasingly incumbent upon Scottish Americans to be active in this field if that heritage is not to disappear. This might suggest one of the reasons why such heritage may be viewed differently both sides of the Atlantic, or at least one of the reasons why it is interpreted in a different way, with, for example, the ceremony of the Kirkin' being not only virtually unknown in Scotland, but generally dismissed as an American invention.[130]

Hector Munro of Foulis has quite definite views on the ceremony:

> Yes, it's taste really and I think as long as we are not influenced from across there; a bit like the Kirkin o' the Tartan; I'm afraid I don't like to see that coming as the norm in Scotland, because it's not Scottish and I'm sorry to hear it was being done down in the Borders...We've certainly stuck out against it; they've (Clan Munro USA) tried to push it on to us when they come over here, but we've said no, not for us.[131] (SSS.SA1997.136)

This passage is revealing in that it demonstrates that one chief, at least, finds it difficult to contemplate any sort of reverse flow of cultural influences back across the Atlantic. It could be argued that the Munros, with their relatively long-established Scottish clan society, can see no reason to accommodate such influences. The contrary would undoubtedly apply in the case of the Homes, though not yet to the extent of embracing a Kirkin' ceremony, I suspect.

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[129] Ibid 20.10.1991

[130] At the first Border Gathering held in Dumfries in 1997, the programme included a 'Kirkin' o' the Tartan' on the Sunday.

[131] At the international Clan gathering at Foulis earlier that summer, the American contingent had hoped to persuade the chief to attend the Kirkin'; he declined and they had to make their own arrangements for the ceremony in a nearby church.

When Dr. McCook exhorts his listeners to look on their heritage as their covenant, he is bidding them to regard it as a divine mission which happily embraces visual symbols:

> If the best that our forefathers knew is to survive then we must recapture this part of our heritage. Great as it may be to have our Tartan flags, wear the dress of our forefathers, re-enact the contests, listen to the rousing strains of the bagpipe, if we do not revive the religious values, re-establish the home and the family as the cardinal institution of society, rekindle our respect for the land and reinvest our lives in the Church, then we too shall find ourselves in diaspora. It is indeed a Divine imperative that we must recapture the whole of our true Scottish heritage if we as a people are to live![132]

And again, on values:

> Each time our Tartans are brought forth for blessing it should be our way of affirming that we accept those values for which our ancestors stood. As the Tartan is the symbol of those values, let the blessing be our re-consecration![133]

At a Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony, at the appropriate moment, tartan banners of as many clans present as possible are brought to up to the altar rail of the church, or if the service is in the open, as at Highland games, then in front of the presiding minister. Custom varies according to the traditions of the particular service, but one feature which is universal is the 'blessing of the tartans'. The prayer of blessing encapsulates the significance of the tartan to the community present at the service, and the themes are clearly illustrated in the Reverend McCook's prayers used on different occasions. In his view tartan 'is a direct tie to one's ancestral heritage; each tartan signifies a tie to a particular family group – the Clan. In bringing forth the tartans not only is the Scottish Clan heritage acknowledged but also a spiritual legacy'. ((1995):

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[132] Stone Mountain Highland Games, 17.10.1993.
[133] Ibid 16.10.1994

> We rejoice, O God, in the opportunity to dedicate to Thee these Tartans as symbols of the unswerving loyalty, steadfast faith and great achievements of our Scottish forefathers. We take pride in their stamina as individuals in the face of adversity, in the tenacity of their loyalty to their families and clans, in their undying faith in Thee. In the blessing of these Tartans bless us with loyalty, faith, and the achievements in the preservation of our heritage. Amen.[134]
>
> O Lord, our God, with the presentation of these Tartans we acknowledge our heritage and recognize our obligation to those men and women of faith who through the centuries have called upon Thy name. Grateful for this symbol of our link to the past we pray that it will bind us to those generations unborn who will call Thee blessed because we have dared to preserve a heritage built upon faith in Thee.
> We evoke Thy blessings upon these families represented by these Tartans. May they ever be true to Thee, each other, and to themselves, upholding the faith of those who have gone before and passing on that same faith to those to follow after. Amen.[135]
>
> We reverently stand, our Father, here in the presence of these Tartans, the symbols of our families past, present and future, seeking Thy blessing. May we be worthy of that blessing and never bring shame upon these Tartans, the name we proudly bear, and upon Thy Divine Self whose likeness we bear. Amen.[136]
>
> O, God of our ancestors, we have gathered here among these symbols of a multitude of families to acknowledge the sacredness of the family. May these Clan Tartans serve as visible reminders of the trust which is ours so that our children's children will likewise honor our families and Thee. Amen.[137]

These prayers could be said to leave those present in no doubt of the symbolic burden the tartan banners have to bear and by extension the special significance that tartan has for not only family and clan, but also for the pantheon of Christian family values and the heritage from which their forefathers drew these values. In addition, the tartans are held to be symbolic of the duty the present generation has to maintain,

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[134] Ibid 1995
[135] Ibid 1994
[136] Ibid 1993

preserve and pass on these values to future generations. Dr. McCook's 'General Blessing' is perhaps an apt summary:

> God of our Fathers, we present these Tartans to Thee as visible symbols of our tie with the past and our hold on the future. Grateful for the spiritual aspirations of our forefathers, we pray that our families, for which these Tartans also stand, will always avail themselves of Thy strength and moral certainty. Bless us that we fail not Thee nor our heritage. Amen.[138]

At the Cathedral Church of St. Mark in Salt Lake City, the Reformation Sunday service [139] incorporated a Kirkin'. The minister on that occasion, Dr. David Marx gave the following prayer of consecration at the Blessing of the Tartans:

> As these representatives come to seek your continued blessing upon their clans, bless their tartans and those who wear them that they may be a blessing to all peoples. May their families continue to flourish. Bless each of our families and sustain us through difficult times that we may enjoy Your favour for ever and ever. Amen

Once again the focus is on the families and the quality of their tartan to be a blessing to them.[140]

David Pritchard, one of my informants already quoted in this section, was given the task of organising a Kirkin' in his home town in 1998. In his description of the resulting service, the fundamental appeal of the ceremony and its power to attract and inspire comes through quite clearly:

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[137] Ibid 1992
[138] *Meditations* (1995)
[139] October 28th 1998, see Appendix , for service sheet
[140] On this occasion, of the 48 clans represented by tartan banners at the service, only 12 bearers were of the same name of the clan or of an identifiable sept; this provides an illustration of the attachment to clan very often through the female line and embracing a wide and diverse ancestry embraced by clan societies in the United States.

> But we started doing it on St Andrews Day in Edgartown last year and afterwards, unlike most Sundays, both because it was the Sunday of their Patron Saint as well - they were adding this in, they decided to have a big church breakfast. Suddenly we had working together on the church breakfast, the ladies of the church but we also had everything from within the Scottish Society from Catholic to a large Baptist contingent to myself - a totally ecumenical thing - showing up at the Episcopal church; in fact the place was packed to the seams and the rector afterwards was, he was on top of the world, he was floating! He said: 'The first time it's a happening, the second time a tradition'. So if that's the basis for tradition, I don't care how much one wants to laugh at it , it is no different, as far as I'm concerned, than what the early Christian church did when they came in and co-opted what were regarded as primitive religious symbolism and identity and so forth, and sanctified it. This is the sanctification of something that is the symbol of people and there must have been thirty people in that church in kilts that day, or tartan skirts...I don't think there was probably hardly a duplication; I suspect there were thirty different tartans, other than husband and wife, and we had tartan banners, and of course - I mean the whole procession into this church - the cross carried with a crucifer into the church has the St Andrews cross overlaid on the ...so it was a happening, it was thrilling, it took something to a higher level and this year when I got a call from the rector I said I'm not in charge of it this year but he said we're going to do it and I think the decision has been made and I found out it had. They definitely want to do it and they are planning now as I speak and it's something that is - in some cases it happens if a Scottish society is large enough where they decide to do their own. (SSS.SA1998.58)

'The sanctification of something that is the symbol of people' is this informant's way of describing the Kirkin' ceremony and that invests it with significant meaning. Mac Grady was also enthusiastic about the part that the Kirkin' ceremony played in the overall activities of Scottish societies, in particular the Scottish Society of the Treasure Coast which he formed in Florida in 1995:

> I started this first Kirkin', this was the beginning of our society and we had it at the Episcopal Church, who have since told us that they would rather not have the Kirkin o' the Tartan in the Episcopal Church here, so now we've gone to other churches, we kinda rotate; we'll probably end up at the First Presbyterian Church

> someday, but we have not had a good Scottish minister here yet; we have one here now that's temporary, but if we had a permanent one that knew something about Scotland, Witherspoon, Knox and everything, we'd probably do a lot more things there. But the Kirkin' we had, this first Kirkin' we had here in the Treasure Coast was in 19... 1995. A howling success; we had one piper, no, I'll take that back, we had a band, we had the Rosie O'Grady Pipe Band from Orlando, Disney connection, and that's why we were ousted from the Episcopal Church, it was too noisy, this full pipe band in this church with not very high ceilings. But most of the Kirkins we have are just with one piper; I like it better with one piper, I like the sole piper out there playing, but we had one here a few weeks ago, first part of March, and we had a Scottish Weekend, we had a ceilidh on Saturday night, overfull, people had to...couldn't get in, just jam packed. We had the Kirkin and the Luncheon on the Sunday morning - sold out; church held a thousand people and there was standing room only and we were front page of the newspapers in full colour of the activity - it was just great. And things like that bring more people out, you know. (SSS.SA1999.34)

For someone with the enthusiasm for all things Scottish, the presence of a thousand or more people at his most recent Kirkin' in Vero Beach must have been very gratifying, and the integral part which a Kirkin' now seems to play in the formal agenda of Scottish American community activities is evident from this account.

B. The Kirkin' at the Highland Games

On Sunday, July 14th 1996 I attended my first Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony, at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in North Carolina and on that occasion one hundred and seven tartan banners were led on to the field where the service of worship was being held. Preceded by the Atlanta pipe band, the banner bearers lined up in two long rows in front of the minister taking the service, the Reverend Canon Dougald Lachlan Maclean, Chaplain to the Games. Before he began reading the prayer of blessing of the tartans, the banners were dipped to the ground in front of him.



(28) Dipping the tartan banners for blessing during the Kirkin o' the Tartan ceremony at the Sunday morning service of worship at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games

My companion from Paisley, Scotland, had, up to that point, been very dismissive of virtually every aspect of the display of tartan at the games. He deemed the American interpretation of clan affiliations through the proliferation of clan society tents, the sometimes exaggerated costumes of the re-enactors and individuals anxious to recapture the flavour of 18th century Highland wear, and the prospect of the parade of tartans which was to follow the kirkin' to be a parody of proper use of tartan. His scepticism extended even to the admission that he himself would never be seen wearing tartan in any form, since the whole business in his view was a modern and bogus invented tradition. In other words, he was a true disciple of Tom Nairn. The blessing was a moving moment, as Dr. Maclean iterated a prayer in very similar vein to those used by Dr. McCook at Stone Mountain. Following the blessing, the banners were raised and led off the field by the pipe band, thence on to the games ground to be paraded around the entire circuit.

When the ceremony was over, my companion confided in me that he had been particularly moved by the occasion, and for the first time in his life, had experienced a totally different feeling in so far as tartan was concerned. He said the symbolism of a past heritage and culture had been particularly strong, and that he would probably never look on tartans in the same light again.[141]

The Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony has been a part of the programme at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games since 1968.[142] I also attended the ceremony in 1999 and I observed no changes at all in the format followed on that occasion.

The Scottish Gathering and Games held at Pleasanton, California, in September 1999, also featured a Kirkin' ceremony. This occasion differed from that at Grandfather Mountain, in that the chiefs of the clans who were honoured guests at the games, took it in turns to read a portion of the list calling the clans and families to come forward and present their tartans; seventy-eight names were read out by four of the five chiefs present at the games. [143] These chiefs were Carmichael, Sinclair, Hunter and Maclaine of Lochbuie. In view of the remarks made by the Munro chief, I was particularly interested to see the heads of these clans, three of whom lived in the United Kingdom, participate in the ceremony in a very active way. It was this participation that prompted me to interview Carmichael of Carmichael to get his reactions to the ceremony of Kirkin' o' the Tartan.

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[141] The post-script to this incident was to be provided at my companion's graduation ceremony at the University of Edinburgh, when, to everyone's complete surprise, he arrived in full Highland dress.

[142] Programme of the 41st Annual games at Grandfather Mountain, July 11th-14th, 1996.

[143] See Appendix X for a transcript of that part of the service I recorded.

IMH Moving on then, if we may, to the ceremony of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan, I noticed at the Kirkin' o' the Tartan service at the Pleasanton Games that the, for the first time in my experience certainly, that the list of clans present was read out and shared amongst four chiefs, all of whom came from outwith the United States, and I'd be particularly interested to have your views, firstly on what you think the importance of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan service is to the Scottish American community, if one may put it like that, and secondly in view of the fact that it is generally not an accepted part of Scottish tradition here in Scotland, how you felt being as involved as you were the other day?

RC I have nothing but the greatest respect for the American ceremony of the Kirkin' of the Tartans, I think it's a glorious concept to celebrate all the tartans together, and at those games, although we read out - and I think there were four chiefs reading a quarter of the very long list of attending clans, not all of whom were there with their tartans at the ceremony, at the service whereas at other Kirkin' of the Tartans I've been, it's been more formal presentation of a tartan banner on behalf of each clan and if you weren't there, you didn't get to present it, but this was actually a list of all the families and clans who had been represented over the weekend that we read out - but the whole concept of celebrating together in a ecumenical church service in the way that it is done in the United Sates, I found to be such a glorious tapestry and presentation of our heritage, that the fact that it has no credibility in the history of Scotland is really rather irrelevant. I just like the way it works over there and the way it's done.

IMH So you felt...

RC Very pleased to take part and very comfortable doing so, even though I had to read - and I think I mentioned it at the time - that the Armstrongs are our hereditary enemies and I had to read out and welcome them to the Kirkin' of the Tartan (laughter). (SSS.SA1999.35)

In Carmichael's case, therefore, rather than there being any qualms, there is a whole-hearted endorsement of the ceremony, with a readiness to accept that what has become a Scottish American tradition can exist perfectly happily alongside that of the mother country, even though there are probably many in the latter who still have difficulty in accepting its validity.

(SSS.SA1999.37)

C. Participation in a Kirkin' o' the Tartan at Moultrie

During the course of my attendance at the Scottish Weekend in Moultrie, I had intended to record the Kirkin' O' the Tartan ceremony on the Sunday, as well as photograph it. In the event this plan was to be frustrated, for no sooner had I found a relatively obscure seat at the side of the church, when the organiser of the Kirkin' summoned me to join in the parade and presentation of tartans as an honoured guest. I was invited to select a tartan banner to carry; this posed a small problem, in that there was nothing resembling the Home tartan. The banners still awaiting a bearer looked rather forlorn, resting against a wall of the First Presbyterian Church in Moultrie. I now found myself a participant required to make a series of decisions which presumed not only a familiarity with the proceedings, but also, by implication, an endorsement of the same. Knowing that I would have to announce the clan whose banner I bore, the choice was made relatively easily, for amongst the forlorn tartans was only one which I immediately recognised, that of the Campbells.

The minister was in a Buchanan kilt, which seems to have been due to Mac Grady, who told me that he had started the Kirkin' at Moultrie:

> I've done Kirkin's all over the South. I've started in many churches; Moultrie, Georgia, the First Presbyterian Church there, at Moultrie; we put him in a Buchanan kilt and we had our very first with Brit Hume, a Kirkin o' the Tartan there...(SSS.SA1999.34)

The same minister was presiding; I am unable to recall whether he was carrying the Witherspoon tartan banner, by which Mac Grady had set so much store:

> ...and the minister- I guess you might say this is my origination - I have him carry the Witherspoon tartan

> because John Witherspoon was the first, he was the only minister to have signed the Declaration of Independence and being Scottish, I acquired his tartan, the Witherspoon tartan, so every Kirkin' I go to I present the minister with the Witherspoon tartan and he carries that very proudly. I've found that many ministers, particularly the one at Moultrie , Georgia, he'd never heard of...I mentioned about John Witherspoon and so forth, and he broke off the conversation and went into his library in the church and he found out who John Witherspoon was and now he's very proud, you know, to carry that Witherspoon tartan, so most of the churches that I have gone to in Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, they carry the Witherspoon tartan as the lead tartan in the procession. The Saltire is there and the Lion Rampant is there also, but he carries the Witherspoon very proudly. (SSS.SA1999.34)

There were twenty four banners in the procession and after placing our banners in stands either side of the altar, we were invited to sit in the front row. The Centreville Fire Department Highland Pipes and Drums which had led the Procession of the Tartans, retired to the back of the church and the service began. I cannot recall whether the minister was carrying a banner, since I was much too concerned to get myself into the right place at the right time and not commit a *faux-pas*, particularly as everybody else in the procession seemed thoroughly familiar with the proceedings. Beth Gay, the organiser of the Scottish Weekend –and of the Kirkin' –confided to me as we entered the church:

> We try to preserve the heritage and culture of Scotland, as we see it, as best we can.

Once again this echoes the responsibility the Scottish American community seems to feel for undertaking this task, implying that it is not being safeguarded in Scotland, a thought echoed in Dr. McCook's meditations. More significantly, I believe that the phrase 'as we see it' underlines the possible divergence of traditions embraced by this heritage and in particular might have been offered as an

acknowledgement of the fact that the Kirkin' ceremony is definitely a Scottish American tradition without apparent roots in Scotland.

The service proceeded with the Call to Worship, Call to Confession, Assurance of Pardon, Words of Welcome and then a brief explanation of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony, including an allusion to the hidden pieces of tartan being brought for blessing. The Scot's Confession was followed by The Presentation of the Tartans; when my turn came, I held up my clan Campbell tartan banner and declared:

> Clan Home and Clan Campbell are here, Sir.

The minister then said:

> On behalf of the Clans represented here, we raise these Tartans before Almighty God in gratitude for our heritage and pray God's blessing on all God's peoples in all lands.

Then followed the Blessing of Families, during which the minister reminded us that all families have heritage and all families have hope. The Offering, The Lessons, Anthem and Benediction came after, with the tartan banner Procession reforming once more and leaving the church behind the pipe band. The service included a number of hymns, amongst which was *Amazing Grace*, accompanied very movingly by a piper.

The experience of the unexpected transition from observer to active participant in a ceremony which up to that moment I had viewed as something very much part of Scottish American culture, but which would be unlikely to demand my own participation, proved to be a memorable one. This was particularly so in view of my own inborn reluctance to accept the Kirkin' as having anything to do with Scotland, least of all with the elevation of tartan to such prominence in

a religious context. As a result, I now found it distinctly easier to accept that there can be a perfectly valid alternative interpretation of a cultural heritage, adapted to the needs of the Scottish American community.

The congregation on this occasion was very diverse, with many families with younger children, and some who had no particular Scottish affiliations. During the parish Lunch which followed the service, I spoke to some of these people and in each case they expressed their enthusiasm for everything they had seen. They were now desperately anxious to discover whether their own families had any Scottish roots, because they recognised the very strong appeal of the community. In this case, the church lay at the root of it. During the course of my travels in the United States, many references have been made to the fact that it is often the attendance at a Presbyterian church service that people's interest in exploring their Scottish roots is first aroused. This is particularly so if they happen to have the good fortune to attend a Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony. It is the presence of the tartans and their symbolism of the culture and heritage of Scotland that is so powerful.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

The principal objective of this thesis has been to examine the expression of individual identity through the medium of material culture. From the outset I aimed to ascertain what role the kilt plays in the construction of Scottish American identity in particular. I have endeavoured to assess whether the very strong symbolic power and attraction of tartan is instrumental in instigating a person's decision to opt for a Scottish qualifyer to the existing American identity, or whether it is called in aid following such a decision. By trying to discern the elements that form part of the visual expression of an individual's perception of identity, it should be possible to determine the part played by the kilt and tartan. In essence this study has attempted to contribute to our understanding of the meaning or idea of the kilt and tartan which rests in the minds of those who wear it in America today.

The methods employed to examine these influences have been primarily those of the contemporary ethnologist, relying on inter-active discourse with informants in the field. These informants have been drawn from different areas in order to give a reasonably comprehensive coverage of the predominant visible public expression of Scottish American affiliations – part random, part selective – but, as must be the case in any qualitative survey, one can only draw conclusions from those interviewed at any given time and place.

My own role as participant-observer in a number of functions, gatherings and specific events has provided an important additional dimension to the study, balancing that part of the work devoted to the

examination of aspects of the two specific clans, the Munros and Homes.

To set the work in context, my previous study of the part the kilt plays in the expression of identity in Scotland today provides a useful benchmark. In a sense this study forms an integral, albeit introductory, element in the whole, leading ultimately to consideration of the question of difference between Scottish and Scottish American attitudes towards tartan and the kilt.

In the first part of the work, devoted to both Scottish and Scottish American attitudes towards the kilt, I have been concerned primarily to gauge individual perceptions of identity. By exploring the place the kilt and the chosen tartan from which it is made has in the mind of the Scottish informants, we are able to relate this to each individual's perception of their own identity. The concept of the 'traditional' and the 'new' kilt wearers emerges from these enquiries, together highlighting the transition of the kilt from being a mark of Highland identity into one of Scottish national identity. The clan chiefs' views and those of the officials of Scottish American organisations then lead us into the consideration of Scottish American identity and the part played by the kilt and tartan, particularly in the context of clans and clan societies. These views, together with impressions garnered from the Highland games I visited in the United States, seem to point conclusively to the fundamental role which the clan societies play in satisfying the quest for Scottish links, and this is inextricably bound up with the visual expression of such links through the medium of tartan. My attendance at specific Scottish American functions further re-enforced this point, particularly with regard to the national tartan day celebrations in Washington.

The examination of the differences between the two clan societies

served two purposes. In the case of the Munros, a well-established and well-run organisation seems to be meeting the needs of its members to have a focal point for their Scottish links. And yet, through pressures on the chiefly family, it is now having to address the wider demands of the public from both sides of the Atlantic for more information about the clan-based society of the past, through its Clanland exhibition. Potentially, this poses some problems for Clan Munro visitors, particularly in the light of the down-playing of the tartan element in the exhibition.

The case of the Homes, on the other hand, serves to illustrate the role of individuals in attempting to satisfy the apparent need for a focal point through the creation of societies. This echoes their own interpretation of Scottish American-ness in particular, to the extent that the whole construct reflects a certain lack of legitimacy, in the sense that the chiefly endorsement has so far been withheld. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm on the part of one of the promoters, Mac Grady, leaves one in no doubt at all as to the very significant role tartan plays in the visualisation of not only his own identity, but those with whom he has had dealings.

In a sense the foregoing studies all lead up to the principal section of the work devoted to the detailed examination of individual perceptions of identity and ethnicity. The contributions of both the pre-selected informants and those randomly selected at the Highland games encapsulate the theme which runs throughout this thesis, namely that tartan and the kilt combine to express an 'idea'. This is re-enforced in the final section which examines the Kirkin o' the Tartan ceremony.

In the earlier chapters of this work a number of questions presented themselves, all closely linked and all centred on the role of tartan and the kilt in the construction and expression of Scottish identity in

varying degrees by contemporary Americans. I have endeavoured to tease out the complex way in which these icons of Scottishness interact in this formulation of identity; in so doing I have also tried to address some of the reasons that stimulate people to enlarge or quantify the way they see their own identity in the United States today. Today there is an enhanced awareness of ethnicity, and it appears to be marked in contemporary American society with its tendency to exhibit moves towards the de-construction of the 'melting-pot' of the 'All-American' and its replacement by the 'hyphenated' American. Ultimately, an individual's ethnicity has to be based on what anyone feels himself or herself to be.

The fundamental question which prompted this research was whether the symbolic power of tartan was a prime motivation for the adoption of a Scottish, as opposed to any other, form of hyphenated identity by Americans. I would argue that on balance may be it is. It is invested with such a complexity of meanings which vary from individual to individual, that it is very difficult to determine whether the object or the idea comes first. What is fairly certain is that tartan almost invariably plays an essential part in the expression of this Scottish American identity, whilst for some it is also a basic ingredient in the construction of that identity.

In a sense tartan appears to have an almost mythical quality for many, encapsulating a tradition (albeit partly manufactured) which has become the shorthand for a Scottish heritage to which a large number of people aspire. The attraction of the heritage, whether viewed as specifically Highland or the more universal Scots, is without doubt enormously important, particularly to those who consider that, as Gene Paxton put it, the United States 'only has 200 years of history'. Associated with this attraction, and equally strong, is the idea of joining a wider, or even substitute, family through becoming a

member of a clan society. This in turn allows the individual, in Elspeth Rowe's words, to 'wear one's name on one's sleeve' through the chosen tartan. These attractions are particularly re-enforced through the complexity of meaning also invested in the kilt. This too in a sense has acquired a life of its own in the Scottish American community, where it is worn rather more obviously than would be the case in Scotland, in particular at Highland games.

The fracture of the all-American identity through the increasing emphasis being given to many of the ethnic cultures, which belong to the different groups of immigrants to the country, may also account for the growing popularity of the Scottish connection amongst Americans of North European origin, even if they may have a choice of ethnicities through their own family profile. Here the attraction of the Scottish identity does seem to be due as much to the symbolism and recognition that tartan and the kilt posses as to the more invisible dimension of the heritage and qualities traditionally associated with Scotland. This is particularly clear from the comments offered by the variety of American informants I interviewed, who come into my category of 'new' kilt wearers. Amongst the 'traditional' kilt wearers, the role of tartan and the kilt is perhaps rather more complex, where both act as the outward expression of an identity that is paraded with greater confidence, and which does not have its roots in the superficial attraction of these symbols.

Ultimately, I believe that this research shows tartan and the kilt are intrinsic to the perception of Scottishness and the pull that this identity has. They represent what might be termed a unique collectivity in such a powerful way, that people do not need to articulate how they perceive their identity in so many words. This fundamental attraction allows them to construct their own particular version of Scottish American identity and to participate in the wider clan and family,

perhaps as a substitute for the community and family which are no longer so easily accessible. We are innately collective beings; Carl Jung explored the idea of the 'Collective Unconscious' in his *Memories, Dreams and Reflections* (1983:10) and perhaps we are now moving into the next stage of man's evolution, the 'Collective Conscious', achievable through Self-Realisation (Shri Mataji Nirmala Devi, 1995:15). Tartan and the kilt are excellent examples of material culture 'goods' which give visible expression to an attractive collectivity, the Scottish American, giving it instant roots by conveying the idea of an older tradition through their symbolic power. Perhaps this is but a stage in man's search for a universal collectivity; in the meantime the role that tartan plays in acting as a substitute for the heritage for which the Scottish American appears to yearn is significant. It is as if tartan is looked on as representing the spirit of that heritage, and this is evidenced not only by the personal views of those participating in my research, but also the Kirkin' o' the Tartan ceremony in particular.

Finally, I am drawn to the conclusion that a fairly fundamental difference has become evident in the way that tartan is regarded by the Scot at home in Scotland and the Scottish American. The kilt and tartan visibly represent all to which the latter seem to want access in terms of history, heritage, culture and even traditional society, in spite of the likelihood that today's Scot may either be ignorant of much of this or even eschew it to the extent of rejecting it. For him, though the kilt and tartan do serve as excellent symbols of national identity. We are left with the paradox of the power of these symbols, which allows for widely different interpretations of their significance and meaning and yet they are quite unmistakably and uniquely Scottish, albeit growing out of an invented tradition if we accept Anthony Gidden's view that all tradition is invented (1999:2). It behoves the Scot to try to understand what tartan has come to mean for his Scottish

American cousins and even to rejoice in the extraordinary achievement that this meaning represents. It is a mark of the influences which have emanated from this land and as such should be understood and celebrated rather than derided as kitsch. I think this study shows convincingly that as a means of expressing identity in this complex and changing world, the kilt and tartan stand out as being fundamental if that identity has a Scottish element to it in contemporary American society.

By undertaking this study, I have endeavoured to set the consideration of such familiar icons as tartan and the kilt, the icons of 'tartanry', in a new context. For too long the part they play in the manifestation of Scottish culture and identity has been either marginalised or sidelined to the extent that they have not been considered a serious element in that culture – even an aberration to some extent.

I believe Tom Nairn's 'tartan monster' has metamorphosed substantially into quite a different animal, one that I would prefer to call a tartan lion, although many Scots are still too diffident, perhaps, to acknowledge this. Their cousins in America appear to have no such problem. Nairn is still wrestling with his monster when he engages with the question of contemporary Scottish identity in his most recent work, *After Britain*:

> All intelligent visitors to Scotland have been conscious of the contradiction: a 'phoney' identity-claim to which perfectly unphoney people cling, and with genuine passion (Nairn, 2000:251).

'Phoney' here reflects his perception of tartanry " the assimilation of all things Scottish to a clannic (hence plaid-clad) origin....not possessing a sufficiently distinct majority tongue, the Scots invented a 'language' of assertive display in other modes and forms" (2000:250).

I am arguing that in the same way that each individual chooses the elements from which to construct his range of identities – amply demonstrated in the body of this work, so in the larger domain have the Scots done likewise, but increasingly collectively. Even to the extent that we have now arrived at the point where the particular aspects of material culture which we have been considering are universally recognised outwith Scotland, and especially in the United States of America, as being synonymous with Scottish identity, but in Scotland itself this recognition is acknowledged almost in an apologetic way. The time has come for the tartan lion to roar.

Scots should no longer feel embarrassed by their tartan, therefore, and should learn from their cousins in this respect. It encapsulates such a totality of elements, conveying complex ideas from several different streams, and true enough, these have taken some two hundred years to mature into a tradition which undoubtedly will be subject to continual refreshment.

If ethnology is the study of traditional culture, then we are duty bound to consider the place that tartan, in material culture terms, has in the formulation and expression of identity wherever that may include a Scottish element. In a wider sense, this should lead to further consideration of the part material culture plays in the individual construction of identity and where a shared culture or heritage, whilst superficially and visually identical, may be subject to different meaning and interpretation. This may be particularly relevant today, when so many people appear to be in need of more focused identities in the face of such rapid changes in society as the late twentieth century has witnessed. In this context useful areas of further research may lie in the examination of Highland games and the way these have developed in America and their relationship with games in Scotland; the transfer of cultural influences from the former to the

latter will also become more and more marked, I suspect. Pipe bands and even clan societies and the differences in meanings they convey to their participants and to others, both in Scotland and overseas, both offer potentially rewarding fields of study, and all the above-mentioned are intimately connected to the expression of identity.

During the course of this work I have explored the relationships and sometimes the contradictions apparent in an extensive body of theoretical writing from different disciplines in so far as these have been relevant to my own research and findings. The exercise has been rewarding in that it has allowed me to develop a model for contemporary ethnological research in a field in which the boundaries between ethnology, social and cultural anthropology, oral history and sociology are becoming increasingly blurred, in particular where these relate to material culture and identity studies.

Finally, for tartan and the kilt to evoke such a complex and varied range of feelings in all whom I questioned empowers them both with a very special quality, perhaps neatly encapsulated in the quote preceding the title of this thesis:

> With a piece of tartan, you know, they have their identity.[144]

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[144] SSS.SA1999.34

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134th Scottish Gathering and Games, Caledonian Club of San Francisco, Pleasanton, CA., 1999

Scottish Weekend 1999, Moultrie, Ga.,1999

South of Scotland Clans & Families International Gathering, Dumfries, 1997

Kirkin' O' the Tartan, First Presbyterian Church of Moultrie, GA., 1999
Kirkin' Of The Tartan Service, Caledonian Club of San Francisco, Pleasanton, CA., 1999
Kirkin' O' the Tartan, Cathedral Church of St. Mark, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1997
Kirkin' O' the Tartan, Cathedral Church of St. Mark, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1998

Web Pages

Clan Societies

Clan Home Society International
http://www.evcom.net/~pigboy
Clan Home, Hume & Holmes
http://bally.fortunecity.com/lentrim/210/home
Family Home Page
http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~hume
The Clan Munro (Association)
http://www.clan-munro-assoc.demon.co.uk
Munro Eagle
http://www.clanmunrousa.org

Events

Caledonian Club of San Francisco
http://www.caledonian.org
Grandfather Mountain Highland Games
http://www.gmhg.org
Kirking of the Tartan
http://www.ccn.cs.dal.ca/Heritage/FSCNS/Scots_NS
Tartan Day
http://www.tartanday.com

Tartan & the Kilt

House of Tartan
http://www.house.of.tartan.scotland.net
Scottish Tartan Authority
http://www.tartanauthority.org
Scottish Tartan Museum
http://www.scottishtartans.org/clanlink
The Tartan Pages
http://www.scotlands.com/tp

Clans & Families

Electric Scotland Scottish & Irish Clans & Families
http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans
Highlander Web magazine
http://www.highlanderweb.co.uk
Rampant Scotland Directory of Scottish Websites
http://www.rampantscotland.com
Scotland On Line
http://www.tartans.scotland.net
http://www.scotland.net/pastimes
Scotland.org
http://www.scotland.org/directories/catmap82
Scots Origins
http://www.origins.net/GRO
Scotweb – The best of Scotland
http://www.scotweb.co.uk
U.S. Scots online
http://www.ussscots.com

APPENDICES

Appendix I

List of Informants

1. Richard Carmichael of Carmichael SA1999.35
Chief of Clan Carmichael, Carmichael, Lanarkshire
Recorded at Carmichael 20.9.1999

2. Earl of Elgin and Kincardine SA1999.35
Chief of Clan Bruce
Convener of the Standing Council of Scottish
Chiefs & Names, Broomhall, Fife
Recorded at Broomhall 12.4.1999

3. Col. Bob McWilliam SA1999.38
President of COSCA, Michigan
Recorded at Linville, N. Carolina 10.7.1999

4. COSCA tent at Grandfather Mountain SA1999.38
Recorded at Linville, N. Carolina 10.7.1999

5. Elspeth Rowe, SA1999.34
COSCA official, Wisconsin
Recorded at Sarasota, Florida 27.2.199

6. William 'Bill'Johnston SA1998.56
President of TECA, Pennsylvania
Recorded in Edinburgh 2 .2.1998

7. Hector Munro of Foulis SA1997.136
Chief of Clan Munro, Evanton, Ross-shire
Recorded at Evanton 21.11.1997

8. Anne Monroe Digger & Don Digger SA1999.35
President of Clan Munro USA, North Carolina
Recorded at Evanton 9.4.1999

9. R.W. 'Mac' Grady SA1999.34
President of Clan Hume/Home/Holmes Society USA
President of Scottish Highlands Society
Recorded at Vero Beach, Florida 2.3.1999

10. Charles Edwards, Vermont SA1998.57
Recorded at Sarasota, Florida 27.2.1998

11. David Pritchard,Massachussetts SA1998.58
Recorded at Greenlaw, Berwickshire 23.10.1998

12. Gene Paxton, California SA1999.37
Recorded at Pleasanton, California 4.9.1999

13. Ed Owen SA1999.37
President, South Bay Scottish Society, California
Recorded at Pleasanton, California 4.9.1999

14. Ian Kirk, California SA1999.37
Recorded at Pleasanton, California 4.9.1999

15. Scott Graham, California SA1999.37
Recorded at Pleasanton, California 4.9.1999

16. Gaston Macmillan SA1999.37
Chairman, Clan Macmillan Society West Coast
Recorded at Pleasanton,California 4.9.1999

17. Mark Racicot, California SA1999.37
Recorded at Pleasanton, California 4.9.1999

18. Beth Gay SA1999.37
Editor, The Family Tree, Ellen Payne Odom
Geneaoligical Library,Georgia.
Recorded at Pleasanton California 5.9.1999

Appendix II

The questionnaire below provided a skeleton set of questions to put to informants to elicit their views. Essentially it acted as an aide-memoire, rather than providing a fixed form for each interview. In practice, interviews rarely followed a set pattern, and each situation tended to dictate a slightly different approach, depending on individual circumstances at the time. Where interviews were pre-arranged, and by defiition were of a lengthier nature, the structure was tailored very much to the individual's 'interests and willingness to explore the different avenues the topic presented.

Questionnaire

1. How do you come to be wearing the kilt today?
2. What, if any, are your family connections with Scotland?
3. Is the Scottish element more important to you than any other possible attachments through the diverse origins of your forebears?
4. What do you think are the reasons behind the apparent need for people to seek a qualification to their American identity?
5. What, if any, are the particular attractions of the visual symbols associated with Scotland?
6. What other aspects of Scotland or the Scottish identity have engaged your particular interest?
7. How old were you when you began to become interested in your own roots and family history?
8. Do you think the quest for roots and knowledge of your family's past connections is something associated with any particular generation?
9. What importance do you place on wearing a particular tartan?
10. What is the importance of a/the clan society to you?
11. Do you attend Highland games or other Scottish community activities on a regular basis?
12. On what occasions do you personally wear your kilt?
13. If you have children, have they demonstrated any interest in the Scottish connection, and if so, in what way?
14. What are your views on Tartan Day?
15. Have you participated in a Kirkin o'the Tartan ceremony and if so what does it mean to you?

Appendix III

Paper published in *Review of Scottish Culture*

Number 12 1999-2000, pages 59-68 entitled:

"TARTAN AND THE WEARING OF THE KILT AS A MARK OF CHANGING CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTLAND"

TARTAN AND THE WEARING OF THE KILT AS A MARK OF CHANGING CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTLAND

Ian Maitland Hume

> 'Fundamental to the use of tartan as an expression of Scottishness is its wear in the form of a kilt.'

This quotation, whose source I have been unable to trace, neatly encapsulates the theme of this article, and in view of the extent of the subject, I have confined my remarks to only some aspects of the wearing of the kilt in contemporary Scotland. In particular, I wish to examine the contrasting views of those who may be termed 'traditional' kilt wearers and those whom I term 'new' kilt wearers. My conclusions are drawn from data supplied by a wide range of informants for the preparation of a lengthier work;[1] the material suggests that the perceptions amongst those wearing the kilt in Scotland today are extremely varied. The notion of a distinctive divide between Highlands and Lowlands in terms of attitude towards the wearing of the kilt still lingers in some quarters; likewise the perception of many that the apparent growth of interest in the kilt owes much to films such as *Braveheart* needs to be contrasted with the whole question of identity and the expression of Scottishness in the context of nationality as well.

Tradition is mentioned by many of the contributors as the reason they choose to wear the kilt when they do, or is the fundamental element in the choice of tartan. It is important, therefore, to measure these views against other perceptions of tradition, though I would argue that merely by believing something to be traditional, endows an action with appropriate authority to enable the person to act with sufficient self-confidence, especially if supported in his views by his peers. Some suggest that the whole tradition of wearing the kilt and tartan in its present form is an invented tradition dating back barely two hundred years, if that. But who is to say that by its very adoption, such tradition has not indeed become genuine? Hobsbawm[2] takes the view that invented tradition 'seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' and here he may well be close to the truth, for 'continuity with the past' may be an important consideration for many. Traditions, whether spontaneously invented or not cannot be separated from the wider study of the history of society and they are highly relevant to that relatively recent historical innovation – the 'nation'.[3] Is the 'nation' or patriotism one of the major underlying themes in the consideration of wearing the kilt in Scotland today, or is it still much more an expression of Highland identity? Inevitably, the more we attempt to define tradition in this context, the more important it becomes to consider the symbolism of tartan as an expression of national identity. To my mind, Orvar Löfgren sets the scene perceptively, when he speaks of inventing traditions: 'Here we have a much more complex pattern of accommodation, re-organisation and re-cycling, in which different interest

groups have different claims at stake'[4] and this could well be applied to the complexity of the different motives which characterise the kilt wearers of today. Whilst it is clear that the kilt and tartan are looked on as part of the national culture, in spite of being exploited almost more than any other national symbols for the purposes of tourism, now it might be argued that the kilt is in the process of gradually being returned to the people. This seems to be borne out by the experience of the outfitters and suppliers of tartan, especially to judge by the experience of those in the business of hiring out Highland dress.

One of the fundamental questions which I have endeavoured to answer is that relating to the place of the kilt in the minds of its wearers from the traditional and symbolic perspective. Storaas, when discussing the development of a Norwegian national dress which was specifically part of the agenda in that country's campaign to become independent at the beginning of this century, refers to the importance of symbols.[5] By the time the dangers of Jacobitism were considered to be past, and whereas previously the wearing of tartan had been held to be such a potent symbol of Highland culture and identity (and by definition probably Jacobite and anti-government), the banning of its wear had fragmented the solidarity of which Storaas speaks. The paradox is, that once permitted for general use again, Highland dress emerges with very different symbolism. Now it was associated with British imperial success, through its continued use by Highland regiments in the Seven Years War; tartan and Highland dress were to re-emerge in a sophisticated militarily fashioned form for wear by the upper classes. In terms of price, it was now beyond the reach of the ordinary man, since the weaving of tartan was no longer a domestic skill, thirty-five years of prohibition having largely dispersed the necessary skills.[6] Now it was the province of the industrial weavers. The demise of the kilt as everyday wear may well have coincided with the passing of the generation which had known it before proscription, although it would doubtless continue in use by ex-soldiers to a degree. By 1819, Southey's observations encapsulate the transition of the kilt from being the dress of ordinary people to being increasingly restricted to the military and the upper classes: 'It is proof of increasing decency and civilisation that the Highland philabeg, or male petticoat, is falling into disuse. Upon a soldier or a gentleman it looks well; but on the common people and especially with boys, it is a filthy, beggarly, indecent garb . . .'[7]

I think the fundamental reason for this transition is one of cost, which was to remain a factor precluding its wider use for possibly the next one hundred and fifty years, and it is only with the appearance of the kilt hire shops, combined with the relatively recent increase in many people's disposable income, that the kilt is perhaps once again becoming a popular dress. But of course, cost is not the only reason; its symbolism too has altered. One of the clear things to emerge from this study, is the broad distinction that can be drawn between those who are the successors of the above-quoted 'soldier or a gentleman' (in my terms 'traditional' kilt wearers) and those who might be the successors of the 'common people' ('new' kilt wearers). Their different reasons for wearing the kilt reflect two different aspects of symbolism; for the former it still reflects an expression of Highland identity, for the latter, primarily Scottish identity.

As the nineteenth century progressed, not only did the whole clan tartan 'myth' become established 'fact', following the Royal visit of 1822, but also the precise style and accoutrements required for any specific occasion became defined by the arbiters of fashion, to the extent that few dared jeopardise their position in society by disobeying the rules. James Scarlett suggests that this elevation of tartan into something of almost mystic significance coupled with the demands of Victorian society, created something from which we are only now perhaps beginning to free ourselves:

> There were those who made it known that only Scots or those of Scottish descent might wear the kilt and that no-one could sport a clan tartan unless related in some way to the clan. This was just what was needed to put the tartan cult on to a firm footing. The unattainable is naturally sought after, so people began to want to be of Scottish descent in order to wear tartan, which thereby became a sort of status symbol . . . it

> was the Victorian standards of ostentation and etiquette that regimented tartan . . . rarely can there have been such a prolific marriage of supply and demand and it continues.[8]

In spite of the reservations of some contemporary sociologists who believe that the whole business of tartan and the kilt has little if any relevance for contemporary Scotland,[9] Hugh Cheape is much nearer to reflecting the actual picture which emerges from my survey, I think, when he states without equivocation 'Tartan [and the kilt, I assume] has been adopted as the national dress of all Scots, Lowland and Highland, providing a powerful form of national, cultural and personal identity.'[10]

From an ethnologist's point of view the information supplied by those who have customarily worn the kilt since their childhood provides the benchmark against which the views of others, who by definition do not have any family 'tradition' of wearing the kilt, can be compared. They nearly all profess to wear it as an expression of their own Highland rather than Scottish identity; they generally accept that it has now moved into the pan-Scottish sphere and is, to all intents and purposes, the national dress of Scotland as a whole. Brought up to regard the Highland Line as the defining limit beyond which the kilt should not, except in rare circumstances, be worn, their views about this have begun to be more relaxed. Many of the criteria surrounding the wearing of the kilt still derive from those stemming from the Victorian and Edwardian eras of the grandfathers of this group of people. There is general disapproval of any tendency for the kilt to be worn as fancy dress or even as an expression of national identity, particularly in its football supporters' mode. In other words unless worn 'properly' with the right accessories, or on the hill in a more relaxed way, it should not be worn at all. The more it becomes a mark of national identity, the less apposite it seems to be for everyday wear, in the way of their fathers. By contrast the views of the 'new' kilt wearers betray very little of the conditioning of the 'traditional' group, but rather display an interesting interpretation of tradition for their own purposes.

Amongst the informants from the 'traditional' wearers who have worn the kilt from their earliest years, Alastair Campbell of Airds is typical of someone who finds that his own practice and views have been changing[11]:

> I used to wear it a lot; we used to have a great annual pilgrimage home from the South and when one came up here one used to wear the kilt . . . I think wearing the kilt was a far more important thing when you weren't living in Scotland and funnily enough when you are living here, you don't have the same sort of need to assert your identity. Personally now, I wear the kilt in the evening and I wear it on sort of smart occasions. I tend to wear it at a wedding . . . one of the things that seems to have changed in recent memory is the old shibboleth that you never wore your kilt outside the Highlands, because I think now you wear it in Scotland; I think the Highland/Lowland divide seems to have relaxed . . . and if I am going to the Garden Party at Holyrood, I make the point of wearing the kilt, whereas a generation ago, I don't think my father and his generation probably would; it now becomes standard practice.

Alexander Stewart of Ardvorlich, another 'traditional' wearer, expresses rather firmer views with regard to the kilt as still being specifically associated with the Highlands[12]

> It (the kilt) is a Highland thing, I mean that is the reason I wear it . . . I regard myself as a Highlander . . . it's just one aspect of Highland identity . . . I've got perhaps a rather old-fashioned view of it, but I think it is an expression of your family and the clan you belong to and if it is to have any meaning at all, it really should be tied to the name you have. I think it would be the end of the kilt in the way it is now used, if anybody could wear it regardless of what their name was.

He also recalls the customs of the Victorian laird, in the person of his great grandfather, who after spending much of his life in India, retired to Ardvorlich in his fifties and seems to have worn the kilt very much more than would now be the case[13]:

> I've never seen a photograph of him when he wasn't wearing a kilt . . . he was here until 1910 and I think there was a lot of the wearing of the

> kilt then, really, rather more than there is now among people like him, anyway . . . I wear the kilt from time to time when I'm shooting grouse, particularly, I suppose, when we are having foreign shooting tenants; I feel it's rather expected of one to appear in the kilt . . . I still mainly wear it on formal occasions, again for church and almost any time that otherwise I would put on a suit in the Lowlands.

Another viewpoint is expressed by John Macleod of Macleod, who in spite of attitudes inherited from his father as to the use of the kilt outwith the Highlands, finds as chief of a worldwide fraternity, such as is the Clan Macleod, that modern pressures and expectations play an increasing part in dictating when the kilt is worn; paradoxically, that from the tourists actually leading him to wear it less frequently at Dunvegan, because, if spotted, he can never get away from them[14]:

> My father had very strong views about the kilt, which were handed on to me in terms of wearing it. He said you should never wear it south of the Highland Line for any reason whatsoever, except possibly if you were going to Court – he felt that the wearing of the kilt as fancy dress or as national costume or something you put on only for special occasions was something that was absolutely ridiculous and contrary to the whole cultural feeling of himself and Scotland. So I was marked by that and as a result, I think I would wear the kilt every day all my life really, north of the Highland Line . . . I wore the kilt all the time and I would today, all the time, because it's much the best garment to wear in this climate. The only thing that stops me is the tourists! Now of course, when I go abroad or when I go to England for Scottish things, I certainly wear it.

Whilst not really forming part of the above group of traditional kilt wearers, since they come from a different social background, the following informants have all worn the kilt since boyhood. A former Lord Provost holds views on tartan which certainly do not accord with those held by the above-mentioned and which are rarely found even amongst the 'new' kilt wearers[15]:

> I'm probably a heretic although there are lots of us around. It probably won't surprise you in my role as Lord Provost people ask me often which tartan I am wearing, because I wear five or six different kilts, what the reasons are for it and is it my family tartan and broadly the answer is: No it's not. I have a brown one, a green one, a red one, a pink dress one and I wear what I choose.

The views of the older generation, particularly those of one brought up in the retail trade of traditional Highland outfitters, illustrate the nature of the transition between the two groups of kilt wearers I have defined[16]:

> Many is the time I shudder at what people are wearing the kilt, and to my mind are insulting it . . . However, if you like to look at the new wedding photographs, you can tell immediately that it's a hired kilt and they are not good, naturally enough, churned in, in and out; that was one of the bad things to my mind that has come about, is this hired, hire outfit . . . Then I would say in the seventies it began with young men getting a kilt outfit for their twenty first birthdays and they didn't have to go and buy a dinner suit every five years . . . whereas people used to have about three kilts when they (the gentry) came into us originally – they would get a heavyweight worsted for out in the country, they would have a fine worsted for wearing in the town and a very lightweight worsted for a ball in the evening, now that's all co-ordinated into one medium worsted.

A young, modern outfitter and also a regular kilt wearer regrets the passing of the kilt as an item of everyday wear[17]:

> Unfortunately we very rarely see people these days wearing the kilt as a day-to-day outfit, which is quite sad; they wear it for the more formal occasions. You do see it obviously for the sports occasions too, the patriotic side of things, you know.

The above very brief selection of quotations may give just a small flavour of the wide diversity of views expressed by those accustomed to wearing the kilt from childhood and who have in one way or another been influenced in their outlook by previous generations. For those who have taken up wearing the kilt as adults, this move repre-



Alastair Chalmers, Manager of Hector Russell, Kiltmakers, High Street, Edinburgh.

sents a very positive decision on their part and in terms of the expression of identity that it implies, a decision of significance and one which relates directly to a Scottish rather than Highland identity, but not a 'forged' identity as Atkinson would have it[18]:

> The destruction of Highland social systems by the British State and the adoption of Highland myths and accoutrements by a Lowland Scotland in social turmoil have generated a material culture which symbolises Scotland's forged identity.

I believe the views expressed by the informants which follow challenge the above assertion that the wearing of the kilt in Scotland today, especially by those who have no tradition of wearing it, constitutes an expression of 'forged' identity; on the contrary I believe it might be the expression of a new or re-born identity which becomes apparent from these interviews. The new kilt wearers I talked to come from a wide diversity of backgrounds and will be seen in some measure to have been strongly influenced in their thinking by the conventions surrounding the wearing of the kilt. This is hardly surprising, when one considers the very nature of the dress, which by definition is a traditional costume, in that it has been worn by and large in a similar manner for well over a hundred and fifty years.

My first informant of the second group might just as easily have been included amongst the traditional kilt wearers, if his background is taken into account, being a retired army officer and farming a large hill farm, but he appears to have made a conscious decision not only to wear the kilt, but also to break the mould by wearing a new specially designed tartan[19]:

> When we came here, I had no kilt and decided that it would be rather nice to have one of our own, because I assumed that in the old days families wove their own kilts and that's how they came about. So I took it upon myself to design what I felt would reflect my personality . . . as I see it kilts are, tartan I should say, is there to reflect the personality of the wearer . . . One or two people have said 'What kilt is that?' and I have had the odd remark passed that . . . 'Oh well, it's not a real tartan.' I'm not quite sure what they mean by that, but I suspect that maybe they feel that anything that's been developed since within the last hundred and fifty years must be some sort of 'nouveau riche' tartan, but as far as I can see, tartans are alive and kicking and developing all the time. I ought to wear it more often than I do, because it's a very practical, very comfortable thing to wear . . . I don't feel at all inhibited in Scotland and one can wear it when it's sheeting on the hills, wear it with a pullover, just walking around casually at the weekend, whatever . . .

The prime motivation for Martin Robb seems to have been the Highland environment into which he moved after leaving the Army, but having made the decision to get a kilt, he made a break with tradition by not seeking out a tartan with which he might have had family associations, relying instead on creating something personal. In this sense, he may be representative

of a new type of kilt wearer who wishes to get back to the pre-industrial era of natural dyes, and who is happier wearing his kilt without any of the conventional inhibitions. For him it is more an expression of his own personality and the Highland environment he lives in than anything to do with Scottish identity. The next contributor represents a similar type of new kilt wearer in that he does not come from a Highland background, he does not have any family tradition of wearing the kilt and who, in spite of different social circumstances to those of, say, Martin Robb, is also a pioneer in his own way. Ken Dakers was born in Fife and moved to the Highlands ten years ago from there, as a head game-keeper[20]:

> I started wearin' the kilt, it must be thirty years ago . . . I was quite patriotic about the thing from the start and I got a second-hand kilt and found it very comfortable . . . and I felt quite proud to wear the kilt. I didna wear it on all occasions, I didna have an outfit, just a kilt, a sporran and a belt. Didna have a jacket or didnae wear it for formal occasions . . . I felt a wee bit nervous at first, I think, but no . . . you didnae see so many people at that time . . . they were scared to wear the kilt; I was in a bar, I think and they laughed at people that wore the kilt. Your own people . . . I find that very strange. But the fact I'm up in the Highlands now – there's a lot more kilt wearers up here, but certainly over the years it's changed, without a doubt. They have far more pride in their identity now, far more pride . . . I've had quite a few kilts in my time . . . there's none of them really mine and eventually I thought, well my mother's a Murray, you see, so that's my immediate clan and I thought I better get a kilt made, so I got a Murray kilt made just this last year, that's the one I wore at ma son's weddin', so I treated meself . . . I'm no Highland born an' bred at all and I was certainly wearin' the kilt before I come up here. In fact there's no a lot o' day-to-day kilt wearers . . . they're kind o' scared to do it; I mean when I started wearin' my kilt to the shootin' days, I see two or three other keepers round about, Colin Gibson at Dunachton, he wears his kilt to the hill on the hot days. It takes somebody to make the move; it's not a case of being extrovert, or anything, it's a case of bein' practical . . . and people are taking a pride in their country.

In the kilt, Ken Dakers seems to have found a happy way of combining his patriotism with the practical requirements of his job. He also commented on the constraints imposed by the kilt-hire firm in relation to his son's wedding, with their insistence on what constituted a correct outfit; this contrasted sharply with his own relaxed view on dress. The sentiments he expressed regarding the initiative required to wear a kilt when no one else in his immediate environment did, demonstrate the point Flugel makes about the forces hostile to change or reform, 'man's intense fear of appearing different from his fellows' and Dakers perhaps exemplifies the dictum 'truest manliness can be achieved by freedom rather than by slavish subservience to convention'.[21] Essentially, he has adapted the wearing of the kilt to his own needs.

The gradual development of that identity originally associated with the Highlands, then the Highland regiments of the British Army, into an expression of national identity is being demonstrated today by many of those who take up the wearing of the kilt. Interestingly the attraction still exerted by the kilt in the military context is clearly demonstrated by RSM (Regimental Sergeant Major) Ballantyne, who was brought up in Glasgow and Paisley[22]:

> I'd never worn a kilt until I had joined the Army and went to Glencorse; 1975 was the first time I wore a kilt . . . I went to the recruiting office and I went there to join the Artillery or the Engineers and was swayed by a good recruiter pointin' out a recruitin' poster with a young soldier in a kilt and he says 'That could be you in two month's time, that soldier could be you and have you ever wore the kilt before?' and I says not; 'Would you like to wear a kilt?' and I always had wanted to wear the kilt, but had never had the occasion to do so, so that was one of the attractions that brought me into the regiment . . . I don't actually get to wear a civvy kilt as much as I would like to . . . I'm always lookin' for occasions to wear it . . . sadly it's being worn in the wrong types of dress now and I think the

Braveheart film has brought that on a lot, people wantin' to wear the kilt again, but not wearin' it in the correct style . . . Great to see them wearin' the kilt, but there's somethin' that strikes me as not right to wear it as an everyday garment.

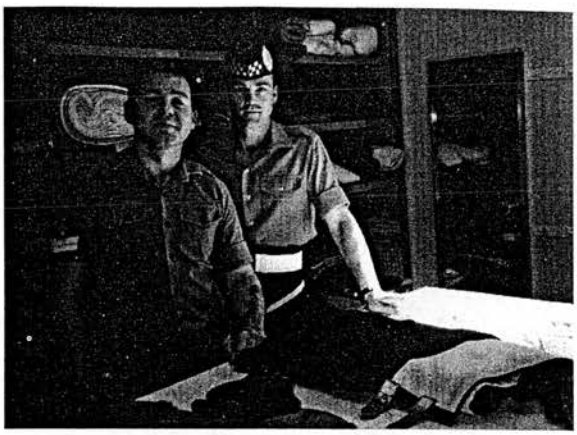
In a sense this 'new' kilt wearer has already become a 'traditional' kilt wearer, expressing the same concerns voiced by 'traditional' informants about the way the kilt is worn, although two of his colleagues in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, whom I also interviewed, thought that the expense of the 'attire', ie the proper jacket, shoes, sporran, etc. was a deterrent to kilt-wearing, principally on the grounds of cost. These two soldiers were the regimental kiltmakers and in addition to their duties also made civilian kilts for fellow soldiers in their own time. Like the RSM, neither had worn a kilt before they joined the regiment[23]:

I s'pose I felt a fair bit o' pride in it, wearin' ma kilt . . . It makes you feel a wee bit special an' that, a feelin' o' Scottishness . . . I think ma views have changed a lot . . . I think as a young boy, as a young boy growing up on the West Coast, if I saw somebody in a kilt, because it was something ye didna see everyday, if ye saw someone in a kilt . . . I think they would ha' been embarrassed, but grown up now, one realises, ye realise that it's a part o' our heritage, ye know, not just that – it's one of the smartest forms o' dress now.

Aye, there's more people askin' yea, last six months to year, more and more people showing interest . . . It used to be a lot o' the elder people askin' for kilts, but now it's a peerie thing, twenty year and upwards . . . .

I stopped John MacGillivray in the street, on his way to a Murrayfield international; team supporters are frequently referred to by the conservative traditional kilt wearers in rather disparaging terms – the 'grunge aspect' in Alastair Campbell's words,[24] and when worn in conjunction with painted faces, bordering on fancy dress – this use of the kilt is, perhaps more than any other, an overt expression of Scots national identity[25]:

The first time I hired a kilt was for my twenty-first birthday; I mean I've wore one as a child for weddin's an' such but the first time as a hire then with the money I got for my twenty-first, I bought one for wearing on holiday abroad. If I go abroad I'll take the kilt an' I wear it, so it's more abroad and where I'll be seen wearin' it, rather than jist in the street . . . the kilt is what I wear like for formal dress, functions – functions like this; ye can wear it casual as well, I mean I'm wearing it as a casual tonight, today. The kilt is the traditional dress of Scotland and it's like . . . a national dress for wearin' when the mood comes across, really. It's basically a mood thing; if you don't feel in the mood fer it, you don't wear it. I went to a weddin' an' I didn't wear it . . . I wasn't right for wearin' it that day . . . all the rest o' ma mates had the kilt on fer it, but I didn't an' I'm the one that wears it to other things . . . This is my own tartan; it's the MacGillivray . . . but if I couldn't get a dark .. if the MacGillivray Huntin' hadn't been available, I would have got a Modern, because I would only get ma own name . . . unless I didn't have a tartan an' then I would go for Stewart.



The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders kiltmakers at Redford Barracks, Edinburgh. Cpl. A McGougan and L.Cpl. J Cochrane.

Perhaps the final word on the matter of identity should come from an assistant I spoke to serving in a shop in the Royal Mile, which demonstrates, I think, the complex inter-relationship between tartan, the kilt and identity, the sense of belonging and pride[26]:

I am indigenously South American, from Chile; all my parentage, as such, has been South American, but I arrived in this country now



Martin and Alison Watt and their best man, who was French, after their Culross wedding.

> when I think I was two years old. I feel Scottish; I have had a South American upbringing, South American name, but just through pride of the land I live in, I wear two universal or general tartans, the Black Watch and Scotland's national tartan.

I believe we can draw certain conclusions from the views expressed; generally speaking the kilt is increasingly worn today in Scotland above all else as an expression of the wearer's national identity. As more people join the ranks of whose I have termed the new kilt wearers, the more limited definition of the kilt being an expression of purely Highland identity begins to diminish. Even amongst those who share this point of view, my traditional kilt wearers, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the pan-Scottish dimension. For some informants the occasions on which they choose to wear the kilt specifically to demonstrate this identity vary considerably, but in general, they adopt what may now be termed as the conventional Highland dress of a full outfit, owing much to traditional features, for wear on formal occasions. Indeed, its use informally in anything other than a purely rural and Highland environment often provokes disapproval or censure, even amongst the most recent devotees of the national dress. The old taboos concerning its wear outwith the Highlands still linger in the minds of some of the traditional wearers, but are non-existent in the minds of the new wearers for whom the kilt has always been a Scottish dress. With the exception of the heretics and purists, tartan is inextricably linked to the expression of Scottish identity, but refined to a more personal identity through the specific choice of clan or family tartan. In spite of an awareness amongst some of the possibly dubious origins of such associations, the importance of this symbolism is so strong that it surmounts the mythical barrier; indeed it may be strengthened even, on account of it. Whatever its origins, the meaning behind the association of name with tartan appears to play a major role in the adoption of the kilt. I am drawn to the conclusion that this is due to an increasing need, felt by many, to be able to express visibly a shared identity, both at 'kin' as well as at 'national' level. By a process of diffusion, the formal wear of the Victorian or Edwardian gentleman has indubitably been transformed into the national dress of Scotland for folk at every level of society, worn with pride and regarded as something not to be insulted. By a process of adaptation the kilt has also become the vehicle for the expression of Scottish identity in an increasingly diverse number of ways and on specific occasions, even though in some people's minds this may insult it. Formality through its use for weddings, graduations and evening functions is replacing the informality associated with its Highland wear. Above all, the kilt and the ever increasing number of tartans from which it is made, looks set to continue its colourful journey, a view shared by every wearer with whom I spoke, both new and traditional.

Acknowledgement:

I am grateful to Professor A. Fenton for suggesting the title and scope of this article.

Appendix

Methodology: From the outset I planned to base my university dissertation on interviewing a range of contributors known to wear the kilt. Since this was to be a qualitative, rather than quantitative, analysis, I first approached a random selection of individuals traditionally associated with the kilt, that is chiefs of clans, lairds and others by virtue of office; during the course of these interviews I was given the names of two 'experts' in their own fields, both of whom I subsequently interviewed; a further seven contributors were contacted by telephone prior to the interview, covering a broad social range. Ten contributors were chosen without prior contact, predominantly those I came across by chance in the street or people serving in Highland outfitters' shops. In all I recorded twenty-five interviews of varying lengths.

I used a twenty point questionnaire as an aide-memoire for the pre-arranged interviews and this undoubtedly helped in the subsequent analysis of the transcriptions, since topics on the whole followed the pattern of the questionnaire; in the later stages of the exercise I made some modest alterations to the pattern of questions. Where specialist interest was concerned, the interviews tended to place a greater emphasis on the area of expertise. Interviews on the street were necessarily of a briefer nature. I decided to exclude certain categories of people who wore the kilt more or less because they were obliged to whilst pursuing occupations with which the kilt is traditionally associated; these include pipers, participants in Highland games, buskers, and tour guides. Historical re-enactment societies and similar groups wearing the *breacan feilidh*, or belted plaid, have also been excluded as I chose to restrict my considerations to the conventional kilt or philabeg.

In so far as tartan is concerned, I have raised the subject both with the individuals I spoke to as kilt wearers, and also the assistants in the retail shops and those engaged in the hire or sale of kilts, rather than those associated with its manufacture, although my informants included a contributor who both designs and weaves tartan on a handloom. The field of study presented by tartan is possibly even greater than that of the kilt when considering the symbolism associated with identity; space only permits consideration of views expressed by kilt wearers themselves. Tartan worn in the form of trews, skirts and other garments, either in the course of work in banks, museums and such like, or worn as personal wear also falls outwith the scope of this work.

Questionnaire:

1. When did you first start wearing a kilt?
2. How often do you wear the kilt and on what occasions?
3. Do you now wear the kilt from personal preference or to make a more general point?
4. Does the kilt have any special significance for you?
5. In what light do you think the kilt is held in Scotland?
6. Do you think more people are wearing the kilt in Scotland today than previously?
7. Is the kilt more a dress for formal or informal wear?
8. What are your views on the kilt being worn by Lowlanders?
9. Do you have any views on the kilt regarding its wear outwith the Highlands?
10. Do you have an association with any tartan and do you adhere to it?
11. Do you believe only those who think themselves entitled to wear a specific tartan should wear the kilt in that tartan?
12. What is your view in terms of the kilt expressing identity; does it represent Scottish national dress?

13. Do you think the kilt and tartan have become devalued through trivialisation and tourism?
14. Do you have any views about the way the kilt is worn, in terms of attire and accessories?
15. Do you think the previous constraints on what is deemed 'correct' wear have prevented its more general wear and that informality might encourage more use?
16. Are there occasions when you would like to wear the kilt, but don't, for fear of negative comment?
17. Do you go out of your way to wear the kilt when ordinary dress would normally suffice?
18. Do you have any views on the institutional adoption of tartan for corporate identity?
19. Would you like to see the kilt worn more often and by more people?
20. What do think is the future for the kilt as a form of dress in Scotland?

Notes and References

1. Interviewed during the course of field-work for an MA dissertation; a full transcript of these recordings is attached as an appendix to my dissertation 'Some Aspects of Tartan and Wearing the Kilt in Contemporary Scotland' which, with the sound recordings are in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
2. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983,1.
3. Ibid., 12-13.
4. O. Löfgren, The Nationalisation of Culture. *Ethnologia Europaea* XIX 1989, 5-23.
5. R. Storaas, Clothes as an Expression of Counter-Cultural Activity. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1986,148.
6. J.S. Stuart, *Vestiarium Scotticum*, Edinburgh 1842,65.
7. R. Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1819,139-40.
8. J.D. Scarlett, *Tartan – The Highland Textile*, London, 1990,37.
9. Such as Tom Nairn and his 'tartan monster' referred to in *The Break-up of Britain*, London 1977.165 and David McCrone and his 'garish symbols appropriated by Lowland Scotland' *in Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, London, 1990,180.
10. H. Cheape, *Tartan*, Edinburgh 1995,8.
11. School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh (hereafter SSS) Sound Archive (hereafter SA) 1996.40 A. Campbell of Airds, Inverawe, August 14th 1996.
12. SSS, SA 1996.41 A Stewart, Ardvorlich, August 14th 1996.
13. Ibid.
14. SSS, SA 1996.44 J. Macleod of Macleod, Dunvegan, October 1st 1996.
15. SSS, SA 1996.12 N.M. Irons, Edinburgh March 4th 1996.
16. SSS, SA 1996.43 H.G. Lindley, Edinburgh September 25th 1996.
17. SSS, SA 1996.49 A. Chalmers, Edinburgh November 15th 1996.
18. J.A. Atkinson, National identity & material culture: decoding the Highland myth, in J.A. Atkinson, I. Banks & J.O. Sullivan eds., *Nationalism & Archeology*, Glasgow 1996,65.
19. SSS, SA 1996.46 Lt. Col. M. Robb, Comrie, October 2nd 1996.
20. SSS, SA 1996.45 K. Dakers, Ralia, October 1st 1996.
21. J.C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, London, 1950,207,212.
22. SSS, SA 1996.41 J. Ballantyne, Edinburgh September 9th 1996.
23. SSS, SA 1996.42 A. McGowan & J Cochrane, Edinburgh, September 9th 1996.
24. SSS, SA 1996.40 A. Campbell.
25. SSS, SA 1997.1 J. MacGillivray, Edinburgh January 18th 1997.
26. SSS, SA 1996.49 J. Munoz, Edinburgh November 19th 1996.

Appendix IV

Clan Society Membership Application Forms



Clan Carmichael USA
c/o Alana Carmichael Nigro
2591 Rocky Springs Drive
Marietta, GA 30062

Current Membership Rates:		
	USA	$15.00
	Scotland	$28.00
	Both	$43.00

Membership Application

First Name _____

Middle Name _____

Last Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

Country _____

Day Phone _____ Night Phone _____

Check all that apply: New ____ Renewal ____ USA ____ Scotland ____

Date/Place of Birth _____

Spouse Name _____

Children's Names and Dates of Birth:

_____

_____

_____

Ancestor information welcome.

USA CLAN DUES ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE

CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, U.S.A.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICANTS

*** PLEASE READ CAREFULLY***

1. Eligible members must first be members of the CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND in good standing. To qualify, applicants may be those who bear the name of Munro by birth or marriage or descended from ancestors with that name in the various forms in which that name is recognized by the association, or of the various septs of Clan Munro. The forms of the name MUNRO recognized as qualifying for membership in the association are: Munro, Munroe, Monroe, Monro, and Manro. The septs are: Foulis, MacDulloch, Vass, Dingwall, and Maclullich.

2. Active Members: Members in good standing whose current dues are paid up in the Clan Munro Association USA and Scotland.

3. Honorary Members: Shall have all the rights and privileges of active members, shall be subject to all provisions of the constitution and by-laws as are applicable to active members, but shall not be required to pay annual dues.

4. Admissions, fees, and dues: Every applicant for membership receiving a favorable ballot may become a member of Clan Munro Association by the payment of his/her dues. Current dues shall accompany the application and will be refunded should the ballot prove unsuccessful. Initial dues received after November 1st are considered to cover the following year.

5. Dues: Dues are for membership in both the SCOTLAND ASSOCIATION and the CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, U.S.A., INC. and may be paid by one of the following plans:

Annual Membership	$ 20.00
Three Year Prepaid Membership	$ 50.00
Life Membership	$200.00



CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, USA AND SCOTLAND
MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

_____
DATE

To the Officers of Clan Munro Association, USA

Allison Munro Alger, Secretary
PSC 802 Box 2
FPO AE 09499-0151

I _____ hereby apply for membership in the CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, USA and SCOTLAND under the provisions of this application and the by-laws of the Association.

SUBMIT A PASSPORT SIZE PHOTO OR SNAPSHOT OF APPLICANT.

Please accept my check which is made payable to CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, USA for the following amount: $_____ as checked below:

CHECK ONE ONLY
( ) Annual Membership $20.00
( ) Three Year Prepaid Membership $50.00
( ) Life Membership $200.00

In case you have already obtained a membership in the Scotland Association **DIRECTLY** from Scotland, please indicate your membership number here: _____

FULL NAME _____ SPOUSE'S NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____
Street

_____
City State Zip Code

QUALIFICATION: Please enclose genealogical information linking you with the name MUNRO, MUNROE, MONROE. (See the attached form.)

I declare that the facts set forth in this application are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

_____
Signature of applicant

PROPOSER CLAN MEMBER: The undersigned proposes the above applicant for membership in CLAN MUNRO ASSOCIATION, USA and SCOTLAND.

_____
Proposer member's signature

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Clan Graham Society

1228 Kensington Drive
High Point, NC 27262

(910) 885-5789

E-mail Address: 71116.702@CompuServe.Com

Invitation To Membership

All persons, either male or female, being eighteen (18) years of age or older, who bear or have borne the name of Graham or the Graham septs are eligible for Regular Membership in the Clan Graham Society. Those persons who do not qualify for Regular Membership, but who have a legitimate interest in the purposes of the Clan Graham Society may become Associate Members. Associate Members shall pay the same dues as regular members. Associate Members shall not be eligible to hold office or vote. Children under 18 of Regular Members are considered Associate Members.

Applicants for Regular Membership are requested to complete an official application form which includes a genealogical chart. The official application form may be secured from the Societies representative at Highland Games or from the Membership Vice President at the above address. All applicants are granted temporary Associate Membership until the official application form showing genealogical evidence of eligibility is received. by the Membership Vice President.

To insure accuracy in establishing your Society membership records

PLEASE PRINT LEGIBLY

Name: First _____ Middle _____ Last _____

Spouse: First _____ Middle _____ Last _____

Wife's Maiden Name: _____

Street Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____ Country: _____

E-mail Address: _____ Telephone No.: ( ) _____-_____

I prefer my name to be listed on my membership card as: _____

An individual membership is $ 15.00 a year. A family membership is $ 20.00 a year.
A family membership is only available for husband, wife and children under 18 years of age.
Make all checks payable in US dollars to **CLAN GRAHAM SOCIETY.**

Membership Type: ☐ **- Individual** ☐ **- Family**

ıe Clan Graham Society Official in your area is:

Rev. 4/96

For Official Clan Graham Society use only.
Amount Received: Cash $ [ ]
Check $ [ ]
Dues Received by: _____
Date Received: _____
Did you give the applicant an Official Application Form?
[ ] Yes [ ] No

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The Clan Fraser Society of North America

Application For Membership

SALTOUN

LOVAT

Qualification for Membership: Any person of Scottish ancestry bearing the name Fraser in any of its various forms and spellings, or any Sept name of the Clan Fraser including the spouse or descendant of such person. Our objectives are: To promote the general interests of the Clan and to cultivate the spirit of kinship and fellowship among its members throughout the Americas and with the Clan Fraser of Scotland; to collect and preserve literary, historical, and genealogical records, documents, and relics relating to the history of the Clan and to Scotland; to honour our Scottish heritage and to cultivate among our members and descendants the pride and spirit of our Scottish ancestors; to render aid to all clansmen should they meet with adversity.

NAME:

_____

Street_____

City,_____

State_____ Zip_____Phone ( )_____

Spouse_____

Children:

_____ Birth Date _____

_____ Birth Date_____

_____ Birth Date_____

Relationship to clan if not known by surname: if possible trace family history to Scotland:

_____

_____

Please indicate particular Clan Fraser interests: ( ) Clan Fraser social activities; ( ) Genealogy, ( ) Highland Music, literature, etc. ( ) Assisting at Tent at Highland Games, or would you be willing to help the Society with the above activities in any other way? Please feel free to write on reverse of this form.

_____

Enclosed:_____(20$), my dues for the current year_____ Jan.1 to Dec.31.

Payable to: "The Clan Fraser Society of North America" or "C.F.S.N.A."

Date:_____ Signature_____

The annual dues for membership in the Society are $20.00 per family including children under 18. The first years dues should be included with the application. New members joining after September 1 of a given year will be seen as "paid up" members until one year from the following January.

Return this form with your dues to: Karen Fraser, Secretary,C.F.S.N.A.
4268 Green Meadow Lane,
Chico, California, 95926

Clan MacTavish 330 Thompson Worldwide

Thomson Thomas Thomason Todd

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

V MEMBER ☐ LIFE MEMBER ☐ = FORMER MEMBER ☐ CMW ID NO._____ =

MBERSHIP CLASSIFICATION: ☐ CLAN MACTAVISH ☐ SCOTTISH ☐ AFFILIATE

YOUR NAME AS YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO APPEAR ON YOUR MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATE

LICANT'S LAST NAME (SURNAME) FIRST MIDDLE NICKNAME

OUSE LAST NAME (SURNAME) FIRST MIDDLE NICKNAME

DEN NAME, if applicable TITLE OR DEGREE, if applicable

EET ADDRESS APT.

Y STATE/PROV. ZIP/P.C. PHONE

AT IS YOUR CONNECTION WITH CLAN MACTAVISH?

NATURE _____ DATE_____

MBERSHIP DUES (YEARLY)

HARTER MEMBERSHIP .....$ 30.00 INCLUDES GENEALOGY, NEWSLETTER, DUES AND PARCHMENT CERTIFICATE

NNUAL MEMBERSHIP .....$15.00 INCLUDES NEWSLETTER, DUES AND CERTIFICATE

IFE MEMBERSHIP .....$300.00 ALL OF THE ABOVE AND IN CLAN ARCHIVES

ENEFACTOR MEMBERSHIP "DUNARDRY FUND" WRTIE FOR DETAILS

SSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP* .....$7.00 INCLUDES NEWSLETTER

FOR HE/SHE THAT WISHES THEY VERE SCOTTISH AND COULD E PART OF A TRUE SCOTTISH LAN"*

(ALL DUES INCLUDE SPOUSE)

MAKE CHECQUES PAYABLE TO CLAN MACTAVISH

ON E-MAIL

CATION:_____

CLAN MacTAVISH-THOMPSON
P.O. Box 41121 , OTTAWA ON. CANADA

CLAN BUCHANAN SOCIETY
IN AMERICA, INC.

An Cirean Ceann Cinnidh

Member of the Clan Buchanan

8
Father

4
Father

9
Mother

2
Father

10
Father

5
Mother

11
Mother



Spouse of #1

12
Father

6
Father

13
Mother

3
Mother

14
Father

7
Mother

15
Mother

332

House of Gordon

UNITED STATES BRANCH

CHARLES O. GORDON, *President*
P.O. Box 3827 CRS
Johnson City, Tennessee 37602
423-283-4505

Johnson City, Tennessee _____ 19 _____

ANNUAL DUES: for _____

House of Gordon - Scotland -	$ 5.00
United States Branch -	$ 5.00
	$10.00

Remit to: House of Gordon
Box 3827 CRS
Johnson City, Tennessee 37602

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ Phone No. _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

MEMBERSHIP GUIDELINES, Subject to Amendment

The United States Branch of the House of Gordon meets at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games at Linville, North Carolina, the second weekend in July each year.

Of the dues stated above $5.00 is forwarded to the House of Gordon of Scotland to be used toward their expenses, including the Annual House of Gordon Magazine which you will receive. In recent years our House of Gordon funds have helped establish the Gordon Museum at the University of Aberdeen. Current plans are to produce a video on the history of the Gordon family in Scotland which will be made available to all members. The $5.00 retained in the U.S. is used for stationery, printing, postage, and for our sponsorship of the activities of The Grandfather Mountain Games. On occasion we invite a Gordon from Scotland to be our honored guest and help defray their travel expense.

Though all members of a family participate in our activities, only the family head is a contributing member. Minors (boys and girls) are expected to become sponsoring members upon reaching their twenty-first year. Membership in this branch assures membership in the House of Gordon of Scotland.

The Gordon name is synonymous with the rich history of Scotland and dates back to the 11th century. It is a family name to be proud of and deserves your interest and support.

The United States branch of the House of Gordon was established in alliance with the House of Gordon of Scotland to lend support to their activities for which we will all benefit. It also serves as a medium here in the United States by which the Gordon descendants and Septs can participate together in Scottish activities. Your membership helps support these worthy projects both here in the United States and in Scotland.

333

Clan Montgomery Society International

MEMBER
COUNCIL OF SCOTTISH CLANS AND ASSOCIATIONS, INC

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I would like to become part of the THOUSAND YEAR TRADITION
by joining the
CLAN MONTGOMERY SOCIETY

ME _____

EET _____ CITY _____

TE _____ ZIP _____ COUNTRY _____

E & PLACE OF BIRTH _____

UPATION _____

USE'S NAME _____ TELEPHONE _____

e indicate relation to Montgomery or other reason for interest in Clan Montgomery.

e indicate with "X" your interests
"XX" willing to help

_____Montgomery History and Lore_____
_____Music - Instruments_____
_____Scottish Games at_____
_____Dancing Contests: Highland_____
_____Scottish Fiddling Contests
_____Athletic Events_____
_____Newsletter
_____Membership Assistance
_____Other Projects, such as _____

_____Genealogy
_____Singing
_____Help Host Clan Tent
_____Country

_____Clan Trip to Scotland
_____Legal Help

for the Society run from January 1 to December 31 of the year in which you join. bership is open to anyone interested in Clan Montgomery Society purposes. Dues and butions are tax deductible. If you wish to enroll your relatives, please list their names and sses separately.
desire the following type of membership:

_____Individual is $15.00.
_____Individual and spouse are $20.00
_____Individual **LIFE** membership is $200.00.
_____Individual and spouse **LIFE** memberships are $250.00.

Enclosed is my check for: $_____

ATURE _____ Date_____

d of Clan Montgomery Society through 1994

e mail this form with your check to:

Clan Montgomery Society
George H. Montgomery, Treasurer
3522 Amherst Road
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001

Clan MacDougall Society of North America
Genealogical Information

Show MacDougall/MacDowell or associated Family connection. May be either paternal, or maternal line of descent. Consider yourself as generation #1.

Gen. 2: Father: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Mother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gen. 3: Grandfather: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Grandmother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gen. 4: Gr-Grandfather: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gr-Grandmother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gen. 5: Gr^{2}Grandfather: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gr^{2}Grandmother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gen. 6: Gr^{3}Grandfather: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gr^{3}Grandmother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

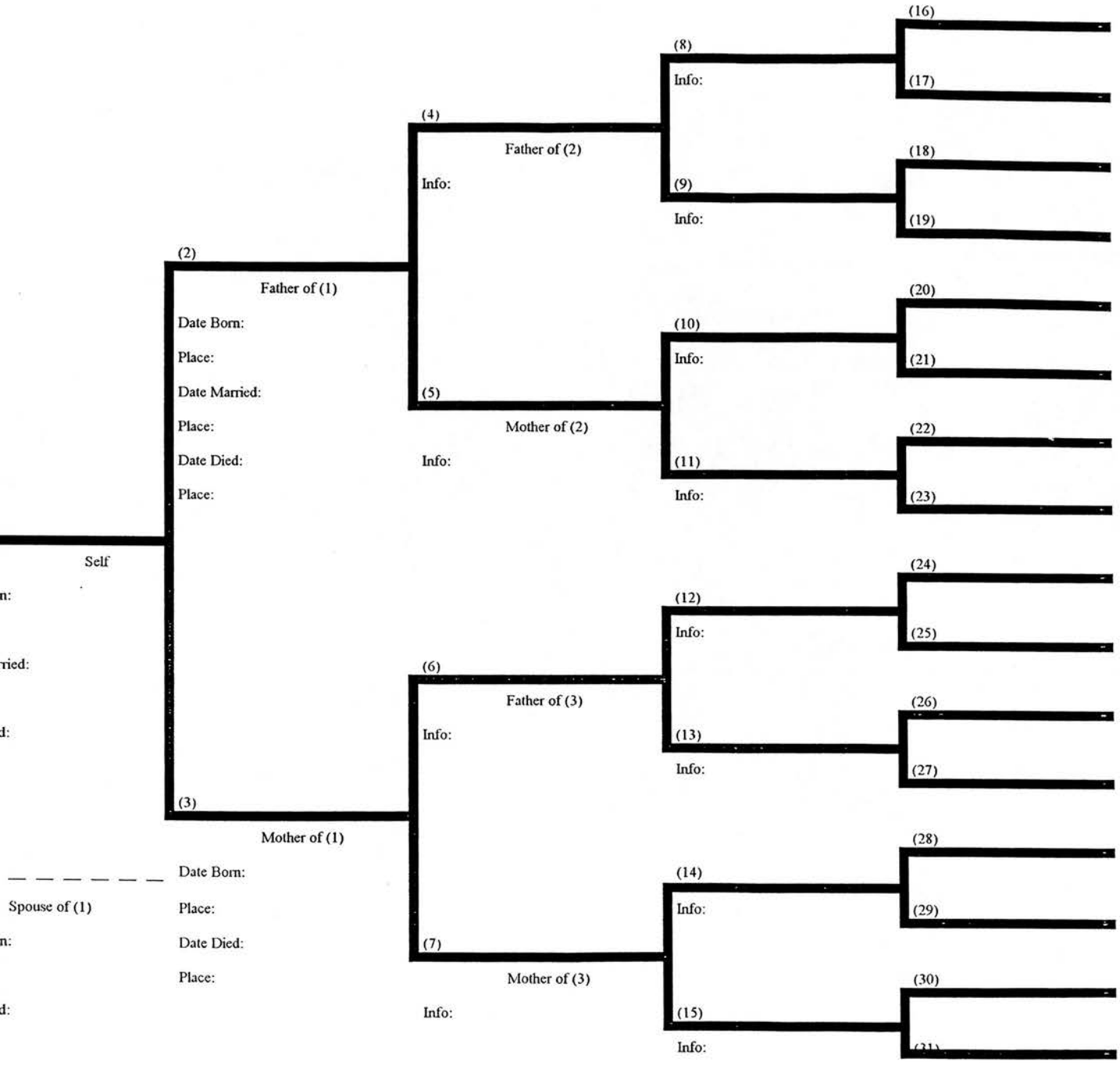
Gen. 7: Gr^{4}Grandfather: Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Gr^{4}Grandmother: Maiden Name _____
Birth date _____ Place of Birth _____
Death date _____ Place of Death _____

Additional Data: (Information concerning immigrant ancestor, children, etc.) _____

Please provide your pedigree showing your ancestral link to Clan MacLachlan. (Family Membership requires that you trace your ancestry to an accepted spelling. Associate Membership is open to all others.) Use additional sheets if necessary.

Please provide as much of the following information as is known for each individual listed: Name, date born, place of birth, date married, place of marriage, date died and place of death.



Return this form to:

James A. Finegan, Secretary
CMANA, Inc.
119 Wrightwood Place
Sterling, VA 20164 USA

MacLeans, MacLaines & Septs

Gillean USA

Clan Gillean USA, Inc.

P. O. Box 4061, Alvin, TX 77511

Clansman's Badge

Sir Lachlan Hector Maclean of Duart and Morvern, Baronet
Twenty-eighth Chief of Clan Gillean

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

xecutive Committee: I hereby apply for membership in Clan Gillean USA, and for this purpose affirm that the information provided and complete to the best of my knowledge. With this application I subscribe to the purposes and goals of Clan Gillean as outlined ck of this form and a set forth in the By-laws.

Personal Data Please Print

ull Name _____

h |___|___|___| **Place of Birth** _____
City/Town County/Parish State/Country

Name _____

Home Address _____ Phone No (____)_____-_____
Street or P. O. Box

_____ State _____ Zip Code _____

ddress _____ Phone No (____)_____-_____
Street or P. O. Box

_____ State _____ Zip Code _____

_____ Hobbies _____

erested in serving Clan Gillean in some capacity? [ ] Yes, please contact me now. [ ] Not at this time, contact me later. [ ] No thank you.

t you in the Clan Gillean Directory? [ ] Yes [ ] No. May we release your name and address to outside organizations? [ ] Yes [ ] No.

nember of another Gillean Association? Clan Maclean: [ ] Scotland [ ] California Branch [ ] Pacific Coast Branch ; [ ] Maclaine of Lochbuie

Ordinary or Life Membership Eligibility
(Maclean, Maclaine or Sept ancestry including all spelling variations.)

_____

th |___|___|___| **Place of Birth** _____
City/Town County/Parish State/Country

nt _____

th |___|___|___| **Place of Birth** _____
City/Town County/Parish State/Country

Parent _____

th |___|___|___| **Place of Birth** _____
City/Town County/Parish State/Country

nd Parent _____

th |___|___|___| **Place of Birth** _____
City/Town County/Parish State/Country

Appendix V

American Clan Societies

listed in *The Highlander* 2000 directory

Clan Societies

Julie Ann Akins, Sec.
The Clan Akins Society, Inc.
680 Alma Road
Jasper, AL 35501-8507
205-483-6502
Steven L. Akins, President

H. Wesley Weaver, Membership Chair
Clan Anderson Society, Ltd.
19411 Center Street
Cornelius, NC 28031
704-892-5608
hweaver@bellsouth.net

Clarence Arbuthnott
Arbuthnot Family Association
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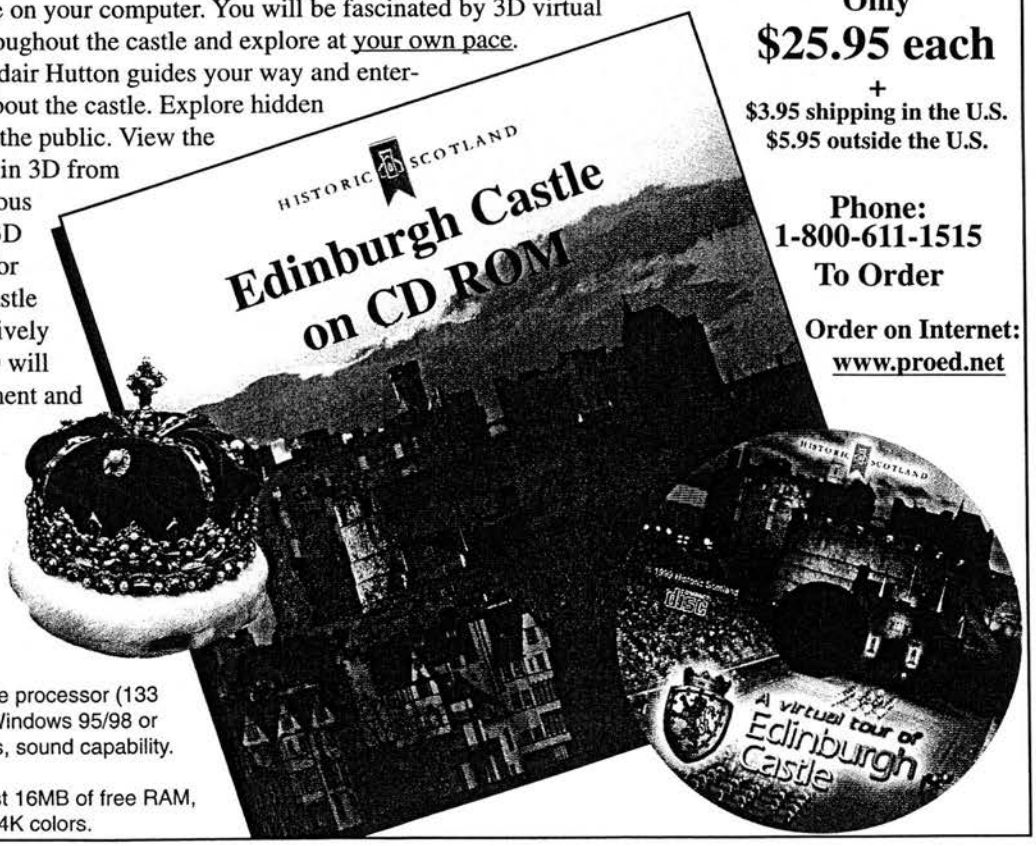
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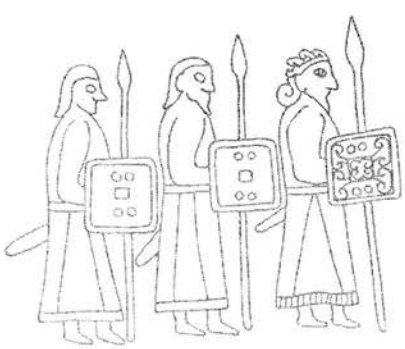
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Appendix VI

Atlanta Exhibition draft text labels & synopsis

The draft texts for the various labels describing the exhibits were submitted to me for comment and the following represents my suggestions to the curator of the exhibition; these were not necessarily reflected in the final labels. However if these comments are taken with the draft text as whole, a reasonable account of the development of the kilt and tartan is presented.

Text panels: Gallery 1

Suggested corrections in red, with words to be replaced underlined, comments in *red italics*

[Main Intro]

The wearing of tartan clothing has been a noted part of Scottish identity for more than four centuries. Here, in Gallery 1, the evolution of tartan dress is traced across time — from the attire of ordinary Scottish Highlanders during the 16-17th [16-18th]century to the contemporary kilts worn by people of Scottish descent around the world. Tartan refers to a checked, twilled cloth; while similar fabrics have been woven in many places in the world, only in Scotland has this fabric become emblematic of particular groups of people: Highlanders, Scottish nationalists, or specific clans or districts. *[nationalist is slightly perjorative and not strictly an apposite description for Scottish national dress – I would rather say* Highlanders, specific clans and districts and as an expression of Scottish nationality] Today, tartan designs or *setts* are associated with certain clans or surnames, but this was not always so. How the tartan became a badge of clanship during the early 1800s is also explored – along with historical examples of some of the earliest and most popular setts.

Gallery 2 addresses the manufacture of tartan, looking especially at the current era in which new tartans setts are being designated in proliferation. Examples include tartans commemorating the American Bicentennial, Princess Diana, the State of Georgia, and the recently-renewed [re-established]Scottish Parliament. In the contemporary

world, tartan attire serves as an important way of expressing Scottish heritage, especially among those who are removed from the homeland. The wearing of tartan is a significant part of the social lives of Scots and Scottish descendants in Atlanta and the Southeast. A sampling of local associations and events, including the Stone Mountain Highland Games and Scottish Festival, illustrates the sweeping resurgence of Scottish identity witnessed in the United States, expressed particularly through the wearing of tartan.

[Intro to Section 1]

Tartan clothing began as the everyday attire of Scottish Highlanders [of Highlanders in Scottish Gaeldom], worn by both farming folks and the more well-to-do. Later, others from outside the Highlands adopted tartan attire as symbols of Scottish nationalism [nationality] or Scottish identity. During the past four centuries, tartan wear has been embraced by the poor and the wealthy, by soldiers and civilians, by women and by men, and by Scottish nationals and expatriates, descendants and sympathizers. Its journey, both social and geographic, is traced through the following periods: *16-17th [18th]century Highlanders; the Jacobites; the Highland regiments; Victorian gentrifications; and 20th century popularizations.* Witness the evolution of tartan attire from the great wrap or *feilidh-mor* to the smaller kilt or *feilidh-beag* to a wider range of clothing types including women's skirts and dresses, and contemporary high fashion.

[photo caption: Sir Duncan Campbell]
Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1635, attired in early Highland wear – a loose cloak fastened with a brooch and belted at the waist. [should this properly be called a feiladh-mor?] *Yes, this is the feilidh-mor, or great plaid*

[photo caption: Flora McDonald]
Following the Revolution of 1689, which removed the House of Stewart *[throughout the text, the House of* Stuart *should perhaps properly be spelt thus]* from the British throne, supporters of the Stuarts, known as Jacobites, embraced tartan clothing as a symbol of their cause. For the first time, tartan kilts were worn by Lowland Scots and by English sympathizers. Especially after the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1707 tartan became widely identified with Scottish nationalism. Pictured here is Flora MacDonald, friend and supporter of Charles Edward Stewart [Stuart]or "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

[photo caption: Highlands officer, Reid p 42]
In 1725, Great Britain, in the midst of overseas conflicts and desiring

to elicit Scottish allegiance to the crown, established several independent companies of recruits from the Highlands. Attired in their native tartan, these regiments [later] became famed for their heroism, bringing much attention to tartan dress.

[photo caption: 1822 costume in hard tartan]
King George IV was the first monarch to visit Scotland for 172 years, in 1822, and his daughter [niece] Queen Victoria [each paid visits to Scotland in 1822 and] visited in 1842 and subsequently]. Their romanticized Scottish experiences, along with the writings of Sir Walter Scott and others, started a broad-based enthusiasm for things Highland, especially the tartan, which quickly became fine couture of the British upper classes [when in Scotland].

[photo caption: football supporters]
The kilt has moved during the past several decades of the 20th century from being the mark of a Highlander to being in every sense the national dress of the Scot. It is worn on special occasions by people of Scottish ancestry throughout Great Britain and elsewhere in the world. Pictured here are members of the contemporary "Tartan Army," dressed casually in kilts to show their allegiance to their local [the national]football (soccer) team.

[text panel]
The People of Scotland

There have long been distinctions between those living in the Scottish *Lowlands* and those from the *Highlands* (and western *Islands*). Until the 17th [18th] century, the Highlands remained quite isolated from the lower regions of Great Britain. In the Highlands, Gaelic became the dominant language beginning in late fifth century when -he area was invaded by the Northern Irish [*I would prefer a phrase such as:* what is now Argyll was settled by the Scots from North-eastern Ireland]Highlanders, like the Irish, are Celtic. Lowlanders, by contrast, have traditionally spoken Scots and are Anglo-Saxons [*actually a much more complex mix, and little Saxon; better to say* – are more Anglian, Flemish and early British/Pictish by origin][Historically, Lowlanders have been more involved socially with their English neighbors to the south. The emigration of Highlanders into the Lowlands (and elsewhere around the world) has blurred the fast distinctions once made between the two groups, however. Today, English is the dominant language throughout Scotland, and people of the Highlands and Lowlands share a similar identity and culture.[although Gaelic culture still survives in the Hebrides]

[Intro to section 1.1]

The Highlander

Their habite is ... stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warm stuffe of divers colours, which they call Tartane: as for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreathes of hay or straw, with a plead about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer and lighter stuffe then their hose." John Taylor, 1618

They wear after the Irish fashion striped mantles and thick long hair, and live by hunting, fishing, and plunder. Camden's Britannia, 1617

Little evidence suggests that before the 16th century tartan as we would recognize it today existed — although it is probable that checked and striped fabric was woven and worn. Before 1500 the typical attire of the Highland man consisted of a long shirt with a type of mantle worn over it; the legs and often the feet were bare. This mantle or *leine* was brought to Scotland along with the Gaelic language by Irish conquerors during the fifth century.

By about 1600 the term "tartan" began to describe a woolen cloth woven in stripes of color and a "plaid" (pronounced "played" [plad]), deriving from the Scots term for blanket, referred to a long, untailored piece of fabric that was wrapped around the body. The [lower third of the] plaid was gathered in pleats and secured with a belt, and was thus referred to as a *breacan* or a *feileadh-mor,* meaning great wrap. In this, the earliest version of the kilt, the pleating was accomplished by hand without stitches. It was not until the mid-1700s that stitched pleats became a common feature of the kilt.

During the 16th and 17th centuries writings suggest that particular tartan designs or setts were associated with various Highlands districts. A 1703 account by Martin Martin of Skye states that "every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, insofar that they who have seen those places are able at first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence." Regarding the association of specific tartans with particular clans, there is but one example from this era: the Laird of Grant had his followers adopt a specific sett during the early 1700s. With this exception, it appears that the identification of specific tartans with certain clans did not take place before the early 19th century — although many writers and tartan enthusiasts have suggested otherwise!

[object label: mannekin]
This reproduction costume represents typical 17th [18th ? *I imagine*]century attire of a more well-to-do Highlander. The less wealthy were often bare-headed with legs and feet often bare as well.

[photo caption: Highlanders wearing plaids and trews, Cheape p 23]
The *feileadh-mor*, or great wrap, was worn with short hose or stockings, woven of tartan fabric. In some instances, the leg covering was extended into a form of tight trouser known in Gaelic as *triubhas* or in English as "trews." Trews were worn in bad weather and were also adopted for horseback. They were associated with chiefs and the well-to-do because of their use as riding garb.[*I would re-cast this sentence to read as follows:* Tartan cloth was also cut on the bias to form *'triubhas'* or 'trews'; these were tight trousers which were woven to include the footpiece. They were worn by the chiefs and gentleman of the clan when travelling by horseback, being more practical than kilts for riding.]

[object label: mannekin]
The Ladies dress as in England, with this Difference, that when they go abroad, from the highest to the lowest, they wear a Plaid, which covers Half of the Face, and all their Body... these in Scotland are all strip'd with Green, Scarlet, and other Colours, and most of them lin'd with Silk; which in the Middle of a Church, on a Sunday, looks like a Parterre de Fleurs. A Journey through Scotland, 1723

The plaid was also worn by women of the Highlands. The *earasaid* — or in English "arisaid" — was cast over the head, covering the face on both sides, and falling almost to the ground. Women typically wore white plaids with black, blue, and red stripes in larger squares; men's tartans were of darker colors with smaller checks.

[photo caption: Logan/McIan image]
Highland woman's attire, by R. R. McIan. From James Logan and R. R. McIan, *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands.*

[object label: arisaid piece]
Typical arisaids were large, covering the head and falling to the ankle. This smaller piece of arisaid descends from the mid-19th century.

[object label]
A typical Highland warrior of the 16-17th centuries carried a *claidheamh mor* (great sword), or in English "claymore." When this doubled-handed sword went out of fashion in the Highlands in the late 1600s, many of these were cut down and adapted to the new single-handed weapon — the basket-hilted broadsword.

[Intro to section 1.2]

The Jacobites

Better for me is the proud plaid
Around my shoulder and put under my arm,
Better than though I would get a coat
Of the best cloth that comes from England.

from "The Haughs O Cromdale," Alexander McDonald, ca. 1740

The Revolution of 1689 brought William III to the throne of Great Britain and exiled the Stewart king James II [VII *in Scottish numerology*]and his Scottish descendants. This set in motion a new wave of Scottish nationalism and anti-English sentiment throughout Scotland. Supporters of the exiled Stewarts were called Jacobites. *[it was not Scottish nationalism, rather support by some in the more Catholic part of the Lowlands and Highlands for the Stuart cause, so I would say:* set in motion a pro-Jacobite wave of sentiment and support (termed 'Jacobite' after the line of Stewart kings named James) throughout parts of the Highlands and Lowlands.] During the next 60 years, five attempts were made to restore the Stewarts (or in French "Stuarts") to the British throne, the most famous of which took place in 1745, initiated by Charles Edward Stewart or "Bonnie Prince Charlie." During this period of time, Jacobite supporters [many Jacobite supporters outwith the Highlands] took up the wearing of tartan to express their Scottish identity and anti-English feeling*[I would rather say*: allegiance to the Stewart cause and their opposition to the Protestant monarchy and government . *It is important to recognise that the Jacobite cause was not at all popular in many parts of Scotland, and cannot be termed as anti-English so much as anti presbyterian and pro Stewart legitimacy].* Tartan was worn not only by Jacobite soldiers, but by sympathizers such as Bonnie Prince Charlie's fast supporter, Flora McDonald. At this juncture, Scottish Highlanders were no longer the only wearers of tartan fabric: sympathetic Lowlanders adopted the attire as well as English Jacobites.

Intense conflict between Scotland and England took place around the turn of the 18th century, resulting in Scotland's unification with Great Britain in 1707. The Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments became widely identified with Scottish nationalism. [*Better to say here*: Relations between Scotland and England deteriorated considerably in the closing years of the 17th century, leading ultimately to the Union of the parliaments in 1707.] In the years after the Union most of Scotland's difficulties were blamed on an "English" government and Scots continued to express anti-English sentiment by wearing tartan.*[In the Highlands, of course, tartan was the only form*

male attire right up to 1747] Wrote Sir Walter Scott, "I have been told, and believed until now, that the use of tartans was never general in Scotland until the Union, with the detestation of that measure, led it to be adopted as the National colour, and the ladies all affected tartan screens."

Much of this sense of [threatened] nationhood and opposition to alien government and culture was also expressed in poetry and balladry -- the examples quoted in this section are but a small sampling of the thousands of words of protest generated up into the 19th century.

[object label: mannekin]

I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
My rippling-kame and spinning wheel,
To buy my lad a tartan plaid,
A braidsword, dirk, and white cockade.

from "The White Cockade"

Jacobite soldiers dressed in typical Highland attire of various tartan setts. Their blue bonnets were dressed with white cockades — symbols of the Jacobite cause. (Reproduction)

[object label]
Basket-hilted broadsword (reproduction), typical of the Jacobite era.

[object label]
Original matching dirk, brooch, and powder horn from the Jacobite era.

[object label: Culloden painting]
How we distinguished our loyal clans from the Rebels; they being dress'd and equipp'd all in one Way, except the Bonnet; ours having a Red or Yellow Cross or Ribbon; theirs a white Cockade. Ray, 1758

During the 1746 Battle of Culloden the Jacobite army dressed in kilts, jackets, waistcoats and trews.[*Only those officers on horseback might have worn these*] Fighting in opposition were soldiers of the British Highland regiments, also outfitted in tartan. Their tartan attire did not distinguish one group from the other – only the blue bonnet with white cockade set the rebels apart from the regiments *{The government troops had black cockades].*

[object label: Bonnie Prince Charlie portrait]

Bonnie Prince Charlie

The Heighland men, frae hill and glen, wi belted plaids, an glitterin blades,
Wi bonnets blue, an hearts sae true, are comin late an early

Our Prince has made a noble vow, to free his country fairly,
Then wha wad be a traitor now, to ane we loe sae dearly?
We'll go, we'll go, and meet the foe, by land or sea, whereer they be,
Then may to man, and in the van, we'll win or die for Charlie.

The final attempt of the exiled Stewarts to regain the British throne, known as the "Forty-Five Rebellion," was led by the charming and ineffective young prince, Charles Edwards Stewart (or Stuart), who adopted Highland dress as the uniform of his army. Though soundly defeated at the Battle of Culloden, Charles Stewart remained a legendary folk hero, highly praised in poetry and song. In fact, while the loss at Culloden ended the Stewart rebellions and the Jacobite era, the legend of Bonnie Prince Charlie and Jacobite sentiment continued in the oral and written traditions well into the 19th century.

Upon the death of Prince Charlie in 1788, poet William Ross wrote (in Gaelic):

A long farewell to the White Cockade
Till the day of Doom it will not move from the state of death;
The grave has taken the White Cockade
And cold slabs form the tomb in which he rests.

[photo label: Flora MacDonald]
Flora MacDonald, born 1722 in the Outer Hebrides, was a supporter and friend of Bonnie Prince Charlie's, who helped him escape following his defeat at Culloden. MacDonald later emigrated to North Carolina.

[object label: Disarming Act]
The Banning of Tartan

Following Culloden, the British government sought to punish the Jacobites and to squelch Scottish nationalistic sentiment [*not Scottish, but Highland and Gaelic culture and sentiment*] Their most dramatic effort was to outlaw the wearing of Highland dress and tartan garb of any form. The bagpipe and possession of weapons in the Highlands were also banned. The penalty for a first offence was six months in prison; a second offence called for seven-years' expulsion from Scotland to "His Majesty's Plantations beyond the Seas."

In effect, the Disarming Act, which was not repealed until 1782, dealt

a strong blow to tartan wear. Average Highlanders began [had to] to dress like lowland Scots, and the weaving of tartan by local women and professional weavers became a dwindling art. [virtually died out overnight] Even after the repeal, as one traveler to the Highlands noted, "...the same poverty that made it difficult for them to change their clothing hinders them now from changing it." If not for the British Highland regiments – who, for nearly 40 years were the only Scots allowed to wear a tartan kilt, the style of dress may have been lost forever. [*An alternative phrasing*: The only way a Highlander could retain his traditional dress was to enlist in one of the British Highland Regiments; for nearly forty years, the military was the only means by which a kilt could legally be worn and it might well have died out, but for this.]

[object label: John Campbell painting]

The Disarming Act of 1746 was met with great resentment, and the English [British] government were serious about enforcing the law. Some Highlanders living in remote areas, speaking Gaelic and not Scots, never became aware of the proscription; others chose to ignore it,[particularly gentry having portraits painted,] and John Campbell of Ardmaddie, an influential banker in Edinburgh, proudly was painted wearing tartan in 1749, even though the attire was illegal.

[if Disarming Act can not be acquired, we will quote from it:
And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the First Day of August, One thousand seven hundred and forty seven, no Man or Boy, within that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as Officers and Soldiers in His Majesty's Forces, shall, on any Pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the Clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philebeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder Belts, or any Part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no Tartan, or party-coloured Plaid or Stuff shall be used for Great Coats, or for Upper Coats; and if any such Person shall presume after the said First Day of August to wear or put on the aforesaid Garments, or any part of them, ever such Person so offending, being convincted thereof by the Oath of One or more credible Witnes or Witnesses before any Court of Justiciary, or any One or more Justices of the Peace for the Shire or Stewartry, or Judge Ordinary of the Place where such Offence shall be committed, shall suffer Imprisonment, without Bail, during the Space of Six Months, and no longer; and being convicted for a second Offence before a Court of Justiciary , or at the Circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's Plantations beyond the Seas, there to remain for the Space of Seven Years.

[object label: shawl]

This shawl or arisaid is said to have been worn by Mrs. Marjoribanks

at a ball in honor of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1746. Numerous surviving artifacts, especially tartan pieces, are associated with the bonnie prince, and reflect the strength of his legend. Exiled in Italy and France, Charles Stewart undoubtedly did not wear tartan until his arrival in Scotland in 1745; however, numerous posthumous paintings depict him in tartan.

[section text for 1.3]

The Highland Regiments

...the Highlander wears broad garters under the knee, and no breeches, but his plaid belted about his waist..; the reason of this dress is, to make the legs firm, and to leave the sinews and joints quite free, to preserve the wearer from any thing that may heat or embarrass him, and to afford him an opportunity of extending his limbs with the greatest ease; besides this he wears a jacket with strait sleeves, and as for his arms, they consist in a fuzel, a broad sword, a dirk or dagger, an Highland pistol all of steel, hung on the other side of his belt, opposite to the dirk, and a target. The use of these arms they learn from their infancy, and are extremely adroit in them." A Short History of the Highland Regiment, 1743

By the early 1700s, Highland men had long been famed for their heroic and adept warfare. In 1725 the government of Great Britain, which was involved in numerous overseas conflicts, established six independent companies to the Royal Army made up of recruits from the Highlands. This was done in part as a mechanism for gaining Highlanders' allegiance to the crown.[established six independent Highland companies, recruited in the Highlands, specifically to keep order in the Highlands] They chose traditional tartan attire as the official uniform. The recruits, coming from different Highland districts, wore tartans of various setts; striving for uniformity, it was ordered that "the Plaid of each Company to be as near as they cf the same Sort and Colour." In 1739 (correct?), *[now thought most probably to be in 1733, but might have been as late as 1757]* a [new] tartan was designed for the Independent Companies, [based on the old pattern,] called the Black Watch [or the 42nd] or Government Sett. Men were supplied with short jackets instead of coats and belted plaids instead of breeches.

As more Highland [companies] Regiments were [raised] [established and regimented,] the Black Watch sett was modified to distinguish one regiment from the other. Narrow lines of different colors were added to the Black Watch sett; for example, the Gordon Highlander sett includes a small yellow stripe. Eventually Lowland Scottish

regiments were attired in tartan as well – which of course only helped to expand the sense of Scotland as "a tartan nation." During the 18th century most of the Highland regiments being raised enjoyed only a very brief existence, being recruited at the outset of each successive [international] crisis.

[photo label: German print of Highland dress on campaign]
The Highland regiments were well known for their skill and heroism and established a resounding reputation at home and overseas. This 1743 German print shows the variety of tartan attires worn by Highland regiments at the time. Highland regimental attire [The kilt was worn in battle right up to and through] World War I. Without a doubt, the longstanding and celebrated wearing of tartan attire within the British military [by Scottish regiments in the British army has] helped keep tartan alive into the 20th century, leading to its contemporary revival by the general public. [*I don't think this has any direct relevance to the contemporary popularity of the kilt]*

[photo label]
The Thin Red Line, painted in 1881 by Robert Gibb RSA. It depicts the 93rd Highlanders in Sutherland tartan in action at Balaclava, 1854. [question: are they wearing box-pleated kilts - if so, we should mention this]

[photo label: portrait of officer showing facing colors]
From X to X all companies of the Highland Regiment wore the same tartan sett: the Black Watch or Government sett. One company was distinguished from another by the "facing colors" on their red jackets. For example, this officer of the 81st Highlanders ca. 1780 shows white facing colors on his coat while the plaid is the undifferientiated Government sett. Note the half-basket hilted sword. *Courtesy National Museums of Scotland.*

[photo label: officer and ensign]
This sketch of officer and ensign, probably of the 43rd Highlanders, predates 1750. As officers were typically on horseback, they were more likely to be assigned trews.

[case label: Rory MacLeod collection]
During the early years of the 20th century, Captain Rory MacLeod of the 42nd Highlanders compiled a collection of regimental accoutrements that included buttons, badges, ensignia and this small dagger or *sgian dubh.* He donated the collection, a sampling of which is displayed, to the Scottish Tartans Museum in North Carolina.

[object label: mannekin]

Reproduction uniform of the 78th or Fraser Highlanders. The Fraser's were raised in Inverness-shire in 1757 and served in North America, most notably at the taking of Quebec. The group [regiment] was disbanded in 1763, but contemporary re-enactors still wear the uniform. Note the small knife worn in the stocking called the *sgian dubh*, or black knife. It is a fairly modern innovation probably introduced into wear by the Highland regiments early in the 19th century.*[In the old days, a Highlander wore this concealed under his armpit]*

[object label: dirk and sporran]
Dirks and sporrans were standard parts of Highland attire. These 19th century examples are typical of those worn by the Highland regiments. Sporrans were worn around the waist; often pistols or dirks hung from them.*[No, this is not the case – these were hung from the broad waist belt and cross belt]* The Highland dirk differs from a dagger because of the absence of a cross-guard. Its handle is typically hard heather root, bog oak, or briar, with beautifully-carved interlacing Celtic patterns.

Early sporrans were simple leather pouches usually made of deerskin or calfskin, gathered at the top by thongs and without any metal clasps; some may have been fabric. During the early 18th century, metal clasps were added. This goat-hair variety was introduced by the military toward the close of 18th century.{Later versions became even more elaborate with long horsetail hair]

[object label: sample swatches of military setts]
Most Highland regiment tartans are based on the earliest version created for the 43rd [later 42nd] Highlanders or Black Watch. Left-right: Black Watch; 81st or Gordon Highlanders, showing the addition of a yellow stripe; ? 72nd or Seaforth Highlanders, showing the addition of red and white stripes. [Of the the Highland regiments, one departed from precedent completely, the 79th, or Cameron Highlanders wearing the Cameron of Erracht tartan] Several other regiments having had regimental tartans of their own (see for example the Fraser Highlander tartan displayed on mannekin).

[Section text, 1.4]

Victorian Gentrifications

In the various modes of its arrangement this is undeniably the most picturesque and original costume of Europe, partaking of the graceful flow of Oriental drapery, with more than the advantages of European attire, and which can be worn in great plainness, but is susceptible of

being carried to the highest enrichment. James Logan, 1845

Long before the Victorian era, Highland garb was considered as curious and exotic. By the mid-1700s writers and poets began composing numerous works that romanticized the Highlanders and their culture. This fascination with the primitive splendor of the Highlands reached a culmination during the visits to Scotland of King George IV in 1822 and of his daughter Queen Victoria in 1842. George IV was the first British monarch to visit Scotland since 1651; he arrived in Edinburgh dressed in Royal Stewart tartan, and was greeted by groups of Highlanders gathered under their respective chiefs. The visit is described as "stage-managed" by Sir Walter Scott. This visit had a considerable influence on the design of Highland dress and was responsible for the birth of much of the spectacular mode. Fashion designers in Paris and London began to use a diverse array of tartans in their latest styles and new designs. *[In fact the mode was born during the wars with the French, from the 1790's, due to the enormous success of Highland regiments in the various military conflicts; Scott gave a tremendous boost to the wearing of tartan in Scotland, with the emphasis on chief and clan. You may wish to re-phrase.]*

By the 1840s, tartan attire became high fashion, and expanded beyond the kilt to include dresses, jackets, shawls, and sashes as well as non-clothing items. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert first visited the Highlands in 1842; by 1848 the building of their castle retreat at Balmoral was underway. They decorated Balmoral with tartan: the bright red Royal Stewart, the green Hunting Stewart counterpart, and Dress Stewart, also called Victoria. Prince Albert designed a tartan for exclusive use of royal household, based on Royal Stewart, and named it Balmoral.

[photo caption]
Balmoral Castle, an "extravagant interpretation of Scottish vernacular forms of architecture." (Hugh Cheape)

[object label]
L-R: Royal Stewart, Hunting Stewart, Dress Stewart, and Balmoral tartans. The Balmoral tartan was designed by Prince Albert in the 1850s, in shades of marled grey to represent the rugged Grampian peaks, for exclusive use of the royal family.

[object label: mannekin]
Soldier's uniform of the late 1800s, Royal Stewart tartan; kilt is pleated "to stripe" (this compares to pleats that retain the sett pattern, which are called pleated "to sett").

[photo label, Mac Mhic Alasdair]
Col. Alasdair Ronaldson MacDonnell of Glengarry, painted by Sir Henry Raeburn in 1812.
The fundamental change that occurred following the repeal of the Disarming Act in 1782 was that Highland dress became the province of the upper classes alone (apart from the military and servants), since domestic weaving skills had faded during proscription. Manufactured cloth was beyond the reach of the average Highlander. The Victorian code of etiquette and emphasis on status ensured that as many difficulties were put in the way of those who sought to emulate the gentry. Thus arose the taboos concerning "entitlement" and the rigid code of what dress was suitable for which occasion in addition to the need to have a "clan" association with the relatively limited number of tartans available. By the end of the 19th century, dress codes had evolved to produce in many instances basic, ordinary, and dress tartans for many clans, while the accoutrements added enormously to the cost of outfits.

[photo caption: souvenir ware]
Following King George IV's tour of Scotland, interest in things tartan exploded. In addition to high fashion, tartan began to be used in livery, bedding and draperies, shoes, pin-cushions, tin boxes, tea caddies, wooden buttons, and even binding for books.
[object label: basket-hilted broadsword]
Original 19th-century basket-hilted broadsword.

1.4.1 Pipers

The bagpipes, though of European origin, have long been associated like the tartan with the Scottish Highlands and with Scottish pride. Remember that the playing of pipes was forbidden along with Highland attire for 36 years during the 18th century. By the late 1700s piper-servants of the Highland estates wore tartan and elaborate gear, thus preserving, along with the military, the tartan. Tartan attire as part of the piping tradition of course continues to today – and the playing of bagpipes is still present at nearly every social function where tartan is worn. The pipes and the tartan kilt together remain strong symbols of Scotland and Scottish identity.

[object label: bagpipes w/cover, antique bagpipe cover]
Bagpipes, ca. 1975; the bagpipe cover of Hunting MacLean tartan displayed separately is from the mid-19th century.

1.5 The Twentieth Century

In the late 1950s or early 1960s the kilt was only worn on an everyday

basis in the Highlands by the lairds and gentry, and they never wore it outside of the Highlands except for court attendances. Generally speaking the kilt was not worn in the Lowlands even by those of Highland background. Traditional firms like Anderson's would sell a customer a set of three kilts for town wear, evening, and for the outdoors ("the Hill"). This began to change with the advent of "outfitters" who made kilts available for rent (or "hire") by the day. By the 1970's some began to purchase a single kilt for all occasions. While the upper classes have gradually worn the kilt less in the Highlands, more and more people have begun renting the kilt for their graduation, 21st birthday, or wedding. Scholar Ian Maitland Hume describes the widespread kilt-wearing in the late 20th century as a "democratization" of tartan:

The kilt has moved during the past two or three decades from being the mark of a Highlander to being in every sense the national dress of the Scot; whereas it would have virtually never have been worn in the Borders by the average person getting married, it is now worn by 95% of those. In the Highlands, too, it has tended to become worn on more formal occasions and for sporting (hunting) occasions only; it is rare to see it worn as an everyday dress in towns. The other great development has been its wear by the Tartan Army, i.e., those supporting Scotland's football [soccer] teams, and here different dress codes apply; much less formal – T shirts and boots are very common. Informally, increasingly worn by the younger generation a t ceilidhs, throughout Scotland too. After two or three occasions of rental, many invest in an outfit as their standard evening outfit (tuxedo occasions). All this is closely bound up with the renewed emphasis on Scottish identity, stemming from the political revival of national sentiment in the late 1970s and of course very topical today.

The 1994 release of *Braveheart* saw a revival of interest in the *feileadh-mor* or great plaid. Today "Braveheart kilts" are available for rent, and more grooms are choosing this style for their wedding attire. Scots find it ironic that [a Lowland knight] ,William Wallace, who lived during the XX th [13-14th]century, would of course never have worn a *feileadh-mor*.[and indeed his era pre-dated the wearing of the great plaid by Highlanders by some two centuries].

[photo captions]
The range of kilt-wearing across Great Britain in the late 20th century includes (L-R): soccer (or "football") supporters, also called the "Tartan Army"; an attendant in a kilt outfitters; the traditional Highland game(s) [delete 's']keeper; wedding attire; and Prince Charles of the British royal family.

[photo label]

British fashion designer Vivienne Westwood frequently includes examples of kilts and tartan fabric in her designs.

[object label: tuxedo outfit]
Contemporary formal attire, worn throughout Great Britain. After two or three occasions of rental many invest in an outfit such as this for their standard evening wear.

[object labels: 2 ladies kilts]
Until the mid-20th century, kilts were considered strictly as men's attire. Today, women wear kilts as well, knee-length or floor-length, although the common wisdom is that kilt design is more suited to the straighter hips of men.

[object label: 3 children's kilts]
Contemporary children's kilts – worn by boys and girls [correct? [girls don't wear kilts, but tartan skirts] – in (L-R) Hunting Stewart, Royal Stewart, and MacKenzie tartans.

2. Tartans & Clans

The current popularity of the tartan stems from its association with family heritage or clan membership, but this association was actually not established until the early 1800s. Before that time, clan identity was often signified by a plant sprig, flower, ribbon, or feather *[the feather only denotes rank of gentlemen in the clan, one for gent having his own coat of arms, two for a chieftain, three for a chief]* placed in the cap (see for example the MacDonald of Glencoe illustration). In the early 19th century popular writers such as Sir Walter Scott and James MacPherson [JM writing late 18thC] encouraged a romanticization of Highland culture which included the tartan as a symbol of the exotic past. Accompanying the Industrial Revolution were nostalgic and antiquarian desires to document the old life-ways. During this period the tartan had fallen out of use [except in the military] during the proscription, which had only recently been repealed in 1782, and its history was considered in danger. "Documenting" the tartan began the process of associating particular tartan setts with particular clans.

Several organizations and individuals were significant in collecting information on tartan history and establishing its significance. As part of this process, particular tartan setts were determined as belonging to particular families or clans. Key players included: the Highland Society of Scotland; the Highland Society of London; brothers Charles Sobieski Stuart and John Sobieski Stuart; and James Logan, along with illustrator R.R. McIan. Additionally, commercial

manufacturers such as Wilsons of Bannockburn were instrumental in standardizing tartan names.
The activities of the Highland Society of Scotland, formed in 1778, centered on ensuring the survival of anything Gaelic, including culture, history, language, the arts, and the tartan. This group was instrumental in the repeal of the Disarming Act of 1746. A second group, the Highland Society of London, was formed in 1815, and began a collection of tartans by writing to chiefs and heads of families requesting samples of their clan tartans. Between 1816 and 1820 they received about 40 sealed and certified tartans.

The collecting activities of the Highland Society of London illustrates the confusion at the time surrounding tartans and clans: several clans claimed the same tartan; others, having no tartan, sought one. The issue of who held property authority on a sett was mediated by determining that a clan's chief held the absolute authority over what was the correct tartan for his clan.

[photo label]
Note the variety of tartan setts worn by the MacDonald brothers in this portrait painted about 1776 by Jeremiah Davison. This image frequently is cited to illustrate that fact that at this time a single tartan was not associated with Clan MacDonald – and presumably not with other clans as well.

[text panel]
What Is a Clan?

The term "clan" derives from "children" and basically refers to an extended family. In Scotland (and elsewhere in the world where clans are part of the social system) a clan is more than simply a group of blood relations – it is a political, landholding entity. Scottish clans are patrilineal, or tracing descent through the males; traditionally the clan "chief" was both the "father" and the leader of the group, who administered law, initiated war, and decided how much land each member held. Scottish clans typically included groups related by blood and marriage, called *septs*, along with other individuals who received protection from the chief in exchange for loyalty and commitment to the clan. Following the union with England in the early 1700s, the level of power held by the Scottish clan chief began to decline; [*better to say*; Following the failure of the last Jacobite rebellion in 1746 and the abolition of the chiefs' hereditary jurisdictions shortly after, the role of the clan chiefs changed from that of paternal leader to one of commercial landlord;] today, a clan chief's status is largely honorific. Modern clan identity has been fostered by clan societies, most [many] of which were founded during the 1880s.[1980's]

[photo caption: John Sobieski Stuart]
Infamous among those who contributed to the documentation of clan tartans were the Sobieski Stuart brothers, who claimed to be descendants of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the rightful heirs to the house of Stewart. Their book, *Vestiarium Scoticum*, published in 1831,[1842] was supposedly based on three ancient manuscripts, which the brothers claimed to have held in their possession. They asserted medieval origins to clan tartans. These "ancient manuscripts" have since been discredited, but the 75 clan tartans identified in their work have gone down in history. In 1845 John Sobieski Stuart, pictured above in XX, followed this work with *The Costume of the Clans*, which further established and consolidated clan associations of tartan and ascribed specific clan identity to nearly all setts or designs. The Sobieski Stuarts, among others, were responsible for creating links between tartans and clans that remain with us today.

[object label]
Tartans identified by the Sobieski Stuarts in *Vestiarium Scoticum* include (L-R): Johnston, Hamilton, Maxwell, Fraser, Stuart of Bute, MacKay Blue, MacLeod of Lewis, Cameron.

[object label: book]
In 1826 James Logan, from Aberdeen, visited the Highlands and collected a wealth of information of antiquarian interest. His research was published in 1831 as *The Scottish Gael; or Celtic Manners as preserved among the Highlanders*, and included in an appendix a listing of 54 tartans. Perturbed about the confusion in tartan patterns, he followed this work in 1847 with *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*. This important work was both dedicated to Queen Victoria *and* issued to commemorate the centenary of the Uprising of Forty-Five. It was certainly ironic that one hundred years after the crushing defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the institution of the Disarming Act of 1846 [1746] forbidding the wearing of tartan, this presentation on tartan is dedicated to the queen of Great Britain!

In high romantic mode, Logan's introduction dramatically extolls the virtues of the Highland people and their dress. In some instances, R. R. McIan's illustrations suggest erroneously ancient origins of tartan; the MacMillan tartan, for example, is depicted as being worn by a Highlander in battle with a Roman soldier. Logan and McIan's work remains in print and is often used today to illustrate tartan setts and attire. Several illustrations from this work are included in this exhibition.

[object label]
Tartans identified by Logan in *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*

include (L-R): MacLaughlin, MacKay, Kennedy, Munro, MacMillan, MacDonald, Buchanan.

[object label]
Wilsons of Bannockburn

Names of tartans and clan associations had origins that were probably in most cases more commercial than historical. Hugh Cheape, 1995

Wilsons of Bannockburn, manufacturers of tartan beginning in 1765, contributed greatly to the standardization of the product and to the naming of tartan setts. Through the Napoleonic Wars, Wilsons supplied the Highland regiments with their tartans. During the peace-time that followed 1819 [1815], they began to concentrate on civilian trade. Following George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822, the popularity of tartan skyrocketed, and Wilsons found their best selling tartans to be "King George the Fourth" and "Sir Walter Scott." At this point, Wilsons manufactured hundreds of different tartans known only by number, and began to give names to those along with creating new patterns.

[object label]

Tartans first identified by Wilson of Bannockburn include (L-R): Dunbar, Eglinton, Ettrick, Glen Lyon, Mull, MacKenzie, and MacDonald.
Wilsons maintained "key pattern books," indicating the thread counts of various tartans. Their efforts did much to standardize the manufacture of tartan. It seems clear from looking at the tartan names in their 1794 list of patterns that many setts were not yet associated with a clan:

Black and Red Tartan
Red and White Tartan
Red and White Drumluthy Sett
Blanket Tartan
Green Ground Plaids
42nd sett
McDonalds Sett
Common Kilt
Bruce Sett
Blue and Green
Blue and Green with Red stripe
Gordon
Gordon with silk

By 1800, additional setts appeared in the pattern books:

Athol pattern
Aberdeen Sett
Crief Sett
Perth Sett
Chisholm
McDonell
Dundee Wallace
Waggrall
Ritch
Lasting
Glasgow
Fiddes
Stewarts Sett
"New broad Sett as you call it"
Hunter
Birral
Logan
Gallowater
Baile Calendonian

Aberdeen, Crieff, Perth, Dundee, Glasgow were so called by the manufacturers because they were the popular patterns in these towns.

[text panel]
Definitions: Tartan as Attire

Arisaid: large shawl, usually checkered, worn by Highlands women; worn over the headed, fastened with a brooch.
Breacan: plaid gathered at waist by a belt.
Doublet: short-wasted jacket worn with a kilt.
Leine: cloak or mantle, brought to Scotland by Irish conquerers during the fifth century. [Gaelic]
Tartan: twilled fabric, usually woolen, with a checkered design consisting of stripes of varying widths and colors, with threads arranged identically in both directions to create a symmetrical pattern; today associated with particular families or clans. Name derives from the French *tiretaine*, a fabric of half linen, half wool.
Feileadh-mor: "great wrap" or "great kilt"(*eiladh* literally means folding), worn in the Scottish Highlands primarily between the 16th and 18th centuries. [Gaelic]
Feileadh-beag, also filabeg or phillabeg: "small wrap" or "small kilt": developed from the feileadh-mor before the mid-1700s; includes the addition of stitched pleats and requires less fabric than the *feileadh-mo*r. [Gaelic]

Plaid, pronounced "played"[plad]: from the Scots word meaning blanket; in the Highlands it came to refer to a long, untailored piece of fabric wrapped around the body and fastened; worn by both women and men.
Trews: a form of tight trousers made of tartan; worn more typically by chiefs and the well-to-do.[clan gentry]

Gallery 2 text

Revisions in red, comments in italics, text to be replaced underlined

[Main Intro]

The wearing of tartan clothing has been a noted part of Scottish identity for more than four centuries. Gallery 2 addresses the manufacture of tartan, looking especially at the current era in which new tartan setts are being designated in proliferation. Examples include tartans commemorating the American Bicentennial, Princess Diana, the State of Georgia, and the recently-renewed Scottish Parliament. In the contemporary world, tartan attire serves as an important way of expressing [an identity with] Scottish heritage, especially among those who are removed from the homeland. The wearing of tartan is a significant part of the social lives of Scots and Scottish descendants in Atlanta and the Southeast. A sampling of local associations and events, including the Stone Mountain Highland Games and Scottish Festival, illustrates the sweeping resurgence of Scottish identity witnessed in the United States, expressed particularly through the wearing of tartan.

In Gallery 1, the evolution of tartan dress is traced across time — from the attire of ordinary Scottish Highlanders during the 16-17th [18th]century to the contemporary kilts worn by people of Scottish descent around the world. Tartan refers to a checked, twilled cloth; while similar fabrics have been woven in many places in the world, only in Scotland has this fabric become emblematic of particular groups of people: Highlanders, Scottish nationalists, or specific clans or districts. *[nationalist is slightly perjorative and not strictly an apposite description for Scottish national dress – I would rather say* Highlanders, specific clans and districts and as an expression of Scottish nationality] Today, tartan designs or *setts* are associated with certain clans or surnames, but this was not always so. How the tartan became a badge of clanship during the early 1800s is also explored – along with historical examples of some of the earliest and most popular setts.

[section text]

The Manufacture of Tartan

History

Fabrics such as the tartan which incorporate multicolored checks and blended colors are not unique to Scotland and have been produced elsewhere in Europe and in other parts of the world. Only in Scotland have such patterns become strongly associated with clan identity and ultimately with national identity. The fabric we now know as tartan began in the home, at the hands and looms of the Highland women. They created these fabrics with colorful, complex patterns simply for the purpose of keeping warm [using the local dyes most readily available]. They used a hand-loom, throwing the shuttle from hand to hand. The width of the material was typically 30 inches or less and in order to produce the finished garment or plaid, two lengths of tartan were sewn together side by side. The plaid was a rectangular length of cloth about 15 feet in length by five feet in width. It was worn by men as a feileadh-mor or great wrap, and by women as an arisaid, a large shawl.

Women did the majority of the weaving until the 18th century. By that time, professional weavers, usually men, began to set up weaving shops in villages and towns; local women still spun and dyed the wool, using indigo and local plants. Eventually, commercial manufacturers such as Wilsons of Bannockburn took over the majority of tartan production, standardizing names and thread counts for the tartans they offered.

Today, nearly all tartan is commercially manufactured; only one handweaver, XX, continues the craft in Scotland.[are you thinking of Peter MacDonald? There are one or two others, though he is the best known producing for commercial purposes]

Setts

Tartan is made up from different colored yarns woven to produce a multi-colored check. The arrangements of stripes of colored threads are the same in the warp (running lengthwise) as in the weft (running across) and the chosen colors are assembled into sets of varying thread counts. Each section of the design mirrors the section next to it. The resulting pattern is called a *sett* and is now classified generally by the name of a family or clan. The sett name of each of the tartans displayed in these galleries is identified based on current standards; remember that the process of "naming" and standardizing tartan setts did not begin until the late 1700s. [something about pattern sticks *[Pattern sticks, of which none survive, were used by the weaver to replicate a particular sett]* As names were given to particular setts, there was confusion; some tartan setts have been re-named over the

years and some clans have older and newer versions of their tartans.

Colors

The earliest tartans were woven of undyed wool, using shades of black, grey, white, and brown. A piece of fabric from the third century was excavated in Falkirk, Scotland, showing a simple black and grey check, a design that has survived and is known today as "Shepherd's Plaid." Later, dyes were added, primarily purples and blue [and reds? *The red, from the imported cochineal, was very expensive; this is the reason that the majority of 18thcentury portraits of the gentry have a predominance of red based tartans depicted, to demonstrate their wealth and status].* [Introduction of red...] Today shades of red, green and blue are most popular. While thread counts are very precise in the determination of tartan setts, shades of color allow for variation: for example, the red of the MacGregor tartan can be a scarlet red, a rust red, a light red, a pink, or even an orange; it still remains the same tartan. During the Victorian period, clan tartans were expanded to include "hunting" and "dress" setts. While the thread count of a particular tartan remained the same for all versions, "hunting" setts were produced in darker tones featuring especially greens and growns,[blues?] and "dress" setts were lighter versions using especially white. The "Royal Stewart," "Dress Stewart," and "Hunting Stewart" tartans used by Queen Victoria in the decoration of Balmoral Castle are illustrated in Gallery 1.

Left: Campbell of Argyll tartan, ca. 1850; kilt in Dress Stewart tartan, ca. 1950.

Modern, Ancient & Weathered Tartans

Different versions of the same tartan, called "modern," "ancient," and "weathered" denote the various shades of color used. "Modern" colors are dark and bold,[based on chemical dyes] and were popular during the Victorian era. "Ancient" colors are less deep than modern, representing the vegetable-dyed tartan of earlier eras. "Weathered" tartan – which may also be called "faded," "muted," or "reproduction" – has become manufactured more recently, using colors that appear to have aged. Today most clan tartans are available in all three color schemes.

Left-right: Modern, Ancient, and Weathered XXX [whichever tartan group is selected]

Weavings

Tartan can be woven using a variety of materials and a variety of weaves; its weave determines the strength of the fabric and how it falls on the body. The simplest is "plain weave," in which threads go over-one and under-one repeatedly. Most frequently used is the "twill weave," in which threads go over-two and under-two. This creates a diagonal pattern in the fabric. Twill is a strong but flexible fabric and is considered ideal for tartan wear. In the 1800s, military officers wore tartan woven in "hard weave," which scratched the skin and was eventually abolished from military wear when Queen Victoria took notice of its discomfort. [how is hard tartan produced?] *[There are three qualities of military tartan ;the finest for officers, next best for non-commissioned officers and the band and the coarsest for the other-ranks; the cloth used was made softer for soldiers after the above observation. 'Hard' tartan refers to the old very tightly woven tartan material common up to early 19th century, particularly for suits of tartan for the gentry. The colours of hard tartan seem more enduring]*

Left-right: Plain Weave [name of sett], Twill Weave [name of sett], Hard Weave [name of sett]
Twill weave is most commonly used for tartans.

New Tartans
In recent decades there has been an explosion of new tartans, registered not only to families or associations but to individuals, governmental entities, [commercial corporations, football clubs] and particular events. Newer tartans shown here are: American Bicentennial (skirt); Georgia; Confederate; Princess Diana; and Scottish Parliament, designed and registered in 1998 to commemorate the reinstated parliament – which had not convened since the Union of Parliaments in 1707.

Left: When Apollo astronaut Alan Bean walked on the moon in XX, he left behind a piece of McBean tartan. Fellow clan member and Atlantan Grant Crate received this commemorative certificate from Bean.

[object label]
A few examples of new tartan setts include: American Bicentennial; Confederate; Scottish Parliament; and Princess Diana.

[section text]
The Issue of Entitlement

One is constantly asked the question – "What tartan have I the right to wear? Col. M.M. Haldane, 1931

This writer of a series of articles titled "The Great Clan Tartan Myth," described a "mass of literature and lore connected with tartans" all "based on the assumption that there existed from early times a kind of heraldry by which each clan possessed one or more tartans, to which it alone had a right, and by which the members were distinguished in battle...." He concluded, as researchers have since that time, that since clan names were not given to tartans until the first half of the 19th century, true historical connections between particular tartan setts and clans do not exist. In this respect, it appears that no one – or everyone, it could be said – has the "right" to wear a particular clan tartan.

It is generally acknowledged today that connections between clan tartans and particular surnames associated with these clans are arbitrary. Nonetheless, over the last 150 years, an elaborate body of traditions have been established concerning entitlement and appropriate tartan attire. During the Victorian era, when tartan was largely the province of the upper class, a rigid code of tartan dress was established. This included not only regulations on the selection of tartan, but fast rules about appropriate accoutrements – caps, jackets, sporrans, hose, shoes – and adornments such as cap badges. Only the clan chief, for example, is entitled to wear three feathers, either real or silver, in his cap behind his crest badge. And only those whose status has been recognized by the Lord Lyon qualify to do so. Today, now that the kilt and tartan attire have become adopted by the middle classes and by Scottish descendants around the world, the hard-and-fast rules established during the last century are loosening.

[section text]

Registration of Tartan

The Scottish Tartans Society, located in Pitlochry, Scotland, runs the Register of All Publicly Known Tartans; its archives contain samples and specifications of all registered tartans, which today number about 2,500. Application is made to the Scottish Tartans Society to register a new tartan, and is reviewed by the current Lord Lyon of Arms. *[No. The Lord Lyon King of Arms will have nothing to do with the registration of tartans, unless it be for a Province of Canada or it is incorporated in a chief's matriculation of his coat of arms.]* The Society was established [inaugurated] in 1963 by the late Lord Lyon, Sir Thomas Innes of Learney. Since [what year?], the Lord Lyon has had the authority to designate clan chiefs and heads of family as well as "Badges and Signs of Recognition whatsoever borne or used by the Clans." Today he oversees the official registration of all tartans, although it is acknowledged that a clan chief retains the authority to change its clan's tartan. [how did this come to be Lord Lyon's province?] *[I would omit all this; as I have commented above, Lyon*

has nothing to do with the registration of tartans; his powers (he is a government law officer) are in the realm of granting and matriculating coats of arms, determining succession to them, confirming who is chief of a clan, successor to a title of nobility etc. It is the chief of a clan who has the sole authority to designate or confirm a tartan to be used as a clan tartan – that of course does not interfere with any individual's right to register a tartan for his own use. The other authority with whom people register tartans is the 'Scottish Tartans Authority' and their associated organisation in the USA – TECA – the Tartan Educational and Cultural Authority. They came into being as a result of a major split in the Scottish Tartans Society a few years back. Registration with either authority is entirely voluntary, but people usually do, to avoid duplication and subsequent claims on who has the tartan!]

[object label: 2 documents]
Sample application to the Scottish Tartans Society for the registration of a new tartan. Anyone seeking to register a tartan simply has to send a sample and make application to the Scottish Tartans Society. The Society can also be solicited to arrange for the design and weaving of a new tartan.

Pages from the *Journal of The Scottish Tartans Society* show examples of recent notings, registrations and accreditations. Notings are samples that have simply been noted on the Register. Registrations are recorded without requiring the approval of the Lord Lyon, clan chief, head of family or other authorities. Accreditations requires that the proposer have full authority for the use and name of the tartan, for example a chief on behalf of his clan or a board of directors on behalf of a corporation.

[section text]
Scots in America

As Scots have emigrated to other parts of the world, they have kept strong attachments to the homeland, to its culture and traditions, and to its clans. Today, Scottish-Americans participate actively – some would say fervently – in clan societies and genealogical research, and in various social and cultural events such as Highland Games, Scottish music and dance, Burns Clubs, and St. Andrew's Societies, which have both benevolent and social functions. Presented here is a sampling of Scottish activities that take place in and around Atlanta and elsewhere in the southeast.

Scots and Georgia [along with Oglethorpe image and Dode McIntosh image]

Scots have long held strong ties to Georgia. The British government chartered James Oglethorpe to found the Colony of Georgia in 1732 as a buffer zone between British holdings to the north and the Spanish presence in Florida. Oglethorpe recruited Scottish Highlanders, who settled in New Inverness (now Darien), Savannah, Joseph's Town, and St. Andrews. Wearing Highland attire, the Darien Militia fought and defeated the Spanish at two battles, which helped end the Spanish struggle in the colonies. Following the American Revolution, Scots from the Highlands and Lowlands began to immigrate to the United States and Canada, many because they were forced off their land or could not find employment. The 19th and early 20th centuries saw steady streams of immigrants from Scotland. Many city and county names across the state reflect Georgia's Scottish heritage (e.g., Glasgow; Culloden; Forsyth and McIntosh Counties).

Before the removal of Creek and Cherokee Indians from Georgia in the early 1800s, Scots and Indians both traded and intermarried. William McIntosh (ca. 1775-1825), a wealthy innkeeper whose father was Scottish and mother was Creek was simultaneously a chief of Clan McIntosh and a chief of the Creek Confederacy. His descendant W.E. "Dode" McIntosh (1893- 198?) was Principal Chief of the Muscogee Creek Nation of Oklahoma. Dode and his son Chinnubbie have attended the Highland Games held at Stone Mountain, Georgia.

Stone Mountain Highland Games & Scottish Festival
Events

The weekend event is traditionally kicked off with military "Tatoo," in which military and civilian performances include Highland piping and dancing. (The Games scheduled for October 16-17, 1999, however, will not include the Tatoo due to the renovation of the coliseum). Piping and dance competitions are held throughout the weekend, and entertainers and special guests appear at Stone Mountain Park and at other scheduled events. A highlight is the Sunday afternoon "Parade of Tartans," in which all clans gathered participate. The local St. Andrew's Society closes the parade bearing tartan "standards" showing the clan names and crests in addition to the clan tartans. Athletic competitions include the traditional caber toss (using a telephone pole), sheaf toss, hammer throw, shot put, weight toss, and weight throw. Competitors include athletic "legends" and other professionals, amateurs, and junior athletes.

Stone Mountain Highland Games & Scottish Festival
History

Atlanta's Stone Mountain Highland Games, started in 1972, are

among the fastest-growing in the world. Today, the local Games host as many as 118 clans and about 55,000 visitors, as well as featuring athletics and performances. Stone Mountain's Games are distinguished as being the largest gathering of clans in the country, and include only clans that are headed by "heraldic chiefs." (The only exception to this is the recent addition of "Clan McMedic," a group of volunteers who offer medical services to participants and athletes. In 1998, Clan McMedic marched for the first time in the Parade of Tartans.)

Visitors and participants from all over the world join in the Stone Mountain Games; many of them also attend games in other areas. Similar games of varying sizes are held elsewhere in Georgia and the southeast; the Grandfather Mountain Games of western North Carolina have been in existence since XXX[1956] Other games are held across the United States, in Canada, Australia, Japan, and of course in Scotland, as well as other parts of the world.

[objects in case: hat, athletic awards, plates from St Mt and Grandfather Mt Highland games, program books, Clan McMedic cap and cap badge and "We Fix" badge]

[object label: Highland dance costumes]
Highland dance competitions, in which both boys and girls participate, take place at Highland Games around the world.

Kirkin' o' the Tartan

The Kirkin' (or blessing) o' the Tartan is a uniquely American custom. The service originated at the beginning of World War II when the St. Andrews Society of Washington D.C. participated in a special service at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. The collection proceeds went to British War Relief. The address, entitled "Less We Forget" was delivered by Dr. Peter Marshall, who authored "." Since that time, additional St. Andrew's Societies around the country have organized annual Kirkings. In Atlanta, the Kirkin' o' the Tartan takes place at the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip's and at Peachtree Presbyterian Church.

St. Andrews Society of Atlanta

The St. Andrews Society of Atlanta is both a social and cultural organization formed in 1971; the group participates in various Scottish heritage activities featured here — including the Kirkin' o' the Tartan and the Stone Mountain Highland Games — and also a host of other activities, such as the Georgia celebration of Tartan Day, a Burns

Nicht celebration, a St. Andrews Day dinner, and Hogmanay (definition)[celebration of New Year's Eve.]

Atlanta's St. Andrew's Society is responsible for the State of Georgia's recognition of April 6 as "Tartan Day." April 6 was chosen because the Declaration of Arbroath – the Scottish Declaration of Independence, on which the United States's Declaration is based – was signed on April 6, 1320.

In the tradition of benevolent societies, the group offers scholarships for lessons and classes in Scottish traditional arts and supports historical research. The membership, which now numbers more than 300, is limited to Scots and Scottish descendants and their spouses; candidates must be sponsored and voted upon by the full membership.

The Burns Club of Atlanta

I think that the Scots have contributed immensely not just to Scotland but all over the world in a lot of different areas: from science and engineering to art to poetry.... And wherever they go they take their heritage with them so they never forget that they're Scots. For some reason we're Scots in our hearts and we're always Scottish.
Kate Graham

Robert Burns is a typical example of [a Scot] who has contributed.... He was known as the farmer-poet — and actually he got on very well with people from all walks of life.

Richard Graham, former President of Atlanta Burns Club
President of Clan Graham Society, Inc. [correct?Yes, but I don't know if it is Inc]

The birth of Scottish poet Robert Burns (1759-1796) is celebrated on January 25 by clubs around the world. The evening supper is highlighted with the arrival of the haggis, a traditional Scottish dish made of mutton and oatmeal boiled in the lining of a sheep's stomach. The haggis is presented high on a silver tray by an individual wearing full Highland dress, preceded by a piper and swordbearer.

The Burns Club of Atlanta, founded in 1896, meets in a replica of the original Burns cottage -- it is the only such replica outside of Alloway in southwest Scotland, the home of the poet. The Club is a literary society, not a Scottish one; in addition to meetings, they host *ceilidhs* (social gatherings) and other events. Membership is limited to 100 male members. Members have ranged from "an appeals court judge to a goat farmer," all appreciators of literature and especially of "Rabbie Burns."

Atlanta's Burns Cottage drawing by XX; the roof has been modified but otherwise the cottage is an exact replica of the original.
Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, Atlanta Branch

In 1986, "Atlanta Fair," a jig devised by Carol Bell, with music arranged by Peter Campbell, won the dance-composition competition sponsored by Atlanta's branch of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society in celebration of the branch's 10th anniversary. The dance includes figures representing special things about our city: Coca-Cola, the dogwood, the Confederate flag, and Stone Mountain. The musical arrangement uses tunes such as "Marching through Georgia," "Rambling Wreck from Georgia Tech," "I'd
Like to Teach the World to Sing," and "Georgia on My Mind."

Originating in 17th century Scotland, country dance belongs to every class of Scottish society but is best known to the world as the ballroom dance of Scotland, exhibiting grace, elegance, and strength. Today branches of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society exist around the world.

Genealogy

I was working on genealogy but I didn't know my own history – I thought they were Welsh. We went on a tour of Great Britain, and when we got to Scotland I was overcome with some feeling – I can't explain it, I just had this connection.... When we got back that's when I seriously got into genealogy and looking into this, and – lo and behold – I'm one!
Carol Bell, Atlanta

Located in the small town of Moultrie, Georgia, the Ellen Payne Odom Genealogy Library is an archival and genealogical repository for materials relating to more than 100 Scottish clans. People of Scottish descent from across the country and around the world visit this library to research their clan heritage. Beginning in XX, clan associations began depositing books, manuscripts, reports, and objects relating to their histories. The library fosters Scottish culture and research through festivals, symposia, and its publication *The Family Tree*, which has a worldwide distribution of more than X copies. According to Beth Gay, who edits *The Family Tree*, nearly everyone with roots in the American South has some Scottish blood – which makes Georgia an ideal home for this collection.

Carving Identity: Jim Anderson

I wear a kilt as often as I can — for black tie occasions and various

Scottish functions. And I usually like to stop off somewhere on the way back home while I'm wearing a kilt, just to get a reaction.
Jim Anderson

Atlantan Jim Anderson, who was raised in Ohio and whose great-grandfather was from Scotland, began to seriously develop his connections with his Scottish heritage and with the Scottish-American community after he moved to Atlanta. Participating in Highland Games in Atlanta and elsewhere, in the St. Andrew's Society of Atlanta, and numerous other Scottish-related activities has occupied much of his spare time over the last 20 years. He combines this with another passion – woodcarving (a passion that he attributes to his Welsh roots). Over the years Jim has created hundreds of commemorative plaques, crests, walking sticks or *cromachs*, and other carvings, all of which express his love for things Scottish and his connections with others. He has given pieces to family members, to friends in the Scottish-American community, to organizations (many of those featured in this gallery), and to Scottish friends and associates he has met through his host of activities. Several of the *cromachs* on display were returned to Atlanta especially for this exhibition from the clan chiefs who now own them. Needless to say, this display is a very small sampling of the immense body of work that Jim has created, all of which expresses his artistry and his identity as a Scottish descendant.

Rooted in Ironmaking: George Beasley

Generations of my family have been involved in the making of iron. I can somehow sense a genetic connection with iron which runs congruent with my Celtic heritage.
George Beasley

Sculptor George Beasley explores aspects of his Scottish roots through his art. A professor and Graduate Director of the School of Art and Design at Georgia State University, his work addresses ironmaking historically and metaphorically, and includes contexts in pre-industrial and industrial Scotland. Although he grew up in Ironton, Ohio, Beasley made no connection between the name of his hometown and the metal, or between the metal and his family, until much later. Cast forms began to dominate his sculptural work beginning about 15 years ago; concurrently he was learning more about his family history. The discovery that he was one in a long line of metalworkers was the first step in reaching back to his heritage.

Today, Beasley's work comments on labor history and the working conditions of mines and foundries in the early Industrial Age. One project marked the closing of the Carron Iron Works in Scotland, the

oldest foundry in Western Europe. It also draws from Celtic mythology, such as the Beltain ceremony which survived in the Scottish Highlands into the early 20th century. Many of the pieces incorporate symbology from Scotland such as ancient Celtic script and the St. Andrew's Cross. *Five Points Monument,* which was erected at the corner of Peachtree and Marietta Streets in downtown Atlanta in 1996, includes, for example Celtic ogam writing as an homage to his personal heritage. Another 1996 installation at the King Plow Art Center in Atlanta, entitled *Foundry*, address the foundry that was once on the King Plow site.

Beasley's body of work includes "performances" – in which a spectacular cast metal installation lasts only one night. A project currently in planning, entitled *The Millennium Project*, is scheduled to take place on December 31, 1999 from the cliffs overlooking the North Sea in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. It involves the installation of a furnace which will generate molten iron that will be catapulted into the sea using a medieval throwing engine known as a *trebuchet.* "Staged at the advent of the Millennium this 'event' celebrates the end of the age of iron and the sometimes traumatic transition to a new, uncertain age."

Dr. D. Gordon Teall of Teallach
of the Scottish Tartans Society

The Scottish Tartans Society, which maintains the "Register of All Known Tartans," also operates a museum of tartans at its headquarters in Comrie, Perthshire, Scotland. In XX, under its executive president Dr. D. Gordon Teall of Teallach, the Society initiated a similar museum in collaboration with a local city government in North Carolina. The Scottish Tartans Museum, located in Franklin, North Carolina, is the only museum of its type in the United States; the museum generously loaned many objects to this exhibition, including this original ensemble worn by the late D. Gordon Teall.

Teall's is typical daytime attire of the Highland gentry during the mid-20th century, including a tweed vest and jacket and leather day sporran; the tartan of course is Teallach; note the two feathers on the crest badge, indicating Teall's status as a chieftain.

Appendix VII

Paper delivered at Tartan Day Forum, Washington DC

Tartan and its contemporary significance for Scots and Scottish Americans.

It would be fair to say, I think, that the symbol by which Scots and Scotland are recognised throughout the world, tartan, has become in a way as significant a factor in the iteration of Scottish identity by Americans, as any other attribute of Scottishness. Some would say that tartan has been such a powerful symbol, that it has completely enveloped the living legacy of Scotland, evident in so many diverse fields , so as to render this legacy almost invisible, with the possible exception of that of Robbie Burns and Sir Walter Scott.

We have just heard, this legacy also lives on in many unsuspected ways, such as amongst the MacDonalds of the Flathead reservation; Angus's father John in Glen Coe would certainly have been familiar with tartan in the form of the '*feilidh mor*' or great wrap or plaid worn over a long shirt and gathered at the waist with a belt; thrown off whilst engaged in battle, it served as the all-purpose garment which could provide protection in bad weather, and warmth at night when used as a blanket. The women wore it universally as a shawl for much the same purpose and it was woven in the home, being dyed in the colours afforded by local plants.

With Culloden and the Disarming Act of 1746, by which the wearing of tartan in any form was forbidden throughout the Highlands, the traditional art of the domestic weaving of tartan cloth was virtually lost, together with the countless local variations and patterns. That might have been the end of the story. Happily for us all, the government recognised the value of the Highlander as a fighting man and the fact that the new Highland regiments being formed provided the only way the men could continue wearing their traditional plaids, ensured tartan's survival and our presence here this week!.

With the increasing success and reputation for valour of the Highland regiments of the British Army from the Seven Years War and the conquest of Canada onwards(not to mention gallant action on the part of many former supporters of the Jacobite cause fighting loyally on the British government's side not a million miles from here during the War of Independence) tartan became all the rage in fashionable society, with Wilsons of Bannockburn and other firms falling over themselves to supply an increasing number of patterns. It may be no coincidence that it was the loyalist Highlanders who had to move to

Upper Canada from the new United States , following independence, to join fellow Scots there and that Tartan Day itself first saw the light of day in Canada some twelve years ago. We have come full circle.

When Sir Walter Scott called on the chiefs to parade in Edinburgh before King George IV in 1822, along with their clansmen and in the clan tartan, Wilsons were on hand to supply the many chiefs who were ignorant of anything specifically associated with their own clan, and thus were the clan tartans born, to be enshrined in respectability, and soon endowed with historical provenances. Queen Victoria added her seal of approval and it is perhaps only in the last three decades or so that we in Scotland have emerged from the rigid Victorian interpretation of tartan symbolism in terms of dress.

It would be fair to say that until the late sixties or early seventies of the last century, (and I mean the 20th), the kilt in its modern form remained the mark of a Highlander, and more usually the better-off Highland gentleman at that. Its re-appearance in society after the repeal of the act proscribing its use meant that, with the loss of the domestic tartan weaving skills over the intervening period, it was beyond the reach of the ordinary Highlander on account of cost. Thus it was confined to the upper levels of society amongst the lairds and gentry, whether native or visiting from the South, throughout the nineteenth century and for most of the twentieth, unless required as part of a working uniform, both civilian and military.

The strict code which governed dress dictated that it should not be worn outwith the Highland Line too, and although looked on by many as the national dress of the Scot, in practice it was largely the dress of the Highland gentlemen and a small minority of enthusiasts. The advent of the kilt rental firms in the 1970's began to change all that, when for the first time since Culloden in 1746, it once again became accessible to the man in the street, so to speak. Now a Highland outfit could be hired for any special occasion such as a wedding, graduation, twenty-first party or similar event, and increasingly people found it just as accessible a dress for formal evening wear as the tuxedo.

Thus I would argue that it is really only in the last thirty years or so that the kilt has in reality become for many the formal national dress of the Scot in Scotland, as opposed to just those considering themselves Highlanders or of Highland origin. It is a supreme paradox that the badge of the Jacobite rebel and the Highlander, for so long despised and looked down upon by the Lowlanders, should now become in a very real sense the universal badge of the Scot, worn with the same pride whether at a formal occasion or in support of the national soccer or rugby team by the tartan army. For the ex-patriate

Scots, however, the kilt has been for long an excellent means of re-calling the homeland, even if it was not worn at home to anything like the same degree, if at all.

For the Scottish American, tartan seems to have exerted a particular fascination, especially in the post-WWII period and there is no doubt in my mind that for those of Scottish origin here, it is the symbol of heritage and roots. We have to contemplate a raft of different meanings which this powerful symbol conveys both sides of the Atlantic. The attractions of tartan for the American are perhaps more easily understood compared with the way Scots view it today. For the American looking for an extension of his or her identity beyond that encompassed by the 'American' element, for whatever reason, tartan could be said to be a badge of affirmation of the Scottish connection.

Those who attend a Highland Games here for the first time are often drawn to one of the booths offering information on the origin of surnames; if a positive link is identified, the next step almost invariably is for the visitor to enquire what tartan is associated with their name and it is usually but a short step to one of the many clan society pavilions to establish through one of them a link with a specific tartan. Increasingly there is a trend for people to have their own tartan designed, should no link with an existing tartan exist; the interesting point to note is that for those proclaiming a Scottish American identity, tartan is seen to be, by definition, an almost essential element in the overall concept of that identity, in whatever form it may be worn..

There are, of course, many Scottish American families who are very well aware of their roots and can pinpoint precisely from which part of Scotland their forebears left for the New World, such as the Flathead MacDonalds; here again the ability of the tartan symbol to recall that heritage is a very powerful one. It is perfectly legitimate to argue, that it is up to the Scottish American to interpret the heritage of the past in the way that seems most appropriate, for that heritage is shared as much by the Scottish diaspora as by those who happen to live in Scotland today, and it is on this point that there is perhaps the greatest divergence of opinion and attitudes.

Whilst many in Scotland might view tartan somewhat equivocally, deeming it to be associated at worst with shortbread tins, busking pipers on Princes Street, or tourists in the Royal Mile – 'tartan kitsch' in other words - , and at best with the Highland regiments, a pipe band, the wedding day outfit, or perhaps a rugby or soccer international, I suspect that the majority of Scottish Americans view it in the rather simpler terms I have suggested already. Scots, and the

younger ones in particular, are only now beginning to feel more comfortable with this very visible aspect of identity, encumbered as it is with such complex meaning and invented tradition; the gradual re-discovery of our self-confidence may also be contributing to this.

There is no greater mark of this difference than in the way the ceremony of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan is viewed both sides of the Atlantic. A genuine American home-bred Scottish American tradition, which has been growing for the past fifty or more years, in parallel with the increasing popularity of Highland Games and other festivals with a Scottish accent, and which has yet to become established in Scotland. Invested with religious significance and in spite of fanciful claims as to its origin, this ceremony neatly embraces the celebration of heritage, links to clan, family and past roots, even though the medium, tartan, has only relatively recently been endowed with the attributes that such ceremonies imply. The inability of Scots to understand the significance of tartan in this context, and thus to accept the place that the 'Kirkin', or more generally, tartan has come to take in the Scottish American community is evidence of the gap that separates the two views. Although Scots may joke about it, the last laugh may well be on us, for I have evidence that the Kirkin' is creeping in, although only in a remote part of Galloway in the South West, so far!

Those of us who rejoice in the fact that Scotland has in tartan the best brand recognition in the world sometimes despair that we seem unable to see beyond the 'cringe' factor; it may have been associated with shortbread tins and the like, but if all that is tartanry now leads to instant world-wide recognition as a mark of origin then surely it must have something going for it? If we Scots can begin to understand that it is because of the meaning it has for so many of Scots descent here, that it is such a powerful symbol, then we may also begin to understand the enormous potential tartan has to be the key which unlocks the Aladdin's cave of Scotland's legacy to the world in general, and the United States in particular and open it to view. You, here in America, have understood this to the extent that Tartan Day is now a national day; I would venture to suggest that because of the increasing prominence given to it, we in Scotland might just be beginning to understand not only its significance for you, but also for us.

Ian M. Maitland Hume

Appendix VIII

Clanland Centre draft texts and exhibition synopsis

There are three parts to this appendix. They are included to demonstrate the scope of the Clanland exhibition and the manner chosen to portray the traditional way of life of the clans in this part of the Highlands, and the evolution of that society into one familiar to us today. In particular,it is interesting to note the degree of emphasis placed on the Munros and on those elements which overseas visitors might usually expect to find in such an exhibition

The Rent House of Foulis

This part consists of the synopsis of the proposed Clanland exhibition, suggesting all the elements which might be included.

The Clanland

This section consists of the proposed text labels and include notations by Hector Monro and the exhibition designers. The final versions did not necessarily correspond to those in this draft.

People of the Eagle

This last part consists of the transcript of the dialogue of part of the audio-visual display in the exhibition. I have included it for its interest in representing the feelings of a young Glaswegian Scot returning to her roots. It encapsulates many of the feelings which my informants in America endeavoured to convey in our discussions.

RENT HOUSE OF FOULIS

The Rent House of Foulis is one of the few surviving girnals in the north of Scotland, and the finest example. Until towards the end of the 18th century most agricultural rents were paid in kind and service. It was to the Rent House that people brought their payments, usually as barley, oats or wheat. The produce was stored here for later issue as wages or to be sold for cash or exported. The displays partially recreate the Rent House; the cut-away floors above enabling the whole volume of the building to be seen and enjoyed; and interpret its features, role and operation, and its importance in the surrounding area.

Money in the 18th Century
This first display projects the fact that everyday money, including rents and wages, in the 18th century was bags of oats or barley, or barrels of salt fish, etc - the display also explains the importance of this produce in daily life.

Rent House Reconstruction Tableau
The recreation of aspects of the building's three floors, contents and activities, at life size in their correct positions, provides the surrounding framework and atmosphere for visitors in this first area.

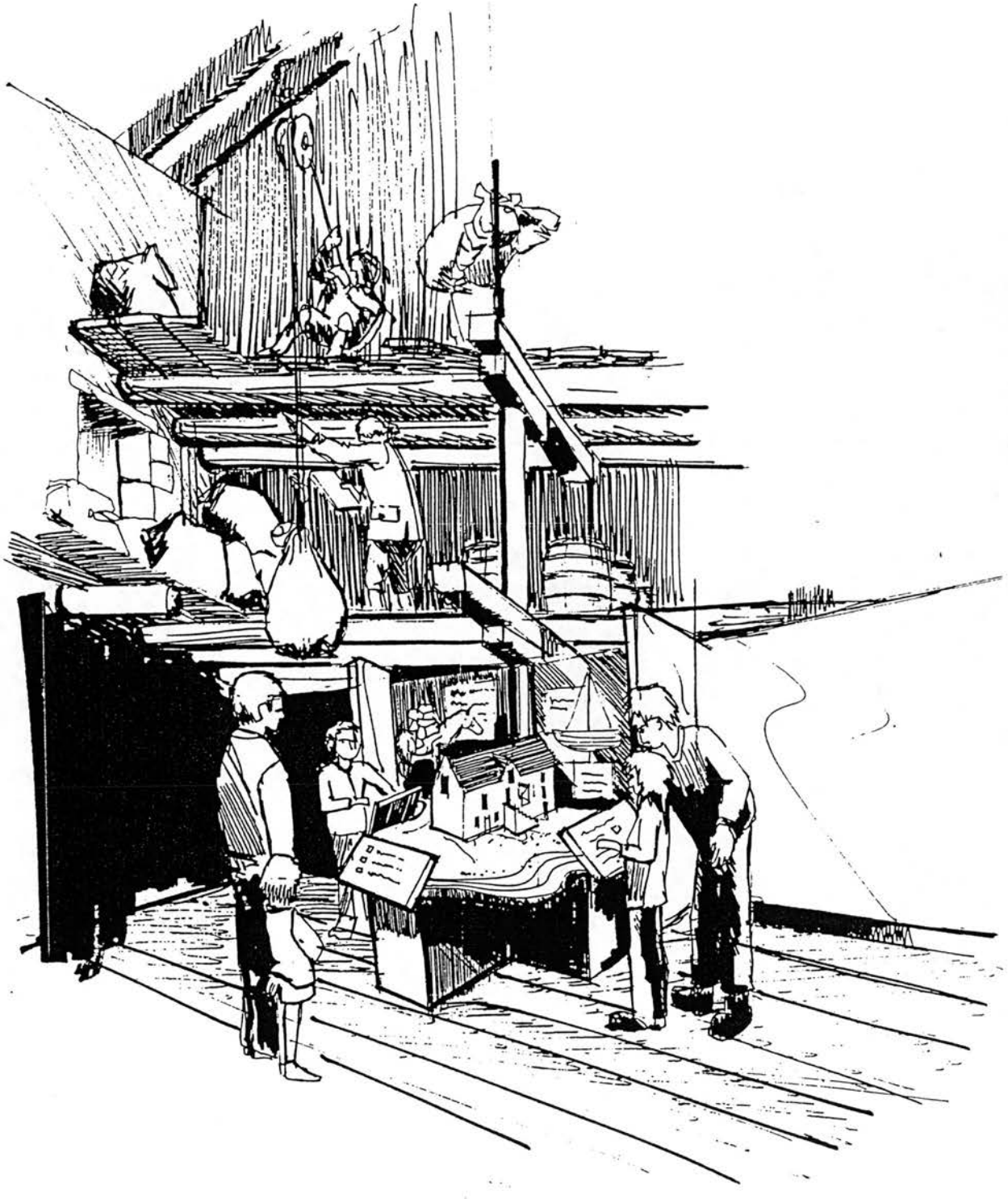
Son et Lumière
A programmed sequence of audio - music, voice-over, sound effects - and synchronised lighting changes will highlight architectural details, the recreated floors and a series of cut-out figures and props, to tell the Rent House story.

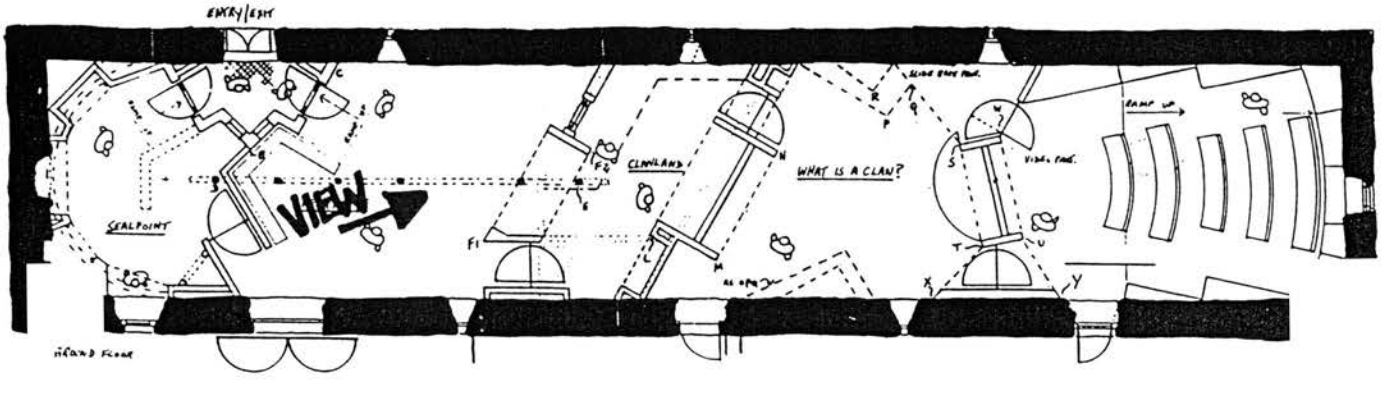
Rent House Model
The location of the building was a vital consideration, enabling boats to be beached at high tide. A model of the Rent House with its backdrop display would focus on showing people, pack ponies, etc. coming and going, delivering rent, being paid, etc; and beached boats, loading/unloading on the other side. Interactive elements will be set into both sides.

Farm Servant Being Paid by the Custodian
Cut-out figures of the Rent House custodian - with his account ledger open, quill in hand, scales for weighing meal, bags, weights, etc - and of a farm servant girl being given her wages in the form of meal. Others are waiting their turn, shown on a painted backdrop.

Rent Houses Around the Area/Age of Sea Transport
This display, in the form of painted cutout graphics, in the style of ships sails, shows the other 17th/18th-century estate girnals in the area, mostly sited on the shore, underlining the importance of sea transport in a time when roads, and the use of wheeled vehicles, were virtually non-existent

The Foulis Ferry Story
In graphics we tell the story of the ferry - Foulis Ferry - which ran from here across the Firth, including the story of the last ferryman.




ENTRY/EXIT
VIEW
SEALPOINT
CLIMBING
WHAT IS A CLAN?
RAMP UP
GROUND FLOOR

CLANLAND (SEASHORE TO MOOR & MOUNTAIN)

The Rent House of Foulis was built by a chief of the Clan Munro in 1740, at a time when the clan system still flourished, and it continued to be used when the lands had become a great Highland estate, the Foulis Estate. This area tells the interwoven story of the Munro clan and the succeeding Munro family estate and its owners, from medieval to modern times; and the stretch of land - the Munro Clanland - which has been their stronghold and sustenance over that period.The displays also reveal the wealth of the land as reflected by the size of the Rent House - due in part to its lowland aspect, although set in the heart of the Highlands, and traces the changing land use from the early clan period to the present day.

Whose Clanland?

The link from the first display area will be strongly made by explaining how the Rent House was built by a Munro clan chief in 1740 in the centre of lands which had been the hereditary 'Clanland' for nearly five hundred years. These lands have continued under Munro ownership and management as a Highland estate since the years after Culloden and the suppression of the clan system - thus providing a continuous strand back to medieval times from the present day.

From Firth to Moor and Mountain

Set against a largescale mural bird's eye view of the 'Clanland' from firth to mountain tops, various inset vignettes will tell the Clanland story, eg the Rent House apears prominently in the foreground; the present and historic Munro castles and site shown; the boundaries with other clans/powerful landowners in the area are indicated and brief details of these explained.

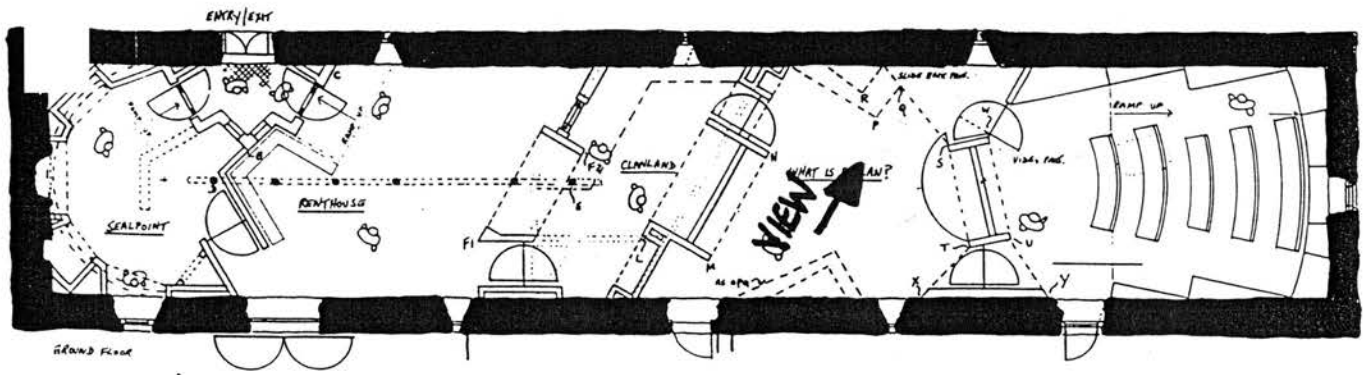
Changing Landuse and Landscapes

This three-part display with inset interactive/discovery elements will show the main changes/reasons for change/results of change in the landscape, the three parts covering the three periods, the Rent House period straddling the change from medieval/early modern old style ridge and furrow farming; through the period of the agricultural revolution when new techniques, drainage, deep ploughing, enclosure, etc were introduced and transformed the landscape, to the present century and modern times. Three models boldly showing the main characteristics of these landuse periods in stylised form will incorporate interactive elements appropriately inset.

Clan and Clanland Timeline

The graphic timeline will put the Munro clan and Clanland story into a meaningful, easily understandable chronology by relating its main events/periods to: well known wider events, building and life of the Rent House, and landuse changes in the Clanland/Foulis estate


TO THE AMERICAS !


ENTRY/EXIT
SEALPOINT
PENTHOUSE
CLAMLAND
WHAT IS
VIEW
SLIDE BOAT RAMP.
RAMP UP
VIDEO RAMP.
GROUND FLOOR

LAND AND PEOPLE (WHAT IS A CLAN?)

The Rent House was built when clan society was still the main way of life of the Scottish Highlands - a way of life very different from that which followed the destruction of the old ways after Culloden; and a way of life totally different from what we know today across the whole spectrum: of ownership and occupation of land, service in arms, relationships and structures in society, culture, beliefs, oral tradition, music and verse, and of course the essential tribal foundation of the whole system - in a rugged area where the topography encouraged the development of separate groups of people in their own distinct territories.

In this area displays radiate from a tableau explaining the central association of the land with the people. Each display explores one aspect of the answer to the question 'what is a clan?', thus building up a multi-faceted picture for the visitor, which avoids Victorian romantic invention and concentrates on authoritative interpretation. The five display sections are:

Central Land and People Tableau

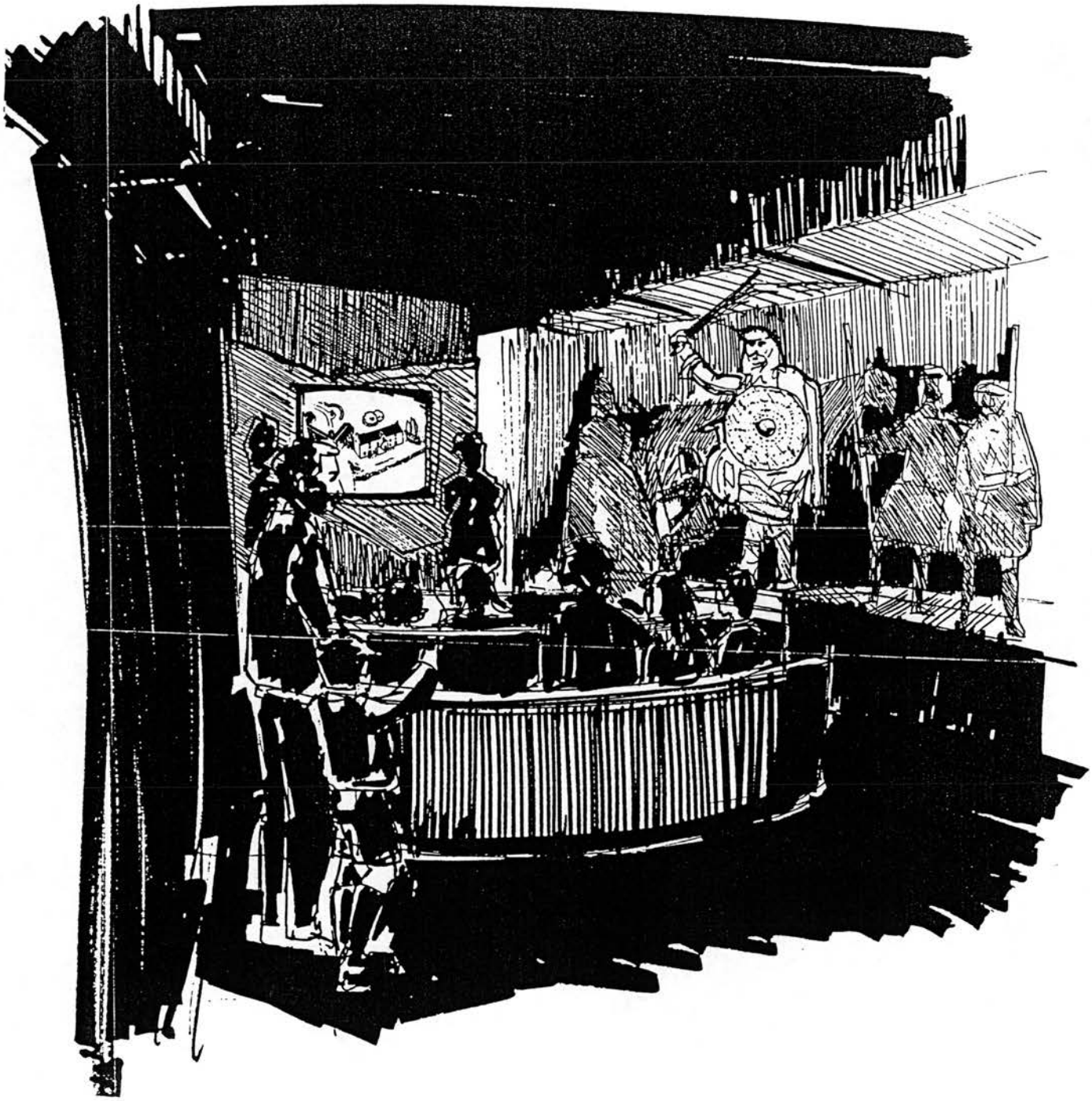
Radial displays:

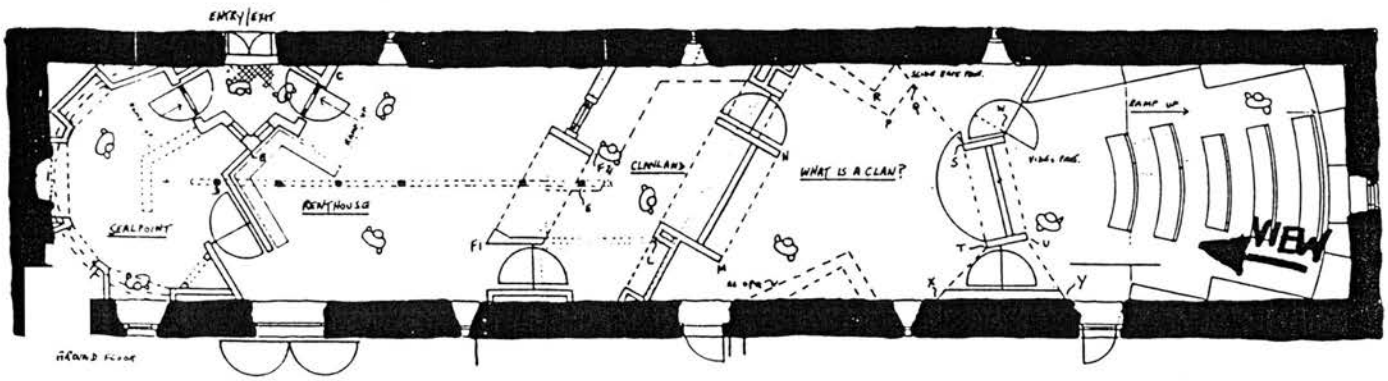
The Fighting Clansman - Service in Arms

Culture: Gaelic Language, Storytelling, Music and Poetry

Daily Life (Work, Food, Clothing)

Pressures on Society/Land and Dispersal around the World




ENTRY/EXIT
SEALPOINT
RENTHOUSE
CLIMBLAND
WHAT IS A CLAN?
RAMP UP
VIEW

VIDEO THEATRE

The final historical area seats visitors in a comfortable and atmospheric theatre to absorb a video presentation where a variety of threads which have already been introduced are interwoven and juxtaposed - to create a powerful evocation, a meshing of the various strands,-and some appreciation of the continuing strength of the bond between land and people felt by many descendants of the original people. Around the walls, a gallery of painted cut-out Munro figures, line the walls of the theatre to provide additional support - key figures mentioned in the film will be nearest the front of the theatre.

Video Presentation

'The land is the bone. You are the blood.'

The film uses three characters to tell something of the story of Clan Munro in its highland heartland, and to discover the bond between the people and the land itself which was at the heart of the clan system:

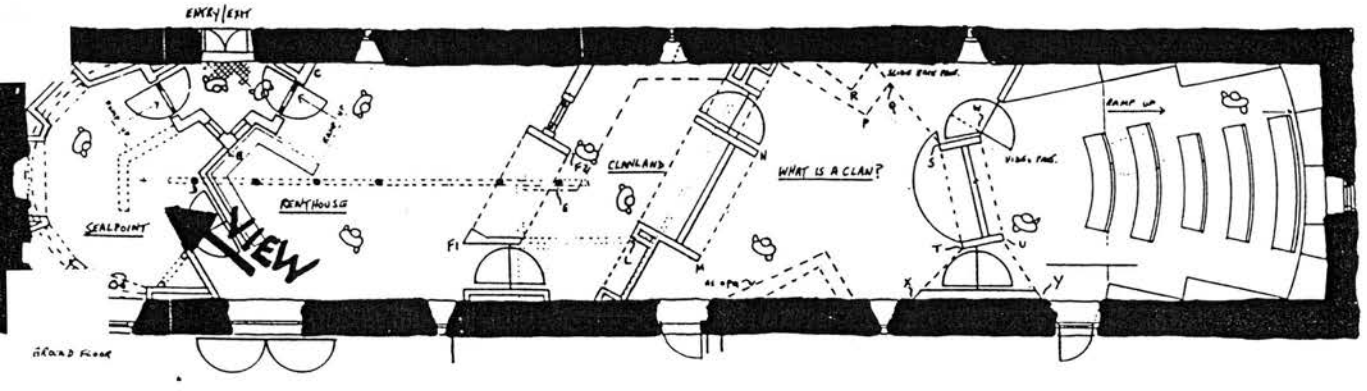
The main character is Anna Munro, a young (early 20's) lowlander with Highland grandparents. She is the voice of the present. She is intelligent with a few rough edges, independent, occasionally funny. A journey north begun on a whim leads her into the discovery of the Munro lands and something of the clan's history; some of the key figures who shaped that history - and her own surprise and growing fascination as she discovers that she is also part of the story.

The second character is a seanachaidh, a figure at the heart of clan tradition. He told its stories and ordered its history so that it was handed down, so that it would live on. He is the voice of the past, speaking in that troubled time for all clans, which was the aftermath of Culloden. His language is more formal, poetic at times. But he is a troubled vulnerable figure, fearing the dark days which lie ahead for the Highlands. He seems to be reaching out to Anna, his symbolic hope for the future, trying to lead her towards an awareness of the landscape and history in the Munro heartlands.

A third figure, an 18th-century clansman from the time after Culloden, punctuates the film in brief, vivid scenes - but never in plain view: a glimpsed silhouette against a skyline, splashing through a burn, sun glancing off a drawn sword, ducking to drink from his hands.... A non speaking, will-o-the-wisp character, he is a fugitive who introduces a sense of tension and drama and represents the fracturing and retreat of Highland culture and the erosion of the traditional life of all clans in the aftermath of Culloden.

Most of the dialogue is Anna's, delivered as voice-over, as she re-lives the experiences and discoveries of her time in the Munro lands.




ENTRY/EXIT
SEALPOINT
RENTHOUSE
VIEW
CLAWLAND
WHAT IS A CLAN?
RAMP UP
GROUND FLOOR

SEALPOINT (WILDLIFE OF THE FIRTH)

The Sealpoint area focuses mainly on the Common Seal, which can be seen outside on the Firth, but also explores the wider marine natural history of the Firth.

Suspended Nets, Props, etc

The Sealpoint area is 'themed' by hanging nets, props, painted cut-outs of seals, salmon, etc, and the lighting will add an underwater sense to this area and throw dappled and changing light on the scene.

Interactive Seal Model (Stylised)

The interactive seal will be life size (towards 2 metres long) mounted just below table top height for easy access by children. One side will show the exterior of the body and the other side will depict the skeleton. This free standing exhibit will enable adults and children to explore the biology, anatomy, physiology and evolution of the common seal. For example, turning handles will raise 'pop-up' portions of the seal to see inside, visitors will discover more by touching or lifting a flaps, etc.

Binocular seal viewing point

In the window, a pair of binoculars will be mounted to enable visitors to look at the seal haul-out sites just offshore.

Seal Video

A monitor will show a video sequence of local seals on the adjacent haul out sites (for the times when the seals are not to be seen). This will be supplemented by close-up specialist seal film clips and underwater sequences if these are available at low cost (eg from Aberdeen University) - such filming being outwith the scope of the project budget.

Marine/Seashore Wildlife: Display and Electronic Quiz

Randomly generated questions have to be answered by choosing the right answer - e.g. an identification test might ask which picture is the common seal, the participant has to enter the correct picture (i.e. enter its number) - the correct answer gets a pleasant sound and the wrong one gets a raspberry. This system provides a number of different quizzes for visitors to choose from, and more can be added later as desired. The display alcove containing this quiz unit will also feature the wider interpretation of the wildlife of the Cromarty Firth.

Story Cave

Especially for children, this cave alcove provides stories of the seal myths and legends which abound around the highland coast - but adults in the general Sealpoint area will also be able to listen in.

The Clanland

Ferindonald, the Munro Clanland, is a strongly lowland area in a Highland setting. Its rich soil and relatively mild climate give good arable farming conditions. Beyond the coastal strip the land rises steeply in large 'steps'. River valleys lead back into the hills and provide good grazing. Ben Wyvis (3429ft/1045m) is the highest point in the Clanland and in corries on its north face the snow never melts; tradition says that the Munros, when asked, must supply the king with a snowball at midsummer. Today parts of the lower hillside is covered with some of the best commercial forestry in Scotland.

The Cromarty Firth, onto which the south-facing Clanland bounds, has always been important for the people of Ferindonald. In the past it provided good salmon and herring fishing and was also the main communication route out of the area. Foulis Point provided one of the best beaching points in the inner Firth and with the building of this Renthouse it became an important trading point.

Colonel Sir Robert Munro
who was responsible for
the building of the Renthouse
in about 1740.

Coats of Arms, Crests & Badges



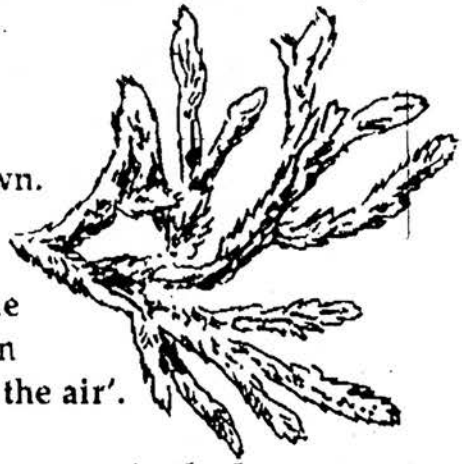
Every clan has a crest, a motto and usually a plant badge as well as the chief's coat of arms.

The coat of arms, which includes the crest, is personal and may not be used by anyone other than the current holder. The arms of the present Munro Clan Chief are:



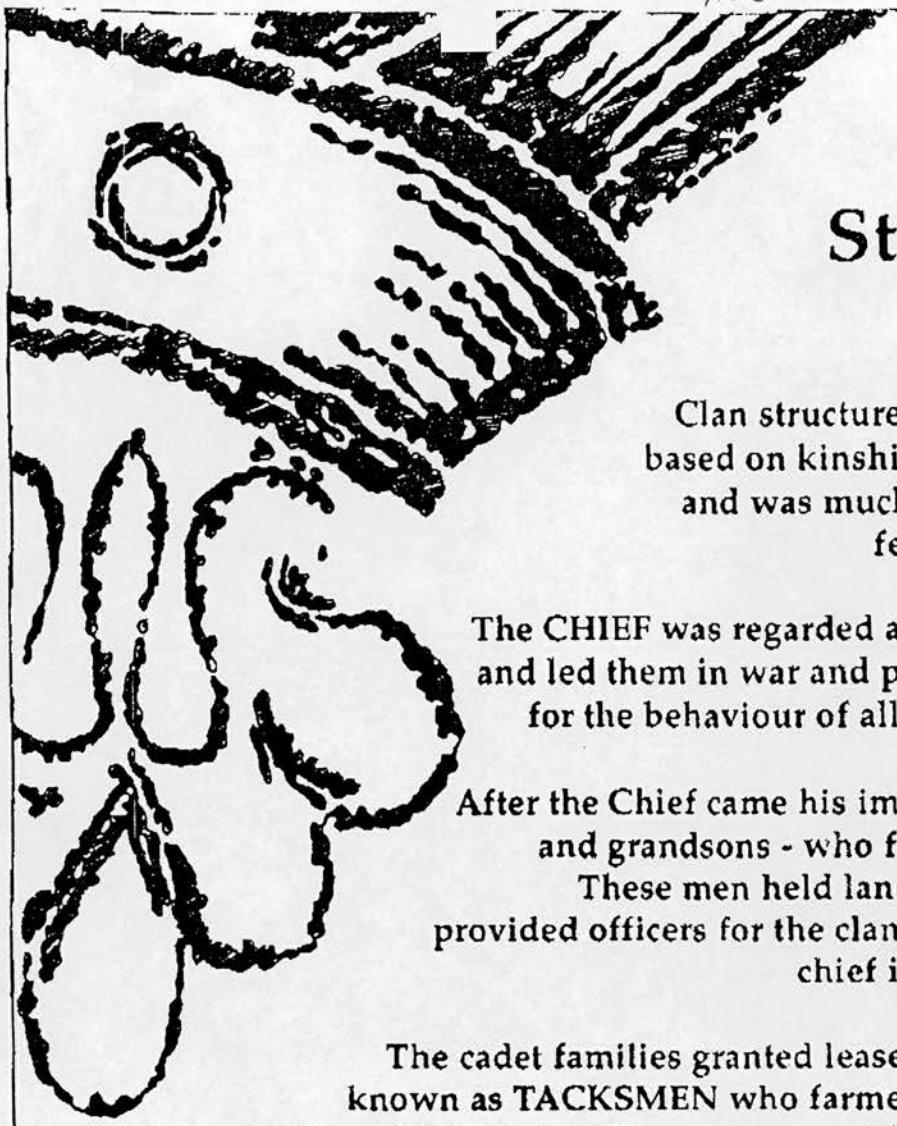
The Clan Chief's crest was also worn by his family and retainers and has given rise to the badge used by clan members which shows the crest within a strap and buckle with the motto around the strap.

The Munro crest consists of an eagle and a piece of Common Club Moss.



Usually the origins of clan crests are unknown. The eagle is common in heraldry but the Munro Chiefs are unusual in having eagles on their shield, crest and as supporters on the coat of arms. This may derive from a play on the name of their lands Foulis and 'fowls of the air'.

Each clan also has a plant badge which can be worn in the bonnet or on a lapel. The Munro plant badge is the Common Clubmoss.



Clan Structure

Clan structure in Highland society was based on kinship modified by feudalism and was much less formal than stricter feudal societies elsewhere.

The CHIEF was regarded as the father of his people and led them in war and peace. He was responsible for the behaviour of all the members of his clan.

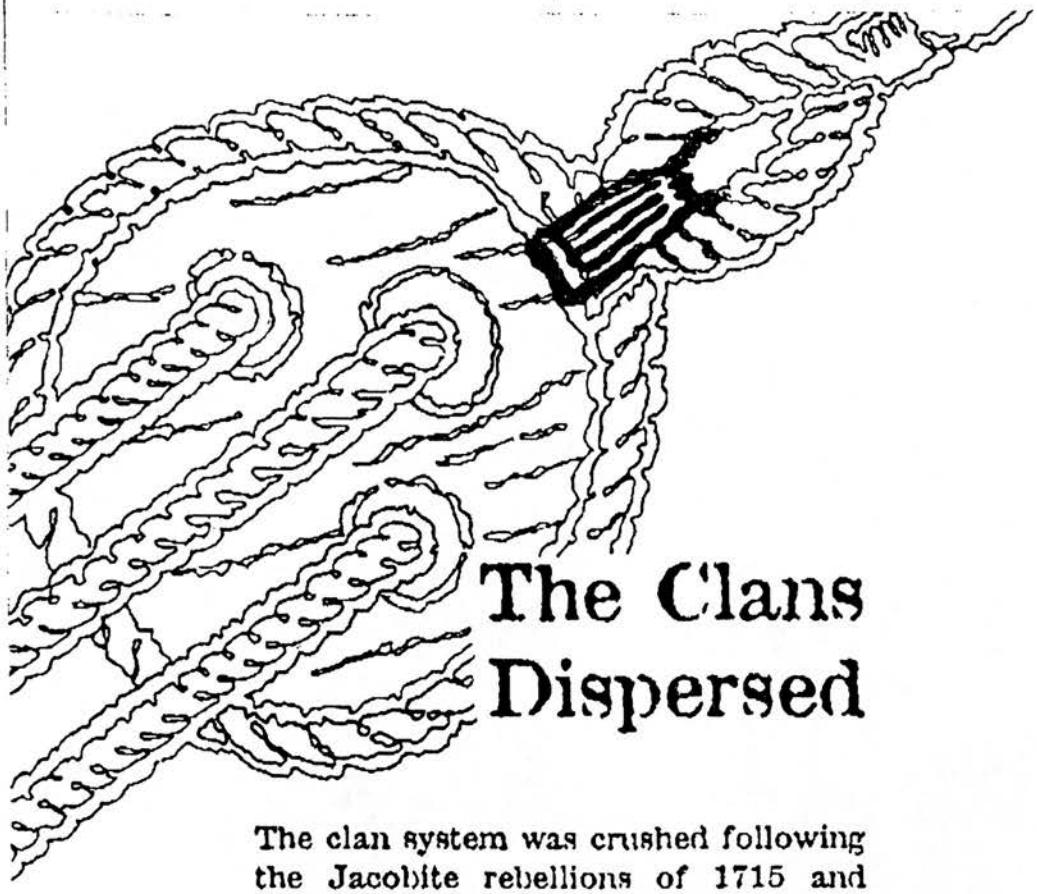
After the Chief came his immediate family - his sons and grandsons - who founded CADET families. These men held land and their families often provided officers for the clan army and advisers to the chief in times of peace and war.

The cadet families granted leases or 'tacks' to middlemen known as TACKSMEN who farmed the lands and paid rent to the cadet families. There were no strict rules and some smaller cadets were also tacksmen.

TENANTS formed the lowest order of landholders. They held land from tacksmen on short leases.

Below the tenants were COTTARS and SERVANTS who usually held no land but might receive some grain or meal and pasturage in return for service. These people played an important role in the clan as labourers and soldiers.

In addition to all clan members with the same surname there were other families or SEPTS. Their origins lay in the late adoption of surnames in the Highlands and in the fact that when a chief was granted lands by the Crown the grant included the peole already on the land. Usually these people accepted the chief's protection in return for service and so became a sept of the clan.



The Clans Dispersed

The clan system was crushed following the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 with the passing of Acts to: break the ties between Chiefs and their men; disarm the clans; outlaw the wearing of tartan and the kilt; and to take Jacobite clanlands into the hands of the crown. The system finally ended with the 'clearing' of tenants from some Highland estates to make way for sheep during the first half of the 19th century. At that time over 100,000 people left for Canada and the USA.

Today a clan system still exists in dispersed form. All around the world people with the same or associated surnames lay claim to clan membership and often 'come back' to Scotland in search of their Highland roots.

A genealogy of the Munro lairds of Foulis and their cadet branches (closely related family lines) of 1734 shows that the Munro name had already spread across Europe from the Low Countries to Portugal, to America and the Caribbean and to the Indian sub-continent.

Unlike many Highland clans emigration was not forced upon the people of Ferindonald. No Munro of Foulis cleared his tenantry from the land but many clan members chose to go as pioneers to America, Canada, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Others left to become professional soldiers, physicians, clergymen and merchants. Today there are thriving Munro societies in the UK, USA, Canada, France and Australia who, together with a large number of individuals maintain strong contacts with their 'homeland' of Ferindonald.

The Munros Abroad



Are you happy with the graphic element?

L

In not much more than a century from about 1680 to 1800 the Scottish landscape was completely transformed. New farming techniques including field drains, lighter and more advanced implements, improved seed and crop rotation were all part of 'The Agricultural Revolution'.

A different pattern covered the landscape as land was enclosed into fields and settlements changed from clusters of buildings to dispersed farms.

In the early 20th century another revolution came to the land. From about 1914 the 'Mechanical Revolution' again changed the face of farming with the arrival of the internal combustion engine and ~~chemical~~ artificial fertilisers.

Agriculture in Revolution

1000 — 1300 — 1400 — 1500

1016 Canute King of England

1040 Duncan killed by Macbeth

1066 Battle of Hastings



1025 Traditional date Munros obtained lands of Foulis



1299 Earliest Document in Foulis Archives

1314 Battle of Bannockburn. By tradition Clan fought, Chief killed

1331 Battle of Halidon Hill. By tradition Clan fought, Chief killed

1337 Start of 100 years War

1339 Earliest surviving charter to Munro chief

1426 Crown charter of Foulis to George Munro

1415 Battle of Agincourt



1455 Start of the Wars of the Roses

1457 Caxton's first printed book

1476 Earldom of Ross forfeited

1493 Columbus discovers America



1501 Battle of Drumchatt Munro v Mackenzies

1547 Battle of Pinkie. Clan fought Chief killed



1553 Barony of Foulis on record giving chief judicial powers over his estate

1562 Munros come to the aid of Mary Queen of Scots at Inverness

1558 Accession of Elizabeth I in England





(2)

1600

1570-73
Mackenzies lay siege to Munros in Chanonry of Ross

1590
Witchcraft trials

1577/8
Munro Chief and others commanded to apprehend imprison and try Coinneach Odhar (Brahan Seer)

1588
Spanish Armada

1564
Birth of Shakespeare



1603
Union of the Crowns

DREAD GOD

(4)

1800

1796
Riot and march on renthouse

1863
Railway through Ferindonald

1848
Munro of Culrain succeeds to Foulis. Large part of Estate sold.

1794
Sawmill built at Foulis

1822
Sloop and brig built at Foulis

1815
Battle of Waterloo

1795
First settlers in New Zealand



1863
Emancipation of slaves in USA

DREAD GOD

1900

1865 End of American Civil War

1867 First visit of Navy to Invergordon

1914/18 Great War
111 men from parishes of Kiltearn and Alness killed
(8 Munros including heir to Foulis)

1937 Foundation of Clan Munro Association

1937 Coronation of George VI

1939/45 World War II
43 men killed
(2 Munros but many prisoners after St Valery including Munro chief and his brother)

1957 Navy leaves Invergordon

1957 Launch of first space satellite

1963 Rent House reroofed

1974 US President Nixon resigns

1979 Foulis Castle restored
Cromarty Firth Bridge on A9 opened

1982 Firth became oil rig repair and maintenance centre

1982 Falklands War

1984 Nature Reserve established on Ben Wyvis

1988 Cromarty Firth designated Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI)

1998 Rent House restored

[Panel R1 - Duratran]

The Old Renthouse of Foulis

LIGHTBOX
N ENTRANCE
RENTHOUSE

Welcome to the Old Renthouse of Foulis. You are in a partial reconstruction of what it might have been like here in 1794. The wooden pillars, capitals and longbeams of the first floor are original whilst the joists and planking date from the refurbishment of 1998. The telegraph poles beneath the second floor were installed in 196? to save the building from falling in. The new planking has been cut-away to let you see up into the roof of the Renthouse.

It was to this building that tenants came to pay their rent in kind as oats, here (an old kind of barley) and occasionally wheat...

[109 words/Illustration of oats]

[Panel CL1]

WITH MONITOR
= AERIAL
PHOTO FOOTAGE

The Clanland

Please press button to start.

[Panel CL2]

With question mark (graphic illustration)

TITLE FOR
INTERACTIVE
QUIZ RE
AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

A Land Transformed...

[p1]

The Old Renthouse of Foulis

[b/w photo of renthouse pre-works]

The group of Storehouses around the Cromarty Firth is unique in Scotland. By the end of the 17th century Easter Ross was becoming more economically stable; agriculture was improving and the warring between neighbouring clans was declining. The rich arable land was beginning to produce more than the local area required so there was a surplus to sell. The clan chiefs and other landlords followed the example of Lord Cromartie to secure a cash income from the surplus.

A series of estate storehouses or girnals were built for taking in and storing grain which was paid as rent-in-kind. Until the surplus grain was sold it was kept in the storehouse. The remainder of the grain was used by the laird's household and also paid out in wages as it had always been.

Foulis Renthouse is the finest surviving example of the group of storehouses. During 1997/8 it was carefully renovated and refurbished.

p2

The Old Renthouse of Foulis

In 1963, Captain Patrick Munro of Foulis, then chief of the Clan Munro, saved the Renthouse from ruin by making the shell wind and water tight. Subsequently other remedial works ensured the integrity of the building until the major restoration works of 1997/8. These photographs show the interior of the building prior to that restoration.

[b/w photos of renthouse pre-works.]

409

Heaton, B & J have agreed this revision - Comments please?

[Panel CL3]

Agricultural in Revolution

In not much more than a century from about 1680 to 1800 the Scottish landscape was completely transformed. New farming techniques including field drains, lighter and more advanced implements, improved seed and crop rotation were all part of 'The Agricultural Revolution'.

A different pattern covered the landscape as land was enclosed into fields and settlements changed from clusters of buildings to dispersed farms.

Revision ?

In the early 20th century another revolution came to the land. From about 1914 the 'Mechanical Revolution' again changed the face of farming with the arrival of the internal combustion engine and ~~chemical~~ artificial fertilisers.

[97 words]

[Diorama 1]

1685

Ferindonald at harvest time

The land is cultivated in ridges - broad ploughed strips of land which were shared among the tenants and sub-tenants in a system call 'runrig'. Between each ridge was a furrow which drained the land and divided the strips.

Around the small thatched, stone and turf-built houses of the townships were kale yards and stack yards where vegetables were grown and hay and straw stored.

[On diorama 2]

No changes

1855

Ferindonald at harvest time

Now, the land is divided into fields surrounded by hedges, stone dykes and some fences - the land has been enclosed. The ground has been drained, lighter implements are in use so shorter horse and ox teams are required.

New stone-built houses and steadings have replaced the townships and the land has been divided into individual tenanted farms. Trees have been planted and roads made.

Grain Crops

The three most important grain crops which were grown in Ferindonald during the 18th century when the Renthouse was in use were Oats, Bere (an old type of barley) and Wheat.

Oats [illustration of oats]

For hundreds of years oats formed the staple diet for most of the Scottish population. The grain and the straw was used. The latter to thatch houses, make ropes, feed and bed animals and even to make paper. The grain was used as currency for the payment of wages and rents - as happened here in the Renthouse, as part of dowries and in poultices on infected wounds and abcesses but, most of all, it fed the people.

Usually used in the form of meal, ground at the estate mill or on a 'quern' or handmill, the oatmeal was used to make brose, porridge, haggis, bannocks and broth and more.

p2

Grains other than oats were of little importance in the day-to-day diet of the people. In 1796 when local people marched on the Renthouse because of a severe grain shortage they said that they 'lived chiefly by oatmeal and they did not mind tho' he (the storeman) should send away all the wheat and barley in the Country provided he left the oats.'

Bere/Barley [illustration of bere]

Bere, an old form of present-day barleys, was most commonly grown for making whisky and ale. It was also used in broths and bread.

Wheat [illustration of wheat]

Wheat was the most valuable grain as a trading commodity. It could be sold for cash and was used in the towns to make the most expensive kind of bread.

You can still see all oats, barley and wheat growing in the fields of Ferindonald.

LORNA

WHEN BISHOP FORBES VISITED from Billy Hector.
FOULIS + OTHER PLACES IN THE
AREA IN 1762 HE DRANK Proposed text for 2.
COFFEE MADE FROM WHEAT SEE more pages.
FOLLOWING (PRESUMABLY IT WAS
ROASTED?).

L.

On the Foreshore

Foulis is one of three beaching points in Kiltearn Parish where vessels of up to 100 tons could ground safely and be loaded or unloaded dry. Here, on the sheltered foreshore, was the perfect place to build the Renthouse which was the collection and distribution place for goods being traded in and out of Foulis estate.

Surviving documents show the export of grain and foods such a salt salmon and cured ham as well as timber sent by sloop to Fort George in 1753. Amongst the imports to the Renthouse was furniture for Foulis Castle including beds, sofas, and cases of glassware and wine from London in 1802 and, the more mundane, coal and lime.

From at least 1652 a ferry ran regularly from Foulis Point across the Firth to Cromarty; the service finally stopped in the 1930s

[138 words/Illustration of boat being loaded on the foreshore]

[Model Caption]

The model represents the Renthouse as it was in the late 18th century. The chimney indicates that the contents were sufficiently valuable to require a resident custodian. Sometime in the 19th century the building was adapted for use as a byre but Foulis Point continued as a loading place into the 20th century.

From the Land

The exportable surplus of grain and meal from oats, barley and wheat, was paid into the storehouse by the tenants as part of their rent. They brought their 'rent in kind' in tightly woven baskets or in sacks on slypes pulled by people or ponies. As roads slowly improved, they later brought goods in small two-wheeled carts which could cross the foreshore.

A letter from Sir Hugh Munro to his factor in October 1795 states that his tenants should be given a receipt for the grain they bring to the storehouse and that they should bring as much as they conveniently can at one time.

Grain and meal was measured in bolls, firlots, pecks and lippies (each a quarter of the previous measure). The precise weight of these quantities varied across the country and one boll could be anything between 1 and 2.75cwt (112lbs-308lbs).

[144 words/illustration of woman]

carrying grain + foreshore

A Kind of Payment

Grain and meal gathered into the Storehouse was not always shipped out. Sometimes, it was used as payment in kind to estate and public servants like the schoolmaster and minister. These people received a carefully recorded amount - usually of oatmeal - which they used to make brose and bannocks throughout the year.

On February 3rd 1796, at a time when oatmeal was very scarce, a group over 150 people marched on the Renthouse. They believed it to hold stores of oats but, after threatening to break in to the building, a deputation was allowed in by the storekeeper. Finding only barley and wheat they refused to buy saying that they "...lived chiefly by oatmeal and they did not mind tho' he should send away all the wheat and barley...provided he left the oats".

Until the early 20th century oatmeal was the basic foodstuff which sustained most of rural Scotland's population.

[150 words]

Illustration of minister at table.

+ examples from accounts.

[Panel A1]

What is a Clan?

The Gaelic word *clann* means children. The central idea of clanship is kinship. A clan is an extended family group, with the chief as its father figure and protector. It was the tie of common blood, real or sometimes supposed, that held together the bulk of people whose forebears had lived in a particular area from remote times.

Central to the life of the clan was the Chief's family. The word clan was also extended to embrace all those who acknowledged the Chief's authority, accepted his protection and supported him in peace and war. Frequent intermarriage both within and beyond the family group made a clan web both complex and extensive.

[111 words]

[Panel A2]

The Clan Munro

You are in the heart of Ferindonald, the area of land with which the Clan Munro is absolutely bound. The origins of the Clan are unclear. Some believe the earliest Munros to be native Scots, but the accepted tradition is that the first Chief was an Irish Prince, Donald O'Caan who received his lands for services to King Malcolm II (1005-34).

Certainly, from the 14th century onwards the Munro family tree is quite clear. Ferindonald in Ross is first mentioned as early as 1375 and by that time the Munros would have been well established here. The name Munro first appears in connection with Foulis in a charter (1350-71) by William Earl of Ross "granting and confirming Robert de Munro in the land of Fowlys".

[125 words]

[Panel A3]

Fighting Clansmen

Clansmen paid their rent in goods, labour and military service.The status of a clan was often measured by the number of fighting men a chief could raise. Clans notoriously raided and fought each other and supported their chief in wider causes but gradually Highlanders also sold their fighting skills by becoming mercenaries and later regular soldiers fighting throughout the world in Highland regiments.

The axes, spears, pikes and double-handed swords of early Highland warfare had given way to basket-hilted swords, pistols and dirks (daggers) by the 17th century. The round targe, a wooden, leather-covered shield remained in use until well into the 18th century. The famous 'Highland Charge' using the unique combination of broadsword, targe and dirk broke the most disciplined of professional soldiers.

[125 words]

[Panel A4]

Fighting Munros

As a clan the Munros were involved in several clan fights and forays, but they seldom acted aggressively in their own interest. However, as individuals, or as groups, Munros gained considerable fame as soldiers in the service of the Crown at home and abroad.

During the Jacobite Risings the Munros were among the clans which took the Government side. In 1715 and 1745 they provided forces of up to 400 and 300 men respectively. Many individual Munro soldiers found fame across the centuries including Sir Robert Munro (who built this Renthouse) as first commander of the Black Watch regiment in 1740. Earlier, during the Thirty Years War, a Munro contingent served under the Swedish king (Gustavus Adolphus) in Europe.

[118 words]

Foulis Castle

There was almost certainly a building on the site of Foulis Castle by the late 15th century and the 'tower or fortalice' of Easter Foulis is mentioned in 1587. It was probably a tall, lean tower described, as it was, in a Gaelic poem as *'caisteal biorach, nead na l'iolaire'* - a gaunt, peaked castle, the eagle's nest.

The main builder of the present castle was Sir Harry Munro of Foulis who succeeded his father, Robert, after he was killed at the Battle of Falkirk in 1746. The old tower of Foulis is believed to have been burnt down after 1745 and was rebuilt over the next 40 years.

Bishop Robert Forbes who visited Foulis in 1762 wrote *'It is one of the most delightfully sited places I ever saw, and a mighty fine house, adorned with fine gardens, abounding in a variety of fruits, and with vast woods...We went upon the balcony of the house, where we had an extensive prospect of Cromarty Bay, and a commanding view of a rich country of corn fields...'*

air photo of castle.
[~~line~~ illustration]

A local saying asserts that the Castle has a window for every day of the year although in 1924 only 280 could be counted!

The war-cry of the Clan, *'Caisteal Folais na Theine'*, Foulis Castle is in flames or Foulis ablaze.

[Daily Life]

Wearing 'The Tartan'?

16th century Highland men wore a plaid or mantle of 'tartan' fabric with or without a shirt, women wore a loose plaid, the *earasaid*, in the form of a large shawl which they draped and tied in many ways.

'Tartan' then had no specific colours or 'sets' (patterns) and although, by about 1600, the word meant a woollen cloth woven in stripes, it could indicate either the kind of fabric or its pattern.

The Gaelic word *breacan* (from *breac* meaning speckled) most closely relates to tartan and describes the plaid, as a single piece of fabric, gathered at the waist with a heavy leather belt, pinned with a brooch on the shoulder and 'kilted' around the thighs.

In the early 18th century tartan patterns had begun to relate to districts but when Highland dress was outlawed in 1746, and only the Scottish regiments continued the tradition, these patterns were forgotten. Celebration was widespread in the Highlands when, in 1782, tartan could again be legally worn. Only then did the idea of clan tartans begin to emerge, as an extension of regimental tartans, after the clan system had been crushed.

[189 words]

[Daily Life 2]

Land and Life

For most clan members daily life revolved around subsistence farming on land held from the Chief, his family or middlemen called Tacksmen. Until the late 18th century the main crops were oats and bere (a primitive form of barley) which were grown on rigs or ridges, cultivated using teams of oxen or horses, or on the narrower lazybed system which were dug using a caschrom or foot spade.

The ridges of land were shared out and rotated among the members of the clan to ensure everyone had a fair share of good land and bad. The system was called runrig.

Sheep, goats and the famous small black cattle were watched over as they grazed the unenclosed land and in the summer they were taken up to the hill pastures or shielings.

The animals were not kept for their meat but for wool, milk and trade. The mainstays of the diet were oatmeal and kail, ale, milk, cheese and when possible fish.

Houses were rudimentary, built from stones and turf with a heather or straw thatch roof.

[176 words]

[On the pipes sculpture:]

Pipers & Harpers

Clan life was strongly musical. Pipers and harpers were important members of the chief's household. Often the roles were hereditary. In Gaelic the word for harp is clarsach. Harps appeared on Pictish stones as early as the 8th century and clan chiefs still had harpers until the 18th century. More commonly associated with Highland life are pipers. It was these men who developed pibroch or piobaireachd - classical bagpipe playing - in which every note, tone and nuance is precise and important.

(82)

[On the sword sculpture:]

A clan chief was all-powerful in the context of his people and the area of land or 'barony' held by him from the king. Not only could he call on clansmen to fight for his chosen cause but he also sat in judgement over his people having the power of 'pit and gallows'. In his baron court he would sentence those he found guilty of serious crime to the pit, or drowing pool, for women and the gallows for men.

(80)

[On the seed-pod sculpture:]

Ferindonald, homeland of the Clan Munro, was the 'seedpod' from which the Munros dispersed around the world. At the heart of Ferindonald is Foulis Castle, the 'tower and fortalice' recorded in 1587 but home to the Munro lairds since at least the 15th century. The Castle was rebuilt in the later 18th century and is now one of the finest Georgian mansion in the Highlands. It is to the Castle and its lands that Munros from around the globe return to this day.

(83)

[On the daily life sculpture]

Everyday life for clansfolk was about subsistence. Easter Ross has some of the best land in the Highlands but it still had to be worked with teams of horses and oxen pulling heavy ploughs or he dug by hand using a *caschrom* or footplough. The predominant crop was oats but, the 'wealth' of the Highlands was its cattle. Cattle raiding - stealing your neighbour's beasts, and cattle droving - herding the small, predominantly black, cattle to the big trysts or markets were the two most important occupations for many clansmen.

(90)

Hector,

Jen & Billy have seen and agreed these.

Any comments please?

The Gaelic

Highland and clan culture and the Gaelic language are inseparable. Gaelic was first spoken in Scotland in the 4th century AD. Since then it has been important in the north and west of the country and was at its peak from the 9th to the 13th centuries. By the 1840's Gaelic was rapidly losing ground to English in Perindonald but although Gaelic speakers are now in a small minority the language is again increasing.

Here are a few words and names you might see and hear around the Highlands:

Gaelic	English spelling	Meaning
achadh	auch/ach	field or place of
beinn	ben	mountain
fearann	ferin	land
cill	kil	church
baile	balli	town/village
srath	strath	broad, flat-bottomed valley
mor	more	big
caol	kyle	narrow strait usually of water
inbhir	inver	mouth of a river
bealach	balloch	pass through hills
abar	aber	mouth of a river
gleann	glen	narrow valley
beag	beg	small
innis	inch	island

Gaelic name	English version
Sìle	Sheila
Iain	John
Murchadh	Murdo
Mairi	Mary
Eòghann	Ewan
Seamas	Hamish/James
Ruairidh	Rory
Moire	Moira
Sine	Sheena

Hector

Any comments - on the text for the book.

Four sides on Natural Dyes.

[p1]

Natural Dyes

The tartans and tweeds of Scotland were inspired by the dye colours which could be made from the available plants in each area. Dyes were made from roots, berries, bark, leaves, lichens and even seaweed. The habitat of each plant, particularly the soil conditions, strongly influenced the shades which could be achieved. Over only a few miles the colour produced by the same plant could vary considerably.

[p2]

Some natural dye colours are very strong and vibrant but in the Highlands the range which could be achieved using only native plants was mainly shades of brown, green, yellow and some reds. Without imported indigo real blues could not be achieved.

[p3]

To dye the spun thread, which was woven into tartan fabric, tradition recalls that you first washed the thread thoroughly with liquid ammonia usually in the form of stale urine -which each house collected in barrels for this and other purposes. The wool was then rinsed in cold water before being boiled up with the dye plant flowers, fruits or stems.

[p4]

Natural dyes give the most brilliant and long-lasting colours when used on wool. The use of stale urine - called *fual* or *graith* in Gaelic - enabled colours to be changed after the initial dyeing. The ammonia could deepen, lighten or completely change a colour. For example, green could be obtained from elderberries which normally produce shades of purple.

These pieces of text would be inset into watercolour illustrations of various dye plants each associated with dyed samples of wool.

PEOPLE OF THE EAGLE

By Jim Crumley

SEAN: Be of this land as the eagle is of the mountain air.
We look at the land and we see ourselves.
The land is the bone. We are the blood.

ANNA: So that's how it all started. There I was on the bus, heading north, and my Gran's words spinning round in my head... "The land is the bone. We are the blood." If I heard them once I heard them a thousand times. You know the way old folk always say the same things over and over. It's usually some wee saying like, "what's for you 'll no go by you." That kind of thing. Well with my Gran it was "The land is the Bone. We are the blood." Used to drive us mad.

One day, she's doing the dishes, staring out the window, and she says it again. I asked her what it meant. What land?

SEAN: The land wears the hodden shades
of Culloden Moor - mud
and dark, dry blood. I see

the long, long dark, lit
only by the spark of vengeance,
burning and clearance. I hear

westering ships sinking under
weights of tears. The legacy
of this one black year.

ANNA: So my Gran tells me that it was Grandad. He was the one she said, always telling stories about the clans. Going on about Clan Munro all his days, for all that he lived on the Clyde fifty year. Gran told me how he used say that we were all born with two umbilical cords, one to our mother, the other to our mother land, and only one of them ever gets cut. I like that. They had to bury him up there - he made Gran promise. A wee place on the shore with a ruin and the mountains right behind.

Then one day Gran says... all of a sudden like a light bulb's just lit above her head... "Here, you should go. Have a look. Find out for yourself."

SEAN: Ah! Bitter hour. Spring blighted by winter. Sword and pistol in every man's hand. Blood flowing as easily as tears. Mercy? Compassion? None. Nowhere. And I cower alone in these hills. No, I fight too. Fight for truth. My only purpose. Truth. My last purpose, Chief

Listen to me! I am the Seanachaidh. Listen to me! If not my people then my land, stones of my land. Hear me! What are you but ordered fragments of the land itself. Hold these words and give sanctuary to truth. Forever.

No clan lives easily now. My story must reach out, forward to a more tranquil time when all this is dust, and scattered ones come home seeking not vengeance but understanding. They will find the story endures beneath the guardianship of old stones. They will find the land endures under the guardianship of eagles.

ANNA: That churchyard. Four hundred years of Munro chiefs buried there... and my Grandad. Wee John Munro. Planted back in his own soil, his own land. Earth to earth. Dust to dust. Aye, and bone to bone. That what you wanted, Grandad?

Four hundred years of Munro chiefs, and there was I, Anna Munro, just beginning to realise that this was it, this was the land.

What teachers stones are! They don't tell you things, mind. They question you. No - they don't. They make you question things yourself. So you go looking for answers. And see once you start, they've got you.

SEAN: In January we lost our greatest chief, Sir Robert, at Falkirk, to the pistol and sword of one of Lochiel's men - a Highlander like ourselves. All through this year we have lost many kinsmen in the fight to crush the Jacobites. But who can cry 'Victory!' when the blood we wipe from our hands is that of our own kind? At least we pleaded for humanity to colour the fate of the rebels. But it was not always given. And now, all this night, the sky above the hill reddens. Castle Foulis is in flames. Caisteal Folais na theine!

ANNA: Next morning, first thing, I had to find the castle, our castle.

It seemed to me that if you were a stone carver in those days you wouldn't starve would you? Not if you could do eagles.

It turns out that the castle was completely burned down, doesn't say who did it. I would have thought that the Jacobites were a good bet. Anyway, they had to rebuild it from scratch. And there was I, wandering around, trying to get a decent photo, and thinking about the place back then. Thinking, just because we fought against Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Jacobite followers, just because he was the famous one that everybody wrote songs about, well, it doesn't mean that our place here matters any less, does it?

Our place... Still our place, and our castle with our own chief still there.

SEAN: And there will be one who will come when the wings of eagles have shadowed a thousand years of Clann an Rothaich's footsteps across Ferindonald. "Ferindonald" because of the first Munro of all, Donald, son of an Irish Prince of the O'Cahan family, and rewarded with these lands by King Malcolm, second of that name in Scotland, for assisting his struggles against the Vikings. "Clan an Rothaich" because the same Donald came from the banks of the river Roe.

He who watched the eagles of Ben Wyvis. He who marked their loyalty and fierce defence of their own territory. Fitting qualities for a clan crest in such a land.

ANNA: A thousand years. Then me. Slowly it began to feel... I don't know, different. The further I went inland, upstream, uphill, I couldn't shake off the idea. A thousand years. Then me. Fresh off the bus from Glasgow. Step by step, the strangest feeling... like that dark river was the past rushing towards me, and every step was taking me deeper in, further back.

SEAN: Robert Munro, Chief. Led the Munros on the field of Bannockburn, thirteen hundred and fourteen. Robert Munro, chief, killed with many followers at the battle of Pinkie, near Edinburgh, fifteen hundred and forty-seven. John bac-lamhach, the lame handed, found by an old woman and nursed back to health but with the loss of one hand. Fourteen hundred and fifty-four. Robert Mor Munro, chief, the first

to be buried at Kilteam, first of the reformed faith, our Protestant faith. Died fifteen hundred and eighty-eight.

ANNA: Robert Munro. Another Robert Munro. Lame-handed John. Robert Mor Munro - big Robert! I was trying to explain it to my Gran, about how Mary Queen of Scots was wantin' in to Inverness Castle and how the castle boys said "No way. The castle's barred to you... Ma'am." So big Rob and the boys "unbarred" it for her. Cut the Governor's head off! And as for Rob's wife, Catherine Ross...

(LIP SYNCH TEL. CONVERSATION)
But Gran! Wait 'til I tell you about her. She was a witch! Aye, a witch. Well her and a bunch of others were tried for witchcraft anyway. Some of the others got burned at the stake, but she got off! No, they say she got away with it Gran. Aye totally. Well I don't suppose it had anything to do with the fact that the whole jury was stuffed with Munros did it, and what with her being the chief's wife. It's brilliant! Aye, you too Gran, and don't forget to tell Mum that she's related to a witch.

SEAN The Black Baron, sixteen hundred and thirty, then Hector and all Munros, as the sands of the sea in number, that left these shores to fight and die for Gustavus, the Lion of the north. Now they lie in the cold German soil.

And so our own beloved Robert Munro, killed at the battle of Falkirk, seventeen forty-six, while fighting the rebels, of whom he has written: "The vanity, insolence, arrogance and madness of the Jacobites is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes."

ANNA: "I believe they must be let blood...and thorns in our eyes." I read that somewhere, it's what Robert wrote about the Jacobites. The Robert killed at Falkirk. But the Jacobites thought that he was a bit special though. They took his body from the battlefield - the only one - and all the Jacobite chiefs gave him a special burial. That doesn't sound like... what was it?... "Vanity, insolence, arrogance and madness" to me. You must have been a great soldier, Sir Robert Munro.

SEAN: A great soldier! And better to die for faith and crown on his own soil than on a foreign field. He commanded an English regiment of foot at Falkirk and these deserted him. After being deserted he was attacked by

six of Lochiel's men, and for some time defended himself with his half pike. Two of the six he killed, but a seventh coming up fired a pistol into his groin, upon which, falling, the Highlander with his sword gave him two strokes in the face, one over the eyes and another on the mouth, which instantly ended a brave man.

It falls now to his son, Sir Harry, to rebuild, both castle Foulis itself, and as far as he is able, the broken spirit of the North. As for me, my words must make a bridge between what has been and what will be, so that others can cross from times to come and sense what happened here and taste the past. The land will hold the past secure, so that always when we see the land we see ourselves, who we are, what we have been.

ANNA: A thousand years, then me. A million journeys by hundreds of thousands of travellers all across Ferindonald. Then my wee journey. So, wee journeys as well as great ones, wee folk and camp followers as well as chiefs and heroes, masses of them doing... I don't know, whatever they did. Whoever they were.

SEAN: (FADES IN) ... died seventeen hundred and two. William Munro, tacksman of Katewell, died seventeen hundred and eighty-six. John Mackenzie, ferryman, eighteen hundred. James Urquhart, woodkeeper and planter in the parks, eighteen hundred and ten. Alexander Munro, ferryman, eighteen hundred and fifty. Hugh Urquhart, sawmiller, eighteen hundred and sixty. Reverend Harry Robertson, minister, eighteen hundred and fifteen (FADES OUT)

ANNA: John Munro, shipwright, died Glasgow, 1965, buried at Kilteam. Anna Munro, nurse, grand-daughter of John, born Glasgow 1974...

A thousand years. Then me. Why's that? I kept asking myself, all the way into the hills, into the past. Not knowing what I was looking for until at last I came to that wee chapel lost in its wood. As soon as I saw it... I don't know, that was it. It was like following that dark river had led me to some kind of ...source. I just wandered around, touching the old stones. Feeling them... almost hearing them tell me their story. Stones that tell stories! Almost seemed to see the old builders, crude men cracking jokes and swigging their heather ale while they built something that strong that beautiful, and there it stands deep in the hills, and the view from the door's still the same.

12-11-97 11:01 GORDON LYALL ID=0315618044 P.06

Then it dawns on me. This is my place too. I own this land too!
Nooooo...no...NO! Not that. The opposite. The land owns me.
The very land was laying a claim on me.

Story telling stones, wash your stories down to the sea!

SEAN: Be of this land as the eagle is of the mountain air.
We look at the land and we see ourselves.
The land is the bone. We are the blood

Appendix IX

Clan Munro and Clan Home web site pages



The Clan Munro (Association)

Founded 1937

Chief: Hector W. Munro of Foulis

A Welcome from the Chief

The Clan Munro (Association)

Updated 26/09/00 March of the Clans Pictures

News

Membership

About the Munros

No 4 Added

Information Sheets

Clan Centre

© 2000 The Clan Munro (Association)

Last Update 1/10/2000





Personal Arms of Munro of Foulis

Welcome to the Clan Munro (Association) Website

By

Hector W. Munro of Foulis

Welcome to the **official** Clan Munro (Association) website.

I hope you will enjoy your visit particularly to the Information Sheet pages which we add to every quarter and which will eventually build up to a useful resource file on Clan History and Clan Munro in particular. If you are not a member but would like to be, you will find an application form on the site which can be printed off and mailed to our Hon. Treasurer at the address given.

May I also commend you to use the link to the Clanland website which gives you a tantalising glimpse at the superb facilities which the Association through it's charitable company Clan Munro Heritage Ltd has set up at Foulis Ferry, Evanton less than a mile from the Foulis Castle. An actual visit to Clanland is essential for all those proud of their Munro heritage.

The Association still has no Hon. Secretary. The post is not an onerous one, involving taking minutes at two or three Council Meetings per year and a bit of correspondence with far flung Clansmen and women and folk of Munro descent. So if there is anyone interested out there and who would like to get involved in the work of the Association and has a little bit of free time, I would very much like to hear from them. You can write

to me c/o Clanland, Evanton, Ross-shire, 1V16 9UX or email me at clanland@clanland.com

With very best wishes

June 2000

HOME

Clan Munro (Association)

a Brief History

The Clan Munro (Association), founded in 1937 on the initiative of the late Captain Donald John Munro, R.N., seeks to maintain the best of the old traditions as well as a link between Munros in Scotland and those who have spread far beyond their old homeland; members have offered each other a friendly welcome both at home and overseas.

Clan gatherings are held in the Munro country and elsewhere, and members are kept in touch by the publication of newsletters and the *Clan Munro Magazine*.

Funds are held for educational, benevolent, heritage and other purposes, and the Association's affairs are administered by an elected Council with Hector William Munro of Foulis as President and Chief.

With the full support of the Council, branches have been established in the United States of America, New Zealand, France, Canada and Australia.

INDEX | AIMS | COUNCIL



Foulis Castle

Seat of the Clan Munro

Foulis (Gaelic "Fo-glais" a steamlet) has of old been the home of Clan Munro. Acquired by a Munro Chief in the early Cl4th. Plans of the original castle are long since lost, but the grounds still contain the site of an C11th Mott (manmade mound topped by a wooden palisade).

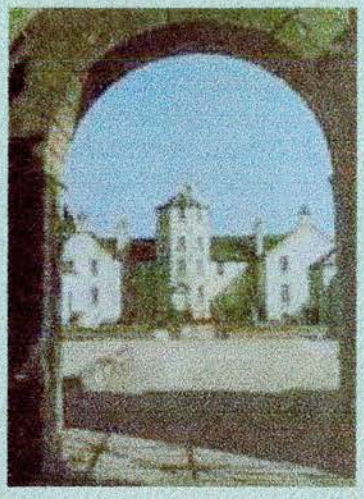
The present Castle dates from the middle of Cl8th containing within its attractive Georgian structure the remains of a much earlier and altogether different defensive keep.

Sir Harry Munro returned after the 1745 Rising in which he lost both his father and uncle at the Battle of Falkirk, to find his ancient home destroyed by fire, and set about building the house you see today incorporating what he could of the old Cl6th keep. The courtyard pierced by three arches with its semi-octagonal tower dated 1754 hints at an earlier form of Scottish architecture, whilst the overall effect of the range of Cl8th domestic buildings, coachhouses, laundry, bakehouse, stables and well, shows a strong continental influence.

The slightly later and more formal Georgian front features a fine double entrance stair leading to a doorway formed from a first floor window in the pedimented centre piece with it's heraldic panel dated 1777. The short end elevations have elegant full height angled bays. The whole, very much in the manner of one of the Adams brothers.

Little has changed since, Foulis remains externally much as it was first built. Internally alterations made by succeeding generations add to the character of this interesting old building (still occupied by the Munros of Foulis), by here and there allowing glimpses of the vestiges of earlier

architectural form exposed during renovations which can only hint as to how the Castle might have once looked.



INDEX | HISTORY | CHIEFS



Personal Arms of Munro of Foulis

The Chiefs of the Clan Munro

Name	Died	Comments
Finnian Munro	-	The Younger of Foulis (Eldest son of present Chief)
Hector W. Munro	-	The Present Chief
Capt. Patrick Munro	1995	son of Eva Marion, took the name of his maternal grandfather to become clan chief
Eva Marion	1976	eldest daughter of 11th baronet married Col C. H. Gascoigne
Col. Sir Hector Munro	1935	11th baronet, Seaforth highlanders ADC to Edward VII & George V - end of male line
Sir Charles Munro	1888	10th baronet, D.L. & J.P. for Ross-shire
Sir Charles Munro	1886	9th baronet, cousin
Sir Hugh Munro	1848	8th baronet - end of direct line
Sir Harry Munro	1781	7th baronet, rebuilt Foulis Castle after a fire destroyed it - MP for Ross-shire 1746 - 47
Col. Sir Robert Munro	1746	6th baronet, the Black Watch - killed at Falkirk, interred in the Churchyard of Falkirk
Sir Robert Munro	1729	5th baronet, the blind baron
Sir John Munro	1696	4th baronet, a zealous promoter of Presbyterian
Sir Robert Munro	1668	3rd baronet, son of Col John Munro of Obsdale
Sir Hector Munro	1651	2nd baronet, died age 17 - ending direct male line

Sir Hector Munro	1635	made 1st baronet by Charles I - died in Hamburg, Germany
Robert Munro	1633	the black baron served in the 30 years war - died at Ulm, Germany
Hector Munro	1603	brother of Robert
Robert Munro	1589	died 8 months after his father
Robert-Mor Munro	1588	added to the estate of Foulis, a loyal protector of Queen Mary- first Protestant and 1st to be buried at Kiltearn Church
Robert Munro	1547	loyal supporter of Scotland against invasion of Protector, Duke of Somerset - killed at Pinkie
Hector Munro	1541	extensive lands confirmed to him by James V at Stirling 1541
William Munro	1505	killed in a raid assisting Chief of the Mackays
John Munro	1490	in minority was under his uncle John who led the Clan at Clachnaharry 1454
George Munro	1452	under the Great Seal of James I, dated at St. Andrews 1426 - lands of great extent confirmed to him, killed at Bealach-nam-Brog
Hugh Munro	1425	joined the Lord of the Isles in contest with Duke of Albany 1411
Robert Munro	1369	a charter confirmed by David II of Scotland 1364

The following ten chiefs cannot be authenticated by contemporary evidence and therefore there is some doubt as to their existence but their names have been handed down by tradition and thus merit a place in the list.

Name	Died	Comments
George Munro	1333	succeeded his grandfather - continued his support of Bruce - killed at Halidon Hill
George Munro	-	only son of Robert - predeceased his father - killed at Bannockburn 1314
Robert Munro	1323	joined the party of Bruce in his claim to the throne of Scotland
George Munro	1282	had all his Ross-shire lands confirmed to him by charter from Alexander II before 1249
Robert Munro	1239	married daughter of Earl of Sutherland
Donald Munro	1195	said to have built the old Tower of Foulis 1154. Assisted Wm the Lion in repressing rebellion

Robert Munro	**1164**	**loyal subject of David I and Malcolm IV - Interred in Church of Chanonry of Ross - burial place of Munros for 400 years**
Hugh Munro	**1126**	**first member of the line "Baron of Foulis"**
George Munro	**1101**	**said to have assisted Malcolm III in contention with Macbeth for Crown of Scotland**
Donald Munro	**1039**	**founder of the ancient House of Munro**

INDEX | HISTORY | CASTLE

Notes on Membership

Membership dues are set from time to time at the Annual General Meeting of the Association. The present level of subscription rates were approved at the AGM held on Saturday 3 August 1996 at Foulis Castle; Evanton, Ross-shire.

Where there is an approved Overseas Branch of the Association e.g. USA and Canada, potential members from those countries should apply for membership to their appropriate Branch.

Members of an Overseas Branch of the Association pay membership rates determined by that Branch. e.g. USA and Canada. The Branch then pays dues for all its members to Scotland.

Where there is no approved Branch then all potential members including those from overseas should apply to Scotland for membership. Non UK citizens resident abroad will pay the reduced overseas rate deliberately set at a lower level than the UK rate as a recognition that overseas members will be unlikely to be able to make as full a use of membership as those resident in the UK.

ooooo0ooooo

There are currently plans for further Branches to be set up in Australia and France. Enquiries should in the meantime be directed to the appropriate contact (see other Websites).

How to Enrol

If you wish to become a Member of the Clan Munro (Association) and reside **within** the United Kingdom press Within UK and print the next 2 pages, please fill in the appropriate details and send to the address on the forms.

If you wish to become a Member of the Clan Munro (Association) and reside **outwith** the United Kingdom press Outwith UK and print the next 2 pages, please fill in the appropriate details and send to the address on the forms.

Clan Munro (Association) Information Sheets

These sheets were created by Billy and Jean Munro, extra sheets will be added periodically to build into a usefull resource for visiting browsers, particulary Munros.

The Next Sheet will be added in **January 2001**.

No. 1 - Crests and Badges

No. 2 - What is a Clan?

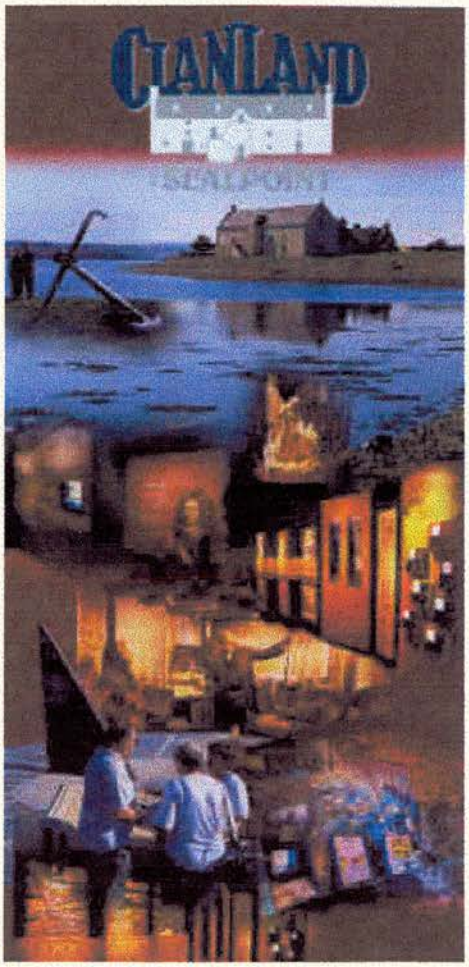
No. 3 - Vikings

No. 4 - Clan Origins

HOME

Welcome

Welcome to the Clanland website!



Clanland and Sealpoint is the Highlands finest new quality visitors attraction. Delightfully set on the shore of the Cromarty Firth in the heart of Munro country. Centrepiece of this major new centre is the fully restored 18th C., grade A listed, Rent House of Foulis. Housed within are a series of entertaining informative and educational history and wildlife exhibitions.
Shop, restaurant and picnic area complete this attraction.

E-mail clanland@clanland.com

Last Update 23/09/00

www.scottishproducts.com
GOLD WEBSITE AWARD
Trade Sources Scottish Giftware

Copyright © 2000 Clan Munro (Heritage) Limited

How to Find Us



Just 20 Minutes North of Inverness on the Main A9

Due to two successive summers of low visitor numbers, not only to Clanland but the Highlands, it has been decided reluctantly to go seasonal.

Closing 30th September 2000

Reopening March 2001

Foulis Ferry Point

Evanton IV16 9UX

Tel/Fax 01349 830000

Shop 01349 830038

Restaurant 01349 830033

Web: http://www.clanland.com

INDEX ABOUT

Clan Home Society

International



The Clan Home Society was founded in 1980 through the efforts of Albert C. Eaton of Orlando, Florida, and based on the authority granted to him by the late Lord Home of the Hirsel in 1979...He is the Convener of the Society and the Society's current President.

The Society's primary purpose is to preserve the history, culture and traditions of this great border clan. And whenever possible we will assist individual members in their genealogical research. A newsletter titled:

"The Home Works"

is published by the Society and an annual general meeting is held the second weekend in July at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in Linville, N.C.

The purpose of this site is to keep the Clan's members and all interested persons updated with current events and provide a resource for genealogical information. Please feel free to drop us an email with any questions or comments you may have.

LINKS

HOT









Family Tree Online

Clan Home Information

Have a look at the Clan's history

The Clans of Scotland

Albert C. Eaton, President/Convenor

Doug Eaton, Publication Editor

The Home Works

Tony Tilmans, Co-Historian

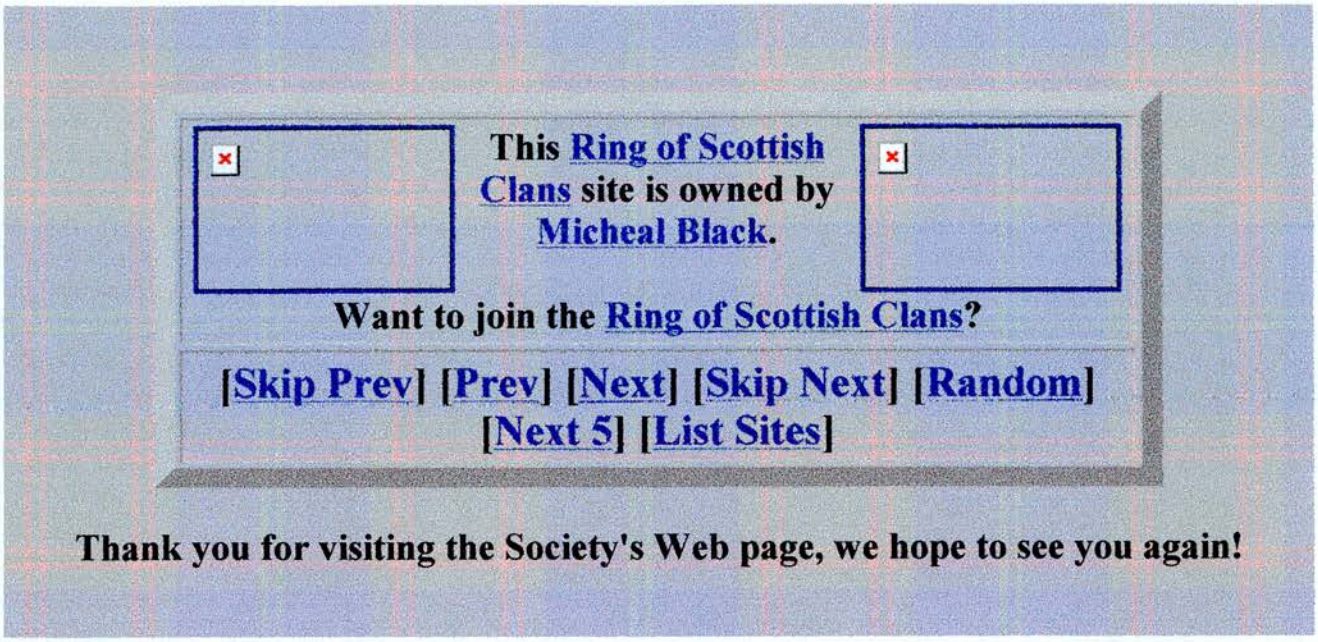
Marlene Hume Stewart, Co-Historian (genealogist)

The Clan Historian

Questions? **Comments?**
You can email me here

Best experienced with Microsoft Internet Explorer Click here to start.

Free Web Site/50Megs FREE STATS/COUNTER Free Redirect Service


This Ring of Scottish Clans site is owned by Micheal Black.
Want to join the Ring of Scottish Clans?
[Skip Prev] [Prev] [Next] [Skip Next] [Random]
[Next 5] [List Sites]
Thank you for visiting the Society's Web page, we hope to see you again!

History of Clan Home



Along the border between Scotland and England flows a river from which a lot of woolens get their name - the Tweed. Just north of the river in Berwickshire is the ancient home of Clan Home (always pronounced Hume).

This gridiron between Scotland and England was the site of many battles, and during certain periods, almost constant raids between the two countries. Because of its position, the Humes became "peacemakers," above local family quarrels and as wardens of the eastern marches, it was their duty to suppress the lawless elements in a lawless land.

The family of Home itself has its roots far back in the lineage of the royal families of Scotland and England. Malcom II, King of Scotland (A.D.1005-1034), had one child, Bethoc, who married Crinan, Lay Abbott of Dunkeld. To this union were born two children: Duncan, King of Scotland(A.D.1034-1040), and Maldred, who married Aldgatha, daughter of Uchtred, and grandaughter of King Ethelred of England.

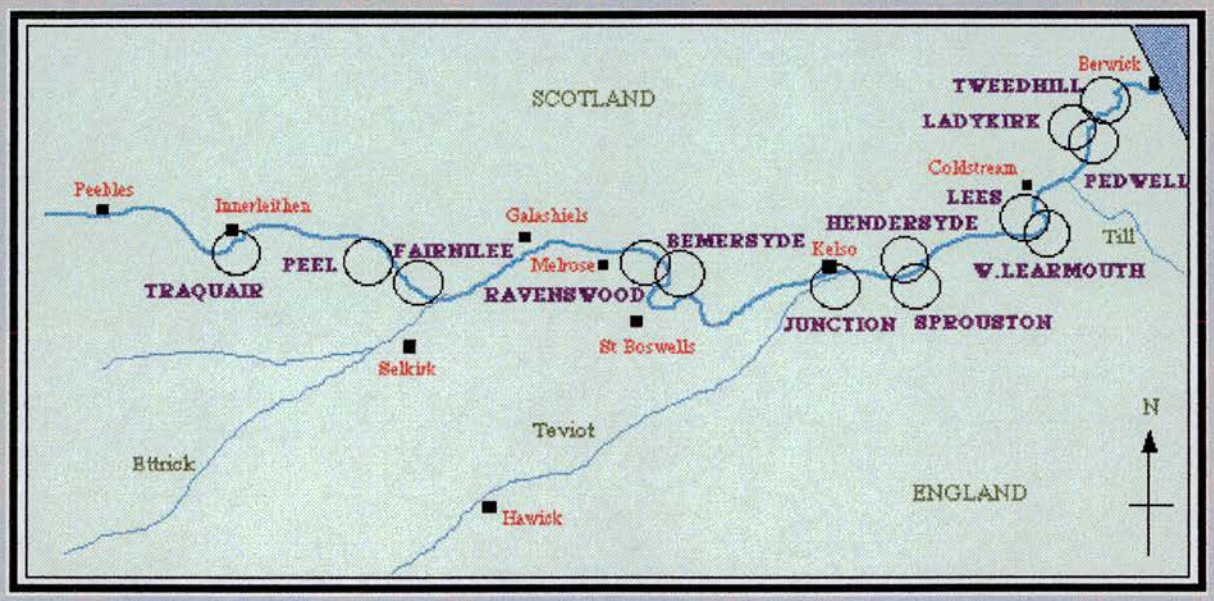
Egbert was the first King of United England (A.D.827-828). His second son, Alfred, known in history as Alfred the Great, was later King of England. Egbert was a direct ancestor of Ethelred the Unready, King of England (A.D.968-1013). In the year 1002, he married Emma, the sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy, a lady who was known as the "Flower 0f Normandy."

Egbert was the last of the six early Saxon kings. Elgiva, the fifth child of Etherlred, married Uchtred, Prine of Northumberland. Their daughter, Aldgatha, married Maldred and Aldgatha had a son, Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, who fought at the Battle of Hastings. His grandson, Cospatrick III-William, married Ada, daughter of King William, the Lion of Scotland. She brought with her to the marriage, as her estate, the lands of "Ihom" or Home.

From this family have descended leaders in every field, from politics and medicine to literature and the arts. "Their status level," says Nigel Tranter in his book,***Portrait of the Border Country***, "was like the Grand Army of Mexico, always more generals than privates...they were all

lairds. In this they were different from the true clans, Highland and Lowland, where the chiefly element was upheld by a great substructure of clansmen in peace as in war."

Thus, we see a resounding list of Home lairdships in the merse of Berwickshire: Homes of Wedderburn, Polwarth, Marchmont, Manderston, Blackadder, Ninewalls, etc. Also many sept names are linked with those of Home. They are Ayton, Buncle, Bunkle, Eaton, Greenlaw, Greenlea, Greenlee, Greenlease, Halliburton, Holm, Holmes, Holns, Hulme, Kello, Kelloe, Kellow, Killo, Landale, Landels, Landles, Landless, Machy, Mack, Nesbitt, Nisbet, Shume, Wedderbourne and Wedderburn, to name a few.



Until his death on October 9, 1995, the Chief of the present Clan Home was Lord Home of the Hirsel who lived near Coldstream, Scotland. He was the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, and upon his death, his eldest son, David Douglas-Home, became the 15th Earl of Home and, thus, Chief of Clan Home.

Return to the Clan Home Society International web site

Welcome To The Hume Family Home Page



Hume Castle, Berwickshire, Scotland

GENEALOGY DATABASE

Updated May 10, 2000

There are 25,357 individuals and 9,663 families representing 3,845 surnames in this database.

There are 1,903 individuals with Hume/Home surname.

Note: This web site exists as a way of preserving the information that I

4×9

find on my own family lines and as a way of sharing that information with others. This information represents collections from many printed and electronic sources and not all have been verified with primary records. By sharing information with others and discussing the merits of its sources and accuracy, I hope to constantly improve the content of these pages. So, please take an active part by pointing out any discrepancies or additional information you might have. - *Jim Hume*

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Submit Web Site Comments and Queries  View Web Site Comments and Queries

Please submit your web site comments or family queries here. I will only be able to respond to the originator(Sorry, but GeoCities doesn't handle discussion threads). You may also send me an E-mail and I will respond as soon as I can!

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Hume / Home Links On RootsWeb

Hume Bible Records	Hume Biographies	Hume Deeds
Hume Obituaries	Hume Pensions	Hume Wills

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Hume 'For Sale' Board Do you have genealogical books, services, materials, equipment that you'd like to sell? List it here!	Hume 'Wanted to Buy' Board Looking to buy genealogical books, services, materials, equipment? Here's the place to post it!	Hume Primary Records Search results of Hume records at RootsWeb listed in descending date order

Links to other sites on the Web

Wedderburn Castle	Clan Home Society International	Patterson Family Page
Hume Castle	Clan Hume	Kirkpatrick Family Page
Clan Home / Hume	The Scottish Genealogy Society	St. Louis Genealogical Society
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Hume Family Home Page - Hume, Home, de Hume, de Home, Humes

The Clan Home/Hume

Clan Home/Hume Contacts

Clan Home/Hume Society
605 Wee Loch Jasmine Circle, # 105
Vero Beach, FL 32962
Tel: 561-770-3099
Fax: 561-562-8208
Email: macgrady@sprynet.com

The society is non-profit and strives to make all Homes aware of their heritage. We promote the wearing of the Kilt and displaying all Home crest badges. Lassies are encouraged to wear kilted skirts or dresses with Home sashes pinned with a Home crest pin.

The society attends several games a year and sets up a Clan informational centre. Samples of all Hume tartan variants and all clan & district tartans are displayed. All family connections from Berwickshire, Tweedside and Roxburgh are recognized as "Hume" by the Scottish Highlands Society of Perth, Scotland and Highlands, North Carolina. We will be in Scotland June-September 1999 and attend several games including Cowal, Braemar Arbroath and other venues including the Hirsel in Coldstream and the Military Tattoo in Edinburgh. We will be on line during this period for those wishing to make contact with us.

Our venue has the largest library and collection of Home records and artifacts in America. While we do not charge to review these records, only clan society members have access to them. We also have access to all records of The Scottish Highlands Society of Perth, Scotland since its origin in 1850 (Lord Home, 14th Earl of Home, Prime Minister of Great Britain and Past Honourary President of the society, had his beginnings in Perthshire as an MP).

These records include birth, marriage, many family Home crests, family histories, all Home tartans , Home battles and Home heraldry dating back to the 17th century from Berwickshire , Tweedside, Roxburghshire, in

Scotland including some descendants. While we cannot do individual genealogical history, we may provide some historical data which may prove helpful in identifying your Home ancestors.

The society was represented in 8 US games this year, from Maine, Oklahoma and Florida. 1999 will also see our clan represented in South Australia in Adelaide. and the Noarlunga Highland Games in Noarlunga. Dates and venue will be announced early in 1999.

The clan was represented at the unveiling of the sculpture of our late Honourary President and Chief, Lord Home. The ceremony included the Earl of Home, present Honourary President of the society and HRH, Charles, The Prince of Scotland, (aka Prince of Wales). Photograph is available at our E Mail macgrady@sprynet.com.

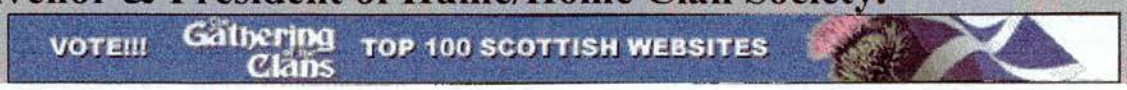
Our clan was the Honoured Clan at the Ocala National Games held in Ocala, Florida on 15th November. The Home Hume Clan Piper, Iain Hume MacHarg was the piper of the day and received awards and trophies in all major categories. Piper Iain, officially recognized as Bard of the Clan, will appear at many many Scottish gatherings for the clan including Vermont, Pennsylvania and Florida. His award winning CD, A "Highlands Christmas" is available at $12.00 per copy postpaid through the society. Other CD's of Iains are also available. Check for titles.

We recognize as septs: Home, Hume, Holmes, Ayton, Bunkle, Douglas, Dunbar, Grady, Greenlaw, Haddock, Haliburton, Landale, Mack, Nesbitt, Palmer, Paxton, Rutherford, and Wedderburn.

Other variant spellings recognized are Holm, Hum, Holme, Hoome, Hulme, Hyulm, De Heem, De Hom, Hoom, Hyn, Hwyne, Hom, Heaume, De Home, De Holmes, D Hulm, De Hume, Howme, Hoyme, Ghume, Ghome, Hwime, Houmn and other spellings and families as authorized by The Scottish Highlands Society of Perth, Scotland and Highlands, North Carolina.

The current President and Convenor is RW "Mac" Grady FSHS

Information provided by RW "Mac" Grady FSHS, Regional Convenor & President of Hume/Home Clan Society.



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The Tartan used as the background to this page is Erskine.

Appendix X

Kirkin' o' the Tartan transcription, Pleasanton Games

Kirkin' o' the Tartan service at Pleasanton Highland Games, California, Sunday September 5th 1999 SA1999.37

Chief of the Games: .....and then we have the chief of the Sinclair clan, the earl of Caithness, and Mistress Pauline Hunter of clan Hunter, of Hunterston and we have from South Africa, Maclaine of Lochbuie; welcome to each one of you and thank you for coming this morning.

Minister: Let us begin our service, let us bow our heads for prayer. Let us worship God, our help, who has in the name of the lord made heaven and earth. This is the day the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it. O come let us sing to the Lord and shout with joy to the rock of salvation. Let us come into God's presence with thanksgiving, singing joyful songs of praise. Lord of all power and might, the author and giver of all good things, graft in our hearts love of your name. Increase in us the true religion, nourish us with all goodness and bring forth in us the fruit of good works. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, one God for ever and ever, Amen.

Chief of the Games: At this time I would like to ask chief Carmichael of Carmichael if he would come forward:

Carmichael of Carmichael: I'm unused to calling more than my own clan, so you'll bear with me if I stutter on some my hereditary enemies in the list (laughter). The calling of the clans and families; we call now upon all who wear the tartan to come forward to present the tartan of their clan or family for this service of blessing.

Presentation of tartans; on behalf of all Scots away from Scotland, we present these tartans and ask the blessing of Almighty God upon his servants who wear them.

Welcome the tartan of clan Akins, clan Anderson, clan Armstrong, clan Baird, clan Bell, clan Blair, the House of Boyd, clan Buchanan, the House of Burnett, clan Cameron, clan Campbell, clan Carmichael, clan Chattan, clan Colquhoun, clan Craig, clan Cumming, clan Cunningham, clan Davidson, clan Donald, clan Donnachie, clan Douglas, clan Dunbar, clan Elliott, clan Farquharson, clan Fergusson,

clan Forbes and clan Forsyth. I will now hand on the Sinclair for the continuation.

Earl of Caithness: Clan Fraser, House of Gordon, clan Graham, clan Grant, clan Gregor, clan Gunn, clan Guthrie, clan Hall, clan Hamilton, clan Hannay, clan Henderson, clan Home, clan Hunter, clan Innes, clan Irwin, clan Jardine, clan Johnstone, clan Keith, clan kennedy, clan Kerr, clan Kincaig, clan Lamont, clan Leslie, clan Lindsay, clan Little and I'll hand over to Mistress of Hunter.

Madam Hunter of Hunterston: Clan Macallister, clan MacArthur, clan Mcbean, clan MacDonald, clan MacDougall, clan Macfarlane, clan Macfie, clan MacGillivray, clan MacInnes, clan MacIntyre, clan Mackay, clan Mackenzie, clan Mackinnon, clan Mackintosh, clan Maclachlan, clan Maclaine, clan Maclaren, clan Maclean, clan Maclellan, clan Maclennan, clan Macleod, clan Macmillan, clan Macnab and clan Macnaughton; I'll now hand over to Lochbuie.

Maclaine of Lochbuie: Clan Macneil, clan Macnicol, clan Macpherson, clan Mactavish, clan MacThomas, clan Maitland, clan Moffat, clan Montgomerie, clan Morrison, clan Mowat, clan Murray, clan Munro, clan Paisley, clan Pollock, clan Ramsay, clan Rose, clan Ross, clan Scott, clan Shaw, clan Sinclair, clan Stewart, clan Turnbull, clan Wallace, and certainly not the least, clan Young.

Minister: Would you join together with me in the prayer in the bulletin, The Blessing of the Tartans: Almighty God, you have promised that in all places where you record your name, you will meet with your servants and bless them Fulfil now Your promise and make us joyful in our praying, so that our worship offered in the name of Your son, Jesus Christ, and by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, may be acceptable to You and profitable to ourselves. Bless, we pray, these tartans, that they may be unto us and to all people tokens of the faith of our forebears and the sign of our service to you. Through Jesus Christ Our Lord.....

Appendix XI

Email Response

Email letter from Ronald G. Munro

Ian Maitland Hume
From: ORNUMGR@aol.com
Sent: 20 October 1999 15:38
To: immh@holyrood.ed.ac.uk
Subject: Clan Munro

Dear Ian,

This letter was passed to us to answer, - a copy of the one you sent Ann Dinger, our USA President of Clan Munro, requesting on the personal reasons for our interest in joining Clan Munro.

First, our name is MUNRO, and my molther had traced the family back to Alexander B. MUNRO who was born in Inverness, Scotland. He left Scotland at a young age and arrived in the West Indeis, where he remained until 1824 when he sailed to a small village in MAINE, called Round Pond. He married there and had a large family. He died and is buried in the family plot on the homestead.

We read of a Clan Munro meeting in a local newspaper in 1972, and wrote to Richard Munroe of Ashfield MA, the meeting to be in Northampton MA. We were invited to attend and while there, joined Clan Munro. We hold annual meetings in various locations across the country, in Canada and Scotland. We also host Munro "tents" at various Highland Games to increase interest in Clan Munro.

We wear kilts to all functions of a Scottish nature, Gatherings, Ceilidhs, Highland Games, Kirkin' of the Tartan Church services. We belong to St. Andrew's Societies in ME and FL. You may notice that I said "we". This includes my wife, and any of our children who wish to go with us (all adults). We have a backed Tartan Munro blanket which we use at the Highland Games, passed down to me from my great Grandfather.

Best wishes with your thesis

Yours aye, Ronald G. Munro

Appendix XII

Full Transcripts of interviews with informants

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1. Richard Carmichael of Carmichael SA1999.35

This is September 20th 1999, Ian Maitland Hume recording Richard Carmichael at Carmichael (Lanarkshire); this is part of a number of recordings in connection with the contemporary expression of American Scottish identity.

IMH So, to begin with, I wonder whether you would just give me sort of chapter and verse of brief potted biography of how you come to be sitting here?

RC How I got to sit in this spot? Yes, it's about twenty years ago that I came here, to Carmichael, from New Zealand where I had been living with my family, and realised that the dormant chiefship of the Carmichaels was in need of an uplift, and petitioned the Lord Lyon for the vacant and dormant chiefship, with a view to engendering some interest world-wide in Carmichaels history, which at that time was very poorly presented, both in Princes street and throughout the world and inaccurately presented. And also because, if my destiny had brought me back from the other side of the world to fulfill the promises to my family to look after this property, then I felt I should share that historical significance with as many of the people who carry the name Carmichael as I could locate. So in 1981 I wrote to all the Carmichaels that I could find; I remember in particular it was 5126 Carmichaels in the USA, which I got from the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City. So we wrote to all of them and got some 400 replies, from which we stated a clan association and held our first international gathering here in 1983, which was very successful and started sending out regular newsletters from the chief from that time on. And from the beginning, it was obvious the biggest and most enthusiastic group were from the United States of America and by about 1985, they were clamouring for me to go to the United States and to visit their games and their events and over the last fourteen years, I've been to Grandfather Mountain in Carolina, Stone Mountain in Georgia three times, Glasgow, Kentucky twice and just recently to Pleasanton, California.

IMH Good, so that's...one could say you've got completely involved in their enthusiasm in that sense, in that they like chiefs to go and visit them and it must be a lot of encouragement to them. I wonder whether you could just give me your impressions of what it is usually that inspires somebody to take an interest in the clan society, when previously they'd had no interest and how they normally across the fact that there is a clan society and what they then do, once they do find it?

RC I think one of the most significant factors is that most of the Carmichaels I meet have never ever met anybody else in their part of the world, in their part of America, who carries the same name as they do, and it suddenly - for example this last weekend in Pleasanton, there was a couple from Southern California who had been very peripherally active, but had never been to any of the games before, and their delight at being surrounded by Carmichaels from all different places was quite amazing, and really spelt it out to me that that is what they really feel and that is that, it's the, um, the sort of...the uniqueness of suddenly finding that they've got a big family with a history and they're not just an individual in a small area.

IMH So it's, it's joining a family in that sense, which obviously is a great attraction and the possibility of, presumably, tracking down some of their forebears through the genealogy?

RC Yes, it's historically, um, they're keen to know how their family fits in to the clan tree and they're very keen to know how they got to be where they are, and when their ancestors came and moved from and the general, the general direction of their lineage in terms of did they, for example, where they the Scots-Irish who went to Ireland and then went to America, or were they...did they emigrate from the west Coast post Industrial Revolution, or whatever; the whole...

IMH And Carmichaels almost invariably come from this part of the world?

RC There is only the one source of the name, and we have just a few hundred yards from here an old hill fort, that was dedicated by Queen Margaret in the 11th century; the church was dedicated to St. Michael, and they took, the people of the district, took the 'Caer' from the old hill fort plus the 'Michael' to become Caermichels and its's still pronounced locally as Caermichel, and that became the name of the people of the district who then migrated; there are two other sources of names attached thereto; one is in Appin, where some West Highland Carmichaels who are septs of the Stewart of Appin or the MacDougall, claim to have changed their name from Mac Gille Michael, the sons of the servants of St Michael, and may or may not have a lineage connection to this place. Much in debate and dispute, of course, but they either assimilated the name or they changed the name to the Gaelic equivalent and back again. And again we have a lot of negro Carmichaels who are descended from released slaves of the emancipation of slavery from plantation owners in Southern Carolina in the United States, who when they released their slaves, the slaves took their name and certainly in California a big percentage of the population, the Carmichael population, is negro.

IMH Oh really. And do they belong to...do they join the society?

RC I'm very keen that they do and, um, anxious to try and get them to join, but I have found that, particularly with the Southern US members of the clan that they are not quite as welcoming as I aspire to be, soI'm still...that is a problem still to be addressed, we're working on it! There are two other areas; there was a big...and there is a big family of very keen Carmigelts in Holland who are all descended from a Robert Carmichael who was with the earl of Leicester's army in 1599, as an armourer, never came back and married a Dutch girl and these are all descendants of this one man, and equally in France there are Carmichaels who were with the jacobites and lost their estates in Scotland and never came back.

IMH Good spread. Once the people join the society, if we could switch now just to the affect that has on them then acquiring some tartan and whether...how they view that, whether that's looked on as an essential demonstration of their membership of the Carmichael clan, d'you think?

RC It's certainly a bonding agent and it's interesting to see how a new recruit, if that's the right word, um, cautiously wears a tie, or a scarf, or a sash, as the case may be, and how then next time you see them, they've bitten the bullet and they've gone for the full regalia, and it's quite an accelerated process, particularly in the United States, where they have all these games to go to and the United Sates Clan Carmichael USA, which is now highly organised from a fledgling beginning, when we kicked it off 14 or 15 years ago, it's now right across the United States, and any new recruit from a new area is instantly drafted in to run a clan tent at a games in their area, because of this whole games structure they have, he can't stand up there in just a tartan tie any more, so he feels he's got to get himself kitted out to do the job that he's volunteering to do.

IMH And then going on from there, do you think once they make this sort of dual transition - a person joining the clan society and then perhaps getting a kilt or whatever - do they then begin to speak in terms of having an element of Scottishness in their identity, or is your experience largely that they still look on themselves one hundred percent American, but have a connection with Scotland?

RC That's a difficult one to answer, because I think it actually is, um, both ways, depending on the individual; some of them have a much greater affinity to Scotland, the land, and others have an affinity to Scotland, the notion, and some of them really don't

aspire to come to Scotland, the land, they are quite happy with Scotland the notion, go to the games, um, and develop it within the boundaries they can see and they're happy, whereas others have the necessity to come to Scotland the land to actually get a feeling for their homeland, though it's not a black and white...

IMH No. Moving on then, if we may, to the ceremony of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan, I noticed at the Kirkin' o' the Tartan service at the Pleasanton Games that the, for the first time in my experience certainly, that the list of clans present was read out and shared amongst three chiefs, all of whom came from outwith the United States, and I'd be particularly interested to have your views, firstly on what you think the importance of the Kirkin' o' the Tartan service is to the Scottish American community, if one may put it like that, and secondly in view of the fact that it is generally not an accepted part of Scottish tradition here in Scotland, how you felt being as involved as you were the other day?

RC I have nothing but the greatest respect for the American ceremony of the Kirkin' of the Tartans, I think it's a glorious concept to celebrate all the tartans together, and at those games, although we read out - and I think there were four chiefs reading a quarter of the very long list of attending clans, not all of whom were there with their tartans at the ceremony, at the service whereas at other Kirkin' of the Tartans I've been it's been more formal presentation of a tartan banner on behalf of each clan and if you weren't there, you didn't get to present it, but this was actually a list of all the families and clans who had been represented over the weekend that we read out - but the whole concept of celebrating together in a ecumenical church service in the way that it is done in the United Sates, I found to be such a glorious tapestry and presentation of our heritage, that the fact that it has no credibility in the history of Scotland is really rather irrelevant. I just like the way it works over there and the way it's done.

IMH So you felt...

RC Very pleased to take part and very comfortable doing so, even though I had to read - and I think I mentioned it at the time - that the Armstrongs are our hereditary enemies and I had to read out and welcome them to the Kirkin' of the Tartan (laughter)

IMH That's very interesting, and I know that at a previous Kirkin' o' the Tartan, I was...I'd hoped to record the whole thing, but in fact I was - just before the service started - shoved into the parade and found myself having to participate in the whole thing too, and it's very interesting when, when you think you're just an observer, but as a participant observer, you suddenly begin to appreciate much more

even some of the elements behind the...

RC I've had great difficulty, one of the difficulties I have with the gatherings over there, is getting my, my honour guard and banner bearers out on a Sunday morning to the Kirkin' of the Tartans, it's all very well for me to go, but to get them moving after a heavy night's clan celebrations, or whatever is...it's never possible.

IMH And the fact that, I mean this is now so - well it's over fifty years old, that ceremony now and service and is an integral part of Scottish American culture I think one could fairly say - seems to be an example of the Scottish American community increasingly taking external pride in the fact that it's there; do you sense a growing move in this direction being expressed in other ways, that whereas - and I'm thinking particularly of groups of people such as our friends across the Irish Sea, weho have always had a fairly high profile - it's only now that, and with Tartan Day being another element of it, that this is just beginning to...

RC Yes I do and, er, particularly I think visible in Pleasanton, where the Caledonian Club of San Francisco have been doing this now for a hundred and thirty four years, not the Kirkin of the Tartans, but the whole, the whole games and that is a very long established tradition, and some of the things they're doing are quite potentially upsetting to the old Scottish school, if that's the right expression; for example, all the chiefs of their games now have three feathers; and the past chiefs have three feathers in a circlet and they have people in charge of different factors of the games with two feathers, so, um, the hereditary chiefs of the clans who were guests of the games were sort of lost amongst the feathers, to a certain extent and that was, to some people that is probably very upsetting, but because of the sheer length of time that they have been involved in these games, they - to my understanding - feel they have the right to re-invent and re-apply some of the old rules, and Ithink that is what is happening with the Kirkin of the Tartan, that is what is happening with Tartan Day, that is what is happening with their saying, well we've got chiefs of the games, a chief has three feathers, we'll have three feathers, that is what's happening with my Carmichael honour guard, who created themselves out of nowhere in the mid-eighties and now we have four be-kilted and pit-helmeted, dirk-carrying honour guard who follow me around at all the games, and banner bearers and the like and it's a sort of new tradition, made in America for America, but with a Scottish base, and I think the whole of these things together show a, a pride and an aggressiveness - no, we won't wait for mother Scotland to tell us how to do it - we'll do it the way we want to do it.

IMH So, one could say that, I mean, that they feel their own

distinct sense of ownership, if one can use that term?

RC I think that what they feel they've got, is their own and it's not something that should be subservient to the old country and that it's alive and well and free and moving forward and will do so regardless of my opinion, or your opinion, or the high heid ones in Glasgow or Edinburgh, it's just going to happen and they'll make it happen.

IMH What d'you think the reaction is, if it's discussed, in the Standing Council (of Scottish chiefs) to, to these sort of insinuating developments?

RC It has been discussed...and I know it's not met with universal approval and the chiefs who were at these recent games were charged with discussing it with the Caledonian Club of San Francisco and we, um, decided to forego the opportunity to discuss it directly with them on approximately the lines I have been discussing, with the games are attracting nearly 100,000 people, they're very obviously not all Scots and it's a fairground and festival presentation and it really isn't within our judgement, or our gift, on old guidelines alone to do anything that remotely damages that, that whole presentation; and so it is a problem for the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs and for the Lord Lyon, but it's one in which I personally don't feel, and certainly the other chiefs who I was discussing it with, who were Hunter and Maclaine of Lochbuie, particularly...

IMH How did Malcolm Caithness...?

RC Well I didn't discuss it directly with him, but the other two, we felt we were not in a position to march in and demand these changes, so it's back to the drawing board. I'm sure there must be a compromise, an accommodation somewhere along the line for, for the...but it falls nicely into the category you're discussing of America going it alone.

IMH Fascinating. Are there any other things that occur to you that we should really take note of, in terms of this expression of their Scottish links; d'you think that it's beginning to have an influence on anything that happens here, is there a reverse flow in evidence in any respect?

RC I'm convinced it will happen, (a), and (b), very sure that when it does, it will have positive effects; I would very much like to see a more unified approach within Scotland, and to...a greater working together in the same way. I was involved in 'Roots 97',

down in the Borders, and that worked quite well in some ways in terms of its joint delivery of a clan and family heritage at one stage...

IMH And was it successful?

RC It was successful in its, in its concept and in its delivery in many ways; it had some unsuccessful elements.

IMH They had a Kirkin' there, too, didn't they?

RC They did have a Kirkin' there, quite a, quite a reasonably emotive Kirkin'; possibly a bit more formal and not so...

IMH And has that been repeated subsequently?

RC No it hasn't; it was a financial disaster, or not a disaster but it was not a financial success and it was organised quite loosely rather than by a sort of tight games committee, as they do in the States, although the Pleasanton organisation seemed to be quite loose as well, at times; Californian live and let live and the show will go on concept.

IMH Excellent; well thank you very much, Richard; I think that covers the broad, you know the broad area of my interest and we stand by to see what else is going come whizzing back across the Atlantic.

RC Yes, watch this space.

IMH There is one question, and I meant to follow up your initial remarks, when you said that you started up the society - how long ago was it?

RC 18 years ago.

IMH Yes, why d'you think, because many other clan societies started in roughly the same time bracket, why d'you think it is that there has been this great surge of interest in something such as clan societies and a Scottish American tag, if you like, whereas previously it was relatively speaking, apart from one or two well identified cases, relatively dormant and unkown?

RC Um, well it could be that the millenium is a watershed and people's awareness and interest is more pronounced. I think that one of the most interesting things is that it happens to have co-incided with this glorious new technology, which actually is the best thing that could possibly happen to clan associations trying to work on a global

scale. My belief is that the global clan, the chief's responsibility is now to a global clan. To fulfil those responsibilities up to about ten or twelve years ago, was virtually impossible and a major, major difficulty; to fulfil them now is becoming daily easier, with internet sites and world-wide web, emails, etcetera. I'm one of the few chiefs who makes his email address to all his clan members right round the world
and take email enquirers from anywhere, at any time, on any subject, not always successfully answered, but I do try, and I think that this technology which, for example, a few weeks ago I had a an Australian family from Bathgate who moved to Australia in the 1920's, and because he didn't like writing letters, he never wrote home and when the telephone came in, it was too expensive, so he didn't, and the return trips were always too expensive, so forty, fifty, sixty years later he'd lost touch with his Bathgate family, and his children and grandchildren were screaming at him to make contact and could he possibly...you know...how could he go about it, and in one week-end on the internet, we found all his relatives still living in Bathgate and put them all back in touch with each other,and tied the clan knots back together of a lost family, and that sort of activity really makes this job very much worthwhile and worth doing. You feel as though you've got a role, whereas some of the time without that it's very difficult to actually make progress.

IMH D'you think it may also be anything to do with the huge changes in society generally; by that I mean the way families find themselves three thousand mile apart, or more, as you've just instanced - and I'm thinking of the American dimension - communities have tended to split up, other pressures, other groups expressing their identity more vigorously in addition to the American diemension; d'you think there's...?

RC I think the whole...

IMH The north European by origin, I don't know?

RC The, the movement of peoples, the breakdown of family values and the changes in family values - a lot of my keenest clan members are actually part already of quite strong family units, with strong concepts of family values; and I believe there is some sort of connection with that and they do view the global clan Carmichael as being family, in a distant way, and they enjoy the family get-togethers; and I've tried to emphasise that by, for example at the end of our gathering at Pleasanton, we went off with a group of seventeen Carmichaels for a four day tour up to Lake Tahoe, just a group holidaying together and after the gatherings we've organised here in Scotland, I've taken, as a sort of courier, a group on a Highland tour to

show them part of Scotland, and on the basis that even if it's slightly manufactured, it's a family outing together; families who are together go on holiday together and that sort of concept then works down the line towards family bonding and...

IMH D'you find that there's anything particularly noticeable about the age at which people start keying in to this thing?

RC Definitely. Definitely not under about thirty-five, unless they're brought along in their teens by granny or grandad who is keen to expose them to their roots...

IMH And have you any thoughts why, why it might be this sort of age that people first become interested?

RC They're starting to get, at that age and beyond, they're getting, they've had their family or their family has developed and they're moving forward; I think they're, they're getting more introspective into their origins and realising that they can't leave it up to dad and granddad, they've actually got to do some of the work themselves.

IMH Yes, I think particularly if they've started having their own children, they will perhaps cast around for more information. Great.

2. Earl of Elgin & Kincardine SA1999.35

12th April 1999: this is an interview by Ian Maitland Hume with the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, at Broomhall in Fife and this part of the topic of the contemporary expression of Scottish identity through tartan, the kilt and clan adherence, in particular with regard to the American dimension.

IMH I wonder Lord Elgin if you could just begin by giving me your views on how the Standing Council of Chiefs perceives the great, or apparent increase in interest on the part of people, particularly in the United States , identifying with clans, from your perspective as convener of that council, in particular in the need, perhaps, for yourmembers to be really all-embracing - if I can put it that way - in havingto accommodate perhaps very diverse applications for membership?

LdE The Standing Council of recent months has been very waxed about the use of a website, because it would appear to many that this is the model example of the personal attitude, for which the members of the clan or family have towards their chief, and it could be perpetuated in a much easier and comfortable way throughout the whole world and through properly conducted Scottish clan and family network. And the question is just exactly how is it to be done. But that is the tone, you might say, of the feeling at the moment; prior to that , of course, many chiefs would be invited to travel to North America for various reasons.Sometimes it was St Andrews Day, perhaps more frequently it was the ever increasing number of gatherings which are held in Canada and the United States, where they want an authentic chief. I have only been able to go to one, which was Grandfather Mountain, some years ago, and the main thrust of course which you find is that there is a dedicatedcore of Scots in America, who do nothing else but travel the circuit in the summer, and they probably take a camper-home or something, and it is their life. And then it is probably a third or fourth generation who find that this is something new; they've heard about it, they come and they look at the tremendous display which these gatherings have, and the games, and they identify all kinds of things. For example, America and the United States would not have been athletic, had it not been for these games in early days. They were the only form of extrovert athleticism that Americans ever knew. The credit doesn't of course survive the....curling of course did, and the oldest curling club outside Great Britain was formed in Canada, and shortly afterwards others in the United States were formed. But it was not just the.. it was the

combination of tartan and history and the athletic games and all these things, that I think made the American realise that he had a part of him that was different, a part of him was unique, and to have something that was unique in your blood in America, is to have a very great and very powerful, well it's a jewel of great price. And other families, of course, other nations do the same, but the Scots felt that would identify themselves with this, and of course in other ways too, the Scots have had a fair amount to do with the building up of the United Sates and so the two really went together very kindly. What I've found and what I think perpetually is the case, it isn't perhaps until the third generation have established families that begin, as it were, to come back again into the feeling that they must do something about it; they must look up their family history, they must attach themselves to roots which, unfortunately, are now being somewhat spuriously provided to them, by various so-called authentic societies. For example there were two family of Bruce associations in North America, one is called the Family of Bruce and the other one is Bruce International. I gave my blessing to Bruce International, because I wanted a Society of Bruces; whereas the Family of Bruce Society wanted a society of people they said had been descended from either King Robert or the earlier Stewart sovereigns, which of course is all very well but it is mainly through the female line multiplied over and over again that this family survived; but the American looks at a family tree of this sort with great reverence and it is no use telling them your terribly sorry it doesn't make sense. They've spent a lot of money on it and that's it. I would far prefer a man who called him... - who said: " I am a Bruce," and I said: " How long can you trace back?" and he said: " I can trace back three or for generations", and I say: " Good, do that, get it on paper now, otherwise it'll be lost", and that is the greatest thing you can do for your own branch of the family. I mean this thing wanting to start off by being descended from King Robert because you can't...you can be descended from the predecessors of King Robert or you could have other descents, but sadly I have to tell you that King Robert is out! The tartan, of course, for our family is different to the Bruce's first tartans - as far as we can make out was invented by the Abyssinian traveller, after he had returned from his great journeys - James Bruce of Kinnaird - considered that he was royal on both sides, royal Bruce and royal Stewart, he was descended from both royal houses, and as seven was a wild number, he made a tartan of fourteeen different colours. He produced a coat and waistcoat, which presumably he wore, he was very flamboyant...

IMH This was late eighteenth century?

LdE Late 18th Century, about 1780, very hard...that lovely hard tartan, and in 1945 or 1946 I got the head of the then Highland

Home Industries, a Miss Bruce, to have this tartan made up and not thinking - the weavers who wove the thing - not thinking to warn them that this was of course mine and on no account was there to be any more made. After they had woven the first length, they proceeded to market this thing, and the Bruce of Kinnaird tartan is now worn just about any...which is a great shame. But Bruce had had Bruce family colours long centuries before we had a tartan and I suppose our tartan was produced probably about the time most other people's were, which was for the welcome to George IV, and certainly there is a coat, a sort of evening coat, of a tartan here in the house, but my grandfather, as a child, wore the kilt and I think that was it. My father was never seen in the kilt until he had come of age and he kept sheep and he sent off the wool to be woven into special devices, perhaps he would have anormal, you know, everyday kilt made out of something that he had had woven out his own sheeps' fleeces and he wore a non-tartan kilt all the time that we were children, when we were on holiday and going North. His first tartan kilt was to welcome the Prince of Wales in 1933 in Edinburgh and that was his first tartan kilt and that lasted him for the rest of his life. I, I suppose I've worn various kinds of tartan, but have stopped wearing the kilt, because my leg finally looked too odd - it was all very well when people knew about the war, and people who had bad legs as a result...but now they don't - so I've moved into the tartan trews or trousers for evening wear, practical with a waistcoatand green jacket, very nice. It is curious that you should say, because I had a letter this morning from Mr Kelly, in Banff, who would like to be absorbed into the Bruce family, so I am having a little thing made up,and provided he swears an oath to maintain the dignity of the Bruce Family, he will be welcome!

IMH Do you think that...I mean presumably the interest for your international association is primarily from the States and perhaps to alesser extent Canada, rather than here?

LdE Well I don't think so, because we started in Scotland about twelve years ago a society called the Keepers of the Quaich and theyobtained a tartan and through the enterprising enthusiasm of Anderson and Company, they have persuaded Keepers to deck themselves out and it's now de rigeur and you see these gentlemen from all parts of theworld of every sort hue and colour immaculately dressed in Keepers of the Quaich tartan and thoroughly enjoying it and looking very smart. The bulk of the story obviously comes from North America; I think perhaps the problem is that they want to wear tartan that is of a weight of material that is not too heavy and so to my slightly curious way of thinking, a tartan made out of very lightweight stuff just looks like address and it doesn't hang terribly well and in a shower of rain it looks even worse. Because of the bright sun and all

the rest of it, they prefer the most powerful colours, they want good modern dyes, you know, and no nonsense about it. D'you see, it's the one thing in that particular nation of which there is no shadow of doubt; tartan is the most remarkable of all the public relations gimmicks that the world has ever seen...absolutely so, and when you consider that London was taken by storm in 1810, when tartan became all the mode and people started learning to dance reels, one can't really contemplate a similar thing...

IMH Absolutely unique and it's interesting that the more modern enthusiasts for Scottish exports and trade and so forth initially tended to shy away,in my experience, from tartan because of what they call the kitsch connotation, are now beginning to revise their opinions, because it hasbeen forcibly pointed out to them that you've got an invaluable recognition symbol before you've started.

LdE The visit I had to Trinidad many years ago, I happened to see that the bank notes were signed by Victor Bruce, and so I said to my host: "Isee you have got a decent governor of the bank". "Oh, you want to meet Victor ?" and I said: "Yes, I do very much want to." So Victor appeared at a drinks party the following evening, 6ft 2, as black as yourhair, a most engaging fellow and very, very fine banker, and he had been probably employed in Barbados when Bruces were head of the Judiciary in Barbados over two hundred years before...very nice man.

IMH It's interesting that there are a considerable number of black folk with Scots names, but they don't appear to want to be involved in the whole business of clan societies and so forth.

LdE I gave the Oba of Lagos a length of Bruce tartan, which he was thrilled to have, because of course in West Africa, they do make these very similar sort of things, and I gave the then Ashantihele, the King of the Ashantis, another...on that particular journey to West Africa and he was thrilled, and he then gave me a cummerbund thing. That's the nearest I think in Africa, West Africa, these very identifiable patterns.

IMH I've always wondered whether, in Southern India, there's a.....I haven't pursued that.....

LdE Well the Madras is...and this time last year in New Delhi, we watched the Beating the Retreat; they had over a hundred pipers all going the Indian way, slightly different tempo .but the same drill formations.

IMH They make quite a good fist of it. Do you think that it

is the tartan, one of the initial sort of fundamental appeals?

LdE I think it's one of them. The other one of course is if they have a family scroll with all their names on it - they like the idea of a familytree and they also like the idea of the family badge. I'm not certain that you'll find that the clan or family badge isn't perhaps as soughtafter, because it's not too costly, and in their den in practically –every North American has some sort of a den - he would have his scroll of his family tree, his clan or family badge on a plaque, and he'd probably be quite happy with that for starters. But if he did have the full kit, he probably would have gone to considerable lengths to have it well done.But then of course comes the question of does he know how to wear it/I was lately opposite the very wealthy gentleman, Malcolm Forbes; I shared with him the duty of opening an exhibition of tartan in the modern sense, the modern use of tartan, in New York. I thought I would wear my just newly invented tartan trouser outfit, but Malcolm Forbes had got himself decked out in the kilt; but unfortunately the man who decked him out had forgot to tell him which way round you wore it...it was all very quietly adjusted..! I think, to be perfectly honest, I don't think he meant to, but rolling in and out of stretch limousines, unless you've got proper hips, your kilt does slip round and I don't think it had got all that far round, but it was sufficient for somebody to snigger.

IMH How interesting. When was that exhibition?

LdE Well it must have been, now, about seven years ago, I suppose, ten years. And he took me to see all his collections, which was fascinating, and he had a collection of lead soldiers, but hardly surprising he didn't have a member of the Royal Company of Archers, the Queen's Bodyguard, but for some extraordinary reason somebody had given me a set, they weren't terribly grand....
(end of recorded and relevant part of interview)

3. Col. Bob McWilliam SA1999.38

Interview by Ian Maitland Hume

We are at Grandfather Mountain Highland Games (North Carolina) on July 10th 1999 and I'm talking to Col. Bob McWilliam.

IMH Perhaps you could just introduce yourself, Bob?

RMcW Ian, thank you. I am the current president of the Council of Scottish Clans and Associations and we are a sort of umbrella organisation,covering the clans and family associations here in the United States. We were formed back in 1974 by a fellow by the name of Dr. Herbert Macneill, and he formed us to take care of a need at that time for people who wanted to form clan societies with their particular names and there was no structure for this, there was nothing for constitutions or byelaws or what their rules were, how to organise things and how to acquire additional membership. So the Council of Scottish Clans was formed to address that and we drew up a number of publications that we called 'How to' books; how to start a clan society; what publications you get involved with to solicit membership and typical here in the United States this would be 'The Highlander' and 'The Banner' and then we also at that same time there was a growing number of Highland games, which since 1974 has just exploded here in the United States; at that time there may be fifty or sixty throughout the United Sates - games - and now there's two hundred and seventy games and festivals here in N. America, just in the United States. And these run now in the South practically all the year round . So at the games there has been this, particularly here in the United Sates, this great interest in the roots: "I know I'm Scottish, can I belong to a clan, can I wear a tartan and that's all I know ?" - they have no idea where in Scotland they came from and in many cases these are sept names of major clans, so that that particular clan probably would not be at those games, and if a clan name like a Campbell or a MacDonald or something, if they're there, we just send them down to the tent; and if it's an obscure sept that nobody is familiar with, then we have a book. We have a number of references, but our principal book for reference is called: *Tartan for me* and it's in the seventh edition and is written by Dr. Philip Smith, who drew essentially the bulk of his information from Black's 'Surnames of Scotland' and then through additional computer research he's got this now into several thousand names and we use this as a resource. If the name would show up, he has all these names listed, and he'll have them listed as a tartan they can wear or a clan they could possibly affiliate with . Now many people of course could affiliate with

maybe three or four different clans and many people have no clan affiliation, but they have their own tartan that's come through the ages. Then in addition, this maybe takes care of a third of our inquiries; three quarters of our inquiries, or I should say the other 66 2/3 % are from Lowland families and the only thing that we can tell them is the origin of where that name came from, and there's this great interest in these districts. Now we have a District Association and we're keeping all these cards, like Galloway district and the major districts in Scotland, and what we're finding is this great interest in the districts: "Oh, my family came from there, well how do I find out about that district?" So now the District Associations are beginning to build, and they maybe will be the Lowland equivalent to the clan societies. There are some districts that have presidents; unfortunately this is just beginning, its something we thought we could do, so we've been doing it. In the United States, at the moment, there are about a hundred and seventy clan societies and some of these have their chiefs, many of their chiefs are alive and well and many of them are living in Scotland or England and all round the world. Many of these chiefs go out of their way to encourage membership of the clan society here in the United Sates; other chiefs are more reluctant to get involved, and in many cases rightly so, because they've got that element of local politics that they get involved with. However the major clans, the MacDonalds and the Campbells, I just use those because everyone is familiar with them, their chiefs come over to the United States regularly and do what they can to support their societies. These two, MacDonald and Campbell, happen to be the two largest clan societies here; Clan Donald, about seven thousand members, Campbell is about the same thing and they range from then on down to three or four thousand, down to smaller clans that are only a couple of hundred and then there are those clans that are just starting. The function of the Council is to be at these games and we have volunteers at maybe forty five or fifty of the games; we try to cover all the major or big, large games, and the people come in and say: " Well my name is such and such", and happens to be a sept of a major clan; he had no idea that he could belong to Clan Donald or Campbell...(can I interrupt you, I see a guy I've got to talk to...)

IMH John Napier, who is vice-president of COSCA; we are just talking about how the interest in things Scottish started, and he was suggesting that it's *Roots.*

JN Yes, after Alex Hayley's *Root*' came out, what, in the late sixties, the Scottish American movement which had been kind of modest forty five years - maybe fifteen Highland games and maybe the same number of clan societies, where it's mushroomed now - 296 games, 170 recognised societies in the US alone, and my theory is that after Alec Hayley's *Roots* encouraged black Americans to research

their own backgrounds, particularly in West Africa, the great majority of white Americans whose ancestors had come over before the American Revolution didn't have a particular ethnic identity as the later ethnics - the Polish-American, Italian-American and so forth did, and so being mainly of British ancestry they cast around and a lot of them had Scottish ancestors and it was their attempt to assert their own identity from the British Isles and the Scottish connection is one that was readily visible.

IMH It is the visibility that is one of the key elements...We were just talking about how you go about fielding the actual enquiries.

RMcW So an individual comes up with a name...we'll use as an example my name, McWilliam and it's a known name, so we go through and look this up alphabetically and sometimes we'll take the person through, hand carry him through the whole thing, and other times we'll say: "Hey, this is a do-it-yourself, spelling is alphabetical, when you find your name then come and we'll see what we can sort out." So we come up to McWilliam and we see that it's affiliated as a sept, not as a clan by itself, but as a sept of the Gunns, the Maclellans, the Mackays and the Macleods and there is a McWilliam tartan, and the Robertsons; well, so the guy says, inquirer says: "What clan can I belong to, there's a whole bunch of them?", and the answer typically, our response to that is, if there's an oral or written tradition as to where you came from geographically, then we will put you down in the area where, let's say where the Robertsons were, and we have these maps that are even available in Scotland; right if your family tradition is from this area, you can be a Robertson or up in the North East part you can be a Gunn or a Macfarlane, but more typically, they have no idea where they came from. All they can say is: "Well, great-grandfather said we were Scottish and that's all I know." So then we get into this sort of poetic licence which everybody appears to get kind of upset with, but the people that we deal with are very happy to find anything. So they want to affiliate with something Scottish and if one of these clans is at the games, we will send them down to that tent; if more than one is at the games, we send them down to both tents, or all tents, "and so you talk to those individuals and you might find something more than what we can give you, that would help you out; or in the worst case scenario, where there is nothing, you have to sit back and see which one of those clans you would like to affiliate with, in terms of what they are doing at that tent, how those people are.." When they find out that they can belong to a clan and wear a tartan, it's amazing the reaction you get from these people; it's like a...it's almost like a religious experience, and what it is, is..to carry on from what John says, this guy's just an individual here in the United States and he has nothing other than his name that he can associate with. Maybe he can belong to Rotary or all that sort of stuff, then all

of a sudden he's got a genealogy link with something that in the United States is highly regarded; the Scots are highly regarded, the tartans are recognised and here's something that somebody can grab on to, and in the United States, the Scot, the Scottish spirit is highly romanticised- it's right out of the author Scott's, it's his stuff and if you start talking to them about the nitty gritty of these clan societies, they don't hear it...So, alright if the clan then is not there, and here in our...at this particular games, then we have them fill out a card with their name and address and the clan that they wish to affiliate with. Now we have a roster, a current roster of all the clan societies here in the United States and three times a year we mail, we have a mailing to all the clans that we have cards for. Now when we started out, we had maybe four or five hundred cards that we mailed out; now last year we mailed out about five thousand cards to the various clan societies and we are now at a stage where we've go the secretaries of these societies, particularly the big ones saying: "Stop, I can't handle all of this." And it's not got that yet, but it's getting that...particularly Clan Donald. Now Clan Donald, we're sending them to the main secretaries who say: "You can't do this to me; you have got to send it to my regional commissioners" . Now, regional, what does that mean? Well, our country is so large, that all these large clans break themselves up geographically, probably into six to seven regions; you'll have the Eastern Seaboard region; the South East region: the Mid-West region; the Pacific; the South West; the North West and they will have what they call a regional commissioner, or a trustee, or a convenor - any sort of names and then he may have six or seven states and underneath him, in each state, he will have a commissioner and a convenor and then they will have their local societies - could be a state society, Clan Donald, State of Wisconsin, but in Wisconsin, we've got the Milwaukee group, we have the Green Bay group, we have the Madison group and so on, and so this thing has grown very dramatically, as all these games have and this interest has just become heavily involved. So the Council sort of sits on top of this; we have regional areas and we've gotten away from it for the time being, which we thought we could do, but now we find we've got to get back into it, where we in general have regional commissioners and State commissioners, because the volume and number of games. The trouble is, this is all voluntary work and the quality is sometimes is absolutely superb and then sometimes it's - well I'm not up to it today- so it's a typical volunteer organisation and so in addition to helping people find their clan societies we put on what we call workshops. The workshops are attended by these clans and they learn how to run a clan, they learn how to qualify for tax-exempt status, they learn how to put on workshops of their own; 'Here's how to put on a Scottish wedding; here's how you have a good Burns Dinner; here's how you have a St Andrews celebration; here's how you Kirk a tartan, here's a way of doing it.' And we have these in

written 'How to' forms. So these are passed on, so that's how the council works in a general way. Our membership is essentially the clans, so they pay a $25 fee and that really just covers our expenses - doesn't do that - but fortunately we had some good major contributors that have helped us and so we have a good endowment fund, if you want call, it that, and we interface with other national organisations like Scottish Heritage USA, and the Tartan Educational and Cultural Association and there is an exchange of information, an exchange of programmes and things. In the United States, the typical clan function is number one a family sort of thing, a warm and fuzzy feeling; I'm affiliated with people of my long-term long association, historical association, number one. Then the next thing is the direct genealogy; particularly Clan Donald has an immense genealogical programme in which people are constantly finding their real ancestors. Others have the same programme. Then the third thing is many of them will have funds, I should say not funds but a policy of we want to help preserve or restore clan property that's fallen into disuse or fallen into decay, so there's fundraising in that part and some clans are very good, very successful in fact and have been approached by the clan chief and "Can you help?" The classic example is Clan Donald; when the clan chief was paying off his fathers debts and inheritance tax he was selling, selling all his land and Ellice MacDonald and some other wealthy Americans and some Canadians said "Good Lord, the Lordship of the Isles is being gone, is being sold" so they stepped in and they bought twenty thousand acres in Skye and they turned an old, well not an old, but a MacDonald castle that was burnt, that was going to ruin, they turned that into the Clan Donald Centre, and it's now a very... it's on the tourist trip and they've gotten several awards for what they've done. Members of Clan Donald that belong to the Clan Donald Lands trust can hunt and fish on that land , but it is, except for the Sleat Peninsular, pretty bleak barren and blasted, but that's an example. The Duke of Argyll has come over and John Macleod has come over and had quite a fund-raising programme with the Macleods to develop a centre at Dunvegan. So that's how some of this is coming back

IMH Do you find that the majority of people are what I would call settled in life and it's then that begin to turn to looking to their roots, or is there an element amongst the youngsters too?

RMcW Well. There's both. We... most of the older people have got a pretty good idea, but we still get a good number of older ones, but the younger ones, we're having a huge number of the younger ones; and of all kinds, they come well dressed or they come in tee shirts and they come with tattoos and earrings and some of the women have tattoos in the most amazing places, you know, and motor cycle bikers, guys all dressed up to the nines in their tartans and in

suits, you know coats and ties and so on, so its a broad, broad spectrum and I think you've seen that here. It used to be pretty much an old timer, well lets go and find out, but not lately; and then we find these people "Well I'm here because my girlfriend's got this name and I'm told she's Scottish, is this Scottish?" We had a German, 100% German came up to our tent and said "I've got to have some Scottish blood in me, I just love the bagpipes, and can I wear a tartan?" "Well you can wear the national tartan" "Well, isn't there something more...? "Well is there something significant in your life that's Scottish?" and of all things, he says: "Well, my father was a prisoner of war on a farm in Perthshire, during World War II, and I said: "You could, if you wanted to, wear the Perthshire District tartan." This guy lit up like a roman candle. "Where do I find it?" So I said: "Well go down to the vendors tents and look on the clan tartan tie rack, and you may find it, because they have these tartan district ties now." Well he went down and found the Perthshire, and he came back wearing it; he thanked everybody in the tent, nobody could believe it. Well, that is the phenomena of the attraction and they believe, Americans still believe, that the Scots have all the good of everything I believe, all the values that because the way our families are fragmented and so on, the old family values, the old work ethic, or these things are suddenly...the Scots, at least in the United States, they are perceived to have all these wonderful qualities that Sir Walter Scott gave them in the Waverley Novels and people also want to identify with that because our TV, our media destroys everything.

IMH Do you think it's also one of the reasons people are now so anxious to have what perhaps we could call a bolt-on identity to the all-American identity, is in a sense what John was saying back there, that so many other groups are...have gone down this road and its now the European and if you have a European origin, then selecting from the European identities, the Scots is visibly perhaps the most attractive.

RMcW Right, and within the United States, when you start listening...the Scottish, the famous Scots in the United States, its an incredibly overwhelming roster of names of people that have done wonderful things not only on the economic side, but on the national political side and all across the board and its a marvellous,,,that's something I can associate with; it's what the blacks are now doing with their athletics and its all the pomp and pageantry and you can live a Walter Mitty life, totally separate from your humble author's space or your place in the assembly line and you can come to a games like this fully attired, in the grandest outfit and everybody accepts you, so that's part of the magic.

IMH Thank you very much, Bob.

4 C.O.S.C.A. SA1999.38

Recording at the COSCA tent, Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, North Carolina: July 12th 1999

People enquiring about the Scottish origins of their name...

COSCA assistant: P.H.A.L., P.H.A.I.L., what is you spelling?

Enquirer: I think it is P.H.A.U.L.

COSCA OK; it's associated with the name McPhail, a.i.l., alright, McPhail has a number of clans that they are associated with or just their tartans and with McPhail we've got Clan Cameron, Clan Scanton, which is an Irish clan, then we have the McPhail tartan itself, which the gentlemen next to us with the computers, they can find out for you. Clan Mackintosh is another one; so today we know you can go, you know the Mackintosh is an active clan, we also know that Cameron is active. I know that Cameron is here, let's see if Mackintosh...OK yes Mackintosh is here as well, so you'd want to go and check both of those clans out; Clan Cameron is located No 23, and Mackintosh is on X08; X08 is up that way, and 23 is around the corner here, and its maybe a sept, look at the sept list on their stall and see what you can find out.

Enquirer: Thank you so much.

COSCA: You're welcome.

Another query:

COSCA They have a tartan, so you can do this too. Here is the Paisley tartan, its actually quite lovely; let me show you where Paisley is located in Scotland; right there. Here's England, Ireland, here's Glasgow. Is this your last name or is this...

Enquirer: It's my maternal father's, and then maternally Griffin...

COSCA: Griffin, well let's take a look at that. (To IMMH) Will you see if there's Griffith, I'm sure it will be a form of that too. Certainly. I tell you at the end of the day my alphabet gets lousy. We have Griffie, no griffin and no Griffith.

And the Griffie is showing Terry tartan, which is Irish, so what I am going to do, let's head on over to Ireland and see what we can find. Not Scots Irish, so let's go to full Ireland. Griffin, here's Griffin and your Griffin is also Welsh .

Another query:

COSCA: MacMichael? There it is there you go; one at a time; MacMichaels have their own tartan; MacMichael is also associated with Clan Stewart. Now if you want to see the tartan, these people next door could show you the MacMichael tartan, I don't think I have that tartan here. You could also talk with Clan Stewart; now although it is showing a tartan association with Clan MacMichael , that isn't to say that Clan Stewart will take you on as part family, you may not be on their sept list , so Clan Stewart is here, so you can talk to them and they are located right over here, form 6...

Another query:

COSCA: You may want to talk to Clan Donald about your family name, alright?

Enquirer: S.K.I.L.T.O.N.

COSCA: Skilton. Skelton, with an 'e'. Remember there's no spelling rules, alright. Skelton, with an 'e', we're coming up with Ulster tartan. Was your family Protestant or Catholic? Protestant. Your late husband's family, right. The Ulster tartan is very distinctive, you can miss it when you see it, it is... this book is very difficult to use, it has like three different indexes. You see a lot of pipe bands wearing it, OK. Ulster is of course Northern Ireland and the chances are that if you were to trace back your genealogy, you wouldn't get past Ulster, even if your family was Scottish. Very persecuted times, they went that way, they went to Ireland, they stayed there, they burned their tartans, they burned their bibles, and there's no trace. Alright. Next please.

Another enquirer:

COSCA: Let me tell you a little story about the Roxburgh district; are you ready? Anybody tell you the story?

Enquirer: All about thieves...just a little bit, he didn't tell me much...

COSCA: Was it my husband standing here talking to you, that gentleman?. OK he told you that Roxburgh was controlled

by Clan Scott, right, so you need to talk to Clan Scott.

Enquirer: Yeah, I did that.

COSCA: OK, you did, what did they tell you?

Enquirer: They couldn't tell what clan she's actually in...

COSCA: Well it isn't an actual clan; she's associated with the District of Roxburgh, the district; now when she goes to Clan Scott and says, "They sent me over here", its because Clan Scott was the ruling clan of the Roxburgh district right here on the border with England. Clan Scott were reivers. Reivers were a very honourable profession, there were reivers on both sides of the border and they were cattle and horse theives. Now what would happen would be that the Scotts go over to England And they would steal the cattle and the horses and then they would come back to Scotland and they would hide the cows and horses, then the English gentlemen whose cattle had been stolen had three days to buy back his cattle and horses. He was accompanied by a gentleman on horseback with a torch and if in that three days he could find his cattle and horses he could take them back to England, and if he didn't...

5 Elspeth Rowe SA1999.34

This is Ian Maitland Hume recording Elspeth Rowe on February 27th 1999, in Sarasota, Florida, and the subject is the 'Expression of Scottish Identity on the part of Americans through the Material Culture of the Kilt and Tartan'.

IMH So firstly, Elspeth, I wonder whether you could just briefly outline how the chain has worked in terms of you becoming involved in the Scottish American community, if I may put it that way?

ER I would have to start with the fact that attending Highland games at a very young age in the Milwaukee area was my first feeling of my identity with the Scottish American community, plus my own grandparents coming from Scotland into Northern Ireland and eventually travelling into America in the late maybe 1890's - 1895, so we've only been in America for about a hundred years; so it's with that identity that led me to the Irish festivals and Scottish festivals in Milwaukee and eventually branching out to the Mid-West.

IMH Right, and your grandparents came originally from Scotland to Ireland before going to the States?

ER Yes, yes; my paternal grandparents came from the Highlands of Scotland into Northern Ireland and then eventually Northern Ireland into the Chicago area.

IMH Where did they come from in Scotland?

ER In Scotland it would be just south of Inverness in the Loch Moy area, Mackintoshes...

IMH Oh, Mackintoshes. And so it was your parents who used to take you along to the Highland games when you were young?

ER Actually it was myself as a teenager that explored the opportunity; I think there was a generation gap between my grandparents and my parents as far as background or genealogy. I felt that my grandparents wanted to be very American, so therefore squelched the idea of their Scottish or Irish background they wanted to be very American so they really didn't talk about it quite so much. But I had the internal interest to seek that out and that's what took myself to them.

IMH And presumably your parents likewise picked the need to be American from their parents...but what triggered off, if you can cast

your mind back, what triggered off going to the first games that you went to?

ER What really triggered it was my cousins in...outside Belfast had written a book of genealogy from the late 1600's, and they had sent us a copy of it and I believe in just looking at the book and researching back and seeing my name in that particular book of genealogy, I felt that I really needed to find out more about it and what would lead me from historical content of Scotland and Ireland 1600's to what brought me here today and how I could relate to that, how I could grasp it.

IMH So it was establishing the roots.

ER Right, establishing the roots.

IMH And then you became a regular attendee, did you?

ER Regular attendee, as much as I could get.

IMH Signing on with the clan association?

ER Signing on with the Clan Mackintosh and also with Clan MacThomas - had some heritage there - Clan Donald, which is maternal side, also working with several of the childrens' areas, Milwaukee School of Highland Dance working with them and funding; just whatever, and eventually COSCA, which is the Council of Scottish Clans, and you know, helping other people search out their identities too.

IMH Just, you volunteered your help to COSCA, did you?

ER Correct, all volunteer.

IMH And you had presumably, through that association, an extremely good insight as to what drives the interest in their Scottish antecedents amongst people; would you like to talk about your experience a bit, as standing behind the COSCA table, so to speak?

ER In working the COSCA tents, which I have had the pleasure to be able to travel to many Highland games throughout the Mid-West, Minneapolis, Illinois area, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and then down into Atlanta, Georgia, Stone Mountain and down to Grandfather Mountain, which are the two largest in the United States, and helping out at the COSCA tents and working with people and their direction as far as their desire to be Scottish, their want, their need to find their own roots and genealogy is very exciting; I think it's a high because

you can link them, even if it's in a very small way, to what their needs are and their needs are definitely to be Scottish.

IMH And do you think that need is driven at all by the fact that - I'll put it another way; why do you think they want to identify with the Scottish option, if you like, however tenuous their connection may be?

ER I think that they can look at the personality that Scotland and the people lends us as Americans, all the different personality traits, I feel that it is an honourable trait, it has romance to it, I feel that there's excellent family values, I think the clan system is a whole - if they know anything about the clan system and how it was - played a huge role in the history and the making of Scotland; I think that that all is desirable things that people want in their lives, to be able to belong; it is a sense of belonging, and I don't think that you will find that in any other ethnic background.

IMH Do you think that it is also partly to do with the fact that, with this much more mobile community we live in today, that people find perhaps traditional groupings are much less stronger, both family, community and so forth and this idea of clanship therefore is more attractive?

ER Absolutely more attractive; I think it's, I think in America, being a melting pot in having very many different - possibility of having many different backgrounds - I think that they definitely want, they desire, they want that sense of belonging.

IMH Just pursuing this idea of the Scottish connection, you've talked about the qualities, the inherent qualities that people associate with Scottishness, do you think one of the main attractions might be the fact that it's a very visual identity?

ER Very visual; I think it's easy for us to relate to, to the common language , I think it's a very visual idea that we can grasp as far as the tartan and the wearing of the tartan...

IMH It's because you can actually express it?

ER Actually, you put on your tartan and you're wearing your name on your forehead, I mean that's basically you're carrying a sign of who you are and people can recognise that and it's a sense of pride and I think that that's what for me what Scotland was all about; my heritage was a sense of pride and I can live that on a day to day basis in the Scottish community with the wearing of my tartan and the wearing of my family on my sleeve, so to speak.

IMH Right, so in a sense this is one of the easiest ways to make a statement about your identity in the same way that other ethnic groups have their hyphenated identity?

ER Right; I think that I can put on a pair of lederhosen and you would understand that I was a German, but I can put on my tartan and that understanding becomes my family name, which is very specific.

IMH In your experience, do people put on their lederhosen?

ER In my experiences?

IMH In the States, here?

ER Um, yes I think in going to different ethnic festivals, I think they do - the performers will - but not the people in attendance.

IMH And is that the difference between the Scottish community and other national groupings?

ER I think so; in attending a lot of different festivals, I think the performers will wear the national costumes and things and the people who are attending may wear a bit or piece, or pin, where, when you go to a Scottish Highland games unlike any other festival - even the Irish, we wear it all, we have it all.

IMH That is the essential difference.

ER Right.

IMH Do you think that younger people are as interested as you obviously were, or is it more people who are settled in their identity, as an American identity, a little more mature who then start exploring these things? What is your experience of people coming to your tent?

ER I'm finding that the, I would say people in their thirties and forties are definitely interested in the clan system, in their identity and following their name within that system. I think the younger people, thirty and younger, are bringing more of a Celtic flavour to the festivals; I think they are experiencing the wonderment of the arts, the music, the dance, the bagpiping, the Celtic rock portion of it. I think they'll grow into - they definitely want to wear their kilts, they definitely want to be a part of a family, but they are not as interested in the politics of the clans - the clans right now, the systems of it, or the business end of being at a Highland games and running a clan.

IMH Just the enjoyment?

ER Right. They're there to celebrate it, which is good for us, because us in our thirties and forties and on up, we need to have the younger people to teach us how to celebrate the history and things like that.

IMH And one final question; do you think when people want to wear the tartan and they're told that, in fact they haven't any specific association through name, or maternal or paternal connections, that they are happy just to wear any tartan - that they are not too disappointed if they can't find a specific tartan associated with their name?

ER Could you ask me that question again?

IMH There's a lot of emphasis put on: 'Am I entitled to wear the tartan if my name is Smith, show me the Smith tartan', but if there isn't a Smith tartan and all the advice you can offer is: 'Well there is a tartan associated with a district that your forebears may have come from, or there's the Jacobite tartan or the Caledonian, or whatever your interests may be', do you think people are happy with that rather more general solution?

ER I think they are, I think they are and that's what has developed those specific tartans and I think back of, you know, my knowledge of historical perspective, that you didn't necessarily carry the name of the chief to wear the tartan; you were either a tenant , or you were there for his protection, or you married in, so you may not have carried the name but the tartan was theirs, or there was even a specific weaver that they had, or two specific weavers that were craftspeople that created the tartan.

IMH Tartan of course, in the days of the clan system, weren't those that we'd recognise today, it was more a domestic association with certain areas.

ER In similar weave that that particular...and I think that that somehow that tartans were not really developed until the 1800's, after proscription?

IMH Yes, they really started being associated with name , as you say, from really great visit of King George to Edinburgh...

ER I think the enthusiasm that I feel with people who want to be connected to form of heritage or historical perspective, somehow they want to be connected to Scotland and they may have just a small ounce of Scottish blood in them, or they can trace something in a

district, for a district tartan, that creates celebration in their own way and their enthusiasm and that's what keeps it alive in America. I think a lot of it in America is a celebration of Scotland, not necessarily as a genealogy but as a celebration of Scotland.

IMH Lovely, thank you very much.

6. William Johnston **SA1998.5**

March 26th 1998, in Edinburgh, Ian Maitland Hume interviewing Bill Johnston, President of the International Association of Tartan Studies.

IMH Bill, the title that you hold is a wide-ranging title, perhaps you could start off by explaining briefly what the International Association's objective is.

WJ Right, I would have to preface an answer to that, by saying that I am now eighty two years of age and I was interested in Scottish tartan since I was in college days; that's a long ways back, but I was one of the early members of the Scottish Tartans Society, which was founded by Captain Stewart Davidson, I don't know it'a gotten on to be thirty years, thirty five years ago now, and some years back we formed a Tartans Society members association in the United States and I was instrumental in the forming of that and became the first president of it. Well then there came a time when the Tartan Society and ourselves did not get along too well and there came a parting of the ways and our people in America said; 'Well we still want to continue with what we are doing, so we'll form a new association and the new association that we formed at that time - golly, it's been ten years ago now - was the Tartan Educational & Cultural Association (TECA) incorporated in America as an American body. Well we used that name for several years, but our Scottish associates - and we had many over here and many of the scholars over here were becoming disenchanted with the Society and leaving the Society and coming with us - and they said that name doesn't mean much over here - Tartan Education & Cultural Association - so we then began to use the name International Association of Tartan Studies, which was on the prompting of our Scottish colleagues over here, and so that's what we use today, although our corporate title is still TECA inc, so I have been the president of that group since we founded it about ten years ago.

IMH It seems that generally there is a continual growth in interest in the whole matter of tartan and not only the number of people who wish to identify with existing tartans, but in people who, if they cannot satisfy themselves in that direction, are interested in having their own tartans created for them. Where do you put the upsurge in interest? Has it been a long-standing thing?

WJ Well that's hard to answer; it's often said that a Scot does not know that he's a Scot until he leaves Scotland and in

America the Scottish people are proud of Scottish heritage and so in America there is far greater interest in Scottish heritage, Scottish history and so forth, than we find right here. On the other hand, I have noticed a growing interest in Scotland and in its history - I just can't account how it comes about, but I have noticed it occurring.

IMH Do you think that the interest in tartans, perhaps, has been specifically running in parallel with the growth in interest in highland games and similar events?

WJ Right, I have to confess, too, that I don't think I have ever attended a Highland games in Scotland; many, many, many in America, but in my many visits to Scotland I've been at the right place at the right time, so I don't know - well I was to one gathering down on the Borders about five years ago and i thought there wasn't quite the same interest in Scottish heritage there as we see regularly in America at our games - may be I missed some of it, but nevertheless I think there has been growing interest, but I don't know enough about it because I haven't attended your games.

IMH I think you're right there and i think the emphasis is very much on the States side and this has been, in so far as I can see it, something that has begun to accelerate in the last twenty odd years to greater degree perhaps, than formerly. Can you think of any reason why people should be more interested now, let us say, in their Scottish identity than perhaps they were thirty or forty years ago, because I think we are all aware of this growth of interest and why should people be looking for a greater link, particularly as many people are yet another generation remote?

WJ I don't think I have an answer to that question as to why. Naturally everybody should take pride in their heritage and even in America we take pride in our American history, bit it's not taught in the schools any more like it used to be in America, and may be in Scotland here they are teaching more in schools than they used to.

IMH Well they are here, yes, because interest in Scottish history as opposed to British history is increasing...

WJ The other thing I've noticed here too, is the increasing use of Scottish dress in weddings, so the dress is up for hire and people will hire the dress for a wedding and they're taking that much interest in it and that's growing.

IMH I think what has happened in Scotland, and I did quite a lot of work on this a year or two back looking at the contemporary

wearing of the kilt, and it has moved from being a Highland garment to a national garment and as it's moved from one to the other, it tends to be worn much less informally than it used to be - though still is sometimes in the Highlands - and it has become more associated with formal occasions,,so there is a subtle change, though there is still this difference and I wondered...it would be unusual for people of Scots origin in the States to get married in a kilt?

WJ Yeah, unusual, though it does happen, but it's not a big thing even amongst the Scottish American community; while they may have a lot of activity in the Scottish American community, when it comes to a wedding, they are not necessarily headed right directly for Scottish formalities. Some of them do, but not as many as you might expect

IMH So when in the States do people usually wear the kilt, if they do wear the kilt, in your experience?

WJ Going to the Scottish games, of which there are many in the States and some people go to a number of different games and so they will wear Scottish dress and take this great interest in Scottish heritage at the time of the games. Now then there are Scottish country dancers who will wear the kilt and so forth while dancing and I see many of them who will come in street clothes to the dance, carrying their kilt hidden and when they get there, go to the gents and change to a kilt for the dancing. There is that wearer, and then many of us are members of societies and associations, St Andrews societies, Caledonian societies, and will them for those occasions; there are very few who will wear them naturally on the street day in, day out; some do, but not many.

IMH When you entertain enquiries at highland games, do you find that, on the whole, people are just establishing a link with some tartan, as long as there is a tartan.

WJ Well, yes, that's interesting because at the highland games we operate in a tent , or a stall what-have-you that is provided to us by the games and the people come up and ask us questions about their heritage and one of the hardest things we have to impress on people is, they go up and say: 'My name is so-and-so, or my grandmother's name was so-and-so' so they know it's a Scottish name and they think therefore there is a clan of that name and therefore there is a tartan of that name. So we have to dispel that first of all and then we do have references where we can tie in a name to some other clan that does recognise that name and family, and my! Are the people happy to learn such and 'Oh can you show me that tartan?' which we do. Others we have to say 'Yes, you have a Scottish name, but we

don't have a clan affiliation, so we find that name in prevalence in such-and-such area, and if you don't have any other knowledge or reason, may be that's a suggested tartan you might like to wear, or if you know where your granddaddy came from, that district tartan or the clan that was dominant in that area might be appropriate.' But at any rate they are happy to get that kind of information.

IMH What about the folk who want to have their own tartan?

WJ This usually occurs amongst people who have been associated with their heritage for some time; they're not new found people, but they've been associated some time and they say 'All these other families have a tartan, why don't we?' And so somebody sets about saying 'I will design one', or they will come to us and ask us to design one for them, that's done.

IMH And you have a panel of designers?

WJ We have a core group in our International Association of Tartan Studies, known as the Guild of Scholars, about a dozen in number, but it includes almost half the group in America and half the group located here in Scotland and one other in Canada and this group of Scholars are the ones who are the core group that we consider we are supporting.

IMH And when it comes to registering designs, you maintain a central register, as I understand it, is that correct?

WJ All right, we need a lot of qualifications to that. For many years the Scottish Tartans Society that I mentioned earlier, has been saying: 'We will register your tartan.' OK, all they do is write it down, what else can they do but write it down? Now they would write it down anyway having just found a reference to something and so they were doing that and they would issue a certificate saying: Scottish Tartans Society, and under that it says: inaugurated such-and-such a date by, big letters, The Lord Lyon etc. etc. etc. and such-and-such a tartan. And so people get the certificate and say: 'Oh, my tartan has been registered with the Lord Lyon.' Now that is one of the greatest myths around, because the Lord Lyon wants nothing to do with it and there are only about seventy tartans recorded by the Lord Lyon in his Register and a dozen or more of those are Canadian Provinces. Now he says he doesn't want anything to do with it; our colleagues over here, our scholars existing in Scotland, say the word 'register' is not a proper word to use, because in our terminology 'register' means there is an official body, legally recognised, to do this registering. There is no such legal body, not even the Scottish Tartans Society, or the Lord Lyon, so the only proper word to say is

'recorded' and so that's what we say we do now, and we do a nominal , ordinary, everyday recording which we would do anyway, or we give you what we call a full recording, with a certificate and what-not, and that satisfies their ego, but there is no official registering that's recognised legally, except that which may be done by the Lord Lyon and he has said: 'I have no interest in doing this, unless it's requested by a chief, or unless a governmental body in the States will officially recognise a tartan, in that case I would record it.'

IMH So that's quite specific and clarifies that. Then moving on to the Scottish Tartans Authority, which is, as I understand it, includes many of the folk who were formerly involved in the Society, the objectives of that are broadly similar to your States-side Authority, is that right?

WJ That's right. Yes, I guess I should have followed through on your previous question by saying that until a year ago, we were doing the recording in the United States under the name of the International Association of Tartan Studies. All right, about two years ago, some of the other people who had become disassociated and disillusioned with the heading of the Scottish Tartans Society pulled out from it and said: 'Will you help us form a new organisation?' And we said: 'Yes glad to.' So we helped and as a result the Scottish Tartans Authority was formed and had its initial AGM two years ago in January. Now then, in the past year that body has now been taking over the recording of tartans, so we have discontinued our activity and anybody who comes to us, we act on their behalf in communicating with the Tartans Authority here, so it's being done here, now.

IMH When you get people who are anxious to establish links with this, that or the other family or clan, potentially that could be incredibly time-consuming; are there people who you pass them on to, or perhaps you do...?

WJ Yes and no; very often we'll refer them to the clan society in the United States and there are many of those existing in the United States whereas they don't exist here, but there are many in the United States and we can refer them there. What they get from there is unbeknownst to us. We cannot undertake a lot of research in clan histories and so forth. We take the attitude that if you look it up in the books that are now published and they talk about the 13th duke of so-and-so, and the 12th earl of what-have-you, people think ; 'These are my ancestors.' which of course is far, far from the case, but that's what people think, so we don't try to give them that kind of information as it misleads them. However we are now, in the Scottish Tartans Authority here, planning - in fact I have a meeting

coming up this Saturday – whereby we will be providing computerised information on not only tartan, but clan history associated with it. Now you can also go to some of the merchants in Scotland here - I'll name two: Edinburgh Woollen Mill, who have outlets all over Scotland, and Geoffrey (Tailor) is another one - they have computerised programmes, whereby they will give you a print out of a tartan, with a history to go with it, and sell that to you. How good those histories are, I don't know. One of our own scholars, shall I mention his name? - Tony Murray, has done a great deal of work on Scottish clan history and has it all computerised and works with another outfit known as 'Braemar', can't give you the full address, who then sell what they purchased from him - his copyright on clan histories - so he is now willing to provide us with his copyright material for us to use and we're working on how that should be put into use.

IMH Yes, as you say, there are some rather dubious sheets of information in circulation.

WJ So we will try to make it a little more appropriate information which doesn't mislead people.

IMH One of the biggest minefields, of course, is the whole business of septs and I don't know, but the more one looks into that, the more one can see that it's not quite as straightforward as it appears.

WJ I think that that was an invention. Well, let's just say first the tartans as we know them today were an invention of the late 1700's in an

effort to sell cloth and when Victoria came along and made things even more popular, the merchants decided well if we develop some sept lists, we can sell more cloth, and I think that's where a lot of them got organised.

IMH Do you see - it always fascinates me to have folk who have a choice of heritage, if you like, from their forbears - it could be Scots, it could be Ukrainian, it could be Italian or what-have-you - do you see folk participating in more than one stream, are you aware of people subscribing readily to their Scots heritage, but also, let us say, to their Ukrainian heritage?

WJ No, I can't say that I see that at all; maybe a few who have not only Scottish heritage - and that may, or may not, be Ulster Scots heritage and also an Irish heritage and so therefore some may be interested in their Irish heritage as well as their Scots, but related to other ethnic groups, Italian, Ukrainian, Russian, whatever, I don't see

it.

IMH You don't see it, they go for the Scots. Can you think of why – it seems to me that if the Scots is an option, it is usually the one that wins - do you think tartan has anything to do with it?

WJ I think it has a lot to do with it; tartan and the Scottish dress - there's something a little more glamorous about having a Scottish heritage than, we'll say, having an Italian heritage.

IMH Right, so people will opt for that. So perhaps the tartan comes first and that leads in to the deeper stuff?

WJ It certainly would.

IMH So in that, it's very significant?

WJ Right, right. Of course that's why tartan is one of Scotland's greatest exports.

IMH Do you have any views on - going a little deeper into tartan – why tartan of itself should be so attractive? Do you think it's something to do with the pattern, the actual pattern of squares, that there is something fundamental about it?

WJ Right, I'll answer that by saying I personally - and I think many of my colleagues too - regard tartan as an art form, regardless of the fact that it may be a Campbell or a Macintosh or what-have-you; that it's pattern arrangement, it's colours, are an art form and the Celts back into history had a great interest in coloured art forms and textiles were their only, their basic means of expression and so it became an art form for the Scots, the Highlanders, the Celts; even the Romans werem impressed that these Celtic peoples liked coloured clothing - of course the Romans didn't have that - and the Romans also recorded they had striped clothing and the Romans didn't have a word for chequered, so I'm told in language studies, so the word they had is translated as striped, and then the Romans were also impressed with the fact that these Celtic peoples wore trousers, which was new to them. Those were the things, and particularly the art form and colour.

IMH It's interesting also that in Southern India the tartan pattern is significant and has been for a very long time; I don't know whether there is a link between the two.

WJ Well I've heard it said, I don't know because I've never studied it, I've heard it said that the Indians based their interest

on the British having come there, bringing their tartan and the Indians then started using some of this idea into their own chequered patterns. They may have had some in advance, but what I'm told, they improved upon it.

IMH That would be interesting. Do you see a continued growth in the interest in tartan?

WJ Yes, I think so, although I don't know what I have to base that, but I feel the impetus continuing and on that basis I think it will continue further.

IMH Do you see part of the reason perhaps being that in the States, people are looking for more specific identities now, than the all-American, perhaps?

WJ Oh yes, they look for an identity in tartan, but on the other hand, it's funny some people will come up and we'll show them the tartan that we've been telling them about is theirs and: 'Oh, that's awful, I don't want that' and others will come up and will look at two or three tartans that may apply to a given name, even different colour shades which they think are different tartans and ' Oh, I like that one, I don't like that at all', so the appeal is how the colour and the check appeals to them.

IMH It's like a gentleman of this city who had an official position and when he went abroad on official functions he took six kilts with him normally and he says: 'I have my red one for the evening and my green one for the morning and...' They were not specific to his name at all, but very happy to mix and match.

WJ Well some people do that, in fact we tell people: 'Wear whatever you like, there are no rules.' But just the other day, I came upon a text which I picked up here in Scotland a year or two ago, being given out to the public, I think by one of the railways, I'm not sure, a little booklet guide to Edinburgh and a half page paragraph in there there were strict rules about the wearing of tartan and unless you had the surname, the only thing you were allowed to wear was Caledonian and Hunting Stewart and Black Watch.

IMH There is an awful lot of mis-information and of course the people you mentioned earlier, the people who hire the kilts - and I've interviewed quite a few of those a couple of years ago - they are quite honest and they admit that they can only carry a stock of thirty or forty tartans, so they will somehow or other find a link, make excuses for a specific tartan not being available, the rules can be bent exceptionally they will say. And then of course there are those who

are purists and go for the ancient colours...

WJ I gave a lecture one day and said you can wear any tartan you want and some gent then in the question and answer period got up and said: 'You cannot wear the tartan of my name and unless you carry my name' and he was very, very indignant and argumentative about it, so there are those people...

IMH Fierce possessive pride, which is understandable.

WJ To a degree, to a degree.

IMH But on the other end you get more and more corporations and businesses coming out with their tartan.

WJ I'm an active - well not so much at my age as I used to be - an active Scottish country dancer and there are Chinese and Italians and Black folk in Scottish country dancing all wearing tartan.

IMH I think that's a good resume of the field and look forward to your continued interest.

WJ Some Australian had written 'There are over seven hundred tartans registered in the Lord Lyon's Office' There it is, in print, you see.

IMH I think you were saying in Sarasota that you had got 4000 tartans recorded?

WJ Right; we've got 4000 entries in our computer here; now some of, I have to admit, are unidentified. This one, for example, I picked up when I was over here a couple of years ago and I put it in the record just saying unidentified upholstery, found in the Bruntisfield Hotel. Now the reason for that is, today people will come to us and say: 'Here's a piece of tartan I've found in my grandmother's trunk in the attic, what is it?'. And we're asked to identify it - sometimes we can sometimes we can't even identify it, so we try to put in everything we can find, so in fifty or a hundred years from now somebody with the same question we may be able to answer it.

IMH So does your record include, for example, or the ancient Wilson patterns?

WJ Oh yes. Yes I know we still have more to be put in, we're still working putting new ones in, working at it all the time and we know we have many of the old Wilson patterns in, but we don't

have them all; we know they're there, it's a question of getting the time to get to work on it.

IMH So you have the ones in the National Museum, the Royal Museum, because they've got a lot of the Wilson pattern books, the Royal Museum of Scotland, Hugh Cheape?

WJ Oh yes, in the museum here; Peter Macdonald, you know Peter, he has researched many of those and he's put out a little book on the key patterns 1819, right, and we know that he has some in the book that we haven't got here yet. He has, as one of our scholars, our programme and he may have it in his computer but we haven't gotten it in ours yet.

IMH So you have a specific programme which enables you to record?

WJ We have a specific programme which I developed, not that I'm a computer expert, far, far from it, but I go to a computer man and say this is what I want to be able to do and my computer man did it, and now three others of our scholars have this programme in addition to the one we keep at the headquarters, including Peter Macdonald andmthey say this is the programme that we scholars need and want and are using.

IMH And so if you take the Bruntisfield tartan, for example, when you try to match it, will the computer match it on the basis of dominant colour.

WJ We have a means of narrowing down the field, which was a thing invented by D.C. Stewart, called a slog, so we can take the slog and the computer works through the slogs, narrow down the field, may be find one, may be half a dozen that fit that slog (slog is a means of sequencing the colours from the one pivot and from the other pivot and this develops a means of cross-referencing) and the computer will sort these out. In America the interest in tartan is continuing and in the Senate of the United States last year, they passed a resolution that Tartan Day would be on April 6. This year, they have now passed a resolution in the Senate of the United States, that henceforth each year April 6 will be Tartan Day in America and this was put forth by the majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Trent Lott , who is a Buchanan and wears his Buchanan tartan. And so even some of our Governors of States, including my own in Pennsylvania, have issued Procalamations in honour of our Scottish heritage existing in this State, we will observe April 6 as Tartan Day.

IMH So that increases the profile and adds to what we were

all talking about in Sarasota.

7. Hector Munro of Foulis SA1997.13

Transcript of recording at Foulis Mains, Evanton, of November 21st 1997 with Hector Munro of Foulis and Ian Maitland Hume.

IMH So just by way of introduction, Hector, I've been outlining the concepts which I am trying to get to the bottom of -the relationship between the visible expression of identity, particularly the wearing and the use of tartan- possibly more the wearing of it-in these times and to try and compare the activities that Clan Monro is presently engaged in, against the background of perhaps how the whole idea of clan associations developed in the first place, in so far as it has struck you both in the States and elsewhere, because ultimately I'm interested in trying to pinpoint what is the real driving force behind the present strong interest that people outwith Scotland seem to express in demonstrating their association with Scotland. So if you would just like to, sort of, give me some of your thoughts.

HM Well if we turn to the idea of the Clan Centre as such, which came about in 1990, I think, when it was first mooted, and it really came initially from our own Scottish Clan Council, who felt that the room we had set aside in the castle, and have had for probably the last twenty years, whereas it was meant to be a tribute to the Munros who came and visited from overseas, we felt more and more, it was really rather an amateur exhibition and I think it was also becoming very obvious that more and more people were making the effort to come to Scotland, so we looked at the possibility of laying on something more professional; we launched an appeal in 1990/91 to all our signed up Clan Association members worldwide.

IMH How many?

HM I think probably signed up - 1800 - which isn't a big number; I mean we're a relatively small clan - I mean even here in Scotland, there's not an awful lot of people called Munro compared with MacDonald or Mackenzie or Ross; but any way we sent out the appeal and really what I suppose were very surprised and pleased initially - we put out an appeal for £80,000- and within nine months we had actually raised that, which was fairly remarkable. So having got that initial fundraising done, approximately 50% was raised in the States and 50% elsewhere in the world, we then began to look into what we were actually trying to achieve and initially we thought of the Castle and then we decided no, we had probably a better story to tell than something that would only be seen by Munros. We moved

it up with an idea of converting the Stables and Steading behind the Castle, at Foulis Mains here, and then at it sort of metamorphosed and began to grow bigger, I began to really worry that, if we were trying to attract 10,000 people it was going to interfere with our private lives and the last thing we wanted was really for the...for our own farming and private lives to be interfered with. And then we identified another site right down on the A9, with a wonderful old historic 18th Century building, which was originally the Rent House - the equivalent of an English tithe barn for Foulis Estate, and it was lying empty and there was a dis-used small restaurant down there# and we seemed to think that the two tied in very well together. So it then grew even more and obviously this is why it has taken until really 1997/98 to get the thing off the ground. And the idea of the content of the exhibition also changed in that we realised that we couldn't just have purely Munro stuff, because we would appeal to the wider public; so what we decided to do was to try and explain the continuity of landholding and the continuity of the clan, by using Munro examples, because they could be actually replicated anywhere over the Highlands and probably even in the rest of Scotland. So by widening it out in that way we felt that we could appeal to a much wider audience, which we would need in order to justify the expenditure. Initially we realised we needed more finance than we could possibly put up and we applied to a number of grant-aiding bodies, including our local enterprise company, who immediately backed us - they were very keen on the whole idea and came in with, I think, it was £150,000 straight away. We then went to Scottish Natural Heritage, which, because the site is just on an SSSI, we were also going to feature a bit of the natural heritage of the area, as well as the historical heritage and they were enthusiastic to begin with and backed us with a feasibility study, as did Ross & Cromarty District Council. But to cut a long story short, we went through quite a few hiccups, in that the District Council had also got their own plans for a Visitors Centre, as such, just across on the Black Isle, which was slightly, you know, there was no way room for two visitors centres. That held us back, while that was sort of invest- igated and sorted out and then, with the demise of the District Council, the finance which they had put forward, it was relatively small but it was £13,000, disappeared and at the same time the Highland Council, which was the - sorry the Highland Regional Council - which was the original Council, they had offered us £67,000 to back a European bid to the ERDF fund and we put in our bid to the European Regional Development Fund under the sort of tourism ticket and were promptly turned down flat and at the time Scottish Natural Heritage said that they had no money, so in one fell swoop our main funding bodies such as the Highland Regional Council disappeared and as it happened, just at that time, we'd put in for a top-up budget, top-up grant, to the Heritage Lottery Fund. Now I rang them up and said

'I'm terribly sorry, but our main application to the ERDF has failed, what do we do - we'll have to withdraw from you', to which they answered 'No, we can actually fund up to 75% of your costs and we like your idea and we will take on the full application'. So we then put in our full application to them and in October 1997, we were given a grant of £810,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund, which was absolutely amazing. So we then had a project of £1.25 million down at Foulis Ferry and that is where we're at just now; we've had a few hiccups along the way since then, but it actually looks as if it may end up at £1.4 million, but the Lottery Fund will know next week whether they are going to pick up the extra cash. But its going to be- whereas we possibly thought originally of it as being rather a dry museum type of exhibition - it's now going to be multi-media exhibition, with really using modern technology to get across the concept of first of all the historic building itself and why does it exist. Well it exists because in those days, when it was built in about 1740, the clan system was still actually intact and most of the tenants on Foulis were tacksmen and sub-tenants and owed allegiance as such to the Chief; so we explain that story, that they paid their rent in kind - it was just at the time of the agricultural improvements, when for the first time really in history, there was an exportable surplus in the Highlands, and so the building was situated down on the shore, because transport obviously was far easier by sea than elsewhere and, having established that fact, we can then look back at what shaped the landscape, because there are in this particular area of the Highlands - you have a very distinct landscape - where you've got the strip of agricultural land along the seabord and then stretching back into the mountains, where you've got a much more pastoral system and eventually up into the high hills. We want to explain how the pastoral system gave way to a much more formal farming system, and that in a way fits in quite nicely with the demise of the clan system, whereas people would, you know, have been much more reliant on the pastoral economy of the past. So

IMH Just there as a matter of interest..just for my own interest, did the tacks tend to embrace the low ground as well as the high ground - the major tacksmen?

HM Yes, I would think that the major tacksmen would have been occupying the low ground on the whole, but it went back into the hills and you had the clachans and you probably had certainly up Strath Sgiach, which is the strath behind here, they would have been much smaller holdings probably, you know, cottars and people living up there. So that then was the second element, which was sort of land and clan and how the whole system held together, and the third element we want to develop is really, I suppose, after Culloden - the dispersal of the clan worldwide and how - fortunately for the Munros , we never actually had to clear people from here, I think

probably because it's a relatively fertile piece of ground, it's not like..

IMH Natural sheep country?

HM Yes, it wasn't natural sheep country, although up on Ben Wyvis there were sheep runs. We as family never had to clear people, I think partly because we were very slow in developing the estate; in the mid 1800's it still had a mass of small tenants, whereas many of the other estates had already started clearing.

IMH Possibly also because of the continuity of ownership, rather than change in ownership?

HM I think it might have been and we weren't absentee lairds and there was a time when I think one laird did spend time in London, but we were very much more hands on and I think probably because we were small; we couldn't afford to go off and live the good life or whatever they did and just at that time, in the mid-1800's, disaster struck in a major family row, where a distant cousin succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of one line of the family dying out - the main line died out - and it reverted to back to a distant cousin and there had been a very nasty court case over that particular succession and they had actually spent so much money on litigation that, when they did succeed, they had to sell off most of the estate, so I think that saved the clearances a such so that they ended up with a core of the arable ground. So that's the side of the exhibition and what I can actually do, Ian, is supply you with..I can't remember if I sent you...

IMH You sent me an outline which didn't seem to be...not totally reflecting the latest thinking perhaps.

HM Probably not, well I'll see if I can find an up-to-date one on it, but it's been quite difficult because we have had to try and keep so many people happy; we've got to look at the populist interest in the exhibition, also bearing in mind that a lot of money is coming from the States.

IMH Specifically Munro?

HM Yes, and the balancing act has been quite difficult and I don't know whether we'll succeed anyway, but time will tell. But that brings us back, I suppose, on to the raising of money in the States and the fact that the Americans have said to us, unofficially, that if we were to do something specifically Munro and not necessarily down in the public eye, there is major money across in the Statest that could be put towards that; I mean already they're thinking that they are not going to be satisfied entirely with what we're...more detailed, more

specifically the Munro thing.

IMH A Munro room?

HM Yes, that sort of thing, although we are having that element in the Clan Centre, down at Foulis Ferry there, in that we've set aside a library and research room on the second floor, which we want to concentrate more or less entirely on local history; maybe widen it out a wee bit to the general history of the Highlands, but try and make it specifically to this area, to Easter Ross as such, for the clan, and that will be open to people interested in doing research and that's always been our idea and we have one or two quite eminent historians who are members of the Association and we have...

IMH So will people deposit material?

HM That's what we're hoping and in fact it has been promised to us, that it will be deposited there.

IMH D'you still have your own muniments, or?

HM We do; they're all down in the Scottish Records Office; we've got one or two up here; I don't actually envisage them coming North, no initially I think they're better kept there. You have facsimilies, you know it's reasonably easy..

IMH That's interesting. So you are still wrestling with the problem of satisfying your prime customers?

HM Really that is it, but I think I've explained to them, that in order to lever in this vast sum of money, we've got to compromise a bit and who would have believed that six, seven years ago we were going to end up with a £1.4 million centre, which is in effect owned entirely by a small clan association, because the clan association, through a charitable company, has taken a lease of 99 years on the site and is actually doing all the development itself, so, you know, it's incredible for a small association. Perhaps that brings us on to the Clan Association itself, which was founded in 1937, and really...

IMH One of the earlier ones...

HM I think it was one of the earlier ones; there were some well back beyond that, and it was founded, I think, on the instigation of a local Munro here, when my great grandfather was alive - they talked quite a bit about it, but it just came about on his death. My father succeeded in 1935, I think it was, to the estate and to the Chieftainship - he was quite a young man - he was only twentyfour when he

succeeded his grandfather; he was a regular soldier and I think it sort of went through a period in the doldrums, then with war, when he was captured, it didn't really take off again until probably the late fifties/sixties, when it began to become more active and it rally began to take off when the American branch was formed, I think in 1963 and we then... we always had quite a lot of visitors coming, and I think without sort of blowing one's own trumpet, a lot depends on the attitude of the family themselves. My grandmother was a very, very open, easy person and anyone who came to the door was invited in and given a cup of tea, lunch or whatever, and I think that very friendly open attitude and the fact that the family was still living on this property after 700 years, created the catalyst to take it into America and further afield, to New Zealand, Australia, Canada, France, even Portugal, Holland and because they were always given this friendly welcome, even when they arrived unexpectedly on the doorstep, people went back home with happy memories and the feeling of belonging to the family; so that continued on to a certain extent when my grandmother died in 1973, I think it was, and my parents came to live at the castle and, likewise, there's still that welcoming feeling, but I'm wondering now whether... there was an ulterior motive in thinking of the Clan Centre, in that I was concerned that more and more pressure was coming on the castle and you can deal with, you know, a few hundred visitors a year, coming in dribs and drabs, but particularly now that the days of being a gentleman farmer as such are gone as such... I mean for me, I'm certainly a working farmer... I couldn't see that I would be able to welcome people and pay attention to them and give them time, certainly in my life as a farmer, and I felt that they come from, you know they do come almost on a pilgrimage and if we weren't actually providing them with what they wanted, we had to look at an alternative and the idea of a Clan Centre really, I felt, was one way of doing that, because it meant that they wouldn't go away feeling cheated, or upset, if they couldn't actually meet the Chief.

IMH That always has been one of the key elements... the personal touch, or accessibility.

HM It's the personal thing, I think that's it.

IMH So that poses a problem?

HM It does pose a problem and it will be interesting to see whether people will be satisfied with just going to the Clan Centre and seeing an exhibition about the history of the clan, I just don't know.

IMH Presumably, when they go there... well I don't know... but if there were Munros of any description to welcome them on behalf of

yourself, that's half the battle?

HM Yes that's the sort of thing; yes, I think what we'll end up trying, is to use the Association, the local members of the Association to do that as sort of Friends of the Clan as such and also, I mean, we won't entirely stop them coming to the castle, but it may have to be limited to certain days in the week, rather than just at the moment they turn up. I'm lucky that my mother is very good and enjoys meeting lots of people and at the moment we say twenty four hours notice, but actually a lot of them just turn up; but yes, I think that you know more and more I realise how much the personal touch actually counts and I think that's why the Clan Munro has succeeded so well in pervading the whole association with a feeling of family and belonging. I honestly don't know whether that can be achieved with a larger clan; the fact that I've probably - if I don't know most of the members by name, I know them at least by sight - the whole association world-wide.

IMH Presumably because of the relatively contained geographical area, the vast majority of those people can actually trace, within reason, which particular family they come from?

HM Yes, that of course is a very important element of the Clan Association, it's one of the major the major things they want, is to trace their genealogy. It's actually a big nightmare for us because the amount that we can immediately come up with a family tree for them, well getting it across to them that there just aren't records that can do that- that is very difficult and it is something that we actually don't take on, I mean we just can't tie ourselves up in that side of it.

IMH Don't they tend on the States-side to have been better at it?

HM Yes, I think they are.

IMM I know there is actually a Home Assocciation in the States; there isn't one here, but there is one there and they have enormous genealogical records, all computerised.

HM Well funnily enough, I saw in a newspaper article that New Register House is trying to go onto the internet with all their records, so again that will help the folk in the States; but thinking of that and possibly comparing all the different nationalities, the ones who are keenest on the whole thing are obviously are the Americans and it is very noticeable the difference between the two North American countries, Canada and the United States. We do have a small Association in Canada, but it struggles the whole time; it's partly, I think, due to...there's a very strong provincial rivalry between the

Canadian provinces; Nova Scotia does't speak with Ontario, because they think Ontario has all the money and Ontario doesn't speak with Quebec because of the French Question and then Alberta has all the oil...it's reflected in the Association.

IMH Your brother's in Nova Scotia...

HM Yes, he's in Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotian branch of the Clan has virtually died out and I asked him last time he was over, whether he thought it could be recussitated, because there's actually some money in the kitty sitting there and having discussed it with a few Munros in Nova Scotia, he didn't think it was possible; again that may be because, a bit like ourselves, they're steeped in Celtic culture - they haven't lost their Celtic culture in Nova Scotia and likewise here you'll find very few local Munros play an active part in the Association; we're always struggling to get a council together. We rely on a body of ten very keen Scots to virtually run the Association...

IMH Even to the extent of not bothering to join?

HM Yes, even then. I mean we've got, I don't know, speaking off the top of my head, may be two hundred Scottish members, but they're very inactive, although having said that, there's definitely a growing interest, I think partly kick started by the growing interest from the States.

IMH That's interesting because it really reflects part of the concern...

HM Yes, I think it is being semi driven from abroad, yes from the overseas interest.

IMH I am particularly interested in what you say about Nova Scotia, because one of the reasons is the fundamental maintenance of so much of the tradition that is apparent there.

HM Well even in Ontario, my wife has an uncle who lives in Canada, and he actually lived in an area called Glengarry County, in Ontario, where a lot of Munros settled - they were United Empire Loyalists who came up from the States from North Carolina and were given land grants up there and there are still quite a few Munros in that area. Again, because there are so many MacDonalds and Rosses and Mackenzies, everyone in that area of Scottish descent, albeit two or three hundred years ago, they don't appear to have the need to become members of an Association, in the same as those in the States. But it's also noticeable that the Americans don't seem to have this inter-provincial rivalry as much between individual states as the

Canadians do, and there's no doubt too, that finance comes into it. The Americans are a lot better off than the Canadians; they are prepared to travel and each year, certainly in our Association, they have a gathering in a different state and it could be in Washington State one year in the Far West and then in New York State the next, but they all go to it, I think because they are affluent enough to afford it. So that keeps the whole thing going, but my own personal opinion is that it is bred out of a little bit of insecurity in the States; life is so fast over there, it's very difficult to stand out from the crowd in America. There is a need to belong to something, and I think maybe the fact that you can show that you're different matters to them and the fact that they belong to a clan association and can wear a particular tartan, can say that they are descended from an area in Scotland, matters.

IMH I mean this is a relatively recent thing, because...what were their concerns prior to this need, do you think?

HM I suspect it is a breakdown of the small community and breakdown of the family unit within society; I think that it's been very noticeable since, I s'pose, the sixties when they began to become serious about looking at their roots and everything else. You'd always had individuals who were aware of their connections with Scotland, but I think it has definitely speeded up since the sixties.

HM Do they...I noticed in one of the videos that when they...there are two or three folk wearing their kilts...when they come, do they express

This is a continuation of the interview at Foulis on November 21st.....Tape No. 2

HM I've just found...that was a gathering we had I think, well, it must be 26 or 27 years ago, and you'll see there's one or two American...yes you tended to get the tartan ties being worn...the thing is I'm a bit of a stickler for black shoes with a kilt; the Americans would wear anything with the kilt at that time, but...

IMH This was before the white stocking...

HM Yes, there's an American wearing brown shoes and all sorts of things, but yes, thank goodness, again we've...

IMH Is that yourself?

HM Yes that's me...twenty-one and a lot more hair in those days.

IMH Do you think...yes its interesting how it has evolved; do you think because dress is evolving, what we find today difficult to accommodate, and I'm just talking about the white stockings for example tomorrow could well be the norm.

HM I sincerely hope not; I think that particular thing has been propagated by the hire companies and nobody else; I don't think it was an American thing - it's entirely due to Mr. Chisholm in Inverness and all these people who have brought it about and I think our only mechanism is example; we have got to continue wearing the kilt as we see it correctly and that will wipe that particular thing out eventually; it's just a fashion and a fad, but the one element I feel about Highland dress that's got to come in more and I'm sure you will have noticed it in the video of my own son, who was there wearing a waistcoat and an open shirt. Now we've got to relax and become less formal in the wearing of the kilt; it's gone through a sort of formal phase and now I think people want to be able to wear it much more casually with a jersey or an open-necked shirt.

IMH Do you favour that?

HM Yes I'm all for that, because I want to see the kilt worn and, I mean it's like I no longer go around wearing a plaid - that has changed - I wear the philabeg and whereas a hundred years ago I would have worn the full kit, so it does metamorphose and I think that as long as we're in the driving seat and hopefully not Mr. Chisholm and his white socks, I think it's alright. And again I think we have got to set an example to the Americans, to all the other nationalities, of how the kilt should be worn.

IMH They then diffuse it on a vast scale.

HM Yes; I mean we've got a wonderful chap who turns up and wears a sort of petticoat underneath his kilt; I haven't managed to change him from doing that, but it's quite obvious because the petticoat hangs down below the kilt. But definitely we've noticed a discernable interest in getting things right, as the Scots would do, and not just American or whatever, which is good.

IMH I must admit that I was absolutely horrified at some of the things I saw at the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games; there seems to be an outburst of sporranitis!

HM Yes, it's taste really and I think as long as we are not influenced from across there; a bit like the kirkin o' the tartan; I' afraid I don't like to see that coming in as a norm in Scotland, because it's not Scottish and I'm sorry to hear it was being done down in the

Borders.

IMH Well I was amazed.

HM We've certainly stuck out against it; they've tried to push it onto us when they come over here, but we've said no, not for us.

IMH Just as a little aside on that, one of my colleagues last year, who was born and bred in Paisley and the very last thing he said that he would ever be seen dead in was a kilt, had absolutely no time for the tartan, typically an understandable attitude given the way he sees life. So I said 'let's go along and watch the kirkin o' the tartan because I think you will be quite interested to see it' and he said afterwards that really he was extremely moved by it all and he was the last person I would ever have expected to express any sentiment about, but he was extremely moved by it.

HM That's very interesting.

IMH And the sequel to that was his turning up to his graduation wearing a kilt.

HM Well, well, well. Yes, I mean it's certainly an interesting concept; you only have to look at the soccer crowds now; they wear the kilt as an identity, I suppose.

IMH Yes there I think it's specifically tied in with exhibiting Scots identity, and in that sense it's become a national symbol rather than just a Highland one.

HM I mean, certainly in my youth, it was drummed in to me that you didn't wear a kilt outwith the Highland Line and that was...and to this day, unless it's something particularly like a clan gathering in a sort of private area, I wouldn't wear a kilt outside the Highland Line. So I think that's certainly ingrained in me. I don't think my son...

IMH You can certainly go to a ceilidh anywhere, where the lads will all be in kilts.

HM But I think, I mean within reason, if a...if it's tastefully worn, I don't actually mind that.

IMH Do you see, just coming back to your development of the 'Clanland' , do you see there an opportunity to dwell at all on this question of identity; I mean obviously the reference will be to Munro, but I just wonder how one might express this?

HM I think the main way we are going to do it, and I can't remember whether I gave you a script for our video, well that I think is the key to the whole thing, because the story line is a young Glasgow girl, who's always heard her granny speaking about the Munros in the past and how, you know, the clan was strong and you must be proud of being a Munro and has never really taken it in, until one day her granny says to her 'Why don't you just go up and look; your grandfather always wanted to be buried in the home country, although he lived in Glasgow all his days, why don't you go up for yourself?' And so she takes a bus drive up to the Highlands - she's never been here before - and she is gradually struck by this sense of belonging; she goes down to the burial ground and she's struck by the rows of Munros in the burial ground: she's struck by the chiefs have been buried there since 1500 (at Kilchurn). She then visits the castle- prior to that they were buried in the catholic chapel at Ross in the Black Isle - she then comes here and begins to feel continuity and the fact that, you know, here we are - still the same family, called Munro, living in this house where there has been a castle for 600 years. And it goes on and eventually, I think, it's a picture of her realizing that she belongs here, this is where her roots are, where she comes from. And we chose that - it could have been a Canadian or an American or a New Zealander, but we felt that it would be nice to do it in a Scottish idiom - and I think it is still, underneath it all, there is this sense of belonging, because even the local people here, who wouldn't like necessarily to show it, are still quite proud that they are Munros and you get the occasional quip when I meet another Munro in the street, you know, they say sort of 'Wha's like us?' you know and there definitely is this feeling. So that's what we want to put out, that's going to come through very strongly in an audio visual programme of the strength and continuity. How we equate to other clans is going to be slightly more difficult and will depend on budget. I mean ideally I would have liked to have had something there that people could have, maybe, looked up information on their own clan on a computer, or whatever, and gone off with a printout giving them brief details of where their clan territory was and whatever. I don't know whether we are actually going to be able to afford that, but that would be ideally what I would like, so having gone through the Clanland exhibition, they've got the feeling that this is something special, it has something for me, I would be interested in knowing where I came from originally and then they'd could have gone out with a sort of printout.

IMH Do you attempt to address the actual business of name and the development of....

HM Other than, again I'm not entirely sure whether it will come in the detail of the exhibition, but we will have an information on

surnames, because what people again forget is that surnames are relatively modern in invention. The chief used Munro very early on as a name, but he would probably have been known as Foulis rather than by his surname and all the...everybody else would have been by their patronymic. So we'll certainly have an information sheet on that; I'm not quite sure whether the exhibition designer is going to try and fit that in to the exhibition, but we want to address it in some way or other. It's something that's very much needed, more and more, I think, and I think it is just pressure of life; people are feeling much more insecure, they want something, we're moving so fast, they want...

IMH This is something we have been talking about in the States, but I think it's also emerging here.

HM I think it is; it's not something for everybody and it's interesting that the age group where it suddenly hits you at 45-50, you know you're not going to be here for ever, and that's when people really start joining these associations.

IMH Oh, that's interesting...

HM Yes, there's a discernible age and time and time again I've had it said to me by people 'Oh, we usen't to be interested in this at all, but we just want to begin to get things down for our grandchildren' and it's a bit like membership of the National Trust - it's not quite the same, because it's more to do with eternity, you know, people suddenly realise that their life is really a very short blip in the history of time and it matters to them that they know where their grandfather came from and everybody else. Although I'm glad to say, we are getting more young people coming to the gatherings, as you probably saw on the video; there's some nice...whether they're driven along screaming by parents, I don't know, but there is a distinct interest in the young and actually that last gathering we had this summer, we meant particularly to have it as a fun time, that's why we had a dance afterwards and for instance we signed up, I think, ten members of an Irish family, who had come over on spec; their father, or their grandfather had been a member and he persuaded them 'Come on, we'll go over for a holiday to Scotland and we'll go to this clan gathering and they all probably said 'Oh no, clan gathering, we don't want to do that', but they had a ball, they kept on saying to me 'We had no idea it was like this, we thought it was all fuddy, duddy, boring stuff - we've had a wonderful day.' They all signed up and had their membership next week. It slightly worries me whether we can repeat the formula, but it did work this last time. It was a big effort; we put in a lot of work.

IMH That's one way, of course, of deflecting the pressure, perhaps, to put it into a concentrated weekend and say 'well I've lost that week in July and I'kll encourage everybody to come then'.

HM Yes, I think that is the way and then, unlike the Americans who want it every year, we've always said that once every five years was quite sufficient, because it is a big upheaval, but wanted it to be reasonably casual and enjoyable, above all enjoyable, and all the letters we've had back have said what a tremendous day it was, which was great and makes the effort worthwhile when that happens.

IMH Good, well I think that's covered the ground and is a very good canter through, Hector, thank you. I wonder what the best step...

HM Well I can give you all the detail and we'll go down to the office. What I can do certainly is give you details of the American gathering next year, it won't be this year now, and I don't see why you shouldn't have the address a few Americans and say that you have talked to me and I mean it might be even worth approaching them and saying could you do a postal thing of the membership, it might be interesting.

IMH They might the idea of participating...an up to date clan association and its activities.

HM We'd be interested to know what the thinking is over there and I'm sure it would provide quite an interesting not of how we progress from there on. The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs was set up to try and do that, but they have absolutely no bite at all; in fact we had a blazing row with the chap who is the secretary of it, some years ago, because a range of postcards came out and on it was 'approved by the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs' and on the Munro postcard there were eleven mistakes; I mean how you could get eleven mistakes on an approved postcard - they hadn't done their sums, they hadn't looked at it.

IMH Sadly, it's something that is outwith the control of your council, as others have acknowledged; I forget who it was who was saying that they hoped that the Council could exercise some control, I think it was when I was at Inverary, Ian Argyll was saying...

HM There's no bite at all, because nothing is copyright, or anything else, but we just believe in trying to educate them, you know, through the magazine; you'll see that there are items on heraldry and things, because they used to come dressed from head to foot with badges and using the chief's arms and everything else and so now we've got it

across to them that they can use a crest within a buckle and belt. Gradually, it is a question of education and as long as we stick to a very strict line, I think that's alright, but if we dropped our guard and started to be a little less fussy, then I think the whole thing would be a can of worms and would open up into all kinds of horrors.

IMH One of the problems, presumably, being the endless production, particularly of arms...Munro arms, buy your plaque here!

HM Yes, well you see a number of them want to matriculate arms, which is another money spinner for Lord Lyon; I mean they're all matriculating arms like nobody's business, but at least they've got onto the right track, which is better than just running up their own one, as long as they do it the right way. The timing looks like June, we had hoped it would be Easter, but we have hit one or two hiccups,. We've stopped work on it for the last six weeks while we sorted out a budgetary problem, so we've missed six weeks of good weather, so I think it will be back on track, we're still hoping end of May, but 1st June we should manage it. As long as we can get in before the main visitors.

8. Ann Monroe Digger & Don Digger SA1999.35

Interview with Ann Monroe Digger and Don Digger, her husband, by Ian Maitland Hume on the subject of the American expression of Scottish Identity.

Anne Monroe Digger is currently President of the Clan Munro Association, USA.

The first part of the interview unfortunately has been over-recorded by another interview with the Earl of Elgin. The Digger interview took place at the Clanland Centre, located in the old Rent House of Foulis, Alness in Ross-shire, on April 9th 1999, on the occasion of its official opening.

IMH We are just going to have a comment by Don, who is Anne's husband...

DD The Scottish pipers are used at so many ceremonial events, that are not even Scottish events, but they like to bring that in, in terms of funerals, weddings and all that sort of thing, and think it presents Scotland in a very favourable way with the tartan and that draws people's attention , it really draws people's attention to it; and I think one other thing is the gatherings which are planned over a two year period and heavily publicised are a blend of having a good time, studying your heritage and doing the business of the clan and that attracts people out and they continue their interests in that sort of thing, but I think in terms of our clan, the Munro clan, that the gatherings are a major attraction for families to come on in... and they are held in different parts of the country.

IMH So if we can move on then to the next little area, the relationship between the clan association that you run and the home based association; I just wonder whether you would like to comment at all about how you think your side of the water in general regard what could be termed to be relatively low key activities this side of the water it's a little more restrained here and I am interested how people in the States particularly - how they react to that, if you're able to comment?

DD Let me start, if I may, and I think one of the very important thing is people seeking out their roots which we are discussing and joining an organisation and as that, you want to go back to the seat of the clan and the Clan Munro is very special that

way in that it is still the home of the family, and so one of the major initiatives of Clan Munro is to support the home clan , and so some of the funds are used for special projects like a new sprinkler system... and the people are very proud of being able to be considered part of it , so they have this link. Most things in life, if you invest in something, you maintain an interest in it, and they are anxious to come here, like we have a huge number for the international gatherings - we had 212 folks for the last international gathering, which was a very special one.

AMD With your term 'low key', I wonder whether we really think of it that way; we think of it more as just this is our home base and the Munros of Foulis have been very generous, always opening their home as long as we make an appointment and shew us around and tell us the history and they have been very helpful and very warm...and they come to our gatherings in the United States as our guests - they are always invited year - and as Don said, we support, we have a trust that supports the castle (Foulis) and supports this organisation here, this heritage scene.

DD One thing the Americans did to make it easy to come over and visit the ancestral home is that they put together a renovation of a part of the castle, not part of the active castle where the family lives now, into what's known as the Pavilion, and the Americans paid totally for that and they built it through a time share agreement originally where people each put up $10,000 and they got two weeks for ten years, that sort of thing, so now - it's kind of equipped American style so it has showers and all those kind of things that are not so prevalent over here, so now it very, very reasonable; when the ten years was up that went over to the Munro family, and they now run it commercially, but first priority in terms of ... the Americans come over, so there's two complete living quarters for couples and a kitchen and that sort of thing at a very reasonable cost; and now the Munros have listed that with various travel agents; we can always get it when we need it and so it's not a burden on the family, but you're 'living the castle'.

IMH I think we have covered that point, and what I was going to move onto was Clanland and the project at which we have just been at the opening ceremony today by Donnie Munro, the former lead singer of RunRig and a prospective parliamentary candidate in the first Scottish parliamentary elections for three hundred years nearly...get that in on the tape...The original concept as explained to me by Hector was to have a centre which would enable visitors from all over the world with a Munro connection to come and feel free to participate in clan history and so forth and to take a bit of pressure off the house itself, busy working farmer that he is and because of the

way the funding has worked out , it was deemed advisable to extend the scope of it to represent Highland history generally, in this part of the Eastern Highlands. I just wonder whether you could comment how you see it, as Munro folk, and how you see it representing Clan Munro and whether it meets your expectations?

AMD Actually it does. I'm very impressed with what they have accomplished here and I was pleased to see it, because originally it was going to be just Munro, and then when the Lottery became involved, it was that we could not be just Munro. But in fact Munro was the representative clan, it could be any clan, but it is represented here and I think quite nicely; I have made some suggestions for improvements, yesterday, and I think some of them will take place.

IMH What sort of improvements?

AMD Well we walked through the museum, through the display area - not the museum - yesterday, and we saw some things which we thought could be done differently or changed, I suggested that - they have a referral to Richard Nixon, which isn't a particular compliment to our country, he resigned, and I suggested that instead of that, in 1968, the Clan Munro USA was founded. I think it's lovely and I think they're going to continue to expand, I hope - we're certainly hoping for that.

IMH Do you think that there is enough Munro in terms of artefact and visual material?

AMD As far as the history of the clan, I think it's good the way they have done it; they are limited in room and they can't really use the artefacts and there's no place to display them. Hopefully some day in the future there will be another building for artefacts or memoriabiblia, that would be a goal in the future.

IMH Any other significant suggestions that...

AMD I'm not sure that they're significant, but there were just suggestions that...

DD One suggestion that we discussed with them is that pretty much everything in there is written down in the original spelling of clan Munro, which is M u n r o, yet the people throughout the world use different spellings, so we suggested thet they might want to bring out that point, that there are Munros other than Munro and bring that out when they describe the origin of the clan - how they came about, so that people would feel more comfortable than perhaps if their name is spelled differently...

IMH So they wouldn't feel excluded?

AMD And so I think they are going to do that, they liked that idea, and then President James Munroe is spelt wrong, they have the Munro spelling, rather than the Monroe, which is technically incorrect, and that's the way my name is spelt.

DD Well another thing that we had discussed earlier and we brought it up again, is the Lottery, the sponsors have asked that this be a blend of Munro and the Highlands and that Munro is dealt with very effectively, clan Munro, as a representative clan, but I know we in the United States often at museums and places like that have exhibits on loan from other museums, organisations or whatever, for a limited period of time and those people feel part of it and we would like them to consider having loans, exhibits from other Highland clans, which would be there for a specific point in time, and that would enhance the inter-action of the clans and I know there are problems in doing that from a security standpoint- it would have to be a certain type of thing that the security and construction here would do, but I think that could be worked out and there could be a space, and space is a problem here, but where there is an exhibit from another clan always continuing for a certain length of time and we would like to see that pursued if that could be worked out.

AMD I don't know, this isn't about the museum, so I'll wait...

IMH Any more comment about Clanland generally? Do you think it portrays the history of this part of the Highlands in the way you'd expect? Where there any surprises, is really what I'm getting at?

AMD No, I don't think there were any surprises... it seemed natural to me.

DD But I think that it'll be an evolutionary thing; certainly some of our comments they agreed with, but they just don't want to make the capital investment to change a particular display, but when it's changed these comments will be there for people to do, because there's a huge capital investment here and you can't keep doing that to keep the cash flow, so I think it will be a living thing, as we get the comments from visiting people it will work out. I think one problem they have here, is that there are very significant limitations on the local signage that they can put up to attract people and I think if it stays that way...at least until it's changed, they have a tremendous challenge to do outreach, so that people when they come here are already planning to come here. Like in the US, there's one place off

Interstate 95 when you're going south through North Carolina to South Carolina and they adertise a 100 miles up the road, and the kids see the billboards, and when they get there, that car is going to stop at 'South of the Border' which is what it's called, because the kids want to do it. So I think we need an outreach programme, that will attract the kids, and this festival we're doing and participating in, in Frederick Square, Virginia, in early May, we'll try and bring this out; they're going to loan us things to take back, so it's even more important that the people come here, they're already targeted to visit Clanland, because right now they're not going to bring an awful lot of walk-ins off the highway, I don't think.

IMH No, it's particularly galling that they have the highway authority which has imposed such severe restrictions, particularly compared with other parts. I know you have got one or two points that you've jotted down, Anne, would you like to touch on anything else?

AMD Well, yes, I would. We've covered most, but I was going to say that Clan Munro USA meets once a year, and in a different place each year, and we have large gatherings and we meet all over the United States; this coming...this year we're meeting in Nova Scotia and about every fifth year we meet in Scotland, with this clan. So we feel, and certainly since we contribute to and also are members of the Scottish clan, we feel part of them. And I don't know if you are aware that we have publications within the clan, the Scots and the Americans have their own magazines and also newsletters - each goes out once a year to all the members, both sides, and it's all about genealogy and history of Munros and so that contributes to the inter-relationship also. Some people can never come over so they feel like they know...

DD And the way one thing is emphasised at the gatherings, which are really planned by the hosts, and they take it on as a business enterprise, the Clan Munro Association itself does not put any money into it, they have to be self-supporting and it's about a two year planning cycle to publicise this, get the hotel and all that, and this motivates the hosts to do more on searching the history of Munros in that part of the country, and then that's presented as part of the meeting; the United States is so large - or Scotland is much more compact - that there are different branches in different parts of the country; for example the gathering that Ian mentioned in New Mexico, they're doing substantial research on that - it's been largely ignored since the time the Munros got there and the University of New Mexico has a research project going on to help do that so it can be a very meaningful project, but the hosts really take on financial responsibility to do this and it's always refreshing- they show you that

part of the country and how the Munros permeated there.

AMD And Munros, it turns out, were very active in the forming of New Mexico, as a US state, and it was the first Lieutenant Govenor of New Mexico was Munro, and also one of the Munros was in the war with Spain when they became a state and alot of Munros went across the country in the mid-1800's to settle there.

DD A Munro fired the first shot in the Revolutionary War , whether you liked it, or not....you focus on those things when you're at those meetings, so you go to that exact spot, you go to the Munro Tavern in Massachussetts and it's really quite educational and you see the living history and in general it's very different in the different regions of the United States how it happened.

IMH With the meeting in Nova Scotia, that will be got together by the...

DD No it's a Clan Munro Association USA gathering and Harry (Hector Munro's brother) happens to live there but he's not the host, he's helping the host.

AMD The host is from N. Carolina, in this case, and he's going in a month or so, going back up to Nova Scotia to work on it some more, but they've done extensive planning ...

DD At these gatherings in terms of outreach friends of the host who live in that part of the country invite people who are outside of the clan to come to the banquet, which is...the Chief talks there, the honour guest talks there and it's really a good time and that often permeates out to support from other people that way.

AMD Something I just learned while you were waiting for me, is Sarah, Hector's wife, the chief's wife, is very excited because she's going to try for the first time to bring her little group of dancers and music students to the gathering in Nova Scotia, which coincided with the Cape Breton...and Sarah often plays her fiddle at our gatherings...

DD But I think that's an example of the personal effort made that's made by Clan Munro here, to support....

IMH Anything else...? I think that has been a very interesting review of clan activities. May I perhaps just ask finally, going back to the question of identity, do you think that the enormous interest that I perceive from my observations in people tracing their Scottish roots ...(interrupted)... the final question was about identity

and the interest in having a Scottish connection, that it's also can be seen in other ethnic groups, if you like, do you think this is one of the inevitable processes going on because of how identity is beginning to be perceived in the United Sates, of people having the need to have what I might call origin identities more and more?

AMD Yes, I do. I think that what's happened is that we've spread out all over the world and even within the United States families go anywhere now, and I think they miss that contact with their roots that had years ago, when they were in communities and they supported each other and so now when you have these gatherings, you feel that all these people are your cousins and it's wonderful to have this big family that you can identify with and you all have one common interest, no matter what you might do, whether you're rich or poor, or...

DD One interesting aspect to that, when the Clan Munro USA was founded back in '68, as it started to grow from a small group of people up in Massachussetts and Virginia, that were connected , they gave consideration to should we have regional associations rather than a national and after a little study by those people, they said no, what we really want is a very national, a very flat level organisation that even though it's more work to bring people together from all over the United States and to communicate with them, that they really wanted a single organisation...

AMD The subject was brought up again this year and we really don't want to split in any way; even though we'd still have one big gathering , we really don't want a lot of little sub-groups, it defeats the...it really does

DD You're dealing with, you know, seven hundred plus on your mailing list and so each mailing is more complicated, but we're trying to use information technology to improve this and in the next edition of the directory, which has people's name and address on , has fax numbers now, but it will have everyone's email address, that has it, and by a couple of more years, when this will be coming out, they'll have that and then that will really enhance communication, I think, when they're on email...and reduce costs...

IMH Excellent. Well thank you both very much, it's been extremely valuable...

DD It isn't just a party, I mean we have a good time, but they emphasise the heritage aspect and I think this has made, this has provided a very strong cohesive force, both within the CMAUSA, as well as over here, that is a specific objective to really study and

understand the heritage, as well as to promote the welfare of the Clan Munro throughout the world, but that starts right here, and that leads to the initiatives to donate to the castle and all that. And one other thing that I don't think we mentioned, but it goes on with your comment about Clanland and it's role; the presence of the Munro castle and openess of the former chief, Pat Munro, and Timmy his wife, has been a tremendously important factor , where they are open to people visiting and the things that were sold, 'cos people want to take something away, were all done right out of the castle, which became an increasing burden on them, so the availability of Clanland, where this can be located in a more commercial environment...but Timmy has been an absolutely fantastic person, and I think she and Pat, and Pat was the chief for a long time, and I think she and Pat have really been the prime movers in terms of developing these relationships with the parent Clan. Hector is continuing it...Timmy is still, if someone wants to visit the castle...

9. R.W. 'Mac' Grady SA1999.34

March 2nd 1999 and this is Ian Maitland Hume recording Mac Grady at Vero Beach, Florida, and we are discussing the subject of the 'Expression of Scottish Identity through the contemporary use of Tartan and the Kilt'

IMH So, Mac, I wonder if you could just tell me firstly details like when and where you were born?

MG I was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 1930, schooled there, went to Cleveland State University and not interested at all in my ancestry. I really didn't know anything about my paternal or maternal backgrounds. Moved to Florida in 1959, to the Cape Canaveral area and became involved in politics; I was elected as mayor in 1962 and served until 1975. Just before I went out of politics, we bought a home in North Carolina, in Highlands, North Carolina which Highlands is the highest incorporated city in the Eastern United States and it was founded by two Scotsmen, Kelsie and Hutchinson. We bought a home there; I wanted to go into some sort of business; the home was near the highway, the main highway in the tourist area, so I went to England. I was a guest of BOAC airlines; just before that time I was in the caravan business, I was in what you call rent-a-caravan business from Great Britain to the United States and while I was there on this inaugural flight of BOAC's from Miami to London, I had some time to spend and I purchased a module in Bournemouth, had it shipped to Highlands and used it, had it assembled and used it for the first year like a guest cottage for my kids and the second year, I didn't have much to do up there, I was involved so much in Florida in different things, politics and everything else, I wanted to do some sort of a business so I went to back to England and went to the Scottish Tourist bureau and Scottish exporters and saw this incredible array of tartans and Scottish goods and things like that. My wife wasn't with me and I immediately started buying the stuff, I figured I was going to use that module and use it as a shop. So I came back to Highlands and I told my wife what I had done, that we were going to open up the Scottish shop here and all this merchandise was on its way from Scotland. I knew nothing about tartan, I knew nothing about clans, I knew nothing I just knew I just liked the music of Scotland, I liked colour of the tartans and so forth and I didn't have any idea that I was connected in any way. So we opened this shop in 1973 and we had a loom and everything else in the shop; I brought it totally intact; it was shipped on the deck of a ship and I had it trucked in from.....from the coast up into Highlands and we sited it near my home and so we just opened this shop. I had very, very few little things in the shop the first time we got it. Bought these things over

and thought it was a lot but when you start putting in the shop it didn't look like very much and people started coming in. I first called it the Scotch-Irish shop, I was trying to attract people from Scotland and Ireland, not really knowing what Scotch-Irish was; I've since learned, you know, the Scots-Irish is the term used by Americans as really for Ulster people, but I didn't want to hurt anybody, I wanted to get business, I was in there, you know, to do business. But 90% of the people I guess that came into the shop, were interested in Scottish and they would ask me different - I bought things by the looks, not by the clan or tartan or anything else - and they'd come in and they'd want: 'Do you have Macdonald or do you have Buchanan or do you have Grant or do you have Lindsay or whatever?' and I knew nothing about it and they wanted to know 'What is your clan , what is your tartan?' Well I really didn't know, I am just opening a shop here. So that led me to enquire about... people would say: 'Can you get me this tie or scarf or kilt or something else in this tartan?' Well I eventually found out who the suppliers were, the vendors and the manufacturer in Scotland and I started bringing those things over and I ran into some companies in Scotland that were very informative to me, particularly Inglis Buchan, he was out of Galashiels at that time, I went there and he built me a beautiful display, full wall display, and I had five hundred different tartan ties, everything from Abercromby to Wemyss, I guess, and that was really the beginning of it and as far as my interest, people kept asking - everybody that came in, you know: 'What is your clan, what is your clan?' Well I said I didn't have any; I thought that I was Irish, my name was certainly Irish, Grady, and I didn't know anything. I knew my father said he was born in England, but I didn't know, you know, where or why or anything. So I came to - I was going every year to Scotland and England, because of the shop; we'd go over there and buy things and travel the whole country.. And I was to the War Memorial at Edinburgh and I saw all these Grady names up there on the wall and I started, you know, checking and trying to find out maybe somehow, how were we connected with this. My father did not have a middle name, his name was just Joseph Grady and I didn't know his mother's name, I just knew it was Elizabeth; she married a John Grady, but her maiden name was Hume; I didn't find this out until several years that I was in the business up there and I just couldn't believe it; so at that point I became so excited to know that I had a clan and family connection to Scotland, that I was immediately, you know, I was a Hume. Bought everything that I could find in Hume, you know, I have three kilts now and joined the various societies in promoting the Homes, as well as all other clans. I formed, I was appointed by Gordon Teal to the council in Comrie, Scotland, I was on the full board there of the Scottish Tartans Society, and then I opened up an extension of the society in Highlands in the eighties, nineteen eighties, I forget exactly what year, and opened a full scale museum there and we brought a lot of artefacts

over from Scotland and together we built here, we had a very nice museum in Highlands. It subsequently moved to Franklin; I became involved in other societies and I gave up my work with the Scottish Tartans Society, but it has just been full-blown ever since that time and I guess I just can't stay away now from things Scottish. I'm President of the Scottish Highlands Society, where we honour very prominent people, Americans of Scottish descent such as Cliff Robertson, Malcolm Forbes, Brit Hume, Billy Graham, Dan Quayle - usually at some very big annual affair, where they are accepted into the college of Fellows and they're presented with a silver quaich and some of the people, some of the more prominent people, like Brit Hume, who is probably the number one telecaster in the country, had never seen the Hume kilt before. He always knew he was part of the Wedderburn family, but we got him his first kilt and he wore it in Moultrie, Georgia I believe in 1990 and he was the proudest man that you ever would see for wearing that kilt; he was just so proud of having that kilt. Well this has just developed into a sort of recognition society and we have a limited amount of members that belong to it, but we meet annually and during the year, we think about who has made some contribution, some major contribution in the United States to those people with Scottish backgrounds. I am also involved with the Clan Ho(l)me(s), Hume Society; we've been honoured clan at several games and most recently in Ocala, Florida, in November of 1998 and I'm self-appointed President of that society as well. I also formed the Scottish Society of the Treasure Coast, here in Vero Beach, about four years ago, so that would be 1995 we started that; I started out with three people - today we have three hundred people that are members. We meet monthly, we have luncheons monthly, we have St. Andrews Tartan Ball in November, we have a Robert Burns Supper in February and it is probably the most desirable ethnic society, prestigious ethnic society in all this part of Eastern Florida. We're almost at the point where we're going to have to qualify members so that we don't just have numbers; our events are held at the Dodger Pines Country Club and we're almost at the maximum amount of attendance, so we're probably going to eventually have a waiting list, people have to die or move out, then be replaced by people on the waiting list. We just don't have the facilities to have these enormous affairs and also the people who are doing these affairs, it's a big job, we've no paid people, they're all volunteers, very exciting volunteers, they're just tremendous, they're just so happy to be involved in something Scottish. So many people have never been to Scotland, love to see a video of Scotland, they like to talk to people from Scotland; they're just overwhelmed by...I don't know, I never knew anything like this existed, but I'm part of the crowd.

IMH That's very interesting indeed, Mac. Can you perhaps give

me your views as to what it is that sparks this interest amongst people in their Scottish backgrounds, when they might have - well perhaps English grandparents or Dutch grandparents or Irish grandparents even, Ukrainian or Russian or whatever mix you care to dream up, why it's the Scottish element in their forebears that is so attractive?

MG I don't know if there's anything specific; my mother was a European, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian area; just never occurred to me, you know, to do anything in that line at all, and my wife is the same heritage and I don't know, there's just something about it, once you find out and see how excited some of these people are as far as devotion to their clan, their tartan, you just want to be a part of it, it just...you search, you search in your mind and whatever people that you know to find that one percent, two percent, five percent, thirty percent of that Scot and you just grab it, you latch on to it like a star and you just keep going until you get deeper and deeper and deeper and I don't know - it's magical.

IMH Would you say in the first instance it is the actual visual aspect to tartan; that there is a quality about tartan that is attractive, or...?

MG I think the names appeal to me. I've always wished I had a name like Alexander Graham Bell, or something like that, I think it's just incredible, like your name, Ian Hume, you know I'd give anything to have a name like that because mine is, you know, British, but it's not specifically Scottish and I was always...the chiefs, I think, so many Americans have such an allegiance to their chief, whether they know him or not , just by name, you know, their Macdonald, Lord Macdonald - oh my gosh, he's in Skye, and he comes over here once every two or three years and they run all over the United States to see this guy and they don't know anything about him, other than his wife Claire does cookbooks and things like that. I visited him in Skye myself; stayed with him at his little inn that he has, only about fifteen room inn, I guess, something like that; he doesn't even wear the kilt on Skye, but he's very Scottish and he's certainly the hereditary chief of Macdonald, the High Chief of Macdonald, and while I'm not a Macdonald, you know, I like to see the chiefs myself and I guess the chiefs have been very important to me. I first met Lord Home in the seventies, I guess it was something like that, in Scotland and just shortly after I found out that I was connected to the Homes and I was just so impressed and he certainly was not a real Scottish clan chief as such, but he was still, you know I knew he was just a Borderer, not just a Borderer but a Border family and he was recognised as the head of the Home family and in my eyes he was the chief and I recognised him and we supported him as the chief, happy to support him, he volunteered to be head of our Scottish Highlands Society, as the honorary President and the Clan Home Society that I formed, he

volunteered to be that, so we used him as one of our officers on letterheads and so forth; he has since died and David, of course, is the new earl of Home and he's not as active as his father was with us, but we still recognise him as the titular head of the family of Homes.

IMH So it seems to me that the appeal lies in the overall construction of clan and family belonging, sense of kinship...

MG It's that connection you always search for, you know you look for your roots and you can see your roots easier in a piece of tartan than you can in a book...

IMH It is the visible expression...

MG It doesn't take a scholar to look at a piece of tartan, that's your tartan and they can make all the things they want out of it; sometimes they think, well the red stands for something and the black stands for something and the...you know, they try to find something within that tartan: why their family wears those tartan, why those yellow stripes, why those white stripes and it's just fascinating.... I just don't know...I can't tell you in one word, you know, why they do that, but I think once they get into it, once they see a tartan that's connected to their family, you have them for life.

IMH Perhaps that is the unique quality about the Scottish connection, in that....

MG There's no other country in the world that has anything like it, nothing

IMH It is particular, and it is visible and if you go for it you can express it to others and to each other.

MG You wear it and people ask you what it is and you tell them it's my clan tartan and what's the clan and they ask you all questions about it and surprisingly the number of Americans, I think there's somewhere now forty to fifty million Americans that have some Scottish connection, and they search and they give you all sorts, they might give you fifty names of people in their families, you know, is this one Scottish, is that one, check this out , check that out...we tryvery hard...I go to a lot of Scottish Highland games here, which are very big, as you know, and I usually set up a Scottish clan tartan information centre and people come to me by the hundreds and I have all the reference books and the tartan books, Black's Surnames and everything else and just my own personal collection, I have a very large collection in my library here of Scottish..but they'll come back all day long...well try this one, try that name and once they find that

they're hooked, they're hooked on it for ever and then their families are hooked and you know, first they buy, you know first they want to see the colour and then they want a piece of the colour, you know a little scarf or a tie or something like that and eventually they want everything, they just... they play the Scottish pipes and everything else and I just don't know...it's very... it's certainly unique in the world as far as heritage is concerned, no question about it and the tartan, I would say, would have to be number one to bring them together.

IMH It is the tartan.

MG The tartan, it is the tartan.

IMH Do you think that the fact that, the fact that society is going through pretty dramatic changes with...talk about global society, the fact that the family can be spread three thousand miles apart, traditional communities are tending to break up as we become more mobile, do you think that this is part of the need people feel to try and get back to their roots? What I'm really saying is, this is all a relatively recent phenomena of the last twenty or thirty years, in the main, up to that time people seem to have been completely happy in their own identity; I just wonder whether you would like to comment on that?

MG I think it is getting increasingly popular in the United States, for one thing, the European population in the United States is dwindling and by the year 2010, the white European population will be in the minority in this country and I think you're finding more and more that all ethnic groups are rallying together to kind of preserve what they have and I think you'll see the Scottish connection even greater than it is - it's hard to believe it's going to be greater, but it's going to be greater, because you can see them moving together, they're hanging on, they don't want to lose their identity and I think with a piece of tartan, you know, they have their identity and I think it's going to be just incredible the growth of the tartan industry in the United States beyond what it is now - it's incredible now, but I think it's going to be more and more...I can't believe the number of people who come to me at games for the first time. They had never been to a game before, they just didn't know anything about it and by the thousands so, as I say there's forty or fifty million people still with Scottish blood in them and it's going to take a long time before they are all out, then the parents of course, if they're involved a little bit, and then those kids are going to get involved a bit, they're going to wonder what their tartan is, what their clan is, so you're going to have it perpetuated for centuries.

IMH I was going to ask you about the age thing, because in the first

instance, my observations pointed to the fact that it was usually people who were secure and settled in their lives...

MG I think that unfortunately most people like myself, they don't think of this thing in their early years, you know, they're connected with their fraternities, work profession and things like that , until they get almost to the point when their parents are dead, they become interested, but there are some people on horizon like our clan bard, Iain Hume McHarg, he's twenty four years old, he's the most magnificent piper in the United States - I feel he's going to be the International Champion next year, in Glasgow. But he plays a bagpipe that sends kids crazy; he plays jigs and reels like no one else has really heard and I have been to affairs with him, you know mixed adult all ages fairs of some sort, not necessarily Scottish games, but fairs, and these kids just jump for joy listening to that guy and I think if there's one person that's really going to bring youth into Scottish organisations, it's people like Iain McHarg. Because kids today, you know, you go in town anywhere, you don't see anything but earphones, you know those kids are listening to tapes, and he is doing these tapes for everybody, not only traditional but for today's modern sort of rocky things and they will be listening to his tapes.

IMH The comment has been made that one of the great attractions of the Highland games for the youngsters is the music and the modern groups who use the pipes in a modern sense...

MG Modern groups, that's right, they're popular today and that is drawing the youth back into the Scottish organisations...

IMH Or may be for the first time?

MG Probably for the first time, yeah, there has been...no matter what pipe band you hear, they have eight traditional songs, you know, everybody knows them, but these guys they're writing their own songs, taking old songs and making them into modern lyrics, and they're exciting, they're exciting and the kids see that guy - he's playing in the kilt - and so they feel that affinity toward the kilt and the music. I see it just exploding in the twenty first century.

IMH So, taking somebody such as yourself who started becoming interested in all this business perhaps twenty five years ago, when your children were relatively young, how do you think they have reacted to your interest?

MG I had a big affair in Highlands; it was the first real big fellowship ceremony and my guest that I invited personally, was Malcolm Forbes. I simply called him and asked him if he would like

to come to Highlands, we've opened this little museum up now and we'd like to honour him and so forth, and he agreed to come. I think that's the difference between a man like Malcolm Forbes, you know, he doesn't need to be invited to go anywhere, but that showed me, you know, that his roots were deeper than any business connection that he has; I doubt if he was asked to the Quantas Club, or Rotary, or anything like that, he probably wouldn't have come; but he came for two days and spent the night with me in Highlands and at the banquet, I had my children - my son Tom, I asked him to be master of ceremonies, but I told him if he was going to be master of ceremonies, he was going to have to wear a kilt; so he got a kilt...

IMH What age?

MG He was thirty, about thirty; my other son, Patrick, who was probably twenty at the time, he was not too sure about the kilt, so he wore a tartan jacket. Since, he acquired a kilt; my daughter, who is in Vermont, wore a kilted skirt and my son Bob, who lives in Duland, now is fully kilted, playing the bagpipes and just as excited as anybody could possibly be about his Scottish connection. But I would say for my family, personally, Malcolm Forbes threw them together, because they all looked up to Malcolm Forbes as the businessman of the world and my son Tom, who was the MC, is an attorney and he specialises in security law - he particularly wanted to see Malcolm Forbes and was in Scotland two years ago and he called me from Edinburgh, he was staying at the Caledonian Hotel overlooking the Castle, and he just went on and on and on over the telephone, you know, about this place - my God, you know, what is it? Who am I? kind of thing. It's been great for me; I get so much pride out of... you see all my pictures around, with all my kids and my wife and everything, kilts and kilted skirts and everything. I guess what...getting a little further into it, when I was on the Council of the Scottish Tartans Society, I had Ken Dalgleish of Selkirk design a tartan specifically for me – the Home tartan - but in red, red replaced some other colour and I have that registered as Grady of Highlands and I have a Grady of Highlands kilt, as my kids do, as well as Home, because once you get involved, you need, you need more than one kilt. You can't have just one kilt; I have three kilts, I used to have four, four jackets and the different occasions; I'm pretty good on Highland dress, I know Highland dress now very well-daytime dress and night time dress and I advise people. People call me, you know, 'What kind of tie should I wear with this jacket, this affair' things like that and I really enjoy helping them out, it gives me a great pleasure in telling them. I am in the process of writing a book, I've been in the process for some years - I hope to do it shortly - may be after I come back going to Scotland this summer, Scotland and Ireland this summer from June to September, but it's going to be principally on

Highland dress from the beginning of wearing the tartan till now and the proper way to wear Highland dress; what you can wear and what's not legally free to wear, but something that's appropriate. You know, we lead them into national tartans if they do not have a clan connection, or a district tartan and I think Iwas probably the first one in the United States really to get into the district tartans; I saw a need for people desperate to find a tartan connection - they'd say they were from outside of Edinburgh but they don't have a clan connection, so through the district tartans, Musselboro' - whatever we were able to put 'em in a district tartan , wear the tartan of the district. In addition to that, I've gotten into the regimental part of the clan areas, so I advise them instead of - if they're not affiliated with a clan - that they acquire a regimental badge and wear that on their uniform instead of a clan they are not affiliated with. Either that, or a lion rampant or something like that, but the districts, they feel more at home with the districts now; it identifies them and as I say they don't have a specific clan model badge, but if they use the regimental badge it's great and they love it.

IMH When we were talking earlier you mentioned that your Treasure Coast society had recently had a Kirkin o' the Tartan; would you just like to tell me how that became part of your proceedings?

MG Well I started, that was my very first start here. I've done Kirkins all over the South. I've started in many churches; Moultrie, Georgia, the First Presbyterian Church there, at Moultrie; we put him in a Buchanan kilt and we had our very first with Brit Hume, a Kirkin o' the Tartan there, but I've done this all over the South and I started this first Kirkin, this was the beginning of our society and we had it at the Episcopal Church, who have since told us that they would rather not have the Kirkin o' the Tartan in the Episcopal Church there, so now we've gone to other churches, we kinda rotate; we'll probably end up at the First Presbyterian Church someday, but we have not had a good Scottish minister here yet; we have one here now that's temporary, but if we had a permanent one that knew something about Scotland, Witherspoon, Knoxand everything, we'd probably do a lot more things there. But the Kirkin we had, this first Kirkin we had here in the TreasureCoast was in 19... 1995. A howling success; we had one piper, no, I'll take that back, we had a band, we had the Rosie O'Grady Pipe Band from Orlando, Disney connection, and that's why we were ousted from the Episcopal Church,it was too noisy, this full pipe band in this church with not very high ceilings. But most of the Kirkins we have are just with one piper; I like it better with one piper, I like the sole piper out there playing, but we had one here a few weeks ago, first part of March, and we had a Scottish Weekend, we had a ceilidh on Saturday night, overfull, people had to...couldn't get in, just jam packed. We had the Kirkin and the Luncheon on the

Sunday morning - sold out; church held a thousand people and there was standing room only and we were front page of the newspapers in full colour of the activity - it was just great. And things like that bring more people out, you know. I think I told you that we're invited out tonight to a family of the name of Cairns and Michael Cairns knew he was Scottish connection - they couldn't find exactly, you know, what it was and I was able to determine that they were best fitted to wear the Grant tartan, only because of the Spey area that they came from and that to me...I told them look on the Walker shortbread tin and that's the Grant tartan that's on the Walker shortbread tin; so he ordered a kilt and not having met them, even at this late date, we're invited over to his house tonight for dinner. They particularly, they specifically want to talk about Scottish and when I told them Ian Hume was coming, they really wanted to meet him. So I don't know, where do we go from here? I don't know.

IMH Very interesting. Going back just to look at the Kirkin o' the Tartan in a little more depth, because it does interest me particularly since it's a ceremony associated very much with the United States and not at all with Scotland, to the extent that it's not recognised, really in Scotland as being part of the Scottish tradition, but seems to have become an absolute fundamental part of the Scottish-American tradition; would you like to reflect on that, just a bit, in the sense of...

MG Well, the Kirkin in the United States was started by Peter Marshall, in the Forties, I believe it was, in Washington D.C. and he just came up with a name and they were going to have this Scottish affair at the church, at the Presbyterian...no it was not at the Presbyterian Church, it was... I forget what, the Congregational Church, or something like that, and so they asked him 'What are you going to call it?' so he said: 'Well just call it the Kirkin, you know the Kirk is the Church of Scotland' and it was the Blessing of the Tartans, and while we would have been told when the tartan was banned in 1746, that people who had some tartan, they were not allowed to display it, but they maybe had pieces of tartan at home and they would take it to church and the minister would bless it. Whether this is actual, or not, I don't know, but people believe this - the way it happened; so this Kirkin o' the Tartan is the blessings of the tartan and the members of the church that are familiar with it, they bring their own family tartan to the church and they make banners out of it on poles and they walk in a procession led by a piper to the altar and the minister- I guess you might say this is my origination - I have him carry the Witherspoon tartan because John Witherspoon was the first, he was the only minister to have signed the Declaration of Independence and being Scottish, I acquired his tartan, the Witherspoon tartan, so every Kirkin I go to I present the minister with the Witherspoon tartan and he carries that very proudly. I've found

that many ministers, particularly the one at Moultrie , Georgia, he'd never heard of...I mentioned about John Witherspoon and so forth, and he broke off the conversation and went into his library in the church and he found out who John Witherspoon was and now he's very proud, you know, to carry that Witherspoon tartan, so most of the churches that I have gone to in Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, they carry the Witherspoon tartan as the lead tartan in the procession. The Saltire is there and the Lion Rampant is there also, but he carries the Witherspoon very proudly.

IMH Very interesting, because it obviously has deep resonances and do you think that that in part is one of the things that inspires people to look at the Scottish connection, if they happen to going to a Presbyterian church and this ceremony arrives?

MG If they see that, or see it in the paper or see the colours in the paper afterward, yes they're absolutely inspired, you know, and some of the songs that they play on the pipes and everything, people just cry. You can't see a piper and the prayer of the Kirkin o' the Tartans without half the church crying; it's just, incredible. So the combination of the music and the tartan, I guess, just really brings them, just brings them out and brings them together and they just want to know more and more and more about their ancestry and just trying to find that little bit of blood that's going to make that connection for them.

IMH Great. Thank you very much, Mac, that's...

MG You're very welcome. Welcome to Vero Beach, Florida.

IMH Thank you.

10. Charles Edwards SA1997.136

This is Feb 27th 1998 and Charles Edwards is being interviewed by Ian Maitland Hume in Sarasota, Florida, on the subject of 'The Contemporary Expression of Scottish Identity, Ethnicity & Kinship through the Material Culture of Tartan and the Kilt.'

IMH I wonder if firstly you could describe the connection you have with Scotland.

CE I think it is probably best to describe that connection in some sort of historical context because it is probably important to question if not the first one, then at least the second or third one. Obviously since I was very small, I've known my mothers maiden name was MacInnes and my father's name was Edwards, but those things didn't mean a great deal to me. Out of four grandparents I knew only one and that was a rather domineering German lady. The mysterious Edwards grandfather died in 1918 in the influenza epidemic; the equally mysterious grandfather MacInnes died of heart failure in 1919, so I never knew either of them and didn't really begin to start asking questions about who I was and that sort of thing, because I was an only child and my father's family was very small. He had two brothers and one sister; one brother lived out in Washington state - we were in Chicago - one brother and one sister, neither of whom had any children; they were in Chicago; my mother had one brother who died in 1942; he had one daughter, who lived in New York. So we were a very small family all spread out and under those circumstances, I began somewhere, I think, probably naturally, in my teen years , to begin to wonder who I was and what I sprang from. I don't think I have ever thought of it in those terms, but I began to be curious and I remember this being fed by having discovered - my father was in the photographic business and they were moving the laboratory from one location to another - and I discovered a whole bunch of old photographs, which were being prepared to be thrown out, and to my knowledge that was the first pictures I had seen of my grandparents, my father's parents, and I rescued those without telling my uncle, Charlie, after whom I'm named, I rescued those without telling him that I was doing so. I still have them and they are the greatest treasures...and it was probably when I was about thirteen or fourteen and that started me thinking about who these people were in the images and who I was and where I came from. But I never put that in context of Scottish, or Irish, or German or Welsh; I just kind of wondered who I was and where I came from. I have a friend in Chicago who is also Scottish, friend Jack Baker has - Jack married late in life - Jack is now forty six...forty

five and has an eight year old son. Ian started going to highland games when he was a year and a half - I remember carrying him and having him sleeping on my shoulder; he had his first kilt, which I happened to find for him, when he was about two, a little wee thing...He started drumming when he was about three and now he's very good, he's even composing some music and hangs around with the pipe bands. There would be no question about Ian knowing who he is and whence he springs. But there was absolutely none of that in my family and if anything it was quite the opposite; we had music, but it was - my father and uncle having been musicians - it was jazz for the most part and I mean there were never...no bagpipe music, there was no ceilidh music, there was no George Formby, there was no..we didn't eat pasties and Lancashire hotpot, none of this sort of thing, there was nothing ethnic in my family, nothing at all.

IMH Right, so the photographs are significant?

CE They were significant in getting me thinking about who I was.

IMH And so then how do you perceive your identity now in terms of being American and these other elements to it, if I can put it that way?

CE Well you know I don't perceive myself as being anything other than American and I suppose if I had to make a hyphenated exchange, it would be American-Scottish, American-Welsh, perhaps an American of Scots-Welsh background. But I'm very proud of that and you know it's meaningful to me.

IMH It's meaningful because it gives a link with past generations?

CE It's meaningful because it gives a link with past generations, but it also gives me somehow, perhaps mystically - who knows - a link with a much larger world and with a much larger history; even in school, I was much more interested in world history and European history than I was in American history, for whatever reason, and there's a tangible link by being Scots-Welsh in background that is quite important to me.

IMH Would you say that of the two you have just mentioned there, that one was more important to you than the other?

CE I think that, and we discussed this this afternoon, it's kind of odd because the Scots identity is certainly more important to me and I don't know why that is, because as I said to you, if anything

I was closer to my father, growing up, and still feel - both my parents are deceased - feel much more of a kinship, more my father's son than I ever was my mother's, and so you'd think somehow that I would feel more of a kinship with Edwards and the Welsh side, but I don't; I feel somehow that I'm more deeply Scottish and maybe that's the product of having spent nine months in the womb or something - I don't know. It definitely has precedence.

IMH So given that that is perhaps the paramount element of the hyphenated part of your identity..

CE Definitely Scots-Welsh, not Welsh-Scots..

IMH ..you can express this visually, obviously; does that play any part in it, do you think?

CE Oh I think it probably does; yeah..where do you begin in this sort of thing? I think some of that was...I've been an avocational military historian for years about badges and that sort of thing..and went through the usual period because I began this at the end of the Second War, when these things were available in vast quantities and collected American and went through a period of collecting Nazi material; it was rather good, it financed my first year in college when I got out of the army and somewhere along the line started picking up British army material. In the end, it ended up focussed on the British material, because it was just much more interesting to me; there were historical connections, you know looking at...pick out any badges that you want, the K.O.S.B., for example, in deference to the Duke of Buccleuch and his son !, the King's Own Scottish Borderers' badge, with so many bits of heraldry and symbolism in it, basically unchanged for a long time - that has always appealed to me. So there was an early attraction I suppose, again in my teen years, to British military items and of course that would be the proud bracket of Scots within the British army, I don't know exactly where the interest in owning a kilt and wearing the kilt came about. I made my first trip to Scotland lmost on a lark, you know, I was stationed in the army in France in 1958-62, and my parents made their only trip to Europe in the Spring of 1960. So I flew to London and joined them and my father insisted that he was going to drive and I had been staying with an Englishwoman at thetime, who was at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and she had a Morris saloon car, wonderful old thing, but I did drive the right hand drive quite a bit in France and so I think my dad got probably three blocks away from the car hire agency and said 'that's it, I've had it' and so we drove North and we got to York and Durham and my mother got sick, it was in York, and my mother got sick and they felt that they would go back to London. I didn't really want to do that, so

we talked to the car hire people and my parents took the train back and I drove to Scotland, I don't know why I wanted to go to Scotland but we were in York and I wanted to go to Scotland. So I drove up to Edinburgh and went quickly through Edinburgh to Perth and then went up to Glenshee and it grabbed somewhere in the very depth of me in the Spring of 1960 being up in that wild country. Something resonated and I don't know quite what it was. Now I didn't do anything outlandish at that time, I just kind of marked it down, ended up by driving back to London, leaving the car and then going back to France and things lay fallow for some time. Then I was doing (in my job) fundraising work on the East Coast - I've been in the fundraising field since the middle 1960's - and we were doing more and more black tie events and in those days you rented a tuxedo, what was probably $25 or something like that and I found that I was doing this once a year, then I was doing it three times a year, then I was doing it five times a year and having to travel with it to several different cities where we were kicking off fundraising campaigns...and I said this is silly, I oughta just bought the thing, so I'll just buy a tuxedo. In the nature of these things I was there and didn't get it taken care of, didn't get it taken care of and then I started thinking, 'Why, when I have this Scottish background?'..I don't know if I saw a photograph or what, but I ended up buying a kilt and a Prince Charlie and I've never looked back. It was actually for formal wear and part of that, I think, was to be different, part of it was to stand out, part of it was to be a little bit more resplendent, but I've absolutely never regretted it. You know wearing the kilt to me now is second nature and I think that was the first one I got I was 28 years old and that's thirty years ago.

IMH Grand. So that was obviously quite a leap, when perhaps it wasn't necessarily very common in the circles in which you were moving?

CE It wasn't common at all and it was with some trepidation that I did it. My wife at the time, I've been married the second time now, but wife at the time was French and thought it was pretty ridiculous, but then many things about the French are ridiculous and I've had a forty year love-hate relationship with them too - people I love greatly but then it's an aspect of the Auld Alliance, I guess. I don't remember, I don't remember seeing anybody else with a kilt in those days. I wasn't going to Highland Games or anything like that, I just got it really as formal wear. It wasn't until, oh, let's see, probably about 1980 that I became involved in any way with any Scottish organisation. I was in New York City and again I don't know what prompted me to do it, but I was single at the time and maybe I was looking for a social outlet, that may have been it, as I joined both the Alliance Francaise and the St. Andrews Society of the

City of New York at the same time. Neither of them led to companionship or anything, but I did start to associate with Scots and it was really when I moved to Chicago in 1982, where there is a very strong Scottish presence, and when I met some people in that way who were around my age and started going to Highland Games with them, that sort of thing, that it really took off. I found that there were others and that we were not just isolated people out there somewhere and frankly I also found that...I mean one of the distressing things in New York was that at the time, age forty, I was probably the youngest person at a St Andrews dinner by about thirty-five years and that's somewhat off-putting and gave me the feeling - 'My God, Scotland's over the hill or at least the Scots here are, why am I doing this and why am I bothering?'.. but in Chicago there was a vibrant population of young people of all ages, Burns Night dinners, St Andrews Society, charitable works, you know the bands come through every couple of years, there are all sorts of things happening and it became fun. In a celebration, a way to get together with people who felt much the same, who felt the same things and we didn't really think what we had to talk about to share with them.

IMH It's interesting that, so the Scottish element obviously assumed a wider importance, because you had the companionship and so forth. Were there any other attractions of the Scottish bit that you could possibly identify. Was it all wrapped up, if you like, in what you have described already, your interest in military history...?

CE I think...I don't know if I could pick out anything else that's definitive, but the sense of belonging and being able to physically demonstrate that belonging to a tradition, not necessarily military, but at least sort of warlike - Glasgow on a Saturday night - and a longer historical record. I think there was some...I've thought about this sometimes, you know, about what is the...I've found it fascinating, you know, the two dominant forms or influences in my life are Scotland and France and as I mentioned earlier, my first wife was French and I love France - I go whenever I can, many friends there, I speak the language and all these years later from the New World I've got something in me that connects in the same way, but I'm not Catholic, so there's not that, there's not a religious connection of any kind; I think it's probably, if anything, it's that overall historical tradition and record and being able to connect myself with that and the kilt and some of the other trappings are physical manifestations which I'm sort of proud to carry on.

IMH Do you think your attitude, well that's probably not the right word, but your feelings might have been different had there not been the visual element to it?

CE Boy, that is a very difficult question to answer; they might have been but I don't know...

IMH It is the $64,000 question.

CE Yeah, it is; I mean I take a lot of delight in wearing the kilt, but by the same token, I don't have to; I probably wear it more than a lot of people do, simply because I find it a very comfortable garment. I've grown used to it over these years. Would my Welsh identity or would the French identity have been stronger without the kilt? They might have been, but I just can't say. I don't feel that I'm Scottish because of the kilt; it is a way of expressing it, but I don't feel that's what defines me. There is a certain perverse pleasure sometimes in wearing the kilt, because of it people do take notice; it's not something that people expect to see. It's a garment that looks very, very good if it's worn well and part of wearing it well is feeling comfortable in it and I feel very comfortable in it and I think I do look good in a kilt, so I think there is a certain fashion at play here - I've always liked clothes and that's one of the appealing things.

IMH Well that is one of the great attractions.

CE Clearly, but I'm not sure how I would answer that question; it would certainly be a little different, I suppose, if there were no kilt, if Scotsmen dressed like Welshmen.

IMH It is interesting that...it's very difficult, I think, to unravel the connection, but if these various other potential identities, if you like, had this additional element to them, whether in a sense they might have become as attractive or not.

CE Let me address this sort of eliptically, you know coming round I was just thinking of something that might be helpful, in the connection of military badges and that sort of thing. I have a small business in I buy and sell these things; it's actually a fairly substantial one. I do a lot of work with re-enactors and so I will go to re-enactments where there are 200, 400 or like in January 800 men of all ages and women out re-enacting German units - this one in January in Pennsylvania was the Battle of the Bulge, no snow, no ice, but that was the scenario, that was what they were doing. There were tanks out there, two Bren carriers, there was a Dobs scout car, somebody had a Scorpion, I mean you know, fascinating; there were British units, American units, there were German units, even a few people doing Russians, one small group of Polish paratroopers - a World War II re-enactment. What causesm somebody to choose to do Royal Scots Fusiliers or 22nd Independent Parachute Company of 6th Airborne Division, rather than to be 101st Airborne Division or

American 36th Division or German 110th Panzer Grenadier Division or Resistance Francaise, of which there was one - rather delicious young woman as a matter of fact - her beret gave her away - but what? I think the is a pre-disposition within one to go in a particular direction and you're going to do something. I mean there are people who are doing those British and Scottish soldiers, who - most of us were out there of good Anglo-Saxon, Scots, Welsh blood, whatever - there's a desire, I think, to do it right and by and large those who do the British impressions are much more dedicated to it and turn out..have a much better turn-out than most of the others. It's fascinating how you fall into the patterns; I went out early in the morning of this battle and went down to where the British barracks what the turn-out was going to be like, and as I did so, I went through the German barracks and the Germans were out in full kit with steel pots on, and everything, fiddling round with some motorised vehicles, trying to get them going, sergeants clomping up and down, you know, all in character. Then a few barracks farther down in the British compound, fellows were out drinking tea and smoking, having a spit and a draw! But being in character.

IMH It's interesting...it suggests that you do adopt elements of the character when you are in the uniform.

CE And I think that there is a pre-disposition to want to do that, you know, and so if there were no...I mean I think in me there was a predisposition to want to adopt that costume. There are people who are more Scottish than I am...a man in Chicago who was born in the Shetlands who has owned a major company, his wife is an American Scot - I don't think he has ever worn a kilt; he has a tartan sportcoat, but has never worn the kilt and this is a generational thing too, I think, but you know his family is not the lairds, his family is one of the traditional non-kilt wearing people in Scotland, and so it would not occur to him to wear the kilt...

IMH Particularly from the Shetlands...

CE In particular, yes, but there are people who are much more Scottish than I am, both parents, who have never worn the kilt and won't, who say they feel silly in it, but within me there was a pre-disposition that said 'yeah, I can do this and it doesn't worry me in the least and I would enjoy this'.

IMH Yes, that is interesting. Do you feel a kinship with present day Scots, when you're in Scotland?

CE I think the answer is probably yes and no. I feel that, you know, that we're of a blood but without...it's a surface kinship, or

a remote kinship, but I feel in many ways - I think I can mention there is some sort of feeling I got that first trip into Glenshee something was resonating very deeply within me - and I get the same feeling when I go to Scotland now - I don't spend time in Edinburgh and Glasgow much but I'm a countryman and I like the Highlands, I like the quiet, I like the peace, I like the vistas, the views, walk, it strikes a chord with me. But I can get some of the same feelings in Wales, which is a beautiful country in a different way, you know walking up in Snowdonia there's something there too.

IMH Do you get involved at all in any clan association or things of that sort?

CE I did belong to the Clan MacInnes Association of the United States; they get together once a year at Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and I've never been able to be free at the time of the Grandfather Mountain Games; they turned out a newsletter, I think, once or twice a year, and when I looked at value for money, I said piffle, you know, this was silly - a bad newsletter, badly written and inadequately set out and I just never got to Grandfather Mountain.

IMH So really what I am trying to probe, if you like, is another aspect of expression, if you like, of kinship, which sometimes has quite a high profile - the clan, however remote or distant the actual blood relation-ship, or non-existence of blood ties may be, but the feeling to be part of folk who, however they may have come by the name Macwhatever, all share something and derive some satisfaction perhaps, if that is the right word, from that sort of feeling. Do you think, because of your feelings as you have expressed them would demonstrate an affinity in any event, that it's superfluous, that it would be a substitute if you didn't have such strong feelings?

CE My feelings are more Scottish than they are MacInnes and I think probably that is because historically the MacInneses were a very small lot; I think the Clan MacInnes Association only had perhaps 65 or 75 members; I'm usually the only MacInnes that I ever run in to and I look to see if there's another MacInnes kilt, or skirt or MacInnes sash of some kind, but rarely ever see one, and I think...so I feel my affinity as a family is wider one than just MacInneses. Now my friend Jack, whose son Ian is so involved in things, Jack is a Clan Donald member; Clan Donald is big in this country, just like the Campbells are big and you know there are societies and local groups and other people and I think if I belonged to Clan Donald, or something, yeah, I might feel an affinity with my clan much more than I feel it now and I think somehow I'm a little embarrassed that I don't know very much about my family, I just know a name and it's embarrassing and frustrating. The genealogical tracks...I know where

the man was born, in Pittsford, Vermont, but I don't know whence he came and where his father was from - that was my grandfather so, you know, grandfather MacInnes, 1871, Pittsford, Vermont - who his father was and where he was born I don't know.

IMH I think that explains that very neatly. Just another slight tack - do you find yourself - there was certainly some discussion around our table today about the way Scotland is re-establishing its nationality, although I'm not quite sure that that is quite the right way of describing it, the fact that the profile of Scotland is changing - certainly in political terms and possibly in one or two other ways too - do you find this strikes any particular chord, do you feel attached or totally detached from it?

CE I would be in favour of anything which strengthens Scotland as a political and economic entity - anything that makes that country better, stronger and brings a better way of life for its people and that doesn't necessarily make me a rabid Scottish Nationalist, I have no right to be a rabid Scottish Nationalist, but I am in favour of a Scottish Parliament, I think this is a good move; I'm also in favour of a Welsh Parliament, you know, for many of the same reasons, but that doesn't make me someone who wants to destroy the British, you know, the United Kingdom; I don't think this is necessarily a bad thing, the UK. But I think Scotland has an infinite capacity from what I've seen and from what I know of the people, to run its own house better and know itself better and i know enough about Scottish history and Scottish people, because I am one, that we're pretty intelligent, diligent, talented lot of folks and nobody can convince me that people in London know more about how to run Scotland than those in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

IMH What that suggests and what I am trying to get at are certain proprietorial interests, because I think that is important in the jig-saw if you like. How do you think others regard your Scottishness, the people you circulate with who may not have anything to do with Scotland?

CE I think it is probably on several levels; there's a surface level and a deeper one. The surface level is when you are on your way to the St Andrews dinner and you are going down the street and people stop you and say: 'My mother was a Robertson'...there's that kind of bonding and they are surprised to see the kilt on and I wear my kilt - my wife I raise Scottish deerhounds - and so quite often I will show the dogs in the ring wearing my kilt, which does get you remembered by the judges, that's one of the reasons - they don't remember the dog necessarily, big grey things, but they remember this man in the kilt - and there's always pleasant comment. I've never

had, with the exception of suburban toughs who make some of the remarks, you know, and you just don't pay any attention, you just walk down the street, you forget about these remarks that are thrown at you because it's immaterial, but the remarks you get on the surface, and even from people I work with, you know: ' it's kinda neat, it's kinda neat, I don't think I'd ever get my husband into it, I would never wear one of those, it's really neat' People you get to know after a while, I think, kind of admire - I like to think they do, at least - depth of interest; it's not just surface and after a while they realise I'm down here at this conference, I work with the Caledonian Foundation here in the USA, I've served on the board of governors of the Illinois St Andrews Society, I've served on committees for highland games, we take the dogs to highland games I've done pro bono work for Scottish organisations in terms of fund raising, board building, and I do it because the commitment I have goes deeper than just when you put on a kilt. These are my people, our ain folk as it were, and even though I am generations removed, that bond of kinship is definitely there and I want to do things, and I think people who know me in the fundraising profession understand that and see my wearing the kilt as being simply a surface manifestation of something that goes much deeper and they admire that more than the fact that I am brave enough to wear a skirt.

IMH Do you think that this expression of identity is stronger among those who can lay claim to Scottish antecedents, than perhaps amongst other ethnic origins, if you like.

CE I really doubt it. You know in a city like Chicago we have a Puerto Rican parade, a Mexican parade, Italian Columbus Day parades , St Patrick's Day parade - none of my friends who were born in Ireland ever wear green and they don't go out on St Patrick's Day because they say it's an abominable habit. They certainly don't drink green beer and eat soda bread, or anything dyed green, but you know the Irish community is one that has got, well Chicago in the old days with the German community, has now got very disparate, but I remember very well in the Forties and Fifties just when we had another wave of German immigration after the war and the German community was very big, strong and had its own picnics, its social halls and that sort of thing. The Scots tend...they don't tend to kind of parade out down the middle of the street. We tend to do things quietly and we have our games with eight or ten thousand people there, but we do it off somewhere, but we are not the ones on St Andrews Day, we get together and have a dignified dinner ance and have some fun. St Patrick's Day they get out on the streets and, you know, get public drunken-ness and I don't mean to run down our friends the Irish, but nonetheless it's a different way of celebrating.

IMH Just taking that a wee bit into a slightly different realm, do you think that in these days of pressure, if you like, on - I don't know whether it's the right way to describe it - on all-American identity, pressure to have something else as well, in the same way to much... to an extent which we are beginning to see in the UK where people are having to confront not just their British identity, but whether it is Scots, English, and the English are perhaps having the greatest difficulty coming to terms with this, but the fact is that all-encompassing identities, because families are dispersed, travel is vastly easier, in a global society it's more important to have something, if you like, rather more expressive as part of one's being?

CE We tend to do a lot of hyphenating of things in the United States, you know African-American, American-Scottish; I find it fascinating that it's never American-African, it's African-American, but I consider myself to be an American Scot - American Scottish identity - Alan Bains' foundation is the American Scottish Foundation, not the Scottish American, which trips off the tongue more easily. I think if you asked anybody in the room here, Americans, or at the Illinois St Andrews Society or whatever and you were able to pin them down they would say they were Americans first, but that there is a very important subsidiary identity which gives them something that is much closer to the heart than being 'an American', and that is whatever the ethnic identity is, and I'm just thinking, we also say Italian-American and German-Americans is what they tend to say, but we in the Scottish community call ourselves American-Scottish, not Scottish-Americans. We had a go round about this I remember, at a board meeting, in the St Andrews society and it came out that way - American-Scottish. There is a large identity, but there is a smaller one within it that is what grabs at your heart. America is different, as you know, you've been here, when people came to this country, we quite often congregated together in family groups because it was a scary place; you were in a new world, you had left everything behind and so Germans went to be with Germans, Irish went to be with Irish, Jews went to be with Jews, Italians went to be with Italians; there was a language situation of course for many. I doubt that many who immigrated from Scotland were Gaelic speakers, for the most part I think that was probably not the case, I don't know that, but you know like today, where do I go, i go to the St Andrews Society where I feel a certain kinship, a certain comfort level; if I've just gotten off at New York aged 18, I want my own folk and we still do, because it's 250 million people, you need something that helps you find yourself a little bit more and I think the ethnic identity does that.

IMH Yes, I think that's probably a very strong reason for it, it's the sheer vastness of the country. Do you think, really just in conclusion, and it comes back to the kilt and tartan, do you think from

what you know of Scotland that there are two societies at work, if you like, that American Scots have their own agenda, certainly have developed a huge number of institutions and associations and so forth and American-Scottish society in its broadest sense possibly has its own momentum, which may, or may not, depend actually what, if anything, is happening in Scotland. Do you see that being slightly strange, or do you think that the two should be somehow in step as much as possible?

CE We're two different countries, so I think there's no way that one could expect that they would be...

IMH I hasten to add looking particularly at practices associated with the kilt, tartan and so forth, that really what I'm getting at.

CE Well, OK, I guess I don't see it as really as two different societies in that sense; the practices in the United States may be different, but we may well tend to wear cowboy hats with our kilts sometimes. I mean you go to highland games and baseball caps worn by pipe bands; but these are particular adaptations and, you know, we do things a little bit different but I don't think we are at cross purposes with the mother country and you know the canny Scots marketers at Lochcarron and other places are exploiting native Scots as well as they are exploiting us, and vice-versa, and we are delighted to have them...

IMH And there is an interesting flow back; I think, and I don't know whether you would agree, but I detect, you know, that one of the reasons behind the increased use of the kilt and so forth in Scotland is linked in some way to the growth of the practise over here.

CE I think it's absolutely certain; it's the rising tide raising all boats; indeed, there's been a lock, I mean the water our side of the pond has raised. You know you take a look at Scotland and see that all this is happening, it becomes more acceptable, it becomes more... these things just happen; synchrony is a nice thing that just happens with Scottish identity. Going back to something we said earlier, that we were about earlier - and very quickly - I think the American-Scots who are as active in the community as I am, feel a great kinship to the mother country and we're delighted we're able to go over there and people like you, Alastair Dempster and others come over here, because one of the things that we deal with all the time is how do we maintain and strengthen those ties and what are the nature of those ties and how can in this country help Scotland and be more...develope deeper links to it. After Lockerbie and Dunblane, the amount of money that came out spontaneously, that wanted to do something,

inadequate as it may be, but all over this country, Scots were immediately starting to send money to their local St Andrews societies to be sent over to Scotland. We wanted to do something for our ain folk and the blood relationship is there and it is probably a much stronger flow than we expect, than we really know. I think what we are seeing in these days, in the last twenty years, is the covenality of that flow as expressed in tartan andthe exchanges back and forth that we are making and I think that's good for both communities.

IMH Excellent; thank you very much Charles.

11. David Pritchard SSS.SA1998.58

This is a recording at Greenlaw, on October 23rd 1998, by Ian Maitland Hume, and I am interviewing David Pritchard on the subject of the expression of Scottish Identity through the material culture of kilt and the tartan.

IMH I wonder just to start off if you could give a very brief age, place of birth type of description...

DP I as born in Indianapolis, Indiana, in the States, February 12th 1940, descended from any number of nationalities - Welsh, Scottish, some English, German - but the primary emphasis within the family, particularly on my father's side, was on the Scottish.

IMH And where are you living now?

DP On Martha's Vineyard - it's an island south of Cape Cod, part of Massachussetts.

IMH And by occupation?

DP By occupation, I am a documentary film maker, dealing primarily with historical documentaries.

IMH Good. What I would like to do is just pick up on that line of introduction, where you indicated very briefly roots in several different countries; I know you wear the Forsyth tartan. Perhaps you could just give me a picture of, firstly, which of those various identities have become more important to you, and when that might have been so.

DP Well, even from my earliest recollections as a child with my parents, with my grandparents - my grandparents were very much, my father's parents, were very much older than my mother's parents and were very much focused on family, they lived in an agricultural community south of Indianapolis. The families had both very much grown up together on the American Frontier; we're less precise in who the Pritchard was, who came obviously ultimately from Welsh stock. We know very specifically who the family is descended from on the Scottish Forsyth side, but these two families were very close on the Frontier, there were not that many people and there was a degree of intermarriage occurred, and so as it happened, my father's

parents were both Pritchards, but they were both Forsyths as well. For some reason, perhaps because of a stronger identity with exactly who and where they came from even though the Pritchard name was well known throughout the county and very much respected - in fact my grandfather's name was David Pritchard as well - for some reason the Forsyth, the Scottish identity as old Covenanters was very strong. They were a very religious family; on the American Frontier they had embraced the Campbellite Movement - which again - there was a very Scottish identity with that, but it started of course as an ecumenical movement, it didn't start as a denominational kind of thing.

IMH And if I am right in thinking that your Forsyth forebear arrived in the States in the first half of the eighteenth century...

DP Well, actually we can be very precise about who he was; his name was David Forsyth; we don't know precisely where he was born in Scotland. We do know that his family emigrated to Northern Ireland about 1740, when he was only five years old, then in 1770 – actually his first trip to America was two years earlier in 1768, he was probably one of the rare ones who went over, came back and went over again - that was largely because he had left a young bride behind. Her name was Margaret Mackinnon; she was the daughter of a successful Dublin merchant, who was none too happy when his daughter married this young Forsyth lad, but they emigrated finally in 1770 five years, or six years before the Revolution - the Revolution broke out in 1775 but they emigrated to Virginia and by 1778 Forsyth was serving in Washington's army.

IMH Right. Now of the different strands amongst your forebears, the Scottish one has, as you say, become predominant in terms of feelings of attachment; I wonder if you could just elaborate a bit on your feelings as being fundamentally an American and then how this lay- on of Scottish antecedents either embellishes that American identity, or enhances it, or runs parallel with it without affecting it?

DP Without trying to orientate it to some of what your own investigations are about, things like tartan and so forth - the whole business if tartan is an interration of Scottishness - it has come a bit late in my family; I think my father was really the first one who recognised, and as he came over here after World War II very early on among something he was very proud of was the fact that one of the leading stores in Edinburgh was R. W. Forsyth and was really the first to consciously wear, if you will, the tartan. But it had to do with...the identity.

IMH Did he have a kilt, as a matter of interest?

DP No, he never could bring himself to wear the kilt, but he did have his trews. I was the first one to have the kilt when I was a young lad and he had one made for me, so it was all right for me to go out and make a fool of myself but he wasn't going to!

IMH What age were you, roughly?

DP I was fourteen; unfortunately five years later my mother left it in the closet one summer and the moths got to it, but let me tell you, moths love kilts! In fact I still remember picking up the lady I married on my second date and I was wearing a kilt and she wasn't - her father was a Hamilton - but she still wasn't quite sure she wanted to go out with this crazy guy or not, but going back to...I think the thing that was important about Scottishness in the sense of the Scottishness was there was a belief that there was an underlying set of ideals and values that were something greater - and again keep in mind here I was a young boy in 1940's America being taught that my forebears were something called Old Covenanters without even having the historic reference to understand what that meant and yet that was being preached to me, not preached harshly. I can remember my grandmother, who became the - one of several - who became the family genealogist and actually co-authored a book on the tree of the Forsyth family, which was the descendants of David Forsyth, although she did have chapters on the Forsyths in Canada and one thing and another, but she preached constantly about values; the values of loyaly, of honesty, of integrity, of caring for others, a lot of the kind of values that to the American of Scottish descent come out of Scotland. She also...there was a very, very strong bent to making sure her family was educated. My grandfather, again both Pritchard and Forsyth, had to stop school at the fifth grade - his father had died at the Anderville prison in the Civil War and at age eleven he went to work driving a stage-coach to support his mother and sister. He was a tenant farmer, a very proud farmer, good farmer. He had four boys, two girls - in those days it was one thing for boys to go on to college or university, girls didn't - one of the girls died very young of milk fever but the four boys, all four of them, got college education, in part because the emphasis in the family was on education, in part because wonderfully there was a small baptist college in the county seat town of the county they were in and all four of them went there. Keep in mind, Ian, those values though were passed on to us as being things that were Scottish.

IMH Yes, I was just going to ask you that, because they're values which one might define as being pretty universal values across much of certainly American society, even European society, North European society. What I'd be interested in knowing is - that obviously was important in shaping the family's conception of values

and was a point of reference if you like - whether any time you have considered the other strands in your ancestry and you mention obviously from one element the Welsh, but also I believe German, where again you have a lot of inherent values attaching to those cultures, whether you haven't felt the need to draw on those is because what you have in the Scottish dimension is totally sufficient?

DP Well I think it's somewhat unfair to perhaps to characterise it that way; actually my first German ancestor came earlier than David Forsyth, was a man of the name Andrius Gar. He was born and raised in Rothenburg, lived in Dinkelsbuhl; he left Dinkesbuhl - we still have the text of the letter which came from the Lutheran church there - he largely came because of religious reasons, came to Philadelphia, believe it or not I still have two shoemakers' hammers that he arrived with and frankly I think my next step is to find a home for them in a museum - things like that get lost. We also have the English bible which he used to learn to speak English, because the only way he really could do it was, he'd know a phrase from the German bible, and the Lutherans knew their bible, so he could look up the phrase in German and then go to the English and that was how he'd decipher words, and there is a great deal of family pride in that, even down to my mother's father who was a violin maker; of course the Germans have a tremendous history of violin making. But there were on my mother's side as well Scottish threads which came in and my grandfather's name was Ernest Gar - not exactly a Scottish name - but she was descended as well from a man names Moses Forbes; I used to kiddingly say: 'Mother, why did you have to come from the poor side of Forbes family?', but Moses Forbes was a captain in the Connecticut Militia, he was signer of the Connecticut charter, he is buried in the Old State House graveyard, which is considered sort of the mark of whether you really belonged - it was one of the old families, and she was very proud of that. She claimed membership in the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution and in both cases because of Moses. Periodically we drive through Hartford, Connecticut and I'll turn to my wife and say: 'Do you want to go see Moses?' and she will say: 'No, let's not' and of course there was the relationship with the Forbes family, but there was quite a combination in her family; there were Schaeffers, which were German, the Gars. I think the identity of that side of the family really did tend to become much more American, largely because the same recurring thread that continued through my father's family didn't recur there.

IMH OK, so that brings us to what I was trying to get at, the combination of the fundamental element of American, of feeling American, and then this add-on dimension; I mean how important is it?

DP People need very deeply, I think, to know who they are and where they come from; we've seen this in American Black culture and the strong effort in the last few years to try to get started with Alex Hailey's book *Roots.* It's not so much that you're Scottish or that you're American, but people tend to define themselves as being American descended from blank...whatever that is; in my own case it tends to be American descended from Scottish. It's descended from a lot but that...it is interesting to contrast that with my wife's point - as I said she grew up, born and raised a Hamilton, but on her mother's side she is descended from Govenor Bradford of the Bay Colony, and so she finds herself somewhat in the middle on that.

IMH So this business of American descended from whichever stream one chooses, and we'll come back to that, is something that, would you say, is receiving increased emphasis now, or has it always been there in so far as you're concerned, or perhaps if you cast the net a bit wider, are you more conscious now of people needing to express this added dimension to their American identity?

DP I think they're outwardly doing it; if I look at my own family and I look at the kind of history of what happened in America, here are people who arrived right before the Revolution and of course the Scots community split on the Revolution- some loyal to the Crown, others, like my own. After the Revolution the focus and here I am talking about what I know of history, not specifically my family, the focus was very much on being American and it was in the latter part of the nineteenth century - some of it started in the Civil War, where you found things like the New York 79th regiment, which was a 'Scottish' regiment - but in the latter part of the nineteenth century, many of those early American families began to realise they were losing track of the original roots and hence my grandmother with the genealogy. My father, at his level in part because I think transatlantic travel became something for more than just the very wealthy, people from the hinterlands of the United States, Indiana being very much in the centre of the States, suddenly found themselves after World War II - World War I , two of his brothers were in the trenches, so there was a consciousness of Europe...At my grandmother's level within the family there was the formation of a Forsyth Family Association which she was instrumental in; the gatherings were huge and I still have one of these old roll photographs of literally hundreds of Forsyth descendants and it was an important thing to be at those events. It was a Forsyth family within an American context, but very conscious of being Scottish. Then coming down to my father's generation; first off he did start coming to Europe and he and mum were coming on pleasure, but Edinburgh was an absolute 'must' place to stop; he had to go on to Stirling, because the myth of the family goes back to

Robert the Bruce, when supposedly Forsyth was govenor of the castle there and this was where suddenly, initially as a small boy, had a Forsyth necktie to wear to Sunday School. My dad showed up in his trews and my mother laughed at him, but he was still very proud of them, and so there became a more physical identity with it. But I do have to say, unlike so much of what I perceive as being Scottishness in America - which is very much focused on highland games, the kilt and these kind of outward signs, with little focus on the inward - this was a family, probably because part of it was religious based, but very educationally based, the big piece of the pride in Scotland was on intellectual prowess, accomplishment and that sort of thing, including the overlay, then, of religion and duty to others.

IMH And so as a boy you were introduced in a sense to the more outward, visible marks of this Scottish...

DP I would like to think it was of an inward and spiritual grace but...!

IMH Inward spiritual which sought exterior expression!

DP Right, and a willingness to do so and I think American, American culture was very much affected. Keep in mind, in World War I the boys were over here so briefly and it was over in a flash and they all immediately came home. World War II, of course, was more extensive, number one, many American boys spent much more time staying in the British Isles prior to the whole D-Day thing and then of course the Cold War broke out and that led to American army spending far longer in Europe than anyone ever anticipated and America began to be less jingoistic and began to look outward more and that's when I think a lot of Americans, Scottish or otherwise, began to say: 'Where am I from?', but the Scottish, no question, became a very big thing.

IMH Right, just to pursue that a little bit further, do you attribute any particular influences at large which might be accelerating this process of seeking other elements to identity, if I may put it, to the all-American identity?

DP Well I think there is a seeking, there is a consciousness that there have been some 'traditional American values'; we're suffering I think some of the same problems that probably Scotland itself is suffering from today, but with a culturally diverse society and whole new threads coming in, the classic being that the fastest growing religion in America today is Islam, largely because of the Black community, but we do have a tremendous influx of people from Middle Eastern countries. But I think that what it is, is that

somewhere people feel things have become disjointed and values lost, and so there is a seeking back for those traditional values; the politicians occasionally try to use it - witness the Republican effort to seek out family values - we see a lot of it coming in in the American fundamentalist religious movement, but I think that a lot of people as they think, are trying to think back to where did those values come from originally, and that there is developing a sense that an awful lot of that did come from Scotland, from clans.

IMH And is it also, d'you think, because of the very nature of the way we live today, spread out, and the break-down of relatively stable communities, families close together.

DP It certainly has been destructive to the sense of family and it makes it more difficult for family to hold together and a need to look for reason to hold together. If I go back to those old photographs, the old roll photographs, yes there may have been - I remember one in particular where one of the Forsyths there was one of my cousins who had left Indianapolis, had grown up in southern Indiana, went to Butler University, Indianapolis, and got a PhD from India University, he was Statistics Professor at Dartmouth College up in New Hampshire, and he actually made the trek back for one of these gatherings and was something of the celebrated visitor because of it; most of them came from three, four or five counties around, immediately around this one county, which was kind of the centre of the family, and they could come together for a family gathering and immediately have a lot in common to talk about. As we've broken apart as families, there is increasingly the desire to find the connection between who I am and others. Just to use the internet today, word somewhat got out that my grandmother Kate Forsyth, that's Kate Forsyth Pritchard, who had been the co-author of this book with Jenny Jeffries Forsyth, and of course Jenny Jeffries Forsyth was not a Forsyth, she had married a Forsyth, she certainly became one at that point, but word got out that I was descended - and even though this booklet which was written was, I don't mean to say it's widespread but there are enough copies around - I'm continually getting inquires now about...'Well could you tell me who what-have-you?' which I've now reached the point where I refer them to the library, the Mormon library, and say check there whether they've got a copy.

IMH Then if we can go back again to another element which we've already talked about, the actual outward demonstration of this Scottish connection, perhaps you could just tell me a little bit about how you use that, how you see it, and I'm talking about the occasions when you might decide it's appropriate to wear a kilt, for example?

DP I think this is generally true of America; when I was a

kid growing up, if I wore that kilt - by fourteen, if I wore that kilt it was an exception rather than a rule and there weren't many others doing it. I think increasingly across America, particularly on formal occasions, the idea of someone wearing their kilt as formal wear has simply become something of an accepted pattern; for instance my wife and I go every year over to the Harvard court facility, the New York Yacht Club, to celebrate New Year's; this last year there were about ten of us. Now mind you, this is a limited size party - I think it's limited to something like eighty couples - and ten of the men had kilts on; if there's eighty couples, that's one out of eight and that's just about the percentage who are descended from Scots. The interesting thing is we are the only group who stand apart as a group and of course invariably people say: 'Oh, we have to get you all together, we have to get pictures of you all together', so in that sense it's great fun, but where once one might have felt a little foolish appearing at a party that way, today it's a matter of pride.

IMH What do you attribute that to?

DP Oh I think - I wish I could attribute something big to it but - I think more than anything it's - maybe when I was a fourteen year old I showed up and a couple of other kids went home and said: 'Dad, why can't I do that,?' - us kids have grown up to be the old boys now, and we're doing it, we're having a whole lot of fun doing it. I don't think you can attribute anything in particular other than there is more and more a willingness within America to focus less on being American and say: 'Let's have those ethnic roots a little bit.'

IMH So this is perhaps part of the wider ease with which you can appear at your functions because there is more emphasis on the constituent elements?

DP There still are situations where there will be a party which will require some kind of formal wear, kind of business occasion, and my wife and I will be going; she's proud of her own Scottish heritage, but I'll say: 'I think I'll wear my kilt' and she'll say: 'No, come on', not wanting to stick out from the crowd if you will. At the same time, this last year - well, I'll give you an example living on Martha's Vineyard, occasionally there will be a wedding or a funeral or something like that there really isn't a good piper on the Island but there several of them over on Cape Cod, and I will call up one of my friends who's a piper - some of them will make an inquiry: 'Can you get a piper for the funeral? and the piper will come over on the boat but he'll change after he gets over, into a kilt. I was asked by the Highland Light Society of Cape Cod to give the address to celebrate Tartan Day and obviously it required that I appear in kilt and I had no hesitancy about putting on my kilt at home, wearing it across on the

boat, and the funny thing is, as you do it and rather than people reacting with: 'Look at that silly man', instead it's that they come up and they speak to you about it. They immediately proceed to then tell you about their Scottish roots, they invariably want to know what tartan it is, but they then - and it's almost like the ship's doctor who has to listen about every appendectomy for five days on the way over - but actually I don't feel that way about it and it becomes something of a shared experience then, because we talk about how our ancestors came over and it can be anything from 1870's -1880's Glasgow kind of thing to before the Revolution; it's a wonderful experience.

IMH So in a sense the visible expression enhances the totality of the identity?

DP Oh absolutely, I mean it is...it is something for an American who didn't grow up with any degree of it to, if you will, overcome; but once someone has said: 'OK, I'm going to accept this with a degree of pride', he finds it constantly re-inforced because he gets the feeling of the pride others feel within that thing.

IMH You may not had it expressed to you, but how do your children view this?

DP It's interesting, it's made all the more interesting by the fact that my oldest son is married to a young lady who is half-Scottish, half-Scottish in the sense that her father was English and her mother was Scottish. The kids look at dear old dad at this point in a kilt as though he's gone a bit over the top. I think the time will come when, as they become more secure within who they themselves are - part of it I think is just something their father's penchant for, the dramatic, maybe that's why I'm a documentary film producer - I find some fascination in that kind of thing; they both wear trews.

IMH OK, they're prepared to go that far...

DP Yeah, they're prepared to go that far and the funny thing is - I guess we don't get prepared enough to wear a kilt until we're probably too old to be doing it ! - but in fact I have a kind of an unusual situation, in the sense that a kiltmaker made a kilt for me - both my boys are shorter than I am - he made it too short, and there is no way to lengthen a kilt and the kiltmaker was wonderful - talk about Scottish cultural value - when I told him what happened, there was no question about it: 'It was my mistake, I will send you another one' I'd volunteered to send the other one back, you know, maybe he could sell it to a rental facility or something like that, he said: 'No, no, just keep it' and so I'm trying to find a buyer for it, but it may well be that the answer is to have it re-cut for one of my boys and actually I'm

caught now in the sense that I'm hesitant about saying to either one or the other: 'Do you want it?' because I find myself confronted with the fact of having said that, I might have to buy another new one for the other boy.

IMH It would be interesting if the demand was there.

DP Would that be considered a controlled experiment ! ?

IMH Yes, it would be interesting to see the reaction. So they too share the basic elements of Scottishness that you explained, or to a lesser extent?

DP They do probably to, probably at this stage, to a lesser extent and I think to some degree because they were removed, because we moved East, from that kind of family experience - you know the extended family that I had growing up - it is part of that tragic American loss. As well I look at the one who is married to the girl who is half-Scottish, she is not untypically, in fact she was just recently naturalised but she kept her British citizenship until our grandson was born, at which point the American lawyers explained to the kids, you know, it creates all kind of difficulties if anything were to happen to Andrew in terms of her immediately inheriting everything under American law, what-have-you, so she - I don't think she felt strongly one way or the other - but she is not untypical of the second generation; she was born in England, but she came so young that she really is like second generation where she has worked very hard to be American. It is typically, within the American culture, the third generation which says: 'Wait a minute, let me re-capture'. It may well be that my kilt will go to my grandson when he gets big enough to wear it, because I strongly suspect he will. Let me say this, I'm going to do everything I can to imbue him with that.

IMH Often it is the grandchildren. That is interesting. Just really moving from the specifics of your own experience to perhaps more general observations, could you comment on this huge increase on the part of people sometimes with the slightest - and in some cases even with negligible Scottish connections - subscribing to clan societies, whether it be for the so-called 'right' to wear a tartan or many other interesting reasons; it's something I've observed at first hand and it is to my mind a remarkable phenomenon, the pace, the accelerating pace of this to attach to a wider grouping. Could you comment on that at all?

DP Well, let me try to relate that with - again I'm going to go back to a bit of personal experience. We have a Scottish society on Martha's Vineyard and for two years I was chairman of the Burns

Supper and this is a big gathering, 140 - 150 people. Invariably because there would be some kind of notice in the newspaper or something that I was chairman, I would get a few phone calls and the first question was: 'Do you have to be Scottish to come?'. Then of course we would explain: 'No it's a bit like everybody being Irish on St Paddy's Day, if you want to come, come.' But within the process one of the things we would see with those people who'd come within that context was, they wanted to feel a sense of legitimacy, so they would start asking some of the people who really do that kind of research within the society; 'Well these are your family names, this is where...' Almost like I've got to find a connection; the remarkable thing is that the Scot is ubiquitous and in most cases you generally can find it. And I'm not talking about the way merchants on High Street find it for the sake of selling a scarf or necktie, but really find it, and people are elated when they find it. In many cases, and I think this is probably why you detected it, they immediately will say: 'Well is there an association?' Well there's an association for darn nearly... some good some not so good, but they sign up and the next thing you know, they're getting the newsletter and one of the pieces of fun of that sort of thing is that - I get the Forsyth, the Clan Forsyth newsletter and of course there are people who find their name's Forsyth - it's not terribly difficult to make that connection, but all of a sudden, for example, I'm reading here's new members - William Eickhart and Kate Cronkite - I know them, husband and wife, Kate I guess because she continues to carry her father's name - Walter Cronkite - the American news commentator, Bill's mother was a Forsyth; suddenly he and I have a connection that - we used to pass like strangers, not like strangers, we knew each other but there was no real reason for us to talk - and now it's there, in spades.

IMH Yes, an interesting illustration.

DP But people do...I think one of the things of course, with something like a Burns Supper with a bunch of us showing up in our kilts, of course these people all arrive not wearing kilts, in fact they usually try to dig around for any old plaid they can find, but they detect a group of people who are having a good time and they want to be part of it, and yet they realise there is something deeper than just the good time behind it, even down to the point of telling, you know: 'Why Haggis?' Well why haggis, because Scotland was a poor country, they were going to use every last bit of food they could, and of course people wax glorious over the haggis, I've seen people act glorious over the haggis who I know darn well don't like it! I happen to like it, so...

IMH Do you see this more overt expression of Scottishness, or attachment to Scottishness as having anything to do with what may

be the gradually increasing profile of Scotland itself in the political arena, or are people just not aware of that?

DP I think there's an awareness, but I think it's almost a chicken and egg thing; I think they are each enhancing the other. The re-emergence of a Scottish identity as a nation is causing more and more people to see and look for their Scottishness on the other side; at the same time as they do it, it becomes part of enhancing Scottish identity, they work in tandem.

IMH Yes, and there's certainly a two-way flow within that.

DP And of course that two-way flow is enhanced by just the sheer ability of Scots to be able to come to America today, i mean English or any one else can for that matter too, but that they can come and I think it would be interesting to me to look among Scots and to find out to what degree they, as opposed to other nationalities, come over and wind up visiting friends - that they develop direct personal connections in the States very rapidly, even perhaps in some cases because of the clan kind of thing. The same goes here in the sense that the very fact that - well the other day I got the newsletter from the chief of the Clan Forsyth and they're going to have an international gathering and there was a whole list of the organising committee and all of a sudden that gives every American who may be coming to Scotland, someone to call and say: 'Hi, I am...' and develop a personal connection which, if I had to search out a Gar in Rothenburg today, would be next to impossible.

IMH So this is an interesting example of the way the whole concept of clanship has actually now, having been fraught with all sorts of vicissitudes, has now developed into something of an international brotherhood type of structure, whereby it's a reason for one person to talk to another and to belong to a society of...

DP I think, Ian, it may be at one level brotherhood and if I can go back to the concept of old clan loyalties, to a degree, may be something to degree that transcends nationalism, because I think all of us have lived through an era when we have had to be somewhat nationalistic, and I'm looking at the whole East West struggle going on, we had to defend interests and one thing and another, sometimes in very misguided ways, but we have all seen the kind of flaw that exists in national identity; we're a little less willing today to go out and march out for king and country, without examining whether this is something we should really be fighting for. I don't care whether it's watching the conflict in Ulster or Serbia or Yugoslavia, whatever you want to call it, the point is the whole thing is so damn foolish when, and again a Scottish idea - a man's a man for a' that - and maybe we

should focus more on our humanity, and suddenly you have this clan identity and that may rank right with the sense of the nationalism.

IMH And gradually perhaps fulfilling some of the functions that the old national identity used to?

DP And maybe serving to break down government conflict which is so damn foolish. I'll take the United States and Canada, for instance, there are still economic interests which conflict with each other across that border, but I can go up and talk to Canadians of Scottish descent, and the funny thing is that at that point of time we're Canadian and American, but we're almost talking as a common interest, saying: 'How foolish, how do we overcome these problems?' and the will to overcome problems is the beginning of the solving of the problem.

IMH That's an interesting aspect of the increasing globalisation of society, whereby we seek, perhaps, different sorts of associations.

DP We talk about the global village, but the problem is the village needs context and suddenly you have this Scottishness, and it doesn't necessarily have to be clan Scottishness or clan identity, just the very identity with a little tiny country at the top of an island that transcends all the rest of this.

IMH There's only one other area I'd like to pursue a little, Dave, and that's on the actual 'what you feel' about legitimacy in terms of tartan and all that sort of thing; whether it's important in your perception that, for example in your case the Forsyth tartan is the one you will always wear and you feel a certain proprietary...have a certain proprietary attitude towards that and so that if you come across somebody else wearing the Forsyth tartan, what would be your reaction, if turns out in fact that they're Mr and Mrs Schmidt who have actually no Forsyth connection?

DP Well the funny thing is at that point I would say: 'Good for them' and try to adopt them into the clan. I would try to tell them the history of that, and tell them the true history of tartan and I mean we all know that the Forsyth tartan was not given the pattern with other in 1337, the whole thing is a 19th century invention, but I would explain to them with a whole bit of pride who the Forsyths were, and who they were before that time of the formalisation of tartan, but to relate a story - and I don't know if you've got enough tape left for this - about 1967 my father was reading in the *Cincinnati Inquirer* and by the way I can give you copies of this - the article and so forth - about a woman in Dunkeld; her name was Mabel Pritchard, she had married a

Welsh bank manager, she was a weaver by avocation and it later became her vocation after his premature death, and it bothered him that he didn't have a proper tartan or kilt to wear and so she designed a Pritchard tartan. Well, my dad was utterly fascinated with that, and so he wrote off to Mrs. Pritchard, they later became - my parents and Mrs. Pritchard - good friends, Mrs. Pritchard was older. She gave them a piece of the original fabric she hand wove; my wife and I still have a napkin of this Pritchard tartan in our library along with other napkins she wove for my father-in-law in Hamilton tartan, and my parents died. I knew that she would be dead a few years ago when I was coming over here and I thought wouldn't it be fun to have some of that woven, so it doesn't have to be the Forsyth tartan, and I wrote off to the heirs and successors of the industry known as Calacottar chaircrafts. The letter explained what it was I was looking for and on the outside I wrote: postmaster, this letter may be opened; I figured that small town Dunkeld couldn't be a whole lot different than small town America. Lo and behold I get a letter back from a researcher from the Tartan Society, Keith Lumsden; he's fascinated and wants to know more and actually he did try to find her children - apparently they had a big falling-out between the children after her death and unfortunately a lot of her records were burned, things that shouldn't have happened - but he and his wife were living in the house that Mr. and Mrs. Pritchard lived in; it's on the Duke of Atholl's land. We came up and we met him; he looked at the tartan and he became very disturbed because it's very close to the Dress Stewart and after all, that is a Royal tartan. I with some delight as an American I said: 'Well, you have to understand we Americans have a little bit more humour about that sort of thing' and unfortunately Keith didn't see any humour in that. And then I gave him the second reason, I said: 'Well, perhaps it was because Mrs. Pritchard looked at her husband and said he is the king!' Keith Lumsden had a sense of humour about that, but there were some distinct differences but Keith Lumsden was hanging on: 'I can't register that tartan because...' He referred me to a weaver in Selkirk, a fellow by the name of Keith Dalgleish, he runs a mill I gather was owned by his father before him; he's the guy behind the whole reproductions tartan thing - he took a look at this piece of fabric and said: 'I don't have any problem at all with that' he said the colours were so substantially different. He said: 'Yes in pattern there are some similarities, but no one is going to mistake them.' At which, as far as I'm concerned says enough for the Tartan Society and he wove a whole bole of it. Those are the trews my boys are wearing and in fact on formal occasions - because it's a dress tartan with a lot of white in it - that typically is what I wear. I wear a Forsyth tartan in everyday context; unless I'm going to some kind of very Scottish affair, where the question of 'What tartan are you wearing?' is the case, then I will go back to the Forsyth, even on a dress occasion, because again you come back to this business of

legitimacy and to wear the other requires an explanation.

IMH But you've already illustrated the fact that the general attributes of the whole concept of tartan and Scottish origins can be conveniently adapted to another aspect of family; in fact if your children come round to ever wearing a kilt they probably wouldn't even hesitate to wear the Pritchard tartan.

DP I think the biggest hesitancy in the Pritchard tartan is the fact that it means you've got to go to a weaver and have it custom made, although Keith Dalgleish has added it to his line of dancers tartans. There is... unlike simply going to buying a kilt, at a price , when it came to the Pritchard, I had to buy a full bole of fabric, and that's where I was telling you the wonderful story about my wife being a little miffed, because she was convinced that all the way from Edinburgh to Selkirk I had been on the wrong side of the road - it was our second day here and we got down there and she was miffed at me already and we figured out how much fabric we needed and she decided to be irritable, and said: 'I don't want to wear the Pritchard tartan, maybe I'll just wear the Hamilton.' At which point Dalgleish said: 'Oh, M'am, you must wear your husband's, after all, Hamilton is a dime a dozen!' At which point I wish my father was there to see it because he would have had cardiac arrest.

IMH Just to change the subject, but it's the same subject really, Kirkin o' the Tartan, which, as you may know, we're not really familiar with here in Scotland but I know you are in the States. Could you just give me your experience of this ceremony and how you view it?

DP Well, first off, the first time I really became involved in this sort of thing was on Martha's Vineyard; it was an Episcopal church, which is on the Vineyard right three blocks from my house, St Andrews Church, and it was started by a group of summer people from New York - it was a summer chapel - obviously they felt a very strong connection to their Scottish roots, in spite of being Episcopalians - of course the whole of the New York Establishment tends to be Episcopalian going all the way back to the original Trinity Church - it may be American myth, it may be let's call it Scottish American myth, that there's this idea that somehow or another during the time when tartan was banned in Scotland, that it was...that families would sneak in late at night and get the tartan blessed. Whether that actually ever happened or not, I think it's a wonderful story and I'm willing to accept on faith that Ossian existed so why not this. My understanding of Kirkin o' the Tartan is that it was started at the - and this has been told to me by the retired Dean of the Washington National Cathedral which is an Episcopal Cathedral in Washington

D.C., his name is Frank Sayer - that it was started in the early stages of World War II, actually to a degree before America was even in, but already giving support to British efforts. There were a tremendous number of British citizens who came over probably in part to lobby the American government - in point of fact the American government was training pilots for the RAF, there were all kinds of things going on, and I think it started in 1941 - I could be wrong on that date - but the man who started it was Peter Marshall, who, as most of your readers will know, was born in Scotland, came to America. He ultimately became the chaplain of the United States Senate and was one of the most highly regarded American clergymen - a Presbyterian - but he chose as the venue for this the Washington National Cathedral and they co-operated with it and they started by having a service on the Kirkin' o' the Tartan and the idea was to bring those people together from the Scottish American community with the Scots who were there, and these were very dark days. Britain was down and out, Glasgow was taking it in the head every night and they had this thing as a celebration and it started there and it's continued every year there since that time and has gradually spread out through St Andrews societies and Scottish societies; there's no particular day on which it's done. I was in Charleston, South Carolina, which has the oldest St Andrews society; it's a society that's so stuffy that unless you are about fourth generation you can't even get in, so the result is there's a Scottish society that started as well there and they have an annual highland games at Boon Hall Plantation and on Sunday at the First Presbyterian Church, which is described as first 'Old Scots' Presbyterian church; they had the Kirkin' o' the Tartan; I think that was probably the first Kirkin' o' the Tartan that I had ever been at and one reason they refer to it as the 'Old Scots' is that it started as a Presbyterian church; it was Scots and Hugenots and they had a rift, so the two churches split and one became the 'Old Scots' church and the Hugenot church, believe it, it's the only Hugenot church in the United States left that's still using the Hugenot liturgy. On this small island and with this small Scottish society, it was suggested that just a couple of years ago - I approached the rector of the church who it turns out has some Scottish roots himself and he said: 'This sounds wonderful; tell me what I do and how we do it' and so I - again the wonders of the internet - I sent an email down to a fellow at the Washington National Cathedral and I had more on Kirkin' o' the Tartan than I knew what to do with. But we started doing it on St Andrews Day in Edgartown last year and afterwards, unlike most Sundays, both because it was the Sunday of their Patron Saint as well they were adding this in, they decided to have a big church breakfast. Suddenly we had working together on the church breakfast, the ladies of the church but we also had everything from within the Scottish Society from Catholic to a large Baptist contingent to myself - a totally ecumenical thing - showing up at the Episcopal church; in fact the place was packed to

the seams and the rector afterwards was, he was on top of the world, he was floating! He said: 'The first time it's a happening, the second time a tradition'. So if that's the basis for tradition, I don't care how much one wants to laugh at it , it is no different, as far as I'm concerned, than what the early Christian church did when they came in and co-opted what were regarded as primitive religious symbolism and identity and so forth, and sanctified it. This is the sanctification of something that is the symbol of people and there must have been thirty people in that church in kilts that day, or tartan skirts...

IMH How many tartans did you have?

DP I don't think there was probably hardly a duplication; I suspect there were thirty different tartans, other than husband and wife, and we had tartan banners, and of course - I mean the whole procession into this church - the cross carried with a crucifer into the church has the St Andrews cross overlaid on the ...so it was a happening, it was thrilling, it took something to a higher level and this year when I got a call from the rector I said I'm not in charge of it this year but he said we're going to do it and I think the decision has been made and I found out it had. They definitely want to do it and they are planning now as I speak and it's something that is - in some cases it happens if a Scottish society is large enough where they decide to do their own. I think it is much more wonderful the way it's happened here, where it becomes part of a regular church service and exposes people to this very tenuous story about St Andrew and bones and what have you, but of course, interestingly enough with the whole business in this case of the Episcopal church and the rector actually spoke on it, the legitimacy of that church and how the American Episcopal church - the first bishop was actually consecrated by non-juring bishops in the middle of the night in Aberdeen, because the English clergy after the American Revolution wouldn't do it and with out the Episcopalians and their whole apostolic succession they'd be dead out of luck - so he told that story. He also told the myth of St Andrew to the congregation and heavenly only knows what he'll cover this year.

IMH And was there in the chat afterwards, was there any reaction amongst folk to the actual blessing of the tartans?

DP It was overwhelmingly positive; even on the part of people who have no connection with Scotland whatsoever. Let's remember as much as it's the Episcopal church and has these Scottish roots, it by and large is the result of what was an English church and within the American context became very much - was, even at the outset - and continues to be very much a polite establishment church and I don't mean to put down those who are firm

believers and very devout believers of that church. It has suffered the misfortune -and it's something today that it is trying to overcome - to have been the church to go because it was a polite place to go, and they do work very hard to try and overcome that. But it was a happening; it will now be a tradition. I would almost be willing to bet that if that little Scottish society were to fail, that that tradition would continue on, in spite of...

IMH Are you aware of it also starting up in other parts of the country?

DP Oh yes, we're nothing but a microcosm of...yeah it happens typically - people wind up being introduced to it in most instances, much in the way I did, they wind up at a highland games, either as part of the games itself, or...but typically because there is that emphasis on the Kirkin the last day; if there's a church with some degree of Scottish roots - and they carry it home with them. Then they find that there's a local church with the name of St Giles or St Andrews or something that very much connects and the next thing you know...

12. Gene Paxton SA1999.37

It is September 4th 1999, at the Pleasanton games, San Fransisco, California, and I am interviewing Gene Paxton and the topic is the American expression of Scottish identity in connection with tartan.

IMH Gene, I wonder if you could firstly just give me your name and age and where you come from and then we can lead into the interview?

GP OK. May name is Gene Paxton, I'm 37 years old and I live in San Jose, California.

IMH Fine; now we're sitting here at the games in the Clan Home tent and we have various descriptive literature on Clan Home and the tartan at the back of it and you are presiding over this tent - I wonder if you could tell me how you come to be sitting where you are?

GP Well, I've always been interested in Scottish history, mostly because somewhere along the lines my father said we're Scottish, and that's always caught my attention and I've never been able to find anything on my family name until recently. So, anyway, I joined many different organisations to do research and finally I stumbled across this clan, clan Home, on the web, and here I am now.

IMH The fact that you relied on the web to make the link with...linking your name which is perhaps associated with one of the great Home properties in the Borders is a very interesting comment on how information is now passing about matters Scottish. Before that, however, what was it that attracted you principally - I'm thinking in particular in terms of your first remark, in which you indicated you had always been interested in things Scottish - could you go into that a little more detail?

GP I think most of that has to do with, um, I was trying to find the identity of my name and, er, just where we fit in, where we came from, and, um, that's mostly it. I wanted to know the roots of my family and do some genealogy.

IMH When you started this search, did you have any information at all about when your family came to America or its origins?

GP I had nothing; my dad passed away a few years back, but he's always heard we were Irish and there was a big argument in

the family that some would say we were Irish and some would say we're Scottish and they're from the hills in Missouri, so not a lot of research is available there, or literature.

IMH So, going on from there, why did you opt for the Scottish option ?

GP Well, um to be honest I'm half Filipino, so I've always heard of my mother's side of the family; and I just...they're really curious in finding out what my dad's side is, because once again there was no information and as far as they know, um, in the hills - the Ozarks - a lot of them, they don't seem to care where they came from.

IMH OK, so given that you wanted to link into the Scottish element, could I ask you, what was it that particularly appealed about the Scottish identity that made it... made you decide to examine it further?

GP Well, um, I would say, I really like - of course everyone says the kilt and all that - but I would think more of the feudal system of um, the different castles and er families, that's mostly what I'm trying to think of.

IMH So it's more the whole construction of traditional Scottish society, would you say that was one of the main appeals?

GP Yes, I really like the traditional Scottish society more than...I've been there to Scotland a few years back, and I still love it, uh, but I like more the traditional music, that really grabs me,

IMH You mentioned in passing the business of kilts and tartan, would you like to elaborate on that, how that aspect appeals to you?

GP Um, it's kinda hard to say, er, I like the idea of being able to identify the family with the different tartans, because I've always pretty much liked the colours and things like that; I would say over here there's not really much identity for Americans; you know, they just go through their daily lives not really knowing what's going on. I don't know if I'm gettin' myself across here, aha..

IMH No that is...you've mentioned an absolute core element in this whole business of identity; would you like to just perhaps think aloud about what has happened to American identity to really develop this need for, if you like, additional identities?

GP Yeah, well, first off our country is only 200 years old,

so we don't really have a past; you know people talk about the native American or Red Indian, OK they were here first but, er, the settlers since then, you know, we don't really have a lot of - I don't know how to say it -

IMH Perhaps it's more particular ethnic lines...

GP Yes, so you know, we look to our forefathers to try and follow what they have, like so we're only 200 years old, we don't have a real past.

IMH Do you think that the, the all-American identity is changing in the sense that now more and more different strands of American folk are looking for this additional identity and this encourages the whole process to develop perhaps faster than it might otherwise have done?

GP I'm not sure I understand the question...

IMH Well like if you start with the American Indian and then developing the American African identity, and then the Hispanic American and Chinese American, this is now beginning to put pressure on those perhaps, also, who can link into European identity; what I'm interested in, is why amongst those who can link into the European identity, why they particularly favour the Scottish one if they can find the link?

GP Well, er, I think the thing is, um, with so many different cultures coming in, holding on to their own identity, such as the Indians from India, or there's a lot of Vietnamese coming over; such as Americans who have particularly Scottish backgrounds, you know, they want to show the pride of their background. There's a lot of supermarkets coming up with just Vietnamese or Chinese only and, or the Hispanic society from Mexico and everything written in Mexican, um, I think there is a loss of identity there; we want to fit in somewhere ahh..

IMH So this all adds to the adds to the desire to link in and d'you think something like these games is really helpful in that process?

GP Oh, definitely, um, not only does it have us to, how do I put it, link us to Scotland; it also shows other cultures just what our background is; you know there's been number of small festivals that have a lot of Scottish there, you know, and of course there's a lot of traditional Latinos there and we all got together and just did different shows and they appreciated it. It was very good. They have a

chance to see what we're about and we see what they're about.

IMH Yes, that's interesting too. Do you think the fact that, um, particularly we have this element of tartan makes it much easier for Scottish Americans to participate, 'cos visually there's an expression of it?

GP Um, yes and no. Myself, I would like to get a tartan but er, you know, once again the cost, so I don't feel uncomfortable not wearing one, but you know it would be nice to have one.

IMH Yes, I'm thinking particularly also of the fact that, and I think you mentioned it before, the fact that you can identify - you can show your identity, this is really what I'm getting at, you can show your identity by wearing a kilt if eventually you get one, or on occasions like this...

GP Or even just a clan badge or anything.

IMH Yeah, that is just as valid and a way of doing it . So I think we've covered the main topics I was trying to get at, and thank you very much, Gene.

GP You're very welcome and I'm not sure if I was really helpful...

13. Ed Owen SA1999.37

This is the second interview on September 4th 1999 at Pleasanton, Ian Maitland Hume recording.

IMH I wonder if you could just give me your, firstly, sort of name, age and where you live.

EO OK. My name is Ed Owen and I'm fifty years old and I live in Freemont, California, which is about 15 minutes from here, Pleasanton.

IMH Good, I wonder...what's your surname again?

EO Owen, Owen, Welsh. (laughs)

IMH Well that's interesting; so how do we come to be sitting in the Scottish Bay Society?

EO Because I'm first generation American on my mother's side, my mother is Scottish born and is from Glasgow area and so I was raised under the influence of my mother and my grandmother who both immigrated to this country in the late twenties. And so even though...it was clearly an imprint on you that you're, that mother was from Scotland, so your Scottish roots were really implanted, but they didn't bring, didn't raise me with a lot of the traditional aspects, so I knew from where my culture came from. And you know the foods I grew up in where sort of traditional Scottish food that a kid raised in Scotland probably would, because of the food preparation. But you didn't know that and so as I sort of got older and I started to look more into my genealogy and history, then, then I found aspects that were much more the tradition, so I started to look a little more at the Scottish history and get involved in genealogy, so that's what sort of puts me here.

IMH That's interesting and it implies that your paternal side was not so strong; in addition to the influence from your mother and her parents, d'you think there are any other aspects of the Scottish identity that re-inforce its appeal?

EO Well, you know, it's hard to define, it's...part of it is very visceral, I mean it sort of is...this is where you fit, a little bit. I also think in America, um, because, because the roots, the European roots of America are so British, so Scottish, so Welsh, so English and for a long period of time this is a very Caucasian country that there

had, there's sort of been this traditional pride in non-white culture, non-British culture, you know those kind of things, I think over the past few years, those who come from British roots and others have worked more at (...?...) those, in establishing those roots and because you're white, or because you're European, it doesn't mean it's all the same, so I think that people look at our cultural experience more.

IMH So would it be fair to say that, as other ethnic groups have begun to major on expressing their identity as an aspect of the American identity, this has put a sort of pressure on European origined Americans to do, to do likewise?

EO I don't think it's put a pressure on, I think it's given permission to is probably more accurate.

IMH Yes, that's an interesting distinction, and in that sense d'you think it is, this whole question of er following these strands, it's anything to do with the fact that it's more difficult to sustain traditional American identities with increased mobility, communities splitting up and families moving, or don't you think that plays a part in it?

EO Oh, I think, yeah, that I think that plays a part in it; I think that, you know when I hang...when I...with other people who come from a Scottish/British background, then your food choices, your experience, they all sort of make more sense and there is that sort of commonality that you find, yeah.

IMH Can we now just move on to a slightly different aspect, the visibility, or relatively high visibility of Scottish identity, particularly where we're sitting here in the Pleasanton Games. D'you think this has anything to do with the appeal, both generally and to you in particular?

EO Um, I like the games. There is an appeal to the games, but I do a lot of other things behind the games; I belong to a Gaelic study group; I take Scottish fiddle lessons; so there are other things, so I live a lot more to it besides that, yeah.

IMH So in your case, it isn't the instant appeal of a clan tartan that, if you like, comes to the fore as it is often in the case of people who have perhaps less connection and less reason?

EO No, and actually, um, I chose a district tartan; my grandmother was a Cameron and my grandfather was a Millichan. So the whole question came up of what tartan do you choose and what clan; I chose a district tartan partially because it was from the area

that my grandfather Millichan is supposedly from, which is Dumfries, in Nithsdale, Nithsdale district. I chose that partially because I'm Scottish American, this is my sort of rationale behind it, because there sort of is the requirement of the tartan. Well, I didn't come in for the tartan, I really came in for a lot of other issues, so I tried to...I didn't belong to a clan, Millichan which was a district, so I sort of put those things together and said OK I fit in this sort of Scottish American way, if you will.

IMH So it's really following a path which lets you enjoy your positioning quite comfortably and confidently, that's the essence, and in fact you pull out the various elements that seem to fit and confirm that?

EO Right, and so that I feel like it's more sort of more legitimate, if you will, instead of well, instead of the tartan making you. It's hard to articulate that, but it isn't like I wanted to be a wannabee or something like that; I wanted to try and sort out what was the most legitimate.

IMH Yes, I think that, that's very interesting, because you actually have all the legitimate reasons, if you like, to pursue a Cameron, or whatever it is route, but the fact that you've take the trouble to establish your own ball-game, whereas many perhaps just grasp on to the slightest straw they can in order to key into something which is perhaps more mythical than actual.

EO Right, yeah, Exactly. So there are a lot of the other aspects that draw me to it; I throw in a games, occasionally, not that I'm great at it, but I have fun doing it.

IMH And do you find, having - obviously you are involved in the South bay Scottish Society - could you just tell me a little about that and what that involves?

EO Well, South Bay Scottish Society is an organisation that's basic purpose is to perpetuate Scottish culture, education in this area and there's not a requirement for somebody to be born Scot. And so what we do is we go to the different games, different activities and we help people maybe identitfy their tartan or provide a little bit of education. And then we sponsor things like waulkings and ceilidhs and we do a Robbie Burns Night, and so we do some of those kinds of things, yeah.

IMH So would you say then, that with a whole range of interests in Scottish culture, history and genealogy, the tartan is just a re-inforcing element; it isn't essential or fundamental in so far as

you're concerned?

EO No, I mean I think it's a point of snobbery at times; I think that, you know people say to me: 'Well you wear a district tartan'. It's like not quite as good as wearing another...which is nonsense to me. So I have a little bit of problem with that sort of snobbish piece, because, like I said, I'm first generation, I'm as legitimate as...you know, but I get a smile on my face over it.

IMH But you have the confidence to, to do it, whereas many wouldn't !

EO Yes, but it doesn't make me any more or less, like I said, I intentionally chose this 'cos I felt it was the most legitimate integration.

IMH That's very interesting. I'm very grateful to you.

EO Well, thanks a lot.....

interview continued again:

Until I met I was going to school with a woman from Scotland and you know, you sort of talk about the foods that you eat and those kinds of things and she says: 'Oh, you're much more Scottish than you know...because you just didn't put that name on it, it was like how I was raised by my mother and my grandmother.

IMH You hadn't actually identified with being Scottish ...

EO Right, that's right, it was how I was raised, dominantly by my...actually the funny thing was my, it was sort of everybody to make sure that I knew that my last name was Welsh, of Owen, but I knew even less about that, I mean even though my last name is Welsh, I know very, very little about sort of those roots, because I don't, I don't...it's a sort of great experience...I don't have that visceral connection, I have much more of the Scottish, so I say I'm Welsh by name, but Scot by blood.

IMH Do you think that, also, it's not until you're a certain age that you become interested in this whole business of roots and culture, when did you first...?

EO Well actually it's been a gradual, you know it really has been a gradual process, but I think it's probably been - I'm fifty now - probably started more so in the last ten years and then, and now recently I continue to get more serious about the genealogy

issues...because what I've also found out is, in tracking those down, how you're raised makes more sense. When I understand from where my mother and grandmother came from, and sort of those things, then I understand a little bit more how I was raised and, I mean, my mother was, tough, tough issue, my mother was one of those who was really anti-Irish and there was a lot of messages that I was raised with, very confusing to me. She would wear Orange on St. Patrick's Day and, you know, as a kid living in America, I had no idea what that was. So then as I have gotten older, and I understand those things a little more.

14. Ian Kirk SA1999.37

So this is recording number three on 4th September, at the Pleasanton Games, Ian Maitland Hume recording and I'm speaking to:

IK Ian Kirk.

IMH Ian Kirk, hi there, and where d'you come from?

IK Alameda, California.

IMH And can I ask how old you are?

IK 27.

IMH Can you tell me, Ian, I see you're wearing a kilt and it looks grand, can you tell me how you come to be, how you come to be doing that?

IK Well, er, when I was young one of the greatest joys I had at church was, we had a Founders Day at our church and everyday, on that day, we were piped into church by a bagpipe and the full band and it just kind of started off there. My family's always kind of been interested, we've always kind of kept track of our history and for me, I guess, it just took, just took a little more hold of me, at least the Scottish aspect of it, took a little more hold of me than it did on other members of my family, and I just kinda fell into it and, then as I started Scottish Country Dancing, it's become even more a part of my life.

IMH Can I ask, did you have specific family connections before, so you could follow that through?

IK I was, I'm only able to trace back the Kirk name somewhat, and even that is questionable in some places, so there is, other than the Kirk name, and just the name end of itself, there really hasn't been much of a history to trace back, no real roots, the last known Scottish ancestor was from mid 1700's.

IMH So that was a family tradition that one of your forebears came over, and there wasn't any specific Scottish element in your upbringing, then?

IK No, no.

IMH So, er, apart from the pipe band and so forth, or let's say because of the pipe band, because that really kicked the whole thing into play...

IK Right and, as my grandparents aged, they started giving away things and I got a number of things; one of my other names I got other family heirlooms following other names in my full name and I was also given what was supposedly the Kirk crest when I was in High School and that, you know, and put it on my wall, which of course still always pulls at you a little bit.

IMH That's great. I see you're wearing a kilt; which tartan is it?

IK United States St Andrews.

IMH United States St Andrews, a great tartan, and that presumably encompasses both identities for you?

IK That's exactly it, and since as far as I can tell the Kirks really aren't a clan, at least as far as we can tell, at least not officially, was the only tartan with...adequately represent who I was.

IMH So you feel comfortable with that. Do you think that when the initial attraction to the pipe band music started, d'you think the fact that inevitably tartan is part of that was one of the elements in the attraction of the Scottish identity?

IK Yeah, just because it's, specially coming from a culture that, the American culture where it's a melting pot, where it's especially being Caucasian, you get a mixed blood and there's no, there really is in the United States no - except for and I think it's becoming more prevalent here - is there is no tracing of it, no, no real recognising of one's ancestral roots; for me it's even a more, a more outward sign of my roots.

IMH D'you think this is because, now increasingly, there...the various ethnic streams are tending to place more emphasis on their, on, if you like, hyphenating their identity, that the Caucasian elements are now looking to latch into their origins more closely?

IK I think it has a lot to do with it just because we have done so much to, to emphasise other ethnicities, cultural identities, I think a lot of Caucasians are looking back at their...looking back at themselves realising that they had a history too, and they don't really realise what it was and I think a lot of them are attracted to that, the

fact that learning something new, in fact that they have longer roots than they thought they did.

IMH You can visibly display the Scottish identity; d'you think this is one of its great attractions?

IK I think it's one of its great attractions; I also think that it's...there's a great , rightly or wrongly, a great romance, romantic notion to go along with it that is greatly attractive to many people.

IMH Would you like to recall any particular elements in that notion that strike you?

IK Well I think I can just look back, you can look at the popularity of movies such as '*Braveheart*' or '*Rob Roy*' and both the popularity and, you now, and their length, and they're still quite popular, very popular movies, every...a lot of people went to see them. I can make jokes from one of those movies and people who have absolutely no other experience with me will know the joke, because of seeing the movie.

IMH They were very significant in their way, perhaps particularly '*Braveheart*', in spite of, perhaps, some inaccuracies...(laughter)

IK Well, we're always good at hiding the inaccuracies, yeah...

IMH D'you think that the idea of...that the Scottish romance actually goes rather deeper too, that there are elements or qualities in it that have an appeal that outweighs all the perhaps more superficial elements?

IK Well, I know for people such as myself, you know, we look back and you look at, you know of course there's always the inaccuracies of being raised with the story of Hadrian's Wall and you know, the little guy gets the greatest empire in the world, you know, it's always those little things that latch on to when I...

IMH So you mix them altogether and you've got something quite, quite strong which...

IK Not necessarily correct or accurate, but it's something that I think most, most of the people here will have the same cultural experience and cultural identity; that kind of amalgam of, of all these bits and pieces we've taken.

IMH Yes, so they all merge into something which is tangible and that also sits easily with your American identity?

IK Right, I don't think...for those...I think everyone here, everyone, most of the people view themselves, I mean who are Americans, view themselves as Americans, but also as Scottish and I think it's actually very integral part of the whole, whole thing.

IMH It's...I mean one of the reasons I came up to you was because you are relatively young; a lot of people manning the various tents and booths and things tend to be the older generation. D'you think it's, I mean it's not until one is perhaps getting into late twenties thirties that this business starts?

IK I thin a lot of it has to do with, I think that's right and I think that is something, I think that's just the nature of the beast, so to speak, because we all get caught up, when we're younger we all get caught up in the mainstream culture.

IMH It's only when you can start filtering out your particular interest and your Scottish Country Dancing presumably that's a ..has it's own series of connections and social activity and you find that valuable?

IK Yeah, and specially, and again it's certainly another case where we are the youngest people there. Most of the people there are, except for one or two somewhat regulars, most of the people there are forty or older, many of them are,...have been doing Scottish dancing thirty or forty years, so we're the youngest!

IMH D'you think their children are likely to participate?

IK Doesn't look like it, although I don't know, most of them have their children, their children have moved elsewhere.

IMH So do you see difficulties in finding a peer group which you can connect with, or not?

IK Definitely. In fact this time we were here, we're... there are a couple of organisations that I would like to join an organisation of more kindred spirits, but there are in my specific geographical area there are very few and again without any known clan allegiances, supposed clan allegiances, you can't really go to any of the clan organisations and...

IMH You've got to start up a Kirk society!

IK Exactly, exactly.

IMH Well there is nothing to stop you, of course. Good, I'm very grateful to you for your help.

IK My pleasure.

15. Scott Graham **SA1999.37**

September 4th, at the Pleasanton Games, Ian Maitland Hume,and I'm recording a conversation with Scott Graham.

IMH Scott, I wonder if you could tell me, firstly, your specific connectioncs, how you came to key into your heritage?

SG My father a long time ago tried to trace back our family tree and our lineage and knew that we were Scottish, but I had no idea just how far back we'd come, since our family had come to America. He had done a little research and stuff like that and then unfortunately he passed away and he didn't live with us - my parents had been divorced for a while - and after he passed away we found many documents and a bunch of stuff about our Scottish heritage and documents that he had gathered by trying to trace back . Kinda got involved and started coming to this, you know, visit a few of the Scottish games and things like that and traced it back even further and just got more and more involved with it as it went on.

IMH What sort of age where you when you started taking an interest?

SG Probably around twenty three or so, er, I always knew I was Scottish but, I'm also part German and my mother's side of the family is, we could trace that back to when they actually came over; we knew exactly when they came over...

IMH That was from Germany?

SG From Germany, yes; our Scottish heritage goes back...left Scotland probably in the late 1700's or something; even my father truly didn't know exactly the dates when our family had come over here, but we've now been able to trace that back so it's been nice.

IMH So you've actually been able to nail it?

SG Well, not an exact date and stuff, but a time frame and within a twenty year time frame, that my father's or our family came over here from Scotland so...

IMH What particularly interests me is the, the Scottish versus the German side, too; is there any specific...does one weight more heavily than the other, put it that way?

SG Er, actually now the Scottish side weighs more heavy than any thing; the German side only because my mother's side, the family's more extensive; there's very few of actually from my grandparents vintage; my father had one brother and unfortunately he passed away also at a younger age, so it's me and my brother are the only lineage from that side of our family. The German side of my family is really extensive, so we always knew that...I don't know, I guess we look more, we like the Scottish side of the family better.

IMH What is it particularly that appeals about the Scottish aspect of identity?

SG Oh, it's the history, it's the history of Scotland and just going all the way back to you know, the William Wallaces, and things of that nature, um, is definitely something more interesting than looking back on the kaisers and things of that nature.

IMH Does the, does the whole visual side have any significance, d'you think, I mean, as we see here the tartan and so forth?

SG Oh I think the whole culture is definitely more lively, more colourful, the bagpipes, the tartans, the kilts and you know things of that nature and just the history. I think it is something more interesting.

IMH When did you get a kilt for the first time?

SG I bought my first kilt just this year; my older brother Bill, who is actually the commissioner of the West Coast Grahams, he's been...I've always came to the games with him and he has more than one kilt and I used always borrow one of his, but this year I actually went out and purchased my first kilt, but I always had the sporran and the leggings and everything else were all mine, but you know, kilts are not cheap, so finally invested in one this year.

IMH So that's a great leap forward.

SG Yes, very much; well I mean, you can piece together the leggings and sporrans and stuff like that but kilts are a major purchase, especially a very nice kilt; I mean you can find cheap ones and stuff like that but the real good quality ones are going to cost you a good part of your monthly salary, so it took me a while to get up to that ..

IMH Well, that's a great achievement. Do you think the,

that the visual aspect attracts a lot of people who may not have a specific link, such as you have with your name and,

SG Oh, definitely; I think especially a lot of the movies like '*Rob Roy*' and '*Braveheart*' and stuff like that have also helped these, helped these gatherings and also probably brought a lot of people who wouldn't have tried to trace back their heritage at one point in time but knew somewhere along the line that they were Scottish and probably those movies and stuff like that have actually made them more involved and wanting to know their heritage and stuff like that, but definitely these games are extremely colourful and I think they bring a lot of people who are not Scottish, just to come, just to be part of it.

IMH Yes, I'm surprised at how many people are just, you know , attracted to the day out, but may then suddenly find a link. D'you get here, at your Graham tent, d'you get people just strolling up and trying to pursue their roots?

SG Oh, definitely, we just, just because of the maps and the tartan boards and stuff like that, we always, all day long, we have people come up who have no clue what clan they belong to and we always help them out and we have all the sept names and the tartan books and stuff and always try to direct them to, if they're not our actual clan but a sept, or tell them what clan they belong to, always try to direct to their clan base and stuff like that.

IMH Thank you very much indeed.

16. Gaston Macmillan SA1999.37

So this is interview number five on September 4th, Pleasanton Games, Ian Maitland Hume recording, and I'm having a chat with:

GM My name is Gaston Macmillan and I'm thirty five, I'll be thirty six in a couple of weeks.

IMH Good, Gaston. I wonder if you could just, by way of introduction, just give me a run down on you personally became involved in this, you know, the clan Macmillan and so forth?

GM It's been kind of a family thing for a really long time; when I was..you know my dad was really big on, when I was a kid, on you knowing who you were and where you came from and the Macmillans are pretty good about keeping lineage, and in North Carolina where I grew up, there was several people who did a lot of research into Macmillans ancestry. It's kind of funny I'm the direct descendant from the first Macmillans of this line of Macmillans that came from Scotland, and it's very easy to trace my ancestry all the way back to Scotland and...

IMH Which Macmillan...where were you from?

GM In Scotland? Well the family's now in Finlaystone which is in Langbank.

IMH Yes, I'm wondering where they came from in Scotland.

GM I'll have to look in my book...

IMH It doesn't matter, it's just...

GM I can tell you about the ancestry in North Carolina and then in America.

IMH So from the time they arrived, you're absolutely...

GM Yeah, there's a lot of clear...me and my brothers and sisters actually owned the original home and farm that was first owned by the Macmillans in North Carolina when we first came, so it's just a lot of family pride, I guess.

IMH That's obviously very...I mean you're very lucky that you've got an established root, if you like, which links back easily.

GM Yeah, I've met a lot of people who are just discovering their roots and who they are; we actually had a guy who stopped by and he'd just done some genealogy and found out that there were Macmillans in his family tree and he just stopped by to visit.

IMH Do you, manning the Macmillan tent at games such as this, as you probably have done for a little while now, oh you're just starting?

GM When I was little, we used to go to Grandfather Mountain, a lot, Hugh Macrae, my dad knows Hugh, so he'd give us tickets and we'd go when I was a little kid, and that was a lot of fun. And I moved to California about ten years ago and I had had no real association with the Macmillan family, or the clan, or anything out here at all and a year ago my sister moved to Pleasanton, which is here, and I knew that the Highland Games were out here but I'd never wanted to go and, and so we came last year and we stopped by the tent and met some of the other folks who were here and it just kind of re-invigorated all those things from when I was younger again, and I remembered how exciting it was to know a lot of people who were related to you and you know, just that extended family, it's just a lot of fun.

IMH Yes, that must have been great to renew that interest, particularly as you'd done it so much when you were younger.

GM When I was little, I didn't really understand as much about...it was so normal, you know I'm named after my grandfather and my little brother's named after the first three Macmillans who came from Scotland, and you know it was just like normal stuff; and then getting away from it, because probably it was so commonplace I kinda put it aside and then coming to the games it kinda reawoke and I'm at an age where I'm married and I have a two year old and now I kinda want her to be able to experience this.

IMH So I was going to ask you whether you think this is one of the significant things which evokes an interest, is that once one settles down a little bit and the next generation comes on, you then really start...

GM For me it's true.

IMH How about the visual side, d'you think folk are attracted, when I say off the street, so to speak off the street, by the visual side of Scottish identity; is it the tartan and things that spark them off?

GM You mean men in kilts? I haven't really thought about it; I would reckon so, it's almost like a fair, you know, it's got a lot of really cool things going on; the heavy games, you know a lot of the heavy games are now in things that they see on TV, like the world's strongest men competition, you know you see a lot of those kinda similar things and I think that's probably found attractive to people, and the dancing and the music is found very attractive. I know a lot of people that work where I work, personally you know, I send a message through the office, that the games are going to go on and there were seven or eight people that were going to come out at some time over the weekend to experience it, they've never been before and they were very excited about coming, just to check it out.

IMH D'you think the profile of the Scottish element in American society is relatively speaking low, let us say compared to the Irish?

GM Low? Yeah, I would say that's probably true; Irish cops in Boston, St Patrick's Day...

IMH What d'you think of something like Tartan Day?

GM Tartan Day? I'm not sure people would understand what you're talking about (laughter)

IMH You know that's been going for three years?

GM Never heard of Tartan Day! Isn't that terrible?

IMH No it isn't, it's significant I think, not terrible, it's significant that in spite of all the efforts, it hasn't filtered through that there is such a thing now in the States, April 6th.

GM I'll know it now; I think that's a great idea. I think a lot of people, you know maybe it's an illusion, but I think a lot of people in America are wanting to know more about where they came from, whether they're Scottish or from anywhere else and I think that's a great thing; you know one of the things I learned when I was a little kid was, um, a lot of your strength and you know, your personal strength and personal power comes from knowing who you are, which means you have to know where you came from an, you know, if you look through history, the way they subjugate people is to separate people that they want to, want to control from who they were in their past and from what I understand about Scottish history, that's never really quite happened there and so there's a lot of strong - people have a lot of pride in being Scottish and it's probably not as popular as the Irish sentiment is in the US, but it's very strong within

the Scottish element; it's great, it's a very powerful thing and the more people know about their history, the more effective they are as people and the more capable they are of working together as a nation.

IMH It's very interesting in what you say there and relating to the apparent need now, increasingly, for American identity to have more specific qualifications, so you have a bolt on identity, if you like. D'you think this has come about because of the apparent interest on the part of various ethnic groupings to promote their own ethnicities, for want of a better word; that this is now putting pressure on those from European, and particularly, say, origin from the British Isles, to become a little more familiar and secure in their origins in that sense, whereas many of their forebears tended to drop their Scottish leanings when they came over here?

GM In America there was a big push to be American and not to be, not to have a connection to your ancestry and I think through the generations that's waned and I think that has more influence than, than competition between people knowing their ethnicities.

IMH So it's a natural progression, once one is secure in the identity, you can then indulge, perhaps, in elaborating it?

GM Sure, yeah.

IMH D'you think the fact that Scottish identity, particularly, is so visual, is one of the things that makes these sort of events so attractive and successful?

GM Oh, yeah. You know, with the flags, there's lots of flags and, um, the tartans are very beautiful and people love to dress up and, um, you know, there's a huge Renaissance camp that comes to this event, too, and it's a re-enactment of actually the court of Mary, Queen of Scots and but outside of that, you still see a lot of people dress up in really old garb to come to these kind of events, and it's very beautiful; and then you also have, you know, the pipe and drums and the marching and the drum majors are just the most beautiful visual thing you could ever see, and the dancing, yeah it's awesome; it makes it a lot of fun to come. Makes it really easy to come inside, you know.

IMH It does; nobody feels excluded in that sense?

GM No, and I don't think we want to exclude people; I mean personally the way I feel is, yes, inclusive. It's nice to know who your clan is and have a lot of pride in your clan, but..

IMH If you haven't got a clan?

GM It's OK and if you do have a clan that's great and you know, people will welcome you and, um, like adopt you as their own, yeah.

IMH D'you think, do you in your own family, d'you wear the kilt on high days and holidays, or how do you go about...?

GM Yeah, as often as I can, throughout the year; it's at Thanksgiving, Christmas parties, just going out to big fancy parties, going to peoples weddings, yeah we, I dress up as much as I can.

IMH Thank you very much indeed; very, very helpful.

17. Mark Racicot SA1999.37

This is interview no. 6, September 4th, Pleasanton Games, Ian Maitland Hume talking to:

MR Mark Racicot.

IMH Mark, could you just tell me what age you are?

MR I'm thirty-one.

IMH 31. What I'm interested in knowing, Mark, seeing you're wearing a fine kilt there, and everything, what first sparked your interest in the Scottish aspects of identity?

MR Well, when I came out of the military, I was in the army for three years, and I was talking with my mother about her lineage; she was not well at the time and I wanted to learn what I could before she passed on. And she told me that one of my ancestors was clan Macneil, and I wanted to learn more about it, so I did a little bit of research, not a great deal, and found that there were some traces back to Scotland.

IMH And once you were able to, so to speak, have a tag to follow, what particularly appealed to you about the Scottish aspect of your family's ancestry, because presumably there are other elements to it too?

MR Well, primarily because it was something new. My father had taught me from very early age my French heritage, the Racicot family name being from France and those answers, ancestors, rather, came here about 150 years ago. But I knew virtually nothing about my mothers side, so that was new, so I took that up as kind of a new hobby.

IMH And do you, d'you find you're torn between two streams, so to speak?

MR A bit, because the two, while they do not have any direct conflict with each other, they are very dis-similar and since I have some knowledge of the French side, I'm learning now more about the Scottish side.

IMH Good. What is it that particularly appeals to you about the Scottish side; it's difficult to summarise, I know, but it has different elements; perhaps you could tell me some of them?

MR Well, I think primarily because, as I said, it's new, also perhaps because I look at this as something that's, well it's rather exotic from the American standpoint; it's not, hum, how do I want to say this, it's not something that you see a lot of people talking about except at gatherings like this, here at Pleasanton or Sacremento or Campbell. So it's not pervasive in American society; I don't have a lot of personal experience around here to say yes, i know something about it; it's only at places like this that I learn.

IMH And when it comes to wearing the kilt, when did you decide to get a kilt for example?

MR Well, actually I'll blame that one on the army. I'm a member of the 91st Division Band; it's an army reserve musical group and we have the distinction of being the only reserve band in the entire United States that uses pipes and drums and have had for the last thirty three, thirty four years and because of the pipers, I, that re-inforced - it happened at the same time as I was learning from my mother - and that re-inforced, they kind of went to re-inforce each other and when I became the drum major of the band, I was able to wear the kilt in public when they were performing with us and it kind of grew as an extension of doing it in public for performances to come to gatherings like this, wearing a kilt. And in fact even tomorrow my best friend is getting married and the bride has asked that I wear a kilt to that, because she knows I wear one for the army. So it's kind of fun to do that.

IMH That's tremendous; so you reckon that the kilt in any event has a fairly strong pulling power in terms of showing this identity?

MR Yes, I believe that would be a fair statement; it's kind of...being a drum major in a reserve band, you have to want to be the centre of attention in some way to be a good drum major. Wearing a kilt in American society, I think, also speaks to the need or want to have attention; there's nothing that gathers attention more than a man in a society where they don't wear kilts, going into a store, stopping at a gas station; on the way here for example I stopped at a 7 to 11, and I got two comments from passers by - I don't know them, they don't know me - but it's like: 'Hey, nice kilt' or something like that; so it's kind of fun in that way.

IMH Looking at the apparent trend in the States for people to add on to their American identity, something that's been going on obviously for quite a time and particularly with, let us say, more obvious ethnic groupings, do you think that tartan and the kilt and this

aspect of Scottish identity is one of the things which enables people to launch into a Scottish identity fairly comfortably, because it's so visible?

MR Yes, I do; perhaps that's the majority of it. I also believe to some extent that it's likely that America, being a relatively, comparatively young country, we don't have many of the traditions that European and Asian countries do, so we look to where our people came from to find out what were they like, what did they do and then to import that to give us some sense of fullness; that might explain why so many people are going into research about their ancestors.

IMH That's interesting, 'cos certainly a lot of people at games like this are attracted to name research and identity with a clan. Do you participate at all in your own Macneil clan society activities?

MR I haven't, but I have just now found the booth here, which we're standing in front of, and I was going to go over there and pick up the form to apply for membership in the clan association, to learn more about what they do.

IMH So this will mark a further stage in, in expression of the Scots part of your life?

MR Yes.

IMH D'you think, um, relative to other identities, the Scots carries perhaps an element of romanticism which is also an attractive element?

MR Most certainly; again I may touch on something I mentioned a while ago; there is something about the ancestry; the British Isles in general are for most Americans, I think, kind of romantic. We look at London, the fog enshrouded beacon of where many people came from in the United States; we imported the language, at the very least that says something; and then to look at the countries surrounding - Ireland and Scotland specifically - it's kind of a natural extension of that to look at Britain as a whole and say: 'Yeah, that's really cool, it's really neat, it's romantic, it's exotic. It is not us, but we came from there.

IMH Excellent, good; that's a nice summarised view of getting further and further into an identity, I think, so you'll be, you'll be participating in the clan activities perhaps this time next year?

MR I hope, so I hope to be; hopefully I can get more information from the Macneil association and participate, you know,

volunteer some.

IMH Good; thank you very much.

MR You're very welcome.

18. Beth Gay SA1999.37

Interview with Beth Gay, editor of *The Family Tree*, Pleasanton, California, September 5th 1999, recorded by Ian Maitland Hume, on the subject of the American expression of Scottish identity.

IMH Beth, I wonder if you could just very briefly introduce yourself?

BG My name is Beth Gay and I'm the editor of the *Family Tree*, which is the publication of the Ellen Payne Odom Genealogical Library in Moultrie, Georgia.

IMH Thank you Beth; you have vast knowledge and experience of the whole spectrum of clans, their societies and their activities in the United States; I wonder whether you would like to say a few words about how you perceive Scottish identity from the American point of view, when it really - as you were just telling me - poses some problem for many who, once they begin to dig into their past history, find that they may well have connections with more than one clan?

BG Most Americans are pretty much muts; we're a mixture of so many things, but usually if you are related to one Scottish clan, you're related to many Scottish clans and I personally do not see a problem with that because these are all your families, your various ancendry families and they share a common heritage, And I think this is one thing that is the reason for the Scottish movement being so big all across America. I'm from Georgia and here I am in California and it's like being in an extended family setting; there are no strangers within the Scottish community and you can join as many clans as you wish to join and it's not a matter of, of being fragmented in your loyalty, because you're loyal to your Scottish heritage, if that makes sense.

IMH Yeah, fine. Do you think that the clan societies in their effort to embrace membership...in any way detract from the core value of any one or other particular society, by stretching the boundaries, so to speak?

BG I don't think so; for example, clan Henderson has a category where you may walk up to the tent and say my name is anything, but I love clan Henderson, I I would like to be apart of it and clan Henderson has a category called 'Henderson by affection' and for the people that know a little bit about Scottish history, that's exactly the way, in the old days, that clans got new members and that's where

all of the septs or allied families came from, was someone who either lived in the area or was nearby and said I would like to be a part of your clan and I will fight for you and I will swear my loyalty to you. So I don't see that anything is diluted.

IMH So, on the contrary, one could say, in fact, that this is a very valuable way of embracing people in the Scottish community. Why do you think there's this huge interest in finding a Scottish element to their American identity?

BG That's a complicated question and a question that could take several hours to answer, but number one, especially in the South and on the Eastern seabord of the United Sates, because of the immigration patterns, there are so very few people who do not have Scottish ancestry; almost everybody shares a huge a Scottish and/or Celtic ancestry; I think today, too, in this...our world has become plastic and our world has become technical and our world has become so cold in many ways, that I think we all have a deep-seated inner need to touch something that is real in our lives. I was just in a clan Chattan meeting this morning and John Sexton was speaking, he's the Ch..he's the President of clan Mackintosh in this country, and I noticed that Mr. Sexton had very distinctive ears; he has very distinctive ears, his earlobes are long and a distinctive fold on his ears, and I looked around this meeting where there where maybe forty or fifty people, and thirty five of those fifty people had the same ears; the blood runs strong, you know, the genes don't tell stories. Our genetic makeup doesn't care if Sherman marched through Georgia and destroyed the records, or if we can't find the link; you know, you'll look at someone's hands or someone's nose or their ears or the shape of their eyes and you can see...it's just written very plainly to see that the blood does run strong, and that you are actually a member of this great extended family.

IMH D'you think also the particular growth in interest, which has perhaps been apparent in the last twenty or so years, is due to now, a different perception of identity amongst Americans. What I'm thinking of particularly, as different ethnic groupings, perhaps the more visual ones have made a great play for their origins, now it's the, the old originals, if you like, who are also finding the need to link into their past roots?

BG I think the clan, the old clan system has a great deal to do...maybe even more than that, because it's so, it's already organise for us. All you have to do is know your name; all you have to do is know your grandmother's name or your grandfather's name, so that it's very easy to find your place in this community, just as easy as it can be. As opposed to even the Irish or the Welsh or some of the

other Celtic groups who were not so neatly organised as the Scots, and I think the reason for the upsurge of the clan membership and the clan movement is once again, it's been made easier for us by something as simple as the invention of the typewriter which has now evolved into the computer. The invention of copying machines which now everybody has access to and the internet is just making everything explode, and it's a multi-billion dollar business, purely economic business in this country, and so many people make their livings from selling Scottish merchandise and it has a huge impact in Scotland. But I really think that it is due to the fact that the Scottish animal, so to speak, comes to us ready organised.

IMH That's very interesting. Given that strong starting point, d'you think the fact that the visibility of the Scottish identity, as opposed to perhaps some of the others which may be an option for people with different origins in Europe, has any part to play with it?

BG May be so, but the Scottish, and it seems in the past few years in this country the Scottish visibility has increased so many times because of the movies, *Braveheart, Rob Roy* and movies like that, there, even Shakespeare festivals all over with *Macbeth,* you know, but I think the visibiltiy has a lot to do with it simply because somebody whose name is Hume or Macdonald, well we have people who come in the Library and say: 'My name is...you know, James Macdonald, what am I?' They don't know, they have no idea that Macdonald is a Scottish name, or other, Fergusson or some of the more obvious names, and so I think the visibility helps those people realise that, yes I am Scottish, oh, clan Wallace for example, membership has exploded since *Braveheart* simply because all these people names Wallace realise: 'I'm Scottish, you know, I'm a part of this'. So it has...there are all kinds, thousands of reasons, but I think the visibility has a lot to do with it.

IMH And in terms of another aspect of that visibility, the fact that you can show, er, show your adherence if you like through tartan, d'you think that has something to do with it?

BG Oh, sure. You know it's like any other, if you're a boy scout you wear a boy scout uniform, anything that you do that has a visible sign of what you are doing I think increases your interest, because you'll... I'll be walking down the way here at the games and someone will come up to me as I'm wearing my Lord of the Isles Donald tartan, and say aye, and you're a Macdonald! Or I'm sure with you, they'll say hello Mr Hume. So it's great fun, and I think the biggest reason - forget all the academic stuff - the biggest reason is it's so much fun, it's just a delight and a joy and it adds a dimension to our rather frenzied and hurried - we have to work so hard to make,

contrary to what some people think about Americans, all Americans are not wealthy - most Americans have to just work to their ultimate capacity to make a living and survive and do well - and so here comes something that is a joy and a delight that you can be involved in and do, and it adds a dimension of a...to you life, it enriches your life and your whole family life so much; I think that has as much to do with it as anything else too.

IMH Thank you very much, Beth, valuable comments.